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**Social Capital and Entrepreneurship
in Aspatial Indian Ethnic Communities**

A thesis
submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

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by

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Abstract

Is there a particular “India Way” of management? This research contributes to an understanding of how work is done in India through an exploration of the effects of religious philosophies, cultures and value systems on management practices. The overarching research question addressed is: How do unique philosophies and traditions influence management systems and practices in India?

Central to this thesis are social networks. Embeddedness and interdependence are two important considerations, where dense interactions between economic and non-economic activities provide access to inimitable resources. Embeddedness in ethnic communities leads to the formation of strategic groups, linked by ethnicities, kinship and multiplex ties. Social capital becomes available, which refers to the ability of members to access resources by virtue of their memberships in these social structures. Social capital is a form of accumulated history, with investments in social relations and social organisation across time.

The research approach adopted for this study is the ethnographic tradition. Three religious based Indian ethnic communities are identified as research subjects, the Jain, Sikh and Christian communities. Fieldwork is conducted over four years. Thematic analysis uncovers three significant global themes: religious philosophies & frameworks, ethnicity & relational ties, and structure & organisation.

Social capital and organisation capital are identified as important socially created resources that are inimitable since they are reliant on complex social interactions, unique philosophies and traditions with causal ambiguity. Religious beliefs and teachings influence entrepreneurship, motivations and attitudes to work in each ethnic community. Traditions of many centuries create unique organisational forms, which maximise relational capital and the benefits of embeddedness. Two levels at

which social capital accumulates, the joint family system and ethnic community group, are evaluated, and how social capital manifests itself is captured in a theoretical model. The model identifies first, second and third orders of social capital. The first order correlates with the relational domain, and is concerned with the creation of social capital, while the second order is a function of the cognitive domain, and permits access to community resources. The third order corresponds to the structural domain, and concerns the appropriability of available social capital resources. The relational domain is recognised to be of central importance in the creation of social capital, and is identified as the first source of social capital.

This study shows how a reliance on religious teachings and value systems can lead to the creation of inimitable and valuable resources. How traditions and ties influence collective and independent entrepreneurship is discussed. An important theoretical contribution is the identification and prioritising of orders of social capital, and effects at each level. Contributions to theory include demonstrating the importance of quality and balance in ties, as well as the significance of cognitive anchoring. In research contributions, an Indian management framework, or chakra, is developed to conceptually capture the parameters that are relevant in the Indian context. In practice terms, the importance of the joint family structure in the Indian framework is highlighted and policy recommendations are provided.

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Chapter 1. Overview of Thesis

1.1. Introduction

Is there a particular “India Way” of management? Even a casual observer of Indian management practices will notice that there are significant differences in the way things are done in India as compared to the West because of unique cultures, histories and traditions. Does this mean that Indian managers rely on frameworks and practices that are distinctly different from those that dominate Western businesses (Cappelli, Singh, Singh, & Useem, 2010)? It is claimed that, in comparison to the West, Asia and India appear “different and distinct in many aspects of business including, but not limited to, economic organisation” (Iyer, 1999, p. 114). Why are there such differences, what are they and how are they relevant?

There is significant divergence between Western and Indian philosophy, which may directly influence management traditions, practices and frameworks in India. Clearly there are many different Western and Indian philosophical traditions and schools, and so any such comparisons can at best indicate, and be limited to, very general differences in philosophical approaches and thought (Moore, 1951). Given this qualification, in the West there are two important issues in philosophical thought that have generally been dominant over the centuries. “The history of Western philosophy can be viewed as a debate between rationalists and empiricists” (Prinz, 2005, p. 680). Rationalism is a core tradition of Western philosophy which

holds that deductions based on reason are the only basis of valid knowledge (Magee, 2001). True scientific knowledge is therefore based on rational certainty, and the “evidential basis for such knowledge must be conclusive” (Aune, 2008, p. 5). The “empiricists’ central example of what one knows is one’s own report of what one sees, tastes, or hears” (Goldsmith, 2007, p. 3). Direct experience is held to be the fundamental source of empirical knowledge (Aune, 2008), and empiricists regard conceptual understanding as the primary means of attaining knowledge in a material world (Prinz, 2005). Empiricism is therefore concerned with “better understanding the mind by better understanding its capacity to learn, where the learning in question is to learn from experience” (Goldsmith, 2007, p. 6).

Indian philosophers, on the other hand, maintain that “we always know much more than can be accounted for by our own perception or inference” (Saksena, 1951, p. 44). Rationalism and empiricism, while certainly valid, are deemed insufficient and incomplete as sources of knowledge. Experience is insufficient, knowledge based on experience can be illusory, judgmental and based on appearances rather than on true reality (or “maya”) and such knowledge can at best have a provisional status, subject to constant revision (Laine & Bressoud, 2003, p. 18). While maya is a word that encompasses a kaleidoscopic array of meanings, it is best understood as illusion or appearance (Oldmeadow, 1992; Shastri, 1911). This is a central idea at the heart of Indian philosophy and spirituality, which states that truth is buried under maya or illusion, and therefore uncovering true reality requires

more than reason and argument (Oldmeadow, 1992). Indian philosophy therefore also recognises inference, perception, verbal testimony, scriptural authority, and analogy or comparison as some of the valid sources of knowledge (Saksena, 1970; Soni, 2003). In the Indian schools of philosophy, it is believed that “intellectual analysis by itself is insufficient to grasp the deepest profundities of realisation and that intuition is essential” (Walsh, 1989, p. 281), or to understand truth, “the intellect must transcend itself” (Shastri, 1911, p. 76). Clearly, even the cursory analysis carried out above reveals considerable divergence between Western and Indian philosophy, even if in very general terms, so how does the unique Indian philosophical approach influence management practices and the management framework in India?

There are other important considerations that need to be addressed in exploring the Indian management framework. Observers of the Indian economic structure have noted the overwhelming influence of the family firm, for example. The economic environment in India is found to be dominated by family firms, with a prominent role of the family in the way that Indian businesses are organised (Iyer, 1999). The six million Indian family business groups that dominate the Indian economic system are seen to form “the backbone of the Indian economy” (Ward, 2000, p. 273). The top 500 family firms in India are observed to have grown at a rate of 462% in net worth and 677% in profit between 1990 and 2009, underlining the “critical role played by family firms in the entrepreneurial transformation of India”

(Au, Craig, & Ramachandran, 2011, p. 5). However, there are certain factors in the Indian context and concept of families in business that are unique. Researchers have noted that general Anglo-based interpretations of family businesses and their theoretical underpinnings are insufficient to encompass the Indian context, and therefore a more contextual understanding is needed to complement the general western worldview of such businesses (Gupta & Levenburg, 2010). In a study of ethnic family firms in the UK, ethnicity is found to be of central importance in such family firms because of the role of values in strategic decision making, and because such values may arise from cultural mores and experiences that are different from the mores of their non-ethnic or indigenous Anglo-Saxon counterparts in the West (Bhalla, Lampel, Henderson, & Watkins, 2009).

The dominant form of the family business in India, or more correctly the business family structure (Iyer, 1999), is the Hindu Undivided Family (HUF) System, in which all members of the extended family own joint and undivided shares in the business (Gupta, Levenburg, Moore, Motwani, & Schwarz, 2007). The joint and undivided family is the basic unit of Hindu society, and consists of people who are lineally descended from a common ancestor and therefore bound together by a fundamental family relationship (Sanyal, 1995). The joint family system results in multiple generations of a family living together in a common family home. The social structure, relationships and responsibilities are well defined, and the economic structure or the way work is organised retains the social hierarchies, obligations,

loyalties and trust (Ward, 2000). As a consequence of this mirroring, in many Indian communities the concepts of business and family have become practically equivalent over the generations, and this is believed to provide stability and economic benefits. Further, business succession and continuity is then ensured not through the individual firm but rather through the family structure (Iyer, 1999).

The traditional social systems that predominate in India are structured around extended family, kinship and community networks, which result in the creation of considerable economic and social capital (Kothari & Kothari, 2011). Business ties in this framework also form along kinship and ethnic community lines, and endure over generations and centuries (Iyer, 1999). The community, caste and religion embedded merchant is therefore a particularly important Indian institution, seen as the "repositories of traditional business practices and historical legacies", that embodies the traditional intertwining of socio-cultural and economic factors (Kothari & Kothari, 2011, p. 38). It is observed then that community, religious identity and historical family lineage provide cohesiveness and coherence to the management framework (Iyer, 1999). This is explored further.

1.2. Theoretical Framework of this Research

A valuable approach to understanding the unique Indian management frameworks is based on what has been referred to as the social system school, where management is perceived in terms of a social system of cultural interrelationships (Koontz, 1961). In this view, what is important is the nature of the relationships of various social groups, each of which eventually forms a part of an integrated system. In a seminal paper, Koontz (1961, p.180) states that understanding such systems requires an understanding of the institutional foundations of organisation authority, and the influence of informal organisations - essentially the "bonds of organisation". The bonds of organisation in India may be the nuclear family, the extended family, the ethnic community, or indeed any cooperative system with coordinated action toward a conscious common purpose. It is clear, however, that social and economic systems are interconnected through a wide range of relationships, which constitute a potentially powerful social network (Gulati, 1998).

The performance benefits from social networks derive from the fact that socially embedded firms can usefully draw on available social capital, which is defined "as the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit" (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p. 243). The notion of embeddedness is an important concept for this study, and this is understood in terms of situations where economic behavior and actions are submerged, defined and constrained by social

relations (Granovetter, 1985). It is therefore pointed out that “economic action - like any other form of social action - does not take place in a barren social context but, rather, is embedded in social networks of relationships” (Gulati, 1998, p. 295). Such embeddedness then permits access to external or network resources, those which are not directly and exclusively owned by an organisation. The relationship aspect in resource availability therefore highlights the importance of social networks and social capital as potential sources of unique and valuable resources and capabilities. (Dyer & Singh, 1998; Gulati, Nohria, & Zaheer, 2000). Social networking is also seen to be a powerful resource for entrepreneurial activities (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991), with collective entrepreneurship an important research area (Reich, 1987). The concepts of collective entrepreneurship and collaborative entrepreneurship therefore shifts the focus from the solitary entrepreneur working independently to the team based collective benefits from cooperation and collaboration (Ribeiro-Soriano & Urbano, 2009).

The embeddedness within communities and other social structures is a critical research area that must be explored to understand the Indian context, the nature of economic and non-economic intertwining, the role of caste and kinship networks, and the practical effects of religious teachings on economic activities (Kothari & Kothari, 2011). The community is seen, in this thesis, as a collection of individual economic entities bound together by an intricate network of formal and informal relationships. This entrepreneurial community operates as a unique type of a

business group, but with a multiplicity of informal ties and a complex arrangement of relationships. Such business groups are seen to have developed resources and capabilities, jointly accumulated over time, which constitute rare, valuable, and inimitable collective assets (Barney, 1991). There is therefore a group-based advantage which stems from the value of the resources controlled by the community (Gomes-Casseres, 2003; Guillen, 2000).

The focus in this study is on communities, and the imperative is to understand traditional management practices and frameworks in the Indian context (Khandwalla, 1980). This research therefore specifically examines Indian origin ethnic communities. The ethnic community is initially defined as the network of family around which the group is arranged, and the intertwining of such networks of kin and friends with the economy and in society (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). An important issue is aspatiality, or that such communities are not defined strictly by geographic or spatial proximity but rather by social networks and co-ethnicity (Goldenberg & Haines, 1992; Greve & Salaff, 2005), and research fieldwork would therefore need to be multi-sited to ensure adequate coverage of the areas of research interest (LeCompte, 2002).

1.3. The Units of Analysis

The research question in this study addresses how work is done from an Indian perspective and is stated as follows:

How do unique philosophies and traditions influence management systems and practices in India?

This research responds to the mandate of understanding alternative management frameworks and organisation forms by studying unique Indian management practices, to possibly evaluate “an organisation model which provides a viable alternative to the historical principal-agent model of organisation where there is a separation amongst the management, governance, and ownership entities” (Gupta et al., 2007, p. 10). Asia is stated to be different and distinct in the way work is done and in the organisation of work, and this research therefore addresses questions around the possible existence of “such a thing as a distinct form of Asian Capitalism” which stands in “sharp contrast to the dominant model of Western capitalism” (Iyer, 1999, p. 115).

The Indian business model maintains strong social and economic networks within specific religion based ethnic communities, the ethnic community is therefore the essential unit, and so is the unit of analysis for this research. Selection of the actual units or communities for analysis is a critical consideration; such units need to be capable of providing rich and relevant data in the areas of research interest. Further, it is imperative that the researcher obtains adequate access to these units for research purposes. It is also believed that more than one community should be

selected for the purposes of this study, as this would allow for comparisons and contrasts, leading to depth and richness in the research. The following three Indian ethnic communities are therefore identified as the focus of this research:

1. The Jain Community
2. The Sikhs, and
3. The Christians of India

The majority of the people of India are Hindus, but Hinduism reflects an umbrella term that covers a large number of religious beliefs, traditions and ideas, linked by an acceptance of Vedic authority (Sivananda, 1999; Thapar, 1989). It is stated that present day Hinduism is like the "trunk of a mighty tree, but its past is a tangle of most divergent roots" (Smart, 1995, p. 43). This fragments and dilutes the concept of the 'group' for this academic study, and so this study is restricted to the better defined religious-based groups - Jain, Sikh and Christian.

Researchers also point out that the Hindu communities generally lack the coherence and community dimensions of some of the other religious based groups, such as the Jains (Iyer, 1999), which makes it difficult to select a Hindu community as a unit of analysis. The Jain and Sikh communities emerge from within Hinduism and retain much of its traditions yet have clear definition and demarcation, which makes them ideal as subjects for this research. The Christian community is chosen to provide a contrast to these two communities, since it did not emerge from within Hinduism but was introduced to India by external teachers and prophets.

Christianity is not expected to be bound by the traditions and practices of the Hindu influences, for example in traditional organisation forms such as the Hindu Undivided Family, and therefore the Christian community is anticipated to be relevant as a research unit in a search for comparative differences across communities.

The positionality of the researcher is to adopt a peripheral membership role in each community, with sufficient interaction with group members to allow rapport and the establishment of an insider's identity without fully participating in core membership activities (Kawulich, 2005). The communities are studied from an insider perspective, where the communities are described in their own terms and from their own point of view. This is an emic approach which seeks to discover “patterns with respect to what goes on inside of people's heads” and to then describe phenomena in terms of meaning to group members (Harris, 1976, p. 330). Such a perspective is based on self-understanding by group members, and is therefore expressed within cultural and historical boundaries (Morris, Leung, Ames, & Lickel, 1999).

1.4. The Structure of the Study

The thesis is presented in nine chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Overview of Thesis

Chapter one introduces the study by providing the nature and background of the research. The theoretical framework of this research is explained and the unit of analysis identified.

Chapter 2: The Literature Review

The literature review explores organisation and family networks, the relational view, ethnic and collective entrepreneurship and social capital. It seeks to define, summarise, integrate and synthesise these topics to provide a theoretical framework for the research. Each section provides a specific research question, and the overarching research question emerges from this review of the literature.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This research adopts a qualitative interpretive approach, with a view to understand within context. An insider perspective is adopted, where the communities are described from their own points of view. Ethnographic fieldwork is conducted over a four year time-frame, with frequent field visits to regions where interviews could be conducted in settings important to the respondents. Thematic data analysis is relied on, which involves the activities of data reduction, theme identification, data display, and the drawing of conclusions from the data.

Chapter 4: The Indian Research Context

Three Indian origin ethnic communities are introduced in this chapter to provide a backdrop and a deeper understanding of each social group. Their inimitable and unique traditions and histories are explored, thereby establishing the context for this research.

Chapter 5: Religious Philosophies & Frameworks

This chapter presents the first global theme that emerges from the data: the religious philosophies and frameworks in each community. Philosophies, worldviews and teachings in each ethnic community are examined. The value systems that define and direct each group are studied, and issues around unique history dependent cultures are explored. This chapter addresses the cognitive domain of social capital.

Chapter 6: Ethnicity & Relational Ties

The categories that emerge in this section coalesce around the global theme of ethnicity and relational ties. It addresses ethnic identity and bonding ties, family systems, and the nature of relational ties that have developed in each ethnic community. This chapter has its focus on the relational domain of social capital.

Chapter 7: Structure & Organisation

This global theme addresses structure and organisation. Mainstream bridging ties are explored, leadership and hierarchies are addressed, and social institutions

in each ethnic community are examined. This chapter addresses the structural domain of social capital.

Chapter 8: Findings

The discussion in this section is concerned with inimitable resources and the particular framework of entrepreneurship within each Indian ethnic community. The manifestation of social capital is discussed, and a social capital model is presented, which comprehensively identifies the levels and effects of social capital. This section develops and presents the Indian management framework, or the management chakra. This chapter therefore develops the theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter 9: Contributions & Conclusion

This chapter elaborates on contributions made by this study to theory, research and practice. Policy recommendations are provided, and conclusions on the India way of management are presented.

Chapter 2. The Literature Review

A literature review is carried out in this study to set the broad context of the study, and to provide boundaries for what is within the scope of this investigation. This comprehensive survey of the literature highlights what has already been accomplished in the field, provides leads to areas that still need to be understood, and demarcates the topics of research (Boote & Beile, 2005). The literature review carried out in this chapter therefore discusses organisation in the context of family firms and ethnic communities, evaluates the relational view of resources, explores ethnic entrepreneurship, and discusses social capital as a community resource. It defines, summarises, integrates and synthesises these topics, to provide a background and a context for the research, to identify research gaps and from this to evolve the specific research questions for this thesis. Each section therefore ends with a research question that emerges from the literature review carried out in that specific area.

2.1. What is Organisation?

Organisation of work is about “the encoding of social knowledge into a structure that defines and coordinates individual behavior” (Kogut & Zander, 1996, p. 505). Organisation is also seen as “an attempt to order the intrinsic flux of human action, to channel it towards certain ends”, to give it a particular shape, through generalising and institutionalising particular meanings and rules (Tsoukas & Chia,

2002, p. 567). Organisations are social constructions subject to constant change (Linstead, 2002). Formal structures emerge from relational networks within social organisation, and it is held therefore that “organisations structurally reflect socially constructed reality” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 346). All social systems involve social relationships reproduced across time and space. Structure provides binding and solidity to such social systems and structural principles lead to the creation of institutions (Fuchs, 2003). Such institutions provide a “form” to social practices, and are seen as enduring features of social life which reproduce social systems across long time-space distances (Giddens, 1984). Organisations then codify principles of coordination, and are embedded in both relational and institutionalised contexts (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Kogut and Zander (1996, p. 503) propose that “a firm be understood as a social community specializing in the speed and efficiency in the creation and transfer of knowledge”. They state that it is not the transaction costs, but the social knowledge of individuals and the organising principles of work that are important (Kogut & Zander, 1996). The functions of organisation are to facilitate mutually beneficial collective action, lower transaction costs and assist in coordination of efforts (Uphoff, 2000). Organisations come into being to attain goals through the coordinated efforts of the members of the organisation, and the essence of organisation is therefore around coordination. “An organising principle represents a heuristic for how actors interpret and represent information and how they select

appropriate behaviors and routines for coordinating actions” (McEvily, Perrone, & Zaheer, 2003, p. 92). The organising principles serve to set the context of discourse, discussion, communication and coordination among group members, each of whom is seen to possess distinctive, disparate knowledge and expertise, and such principles therefore establish the dynamics by which coordination is achieved (Kogut & Zander, 1996).

Farjoun (2002, p. 561) highlights a shift in the field of strategic management from a perspective based on “a set of conceptual, explanatory, and prescriptive models that are unified by the Newtonian mechanistic logic as their shared epistemological basis” to an organic model of strategy. The mechanistic perspective assumes a stable and predictable world, and this is at variance with the actual observed complex and constantly changing behavior of individuals, firms, and markets. This static view is therefore superseded by a perspective more relevant to a complex, interconnected, uncertain, dynamic and changing world (Farjoun, 2002). Network organisation forms that are flexible, that adapt to change, that emphasise interdependence and that better mobilise human and technology resources have therefore become more important (Daft & Lewin, 1993). In this thesis, the central interest is in those “organisational forms characterised by repetitive exchanges among semi-autonomous organisations that rely on trust and embedded social relationships” (Borgatti & Foster, 2003, p. 995), and this is the context within which network organisation is studied in this research.

Firms are embedded in multiple and complex networks of relationships, which may be social or professional, and therefore the conceptualisation of atomistic, isolated firms competing in an impersonal market is replaced by a network perspective (Gulati et al., 2000). When group members are interdependent, it is observed that social, economic and political ties provide both opportunities and constraints (Lavie, 2007). Such interdependence can lead to the formation of strategic alliances, defined as cooperative arrangements involving two or more organisations (Das & Teng, 2002), or to the evolution of an alliance constellation, defined as a set of firms linked by strategic alliances which compete in a particular area (Gomes-Casseres, 2003).

Strategic groups have been defined in terms of collectives of firms with similar strategies, or sets of firms isolated by common mobility barriers (Peteraf & Shanley, 1997), and the concept of ethnic community can exemplify such a strategic group. These business groups are observed to be bound together in many formal and informal ways, and it is seen that many strategic groups come into being based on “strong principles of solidarity, grounded in kinship, shared ethnicity, religious beliefs, or the regional identity” (Heugens & Zyglidopoulos, 2008, p. 335). The ethnic family and kinship based strategic groups are of critical importance in the Indian social and economic space, and are therefore explored further in this thesis.

2.2. The Family Firm and Relational Resources

The family firm dominates the Indian business landscape, with most of the six million small and medium-sized businesses, and also the majority of large businesses in India, controlled by families and dynasties (Ward, 2000). Iyer (1999) estimates that family firms account for 99.9 percent or virtually all of the private sector firms and 75 percent of the top 100 Indian companies, while Gupta et. al. (2007) estimate that family businesses account for 71 percent of the market capitalisation in India. Thus family owned firms, which dominate in India as in most other transition economies, are the primary drivers of entrepreneurship and economic growth (Acquaah, 2012). The family-owned business group is then “the fundamental organising principle of big business in India” (Gupta, 2010, p. 908).

Family and group identity are important determinants of social networks and economic ties, particularly in the more traditional societies (Kogut, 2000). In the Indian context, business activities are observed to be deeply rooted in specific ethnic communities and to operate as constellations or strategic groups through alliances with other ethnic families of the same community (Gupta et al., 2007). Community is discussed here in the context of social groups associated with close families and kinship groupings, where there is a feeling of reciprocal relationships, shared identities, some degree of heterogeneity, obligations, common interests, social values and norms (Galbraith, 1995). Economic and business relationships develop through family ties extending over generations, often through strategic marriages within the ethnic community (Gupta et al., 2007).

Relationship ties are therefore greatly extended and strengthened through intra community marriages, which are seen as a form of alliance between business families. This leads to extended kinship links and stronger community ties (Menning, 1997). Consolidation of such kinship linkages within specific industries is also observed, with high frequency “network-strengthening intra-industry marriages” leading to a dense web of multi-generational marriage ties that strengthen industry based community networks, improve information flows and strengthen business and resource commitments (Munshi, 2007, p. 26). Historical linkages and traditions are critically important in the development of forms of economic organisation, and in the evolution of administrative and social structures within such groups (Farjoun, 2002). The Indian concept of the business community therefore revolves around a complex intersection of community and religious identities, as well as historical family lineages, in providing cohesiveness and coherence to the management framework. Such community based multiplex ties then lead to the formation of strategic resource groups in the Indian economic system (Iyer, 1999).

2.2.1. *Family Based Resources*

The family firm and ethnic community are therefore very important organisation forms in the Indian context. Habbershon and Williams (1999) state that the resource based view (RBV) is a proper theoretical framework for understanding family firms, since such firms are unusually complex, dynamic, and rich in intangible resources. The RBV is an inward oriented approach that evaluates the availability of resources

which are valuable, rare, inimitable and not substitutable (Barney, 1991; Peteraf, 1993; Wernerfelt, 1984). The resource based view (RBV) holds that the “type, magnitude, and nature of a firm's resources and capabilities are important determinants of its profitability” (Amit & Schoemaker, 1993, p. 35). Resources are defined as those strengths of the organisation that it can use to implement its planned strategy (Barney, 1991), or anything that can be considered a strength or weakness of the organisation (Wernerfelt, 1984). Amongst the major categories of resources that have been suggested are financial, physical, human, social capital, technological, reputational, and organisational resources (Barney, 1991; Grant, 1991; Greene & Brown, 1997). Financial, physical and human capital are considered individual forms, discrete in nature, while social and organisational capital are considered to be group level capabilities, combinational in form. Organisation capital considers relationships between members of an organisation as well as structures and cultures, while social capital draws on social networks of family and kinship, as well as religious relationships (Greene & Brown, 1997).

Resources which are unique lead to sustained and superior returns (Rugman & Verbeke, 2002; Wernerfelt, 1984). A resource needs to be valuable, rare, inimitable or imperfectly imitable, and non-substitutable. These resources are also assumed to be heterogeneous and not perfectly mobile (Barney, 1991). However, potentially valuable resources also need to be mobilised and exploited through appropriate organisation forms (Barney, 1995). The most important resources are those which

are durable, difficult to identify and understand, imperfectly transferable and not easily replicated (Grant, 1991). Particularly valuable resources are those that possess imperfect imitability and imperfect substitutability (Peteraf, 1993). Uncertain or imperfect imitability is defined as a situation when either causal ambiguity or property rights in unique resources impede imitation by rivals, making such resources particularly valuable (Lippman & Rumelt, 1982). "In general, the following characteristics have been highlighted in the uniqueness and creation of such resources: time compression diseconomies, asset mass efficiencies, interconnectedness of asset stocks, asset erosion, and causal ambiguity" (Dierickx & Cool, 1989, p. 1507).

Causal ambiguity refers to a situation when effective barriers to imitation are achieved, based on the fact that competitors either do not comprehend or imperfectly understand the resources or competencies (Reed & Defillippi, 1990). In terms of knowledge barriers to imitation, collective and collaborative skills, those derived from interaction, combination and teamwork, are held to be most inimitable as they generally rely on unique histories and collective experiences (Miller & Shamsie, 1996). Tacit knowledge, defined as the implicit learning and accumulation of skills through experience refined by practice, is often a source of such ambiguity and can create barriers to imitation (Reed & Defillippi, 1990). Resources can therefore be perfectly inimitable because of the unique historical conditions which created the initial resource, or because the resource and its benefits are poorly

understood or casually ambiguous, or because the very creation of the resource may be socially complex (Barney, 1991).

Family firms differ from other firms “not only in terms of their intangible resources, capabilities, and access to financial capital but also in organizational structures, entrepreneurial orientation, risk taking, and innovation” (Acquaah, 2012, p. 1215). Their unique bundles of resources are idiosyncratic to a particular firm in a particular environment, and much of the uniqueness that family firms possess are inherent in their organisational processes, and in their structures of business organisation (Habbershon & Williams, 1999). This can lead to the creation of unique and inimitable resources. There are strong multiplex ties within the traditional family systems, with repeated interaction and observation of members through social activities, that lead to strong trust. Group resources are then shared, pooled and made available to members (Menning, 1997). This sharing of valuable, unique and inimitable resources is an important aspect that is explored further in this study.

2.2.2. The Relational View and Network Resources

The relational view argues that “critical resources may span firm boundaries and may be embedded in inter-firm resources and routines” (Dyer & Singh, 1998, p. 660). Extending the resource based view, which held implicitly that critical resources should be directly owned and should therefore be encompassed by the boundaries of the individual organisation, the relational view recognises that such resources and capabilities may reside outside such boundaries. Such “network resources are

external resources embedded in the firm's alliance network that provide strategic opportunities" (Lavie, 2006, p. 638). These network resources can then be valuable; the direct sharing of resources and the indirect transferability of benefits associated with these resources can be an important aspect of the network (Dyer & Singh, 1998; Lavie, 2006). The focus of analysis then moves from resource ownership to resource accessibility, and such access then permits the utilisation and employment of resources without exclusive ownership (Lavie, 2006).

The RBV perspective therefore sees networks as coming into being, forming or being initiated essentially for the value-creation potential of pooled resources, and as such it emphasises possible efficiencies and synergies in the combining of complementary resources. It has a primary focus on the potential development and exploitation of unique resources bundles by organisations, through the use of both external and internal resources (Lin, Yang, & Arya, 2009). Potentially unique and valuable resource bundles can be derived from the social and work networks of individuals, groups and firms. When a firm becomes embedded in a network, it can therefore draw on its own internal resources as well as on the network resources that are directly owned by its partners through relational ties (Lavie, 2007).

In RBV terms therefore, the network of relationships is an important source for the creation of inimitable value-generating resources. The pattern of exchange is interdependent and complex, largely invisible due to the private nature of these relationships, and therefore inimitable. The network itself creates inimitable and

non-substitutable value since it is an inimitable resource, in addition to allowing access to inimitable resources and capabilities (Gulati et al., 2000). In structural terms, such a system is observed to always be more than the sum of its parts. “The qualities that result from temporal and spatial differentiation of a system are not reduced to the properties of the components of the system”, and interaction between components of a social system results in new unpredictable and unique properties that cannot be isolated or broken down into identifiable qualities of individual components (Fuchs, 2003, p. 135). This synergy or unpredictability can therefore lead to strategically valuable inimitability and causal ambiguity.

One of the key features of the relational view is that it allows the shifting of the unit of analysis from the individual organisation to the larger network within which the organisation operates. The relational view therefore builds on the view that the long-term value of the organisation’s partnerships and alliances are “closely tied to its embeddedness within a system of dense and complex relationships, both intra - and inter-organisational” (Madhok & Tallman, 1998, p. 336). A very important networked environment is the ethnic community or social structure within which the family firms and entrepreneurs operate. Community ties are held to be the principal means by which people obtain supportive resources and such community ties are seen to transcend narrow reciprocity (Wellman & Wortley, 1990). Such community networks then lead to the sharing of resources, the effective

coordination of actions and the creation of risk reducing social structures for the benefit of community members (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

India has its own unique philosophies and religions, dating back over many thousands of years, which inform, guide and direct all aspects of economic and non-economic life. Indeed, one of the strengths of Indian society is its collectivist nature driven by its extensive social networks (Panda & Gupta, 2007). These networks have been significant, for example, in creating successful Indian mercantile communities that have excelled in their economic fields of endeavor over many centuries (Iyer, 1999; Kothari & Kothari, 2011), demonstrating that such 'capital' is both aspatial (across geographies) and longitudinal (over time). The legacy of business networks and early socialisation within such communities is then seen to provide an enduring business advantage to group members (Pio, 2010).

A much discussed example of a successful networked business community is the Jain community who "rely on family and ethnic ties to bring cohesiveness and trust to the highly scattered, specialised, and risky diamond business" (Gupta et al., 2007, p. 7). The business communities in India have existed over many centuries, such as the trading Marwari, Khoja and Naidu communities, or the traditional banking and finance communities of the Sethis, Shroffs and Chettiars (Iyer, 1999; Pio, 2010). Their business practices, processes, traditions and reputations have been built up over centuries, and may be inimitable, causally ambiguous and socially complex. Understanding these ethnic networks and communities therefore mandates a

deeper exploration of socially complex issues, deeply embedded formal and informal decision making, relational mentoring and stakeholder relationships, as well as history dependent, causally ambiguous cultural and value based inimitable resources (Habbershon & Williams, 1999). Resources in the Indian ethnic business groups are observed to be accumulated over several generations, and resource boundaries between the family and the business are minimal (Gupta et al., 2007). The RBV approach then provides a strategic framework for assessing the idiosyncratic resources, organisational processes and attributes of the family based organisation structure (Habbershon & Williams, 1999).

The following question therefore emerges from the literature review conducted in this section:

How are rare, valuable and inimitable collective resources created within Indian ethnic communities?

2.3. Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship

2.3.1. *Ethnic Communities*

Ethnic groups are those social groups whose members have “some awareness of group membership and a common origin and culture” (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, p. 112). Ethnic identity embraces aspects such as feelings of belonging and commitment to a social group and shared values, which arise from claims of common ancestry and commonalities in terms of culture, religion, language, kinship and places of origin (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Ethnicity is constructed out of factors such as language, religion, ancestry, or regional origins, with identity and culture seen as the two central building blocks of ethnicity (Nagel, 1994). Identification is when individuals perceive commonalities with other individuals or groups, and salient group identification increases opportunities and frequency of cooperation (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Such identification then mandates that members align themselves with the values, characteristics and actions of the group. Actions and activities that are congruent with group norms then assist to develop strong associations, alignments and attachments within the social group (Peteraf & Shanley, 1997). Distinctiveness in groups is seen to be based on such factors as deeply held principles of solidarity, feelings of kinship, a shared ethnicity, or unique religious traditions and cultures (Heugens & Zyglidopoulos, 2008). The strength of group identity refers to the level of identification of members with a cognitive group, and the more that members recognise and value their group

membership, the stronger is the identity. The development of a strong group identity can lead to the recognition and valuation of interdependence among the group (Peteraf & Shanley, 1997).

Ethnicity is a term that has been used in the literature as an “umbrella concept” that conveniently covers myriad social groups that are, or can be, differentiated by nationality, race, language, religion, regional origins, castes and multiple other terms (Chandra, 2006). Ethnicity has been discussed in reference to the embeddedness of individuals within a specific culture or clusters of cultural relationships (Salaff, Greve, Wong, & Ping, 2003), and unique cultures serve as one of the most important factors in distinctiveness of the ethnic group. A key component of this differentiation may be religion, the power of religious ties can lead to strong ethnic boundaries and identities, and in many cases, religious identity is actually shown to be more powerful than ethnic identity (Sanders, 2002).

The Indian community structures itself around religion, spatial origins, class and caste identities, family lineage and guild associations. Religion is the most important factor that underlines and defines the community, it forms the most important basis for social grouping, and there is a consequent impact of religious traditions and belief on economic activities, as well as on social identity (Iyer, 1999). The concept of "ethnie" provides a very useful framework and approach by which ethnic group identity can be gainfully explored. There are six areas that can be defined and examined for an "ethnie": the presence of a collective name, a shared history, a

myth of descent or a common ancestry, a common culture including language and customs, an association with a particular territory or a homeland, and a sense of solidarity (Chandra, 2006; Smith, 1986). The ethnic community is conceptualised in terms of a kinship based constellation or a strategic group, and as such it draws on many group based advantages. Communities exemplify organisation forms that provide cognitive and social anchors for their members, and which have evolved rules of coordination encoded in institutions and in relationships among constituent members (Kogut & Zander, 1996). The community therefore provides an organisation setting with relationship specific boundaries (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995), within which there is a greater propensity to trust (Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007). Trust is a critical issue, here defined in terms of the “willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party”, based on expectations of trustworthy behaviour or actions irrespective of direct monitoring or control (Mayer et al., 1995, p. 712).

This conceptualisation of communities is what Putnam (1993) calls ‘network capitalism’, and he states that such networks, which can be based on the extended family or on close knit ethnic communities, increase trust with participants, lower transaction costs, improve information and innovation, and convert social capital into financial capital (Putnam, 1993). Kinship is a primary principal of social organisation in many countries, and regulates access to group resources (di Falco & Bulte, 2011). The ethnic community can be viewed as a form of economic

organization that involves “multiple firms as well as communities of non-contractually linked individuals”, connected through a network of formal and informal ties (Gulati, Puranam, & Tushman, 2012, p. 572). This view of communities as strategically useful economic organisations also draws on Heugens & Zyglidopoulos’ (2008, p. 337) “conviction that competencies are not a form of organisational capital, but rather a form of social capital - a property of the structure and content of business groups rather than of the strategic architecture of individual firms”. Distinctive boundaries for such organisations are created since the “rules of coordination and the process of learning are situated not only physically in locality, but also mentally in an identity” (Kogut & Zander, 1996, p. 502).

Ethnic communities continue to be important in the Indian economy, for example, it was estimated in 2006 that companies promoted by just three of the traditional Indian business communities, the Gujaratis, Marwaris, and Parsis, accounted for as much as 36 per cent of the market capital of the Bombay Stock Exchange (Munshi, 2007). Traditional business practices and informal credit arrangements strongly link such community groups together, creating interdependent bonding ties (Iyer, 1999). Critically it is also noted that economic organisation structures “may tend toward the reproduction of existing inter-firm relationships to maintain the value of their inherited social capital” (Walker, Kogut, & Shan, 1997, p. 110). The desire to retain, build on and exploit existing relationships that have endured over many generations may therefore also guide, or

play an important role in, the evolution of the Indian entrepreneurial community as a particularly valuable strategic group. The search for suitable structures to ensure effective pooling and sharing of resources within such groups has seen the evolution of family holding companies in India, which the business family closely controls and which then enables closer strategic management of the group. Such holding companies that consolidate strategic business groups, alliance networks or constellations, and which effectively deploy and share resources, are noted in all the large Indian family businesses, including the Tatas, Birlas, Thapars and Mahindras (Manikutty, 2000), demonstrating the continued relevance of the family business group in the Indian context.

Traditionally communities were seen as clearly discernible, spatially delimited entities with well-defined boundaries and spatial proximity was the basis of commonality in community members (Goldenberg & Haines, 1992). However, it has also been pointed out that “we need to free the concept of ethnic economies from being bound to a location in order to integrate the enclave into broader social structural theory” (Greve & Salaff, 2005, p. 12). There is now a greater emphasis on the concept of networked communities, or from an initial position where spatial proximity was believed to be essential for community members, to a position where communities are identified by links among members rather than by criteria such as geography and local mapping (Goldenberg & Haines, 1992). Groups can recognise other members through alternative means rather than interaction in a set location,

and can then incorporate those that they define to be similar to themselves within their own community or social group (Greve & Salaff, 2005). The term diaspora has been used to define transnational or de-territorialised populations - such as the Jewish, Anglo-Indian and Sikh - that are relocated to areas different from their homelands, though they continue to maintain links with their places of origin (Roy, 2008). Other diaspora include the Armenian, African and Irish; and major issues that are relevant, and which mandate further exploration, within such diaspora include identity, ethnicity, social relationships, overlapping affiliations, cultural reproductions and economic strategies (Vertovec, 1999).

The community is therefore held to be an entity which exists in social space and it only incidentally - if at all - occupies a geographic physical location (Bates & Bacon, 1972). Evaluations based on the network concept of community are believed useful, as they shift the focus of attention away from attributes of places to social relations inherent in aspatial networks (Goldenberg & Haines, 1992). This is particularly important for ethnic communities, which have been defined as collectives whose members have an awareness of a common origin and culture (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). These ethnic communities are aspatial in form and networked in conception, and therefore do not need to be studied only within frameworks of geographically defined physical boundaries (Goldenberg & Haines, 1992).

2.3.2. *Collective Entrepreneurship*

The clan or kinship based organisation form is observed to be one of the possible governance devices, in addition to markets and bureaucracies, that can be used to address complex issues around economic exchanges (Ouchi, 1980). However it is pointed out that, while it is difficult to actually develop a clan structure to address economic issues, the ability to utilise already existing social structures to effectively address particular problems or to exploit existing opportunities is more relevant (Alvarez & Barney, 2005). The already existing kinship based social structures then provide significant latent opportunities for entrepreneurship, which is defined around the study of opportunities to create new value and “the processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation” of such opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 218).

Entrepreneurship is seen as the process by which innovative individuals capitalise on opportunities generated by change and by the emergence of new innovations, dynamics and equilibrium, for the creation of new value (Bryat & Julien, 2001). Entrepreneurship is seen to flourish in societies whose cultural norms permit freedom of choice in individual development. Individuals in entrepreneurial environments would not be pressurised to conform or to follow prescribed lifestyle patterns but would be free to define their own paths (Hoselitz, 1952). Social cultures and norms define the manner in which entrepreneurial individuals and entrepreneurial activities are perceived within society, and their role in that society (Licht & Siegel, 2006). Since entrepreneurs arise from societies within which they are

deeply embedded, to "conceive the entrepreneur as an atomistic and isolated agent of change is to ignore the milieu that supports, drives, produces and receives the entrepreneurial process" (Dodd & Anderson, 2007, p. 343). The focus is therefore on entrepreneurs as embedded in a social context, channelled and facilitated, or constrained and inhibited, by their positions in social networks (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991). Further it is also believed that "entrepreneurship is only intelligible by analysing the larger, collective context in which entrepreneurship unfolds" (Burress & Cook, 2009, p. 8).

The degree of individualism-collectivism in society is believed to be important, since it is observed that both extremely collectivistic or individualistic societies lead to lower levels of entrepreneurship, and a balanced consideration of individualism and collectivism is ideally needed for entrepreneurial activity (Earley & Gibson, 1998). It has also been noted that individualism-collectivism is "traditionally conceptualized as a continuum", individualistic societies are believed to foster entrepreneurship, while collective societies are understood to have an anti-entrepreneur bias (Morris, Davis, & Allen, 1994, p. 67). Reich (1987) however emphasises the view that economic success is more likely to be achieved through collective entrepreneurship or through team work rather than through enterprising individual heroes. Entrepreneurship then emerges as a result of collective action, not individual initiatives, and the focus is therefore on such issues as group dynamics, social ties and community interactions (Burress & Cook, 2009). Issues

such as the degree of family integrity, interdependence, self-reliance and in-group separation then become important. In homogeneous collective cultures, there is high emotional attachment to the group, personal descriptions stress group attachments, and concepts like family, duty, conformity are emphasised (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). In a collective society or group, individuals are strongly linked through shared values and norms. In such a society, group objectives take precedence over individual goals, there is a predisposition to share and pool resources that can be utilised by in-group members, and strong emotional bonds based on values and norms exist. There are strict interpretations of acceptable social behaviour, and a general concern for how individual actions impact other group members. Individual needs are met essentially through achieving the larger interests of the collective (Earley & Gibson, 1998). In such high trust and interdependent organisation settings, it is observed that “parties to an exchange under uncertainty could make transaction-specific investments without concern for opportunism on the part of exchange partners” (Alvarez & Barney, 2005, p. 782).

Collaborative relationships evolve through social processes of interaction and identifying commonalities, and "a network has been described as one of the most powerful assets an entrepreneur can possess as it provides access to power, information, knowledge, capital and other networks" (Jack, Rose, & Johnston, 2010, p. 2). The term collaborative entrepreneurship has also been applied to achieve a better understanding of how entrepreneurs benefit from working closely with each

other through the development of social networks and shared systems of meaning. Collaborative entrepreneurship shifts the focus from the individual entrepreneur hero to the collective benefits from cooperation and collaboration (Ribeiro-Soriano & Urbano, 2009).

Entrepreneurship is then essentially seen as a social role, and social networks within such clans or kinship based communities provide information, create opportunities and enable access to resources often those beyond the direct reach or control of the individual entrepreneur (Jack et al., 2010). Ethnic entrepreneurship is fostered by bounded solidarity, where common group membership assists in resource sharing, and by enforceable trust, where violations of norms can lead to loss of reputation and social status within the group (Vissa, 2011). Ethnic social structures are important, and these “consist of the networks of kinship and friendship around which ethnic communities are arranged, and the interlacing of these networks” within the host economy (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990, p. 127). Clan based entrepreneurial organisations are characterised by high levels of trust between participants, democratic and consensus based decision making, and a preponderance of voluntary cooperative relationships between participants in the economic exchanges (Alvarez & Barney, 2005).

Organisations with an entrepreneurial orientation are those which are risk taking, bold and aggressive in targeting opportunities, and such orientation is based on internal, strategic and external variables (Covin & Slevin, 1991). The internal

environment relates to the entrepreneur's cognition, emotions, and aspirations while the external environment includes elements such as the market structures, institutional voids and other stakeholders (Venkataraman, Sarasvathy, Dew, & Forster, 2012). The environmental context is believed to be an important factor, some resources are believed to be more useful in dynamic environments while others are more valuable in stable environments (Arora & Nandkumar, 2012). This is evaluated further in this study.

2.3.3. Entrepreneurial Family Networks

In India, it has been shown that the primary economic unit is not the individual firm, but rather the family business unit or Hindu Undivided Family (HUF), connected by kinship ties and personal relationships (Iyer, 1999). Enterprising families have been defined in terms of those family units where the objective is firmly on the creation of trans-generational wealth and exploitation of wealth creation potential. In such a business system, there is a defining vision that directs all activities of the family unit, business entity, and individual members to maximise wealth creation (Habbershon, Williams, & MacMillan, 2003). Traditional views of family businesses regard the family and the business as two generally independent structures (Habbershon et al., 2003). However, the Indian context sees the "co-terminal unification of two disparate forms of social organisation, the family and the business" (Iyer, 1999, p. 112), and such unification results in the resource boundaries between the family and business being minimally, if at all, regulated

(Gupta et al., 2007). Such mirroring of social and economic organisation is valuable, since “organisations that incorporate societally legitimated rationalised elements in their formal structures maximise their legitimacy and increase their resources and survival capabilities” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 352).

The Indian framework therefore sees family businesses more in terms of a unified systems model, in which the family business social system is an integrated system comprised of the family unit, the business unit and the individual member. In such enterprising families, the high degree of integration of these three sub-components of the system results in an economic unit that is “unusually complex, dynamic, and rich in intangible resources and capabilities”, and there is value inherent in their “path-dependent resources, idiosyncratic organisational processes, behavioural and social phenomena” (Habbershon et al., 2003, p. 459). The incorporation of externally legitimated and accepted formal structures in economic organisation, or “institutional isomorphism”, actually increases the likelihood of success, since it increases the commitment of both internal participants and external constituents by becoming an accepted legitimate sub-unit of society as opposed to an independent and isolated system (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 349).

The family firms that are managed over generations are characterised by the “entrenchment of family values in the strategic decisions of the firm”, and also by the influence of the prevailing culture of the community within which the family firm is embedded (Sharma & Manikutty, 2005, p. 294). These family businesses are firmly

rooted in their ethnic communities, primarily because of family ties that span over several generations as a consequence of intra ethnic community marriage alliances (Gupta et al., 2007), and entrepreneurship is therefore seen not just as a family affair but also as a component of the ethnic community's activities. In such ethnic communities, shared cultural backgrounds create more than one type of tie between individuals, and multiplex ties connect across several settings to create and enhance social capital, thereby making it a highly effective resource (Greve & Salaff, 2005). These ethnic ties foster trust, consequently generate economic cooperation between community members, and this economic cooperation would not be possible across ethnic groups, or outside of the particular ethnic community (Sanders & Nee, 1987). It is stated by Gupta et al. (2007) that these businesses are extremely resilient because of the deep community roots, the emphasis on family reputations, consolidation of assets, seamless transition and longevity of the businesses, and even because of issues such as limited alternative economic opportunities outside of the family system. Ethnicity is therefore a definite economic resource, but it becomes utilisable only if the social structures within the ethnic community facilitate its use as a business asset (Waldinger, 1986).

The following question therefore emerges from this review:

How do existing and historical organisation forms, religious teachings and traditions, and ethnic relational ties influence entrepreneurship in these aspatial ethnic communities?

2.4. Social Capital: A Community Resource

Ethnic networks foster the creation of social capital, and “research leaves little doubt as to the importance of social capital derived through ethnic networks in promoting economic action” (Sanders, 2002, p. 348). Social capital is largely described in connection with the cumulative resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships maintained by a social entity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The social capital concept focuses on the stock of accumulated resources that can be accessed via relationships, and it is the emphasis on the resources that becomes obtainable from these relationships that differentiates social capital from social networking (Tymon & Stumpf, 2003). Social capital is formally defined as those “features of social life - networks, norms, and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives” (Putnam, 1995, pp. 664-665).

A core concept of social capital is that one’s family, friends and associates constitute an important asset which can be leveraged for material gain, and social capital refers to the norms and networks within such social groups that facilitate collective action (Woolcock, 2001). It is maintained that “social capital developed in the family is probably one of the most enduring and powerful forms of social capital” (Arregle, Hitt, Sirmon, & Very, 2007, p. 77), and this is important in the Indian context where family, kinship and community networks predominate. “Social capital refers to intra-community connections among individuals which form a catalytic network by which individual, group and community wide efforts are made

more effective” (Dudley, 2004, p. 1). Social capital is a community’s major resource, and it has been demonstrated that entrepreneurs can mobilise social capital through their ethnic social networks (Salaff et al., 2003). “Communities with high levels of social capital are able to act together collectively to achieve diverse common objectives” (Krishna, 2004, p. 291), and Putnam (1994, p.7) states that “working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital”.

In early discussions of social capital as initiated by Bourdieu (1980), the focus was on how individuals benefited from social capital. However, this concept was extended to the group and community level of analysis by Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988). Clearly social capital can provide advantages and benefits to individuals , for example in obtaining better jobs, advancement or social status, or can provide advantages to organisations and groups as a collective, and so analysis at the individual, organisation and higher levels must be considered. “Social capital can operate at the level of an individual, a team, an organisation, an industry, a community, a nation, or an entire economy” (Arenius, 2002, p. 18). The effects of social capital therefore need to be evaluated in a multi-dimensional analytical framework that explicitly considers both the individual and the collective concepts (Kawachi, Kim, Coutts, & Subramanian, 2004).

Ruuskanen (2001) suggests that social capital has a tendency to accumulate in certain social groups, identified as the individual, community or social levels. These levels are seen to correspond to Halpern’s (2005) micro, meso and macro levels

respectively (Iisakka & Alanen, 2006). Understanding social capital resources therefore requires an analysis of how individuals are embedded in groups and how groups are embedded in organisations and societies (Oh, LaBianca, & Chung, 2006). Personal networks are constructed from the viewpoint of a particular individual; extended networks are the collective result when interconnected personal networks are examined, within a particular bounded system (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991). Burt (2000) discusses this in terms of first and second order social capital - first order social capital focuses on individual personal networks while second order social capital focus on the social capital of the organisation within which the individual is embedded. Understanding and separating the first order and second order social capitals is then seen as a necessary task for researchers (Burt, 2000).

2.4.1. Functions of Social Capital

Some of the core ideas and functions linked with social capital are greater civic participation, increase cooperation, mutually beneficially collective action, lower transaction costs, greater efficiencies (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Putnam, 1994; Uphoff, 2000). Social capital can be appropriable, and it can be used for multiple purposes, such as information gathering or advice. It has been associated with lower transaction costs and better information flow, and can compensate for lower levels of human and financial capital (Adler & Kwon, 2002). An important economic function of social capital is to reduce the transaction

costs associated with formal co-ordination mechanisms like contracts, hierarchies and bureaucratic rules (Fukuyama, 2001).

Social capital functions as a means of social control, as a means of family and economic support and as a source of benefits through extra-familial networks (Portes, 1998). The source of social capital is in the structure and content of social relations, and the effects of social capital are on the information, influence, and solidarity within the social group (Adler & Kwon, 2002). The basic benefits of social capital flow from better access to information, the bestowing of influence, the establishment of social credentials and the reinforcement of identity (Lin, 1999a). Community, religious identity and historical family linkages in India are similarly observed to result in the creation of exclusive networks where contractual uncertainties are significantly reduced with consequential commercial benefits (Iyer, 1999). Social capital in ethnic communities is demonstrated to provide resource-mobilising mechanisms for entrepreneurs, which result in higher information exchange, financial pooling, and improved relationships with customers and suppliers, as well as better access to cheap finance, skill training, market information and business advice (Bhalla et al., 2009).

In terms of understanding the attributes and facets of social capital, Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998) identify the structural, relational and cognitive dimensions of social capital as particularly important features. These dimensions are therefore discussed in the next sections of this thesis.

2.4.2. *Structural Aspects of Social Capital*

The structural domain of social capital is associated with the forms of social organisation, and in particular with the networks and the roles, rules, precedents and procedures that lead to mutually beneficial collective action (Uphoff, 2000). Structural social capital addresses the overall pattern of connections, measures factors such as tie densities and hierarchy, and also addresses issues around appropriable organisation (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Network structure within the social space is relevant in the creation and use of social capital, as it is seen that generally groups which have top-down, hierarchically organised family are more likely to have a clear sense of family loyalty and obligation, whereas others with more diffusely organised families may have less obligations and loyalty (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). Hierarchy is an important dimension of social structure that indirectly influences social capital by shaping the structure of social relations (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Social networks then represent established patterns of communication and cooperation that reduce transaction costs, and thus make collective action of various sorts more feasible and profitable (Uphoff, 2000).

Social capital embodied in norms and networks of civic engagement, or in “rich networks of organised reciprocity”, is an extremely valuable resource for economic development (Putnam, 1994, 1995). High levels of interaction are believed to be a condition for the development and maintenance of dense social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). “The theory of social capital presumes that, generally speaking, the more we connect with other people, the more we trust them, and vice versa”

(Putnam, 1995, p. 665). The frequency and intensity of member observation, mutual modelling, association and identification are vital factors in the promotion of cognitive social groups, and in the establishments of strong strategic group identities (Peteraf & Shanley, 1997). Institutional as well as social embeddedness is important, as identity is shaped by and formed within “a complex and sophisticated interlocking of institutions” (Banerjee & Linstead, 2004, p. 227). Social institutions can then be conceptualised to serve as the repositories of social capital, or as the banks of social capital stocks (Putnam, 1994). Portes (1998, p.3) points out that the idea that “involvement and participation in groups can have positive consequences for the individual and the community is a staple notion”, and that there is a requirement for “the deliberate construction of sociability” to create social capital. Institutions that create sociability are therefore important considerations in each ethnic community.

The bonding forms of social capital focus on internal relational ties within the social groups, whereas bridging forms of social capital have a focus on external relationships (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Bonding or strong ties are about multiple linkages among individuals within the social group, which provide cohesiveness and which facilitate the pursuit of collective goals. Bridging or weak ties, which link different groups, connect individuals who are significantly different from one another, and provide access to new ideas and information (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Granovetter, 1973, 1983). The level of integration of social groups into mainstream society is believed to depend more on their weak or bridging ties, not on their

strong ones, because such weak social ties extend beyond close, intimate social circles (Fukuyama, 2001; Granovetter, 1983). Increased bridging across communities also allows members to identify new opportunities in the enlarged circle of social interactions (Hayami, 2009). Bridging ties are used to enhance the chances of gaining resources, while bonding ties with denser networks and reciprocal relations assist in mobilising shared interests to protect existing resources (Lin, 1999b).

In the Indian context, bonding ties are maintained at a high level due to the fact that most economic activities are structured as family businesses, and then such families are strongly rooted in specific ethnic communities. Bonding with other family businesses within the ethnic community is facilitated by enduring family social ties extending over several generations, because of the dominant instrument of intra ethnic community marriage alliances. However, external alliances and relationships also need to be cultivated to complement the business activities of a particular group or family, thereby increasing bridging ties (Gupta et al., 2007). Strategic groups that have an optimal level of bonding and bridging ties, or a balance in tie strengths, are held to be high-performing, because in such balanced strategic networks the strong ties enable rich and efficient exchanges and the weak ties provide flexibility and new information (Ozcan & Eisenhardt, 2009). Groups with more external bridging relationships to other groups will have an increased set of social capital resources, compared to those groups that have developed a narrower range of external relationships (Oh et al., 2006).

However, while network ties may actually allow access to resources, and can serve as the conduits and pathways to new opportunities outside the group, it is ultimately the characteristics and quality of ties which determine how such resources and opportunities are identified, accessed, mobilised and exploited (Jack et al., 2010). Structural factors determine the range of resources that are within reach, but relational factors, or the quality of social relationships, determine how much potential is actually realised (Moran, 2005). Granovetter (1973) has hypothesised that the strengths of ties in social networks are based on factors such as investment of time, emotional involvement, intimacy and reciprocity. Groups that develop high quality bridging relationships through former members who have developed new relationships, possibly through marriages and changes of jobs, and who are consequently embedded in different groups, will have higher access to social capital resources (Oh et al., 2006).

2.4.3. Relational Aspects & Trust

Social capital is strongly based on, and driven by, relationships and is generated, maintained and developed by interaction between and amongst participants (Coleman, 1988). The important issues in relational social capital revolve around relationships developed over time dependent histories and traditions of interaction, since such relationships develop trust, norms and obligations, as also ideas and concepts around identity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Relational ties are inimitable since they are generally socially complex and idiosyncratic in nature (Kale, Singh, &

Perlmutter, 2000). Trust is seen as the key element in solidity of network ties (Dubini & Aldrich, 1991), where trust is defined around the willingness to accept risk or to be vulnerable to the actions of another (Schoorman et al., 2007). Social capital is observed to be positively associated with the density of trust existing within a group (Paldam & Svendsen, 2000). Trust is socially complex, relies on time compression diseconomies, and therefore can certainly be an inimitable and valuable resource (Barney & Hansen, 1994). An ability to rely on social governance can be valuable since it is dependent on the network of relations which have developed over long periods of time. These unique social governance mechanisms are valuable as they cannot be imitated or easily replaced by alternate low-cost systems (Barney & Hansen, 1994). Trust is also relevant in interactions with non-group members and other external networks, and it is observed that the radius of trust can be larger than the social group itself (Fukuyama, 2001).

It is held that closure of a social structure is required if there is to be a development of strong norms and trustworthiness within the social group or community, and this directly impacts such issues as obligations and expectations within the social structure (Coleman, 1988). Closed networks are described as those groups where members are connected to such an extent that no member can escape the notice of others, operationally described as a dense network (Burt, 2000). In these strong-closure groups, group members are connected to each other through strong, multiplex and reciprocated relationship ties, and the network is very

dense (Oh et al., 2006). Closure of the social system is believed to be advantageous, as such closure increases enforceable trust within the community (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Powerful norms and belief systems are directly correlated with high closure of social networks, since such closure encourages internal compliance with social system customs and informal regulatory mechanisms, therefore reducing the requirement for formal controls (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

However, closure is also seen to have non ideal effects, strong closure groups can constrain individual members' contacts with diverse outsiders, and can restrict access to external resources and new information (Oh et al., 2006). Closure can also lead to excessive demands for conformity, and consequent "claustrophobia, however, may be asphyxiating to the individual spirit", which may adversely impact innovation and entrepreneurship in the group (Portes & Landolt, 1996, p. 21). Strong identification with the narrower social group may contribute to a level of fragmentation of the broader collective, and may over-embed entrepreneurs in the social group, which can reduce the flow of new ideas, resulting in parochialism and inertia (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

2.4.4. Cognitive Aspects & Value Systems

The cognitive domain concerns mental processes, concepts and ideas, which are based on culture, norms, values, attitudes and beliefs, and which encourage cooperative and collective actions (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Uphoff, 2000). Culture is socially complex, is inimitable, takes significant time to develop, and can

be an important resource (Barney, 2001). Culture itself is defined in terms of common understandings, and in terms of a “system of social values, symbols, and shared beliefs that guide and give meaning to a group’s actions” (Maurer, Bansal, & Crossan, 2011, p. 436). The cognitive aspects, knowledge and meaning, are seen to be always embedded in a social context, and shaped by constant interactions (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). This domain comprises the social group’s “shared vision and purpose, as well as unique language, stories, and culture of a collective that are commonly known and understood, yet deeply embedded” (Pearson, Carr, & Shaw, 2008, p. 597). Social capital is then seen in this context to comprise a form of accumulated history, with considerable time invested in the maintenance and maturing of social relations and social organisations (Bourdieu, 1986). The concept of embedding here fundamentally means the binding of social relations in contexts of time and space (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

Social capital has been defined around the ability of people to work together for common purposes, and the ability to cooperate voluntarily has been held to depend on the degree to which communities share norms and values, and are able to subordinate individual interests to those of the group (Paldam & Svendsen, 2000). Value introjection is therefore believed to be a “first source of social capital”, because value systems determine behaviour, encourage group interests, emphasise moral principles of economic transactions, and therefore such behavior becomes predictable and appropriable as a resource (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1323).

Cultural traditions provide social systems with value orientations, and these values provide selection and behavioural standards for group members. “Values remain the major link between culture and action” (Swidler, 1986, p. 276).

In this context of cognitive aspects, religion provides a set of principles, value systems and directions, and therefore can have a strong influence on economic activity (Dodd & Seaman, 1998). Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales (2003), and also Barro and McCleary (2003), rely on the world value survey - conducted between 1981 to 1997 by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan - to explore the relationship between religion and economic activities. These researchers find that, in general, religion and religiosity is positively associated with free market attitudes; strong religious beliefs promote economic growth and foster greater trust in economic and legal institutions conducive to economic activities (Barro & McCleary, 2003; Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2003).

Religion directly influences the development of economic attitudes, and shapes the underlying ethos of an economic system (Kinnvall, 2004). Religions which are seen as providing a positive climate are those whose dominant values favor economically productive activities conducive to capital accumulation and technical progress (Mohandoss, 1996). The development of Quaker chocolate dynasties of Cadburys, Rowntree, Fry, and Terry's (Dodd & Seaman, 1998), and also Weber's contention “that the Protestant Reformation was critical to the rise of capitalism

through its impact on belief systems” (Noland, 2003, p. 2), highlight the perceived association between religion and economic activities.

Guiso et al (2003, p.280) find significant differences in attitudes to economic activities across religions, for example stating that “Christian religions are more positively associated with attitudes that are conducive to economic growth, while Islam is negatively associated”. Religion can lead to high levels of cooperation, trust and collective action, and the Indian religious based Jain and Sikh groups are referred to as examples of closed communities which can rely on perceived trustworthiness and reputation for economic benefit (Sosis, 2005). Noland (2003) cites McClelland’s (1976) study which found a high need-for-achievement associated with the religious practices of Quakers, Jains, Vaishnava Hindus, Parsis and Zen Buddhists, which consequently resulted in higher economic success, and he also highlights how Hofstede (2001) associated a culture based long term orientation in religions such as Hinduism with better economic performance.

It has been pointed out that entrepreneurship is benefited when religions provide legitimacy and justification for entrepreneurial activity, and make a positive contribution to the climate or support for entrepreneurship (Dodd & Seaman, 1998). Religious involvement is an activity that creates networks, norms and relationships, which then assist individuals and communities in developing resources and attaining objectives, and can therefore be an important source of social capital (Wuthnow, 2002). It is observed that religious capital is close in form to social capital; in that

investment, accumulation, and benefits all flow from membership in the particular network (Verter, 2003).

The creation of greater stocks of social capital is seen to be facilitated by certain social structures, two important structures are family or kinship relations, and ethnic or regional commonalities (Kalnins & Chung, 2006). Family, kinship and ethnic networks are stated to be an important source of social capital (Coleman, 1988). Each of the three dimensions of social capital, structural, relational and cognitive, is seen to be embedded within the family business unit, and in its ties with external stakeholders. As a consequence of such multiplexed and multi-dimensional ties, the “family firms can build high levels of internal social capital by developing the structural, cognitive, and relational dimensions”, and can therefore accumulate resources easily and efficiently (Sirmon & Hitt, 2003, p. 347). Factors that affect social capital include group stability, interdependence, interactions, and closure, and these are all properties common in families (Arregle et al., 2007). Social capital in the family firm is “socially complex, related to norms, values, cooperation, vision, purpose, and trust”, it is a deeply embedded resource, tacit in nature and inimitable by competitors (Pearson et al., 2008, p. 955). The Indian business families can be perceived in terms of community families embedded in a collectivist culture (Sharma & Manikutty, 2005), and such community families are expected to be efficient in the accumulation of resources due to their structural and trans-generational characteristics (Kellermanns, 2005).

This review leads to the emergence of the following research question:

What is the influence of philosophical, cultural and religious traditions on the structural, relational and cognitive aspects of social capital within Indian ethnic communities, and how does social capital manifest itself in these communities?

The literature review conducted in this chapter has identified significant research gaps, and three specific research questions have emerged, which are reiterated in the next section.

2.5. The Research Questions

The important queries that emerge from the literature review conducted in this chapter are as follows:

1. How are rare, valuable and inimitable collective resources created within Indian ethnic communities?
2. How do existing and historical organisation forms, religious teachings and traditions, and ethnic relational ties influence entrepreneurship in these aspatial ethnic communities?
3. What is the influence of philosophical, cultural and religious traditions on the structural, relational and cognitive aspects of social capital within Indian ethnic communities, and how does social capital manifest itself in these communities?

By addressing these three questions, this research responds to the overarching question examined in this research, which is:

How do unique philosophies and traditions influence management systems and practices in India?

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the philosophical position and research methodology that is adopted in this study. Since this research has its focus on the Indian social space, the important points of divergence between Western and Indian philosophy are discussed. It is clarified at the outset that all the Indian philosophies cannot be simply grouped together and considered as a homogeneous unit, and neither can all the Western schools of philosophy be similarly grouped together. Consequently any discussion of the Indian or Western philosophical traditions can at best indicate and highlight differences in general tendencies and orientations in thought (Moore, 1951). Adopting a similar position to Heimann (1937, p.13), the intention of this researcher is not to detail “all the philosophical conceptions that have arisen in East and West up to the present day, but merely to indicate the essential and fundamental tendencies and principles”. This discussion therefore restricts itself to broad generalisations. Within these limitations, evaluation of the contemporary Western research methodological traditions is carried out to ascertain the Western research paradigm that best fits with the traditions of Indian philosophy. The chosen methodology of ethnography is explored in depth. Research methods and strategies of inquiry are presented, and the importance of field work is highlighted. The data analysis technique adopted in this study and thematic analysis is discussed, with an explanation of how the data is presented in this thesis.

3.1. Philosophy – A Quest for Understanding

Philosophy is a quest for understanding, a search for truth and a love for wisdom (Magee, 2001). There are two fundamental questions at the heart of philosophy, and it is the development of these two streams of thought over the centuries that constitute the mainstream of Western philosophy. The first question addresses the nature of existence or ontology, and the second addresses the nature of knowledge or epistemology (Magee, 2001). Ontology refers to the nature of the world under examination by the researcher, and is concerned with the concept of being, and is the theory of what there is, complemented by the why and how of being (Perzanowski, 1996). It addresses what reality actually is and how it exists (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Ontology asks: “What is the form and nature of reality and what can be known about that reality?” (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 130). Ontological beliefs have to do with whether the empirical world is assumed to be objective and independent of humans, or subjective and existing only through the action of humans (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). Epistemology refers to the understanding of knowledge and how knowledge is acquired. There are two essential questions, the first around what is knowledge, and the second around how 'valid' knowledge can be obtained (Goles & Hirschheim, 2000). This is therefore concerned with the question of what is acceptable knowledge in a field of research (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

The term research paradigm refers to the beliefs, values, and assumptions held regarding the conduct of the research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), and selection of a particular research method flows from the researcher’s own personal

ontological and epistemological beliefs (Ponterotto, 2005). The research methodology adopted for a particular research therefore originates from the individual researcher's own philosophic views and convictions, his ontology and epistemology, as well as from the assumptions made about the social space which is being examined. Given the fact that the social spaces or ethnic communities under investigation in this research originate in India, and that India appears to have a distinctly different tradition of philosophy from the West, the key methodological issue then is: what research methodology would be most suitable given the philosophical differences underpinning Western thought and Indian thought? This further leads to the query: what are the essential points of difference in Western philosophy and Indian philosophy, in general terms?

3.1.1. Indian Philosophy and its Traditions

The subject areas or social communities being examined in this research have their origin in India. If the philosophical approach in India is dissimilar to that in the West, then what are the areas of divergence and the implications for research methodology and research paradigms? Simply stated, can Western methodologies be adopted in a social space that is not based on Western philosophical traditions?

The development of philosophy in India is reflected in the country's earliest literature, the "Vedas", which is believed to have existed from around 3,000 B.C. (Datta, 1948; Jamison & Witzel, 1992; Smith, 1987). The Vedas are believed to be divine revealed truth, and are described as the fountainhead and earliest record of

Indian philosophical thought (Saksena, 1970). The traditional philosophical systems of India (see Table 1) then diverged into two major groups: the six pro-Vedic schools and the three anti-Vedic schools (Carvaka, Jainism and Buddhism), based essentially on their acceptance of Vedic authority (Curnow, 2003; Saksena, 1970).

Table 1: Indian and Western Schools of Philosophy

	Indian Philosophy			Western Philosophy		
	<i>Date</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Philosophers</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Philosophers</i>
The Important Schools in Indian and Western Philosophy	600 BC	Cārvāka	Brhaspati, Carvaka, Ajita Kesakambali	600 BC	Pre Socratic	Thales, Pythagoras, Parmenides
	600 BC	Jain	Vardhamana Mahavira	500 BC	Greek	Socrates, Plato, Aristotle
	500 BC	Buddhist	Siddhartha Gautama	300 BC	Epicureanism - Stoicism	Epicurus, Zeno
	500 BC	Samkhya	Kapila, Isvarakrishna	300 AD	Neo-Platonism	Plotinus, Porphyry
	300 BC	Purva Mimamsa	Jaimini, S'abara	400 - 1500 AD	Medieval	Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas
	200 BC	Yoga	Patanjali, Vyasa	1600 AD	Modern	Bacon, Hobbes
	200 BC	Nyaya	Aksapada Gautama	1700 AD	Continental Rationalists	Descartes, Spinoza
	200 BC	Vaisesika	Kanada, Prasastapada	1700 AD	British Empiricists	Locke, Berkeley, Hume
	700 AD	Vedanta	Gaudapada, Adi Sankara, Ramanuja	1800 AD	German Philosophy	Kant, Schopenhauer Marx
	Purpose	Liberation of the Soul			A Quest for Knowledge	
Primary Instruments	Intuition, Revelation, Testimony			Intellectual Analysis and Logic; Rationalism and Empiricism		
Relationship with Religion	Harmonised, Integrated, Synthesised			Affiliated		
Orientation	Spiritual			Real World		
Reincarnation / Cycle of Life	Yes			No		

Source: Curnow (2003); Gandhi (1970); Magee (2001)

These philosophical schools have evolved over thousands of years in cooperation and conflict with each other, and have developed a huge philosophical literature and following (Datta, 1948). Curnow (2003) notes similarities between certain aspects of Indian philosophy, such as between Vedanta and the works of Berkeley and Kant, and also states that the close relationship of Indian philosophy to religion has similarities with medieval Western philosophy. Similarities are also observed between the intuitive approach of Plato and the contemplative nature of Indian Philosophy, between the Ancient Greek and Indian divine worship of nature and animal Gods (Heimann, 1937). Other similarities are highlighted between the Nyaya-Vaisesika Schools and Analytical Philosophy, between Samkhya-Yoga and Gnosticism and Neoplatonism, Buddhism and Stoicism, Yoga and Zeno, Samkhya and Spinoza, and Carvaka and Epicureanism (Curnow, 2003; Gandhi, 1970). Despite such perceived similarities, India is stated as having a history all of its own, complete in itself, and it is also observed that “profoundly contrasted conceptions” underlie Indian and Western thought, based on “markedly different fundamental principles” (Heimann, 1937, p. 19). These differences are explored further.

Philosophy is, and has been over centuries, an integral part of daily Indian life. “Nowhere else has the lust for philosophy been so strong as in India” (Durrant, 1954, p. 533). Indian philosophy is not a search for knowledge to satisfy mere human curiosity, but a quest to fulfill the highest goal which is liberation of the soul (Ambuel, 1998). That the point of philosophy is salvation or liberation is accepted by

all Indian philosophical schools (Curnow, 2003). It has further been pointed out that philosophy and lifestyle in India are seen to be synonymous, and that philosophy “is, with the Hindus, not an ornament or a recreation but a major interest and practice of life itself” (Durrant, 1954, p. 533). There is therefore evidently a distinct and independent tradition of philosophic enquiry in India. The major points of difference between the Indian tradition and Western philosophy are therefore evaluated.

3.1.2. *Ontology and Epistemology*

"All Indian philosophical traditions are deeply engaged with ontology, the study of being, since clarity about the nature of reality is at the heart of three intimately connected goals: knowledge, proper conduct and liberation from the continued suffering that is part of all human existence" (Ambuel, 1998, p. 306). It is generally held that the vast majority of Indian thinkers over the long history of Indian civilization have accepted consciousness rather than matter as the basis of true reality (Giri, 2000; Kak, 1997). The traditional view in Indian philosophy is that the universe is “really only in the nature of an appearance, devoid of any ultimate ontological reality”, and is subject to maya or illusion (Oldmeadow, 1992, p. 136). It is held that “it is impossible for the world to be anything more than an appearance, as distinguished from reality” (Shastri, 1911, p. 49). Across the many Indian schools of philosophy, the nature of the ultimate reality is described in terms of a unity of absolute existence, consciousness, a self-luminous and universal spirit (Giri, 2000; Shastri, 1911). Indian philosophy does not deny the reality or value of matter but

rather encompasses it in a wider framework, and the basic philosophical system underlying all Indian thought is stated to adopt a much wider and more comprehensive view than the Western one (Giri, 2000).

Ontology and epistemology are closely related, in that which is accepted as reality is inextricably linked to what can be accepted as knowledge. Epistemological issues concern the nature of knowledge and the way knowledge is acquired, and what is considered scientific knowledge in the Western context is clearly not the same as the ancient Indian idea of knowledge (Giri, 2000). The critical difference is that “Western philosophy is a primarily conceptual enterprise that seeks the deepest type or understanding through intellectual analysis and logic”, whereas the Indian philosophies use the “intellect not as the primary means for revealing these deepest understandings, but to point towards and describe (within the limits imposed by concepts) a previously recognised non conceptual understanding”, or to uncover a profound intuitive vision (Walsh, 1989, p. 290). The great Indian thinkers therefore “are clear that they do not construct their knowledge but receive it directly through revelation, inspiration, intuition, and intuitive discrimination” (Giri, 2000, p. 5). The major schools of Indian philosophy recognise specific means of obtaining knowledge and what can be considered knowledge, and these means or instruments of knowledge include inference, perception, verbal testimony, scriptural authority, and analogy or comparison (Saksena, 1970; Soni, 2003). This is discussed further in the following sections.

3.1.3. *Indian Sources of Knowledge*

Since the days of Socrates, there has been a strong emphasis in the West on reason as the dominant method in philosophy, in that “nothing can be philosophical which is not rational and nothing can be rational which is not logical”(Wadia, 1955, p. 291). Indian philosophy accepts the importance of reason and logic but considers them incomplete as a source of knowledge. It is held in the Indian schools that reason is “a tool, an instrument, not the ultimate avenue to, or test of, reality” (Oldmeadow, 1992, p. 132). Similarly, Shastri (1911, pp. 75 - 76) states that “the human intellect is not made to grasp the reality by its power of reason”, and that “ultimate reality refuses to be chopped up into bits in order to fit in” within the limitations of words and language. Reason is accepted, but inadequate.

The emphasis then “has not been on reason but on some type of intuition, an insight” (Wadia, 1955, p. 291). Intuition, which seeks that which is inexpressible and un-representable, offers absolute knowledge whereas rational analysis offers only relative knowledge (Linstead, 2002). The role that intuition plays in the acquisition of knowledge is therefore a significant differentiator between Western and Indian philosophy. “The Eastern philosopher tends to give an important, and sometimes central, role to intuition as a way of knowing. The Western philosopher is more inclined to bring all cognitive claims to the test of rational and empirical evidence. He tends, accordingly, to be distrustful of intuitive evidence” (Moore, 1951, p. 68).

Modern Western philosophy holds that testimony - whether of divine or secular origin - has no place in rational inquiry. Authority is stated to have “no place in

philosophical and logical investigation, which recognises only two sources of valid knowledge: the immediate source of the senses and the mediate source of inferential reasoning” (Saksena, 1951, p. 38). The fundamental sources of knowledge recognised by Indian philosophy include perception, inference and verbal testimony. Testimony goes beyond perception and inference, and is often an important source of truth through divine revelation (Smart, 1992, p. 175). These schools of philosophy accept the experiences and testimonies of their ancestors, sages, seers, and writers of antiquity as being truthful and trustworthy (Moore, 1951). Indian philosophy then recognises testimony as a valid source of knowledge, and “sometimes even accords it a higher place of importance, inasmuch as by authority alone are certain facts supposed to be known which are not capable of being revealed by other sources of knowledge” (Saksena, 1951, p. 38).

Testimony is therefore one of the traditionally admitted sources of knowledge in Indian philosophy. However, such testimony is held to be only a first source of knowledge and the second and the third steps of critical reflection and final assimilation are required before the actual acceptability of such testimony as being true (Saksena, 1951). Certainly some of the earlier Greek philosophers held similar views, Plato for example held that we are born with a certain amount of knowledge of the world that we have acquired in a previous existence (Magee, 2001). Secular testimony is acceptable if it is recognised that certain people have more authority based on the knowledge acquired in previous existences. However, while the belief

in previous births and reincarnation remains strong in the Indian schools of philosophy, this school of thought appears to have lost favor in the West.

Belief in reason and belief in authority are therefore held to be valid in Indian philosophy, and not only is there no conflict between reason and authority, but it is also seen that there is no conflict between philosophy and religion. "The subject matter of both is investigated and inquired into by the same mental processes of perceptual knowledge, inferential knowledge, and knowledge derived from the statements of the experts" (Saksena, 1951, p. 39). In terms of the influence of religious beliefs, the Indian philosophical systems are seen not as just theoretical discussions; they are perceived as practical guides to an ideal way of life. "All of them show, in different ways, how philosophy can help man know the cause of suffering and how knowledge can help him terminate suffering and attain perfect peace" (Datta, 1948, pp. 554-555). The focus is "upon the self, with its spiritual and social potentialities", rather than the western approach of seeking knowledge in the external world (Moore, 1951, p. 68). All the Indian philosophical schools share a unity of moral outlook or "the conviction, sustained by different arguments, that the constitution of the world is moral, that the actions of its beings determine the course of events in nature as well as in minds, and that the moral worth of every action is preserved so that everyone gets his due here or hereafter" (Datta, 1948, p. 555). Indian philosophic thought consistently maintains a fundamental and

dominant belief in the divine and spiritual nature of the universe, and in its ultimate moral order (Saksena, 1970).

Western philosophy also had strong linkages with religion, particularly with the development of Neo-Platonism around 300 AD and the rise of Christian theology. The works of early Christian philosophers such as St Augustine in 400 AD, and then Anselm and Aquinas between 1100 to 1300 AD were particularly strong influences. However, in the Indian schools of thought, religion and philosophy are stated to be synthesised and to be in harmony to a much greater degree than in the West (Wadia, 1955). Philosophical belief and religion beliefs go hand in hand, and are integrated to the extent that “India drowns philosophy in religion” (Durrant, 1954, p. 936). While all Indian philosophical schools maintain strong connections with religion, the schools of Jainism and Buddhism are major religions in their own right (Curnow, 2003). Religion and philosophy are consequently observed to have strong and continuing relevance in Indian business practices (Pio, 2010), and these teachings are therefore important for this study. It is clear then that there are some points of difference in the Western and Indian philosophic traditions, in general terms. Given this divergence, which of the Western research paradigms can be utilised for research in the Indian social space?

3.2. Methodology and the Research Paradigms

A research methodology refers to an epistemological position, whereas a research method refers to ways of gathering data. The first is seen as a philosophical issue, the second a technical issue. Since the latter derives from the former, the first issue requires to be addressed before an evaluation of the appropriateness of particular methods can be conducted (Bryman, 1984). Philosophical methodologies and methods must be selected “according to the nature of its subject matter” (Linstead, 2002, p. 102). Given the discussion in the preceding section, the task is to evaluate the contemporary Western research methodology traditions to ascertain if there is any research paradigm that fits with the traditions of Indian philosophy. A paradigm is defined as a set of basic beliefs about ontology, epistemology and methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It is a general perspective or way of thinking that reflects fundamental beliefs and assumptions (Gioia & Pitre, 1990). The particular research paradigm adopted underpins the philosophical assumptions about the research, and determines the selection of tools, instruments, participants, and methods used in the study (Ponterotto, 2005). The Western research paradigms are therefore examined to evaluate the best fit with the Indian philosophical beliefs.

3.2.1. *The Paradigm Matrix*

Burrell and Morgan (1979) analysed the fundamental assumptions concerning the nature of social science and the nature of society, and developed a matrix based on this composed of four different research paradigms: functionalism,

interpretivism, radical structuralism and radical humanism. Their four paradigm map allows researchers to create frames of reference with theory, and to therefore select suitable research methods and tools which fit personal beliefs and perspectives (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). The four paradigms served to represent and define four distinct views of the social world, and demarcate similarities and differences in possible approaches to research. They also serve as a reference point for personal beliefs in social research, and assist in the understanding of alternative views of social reality and of society (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

The initial matrix was organised on the objective - subjective and regulation - radical change dimensions. In this matrix, the term “sociology of regulation” attempts to understand why society tends to hold together and is concerned with issues such as the existence and preservation of shared ideas, values and norms. The focus is on the underlying cohesion and unity of society, whereas the term “sociology of radical change” is more concerned with the seeking of alternatives to the status quo, with dissent and conflict and with freedom and release from repression (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). It does appear that “sociology of regulation” is more relevant to the society under examination in this research, given that the focus in Indian philosophy is towards a moral life, harmony, unity and a feeling of being one with the universe.

The paradigms which involve this dimension are the functionalist and the interpretive paradigm. The functionalist paradigm adopts an objective position, and

the interpretive paradigm, a subjective position. In the paradigm matrix, adoption of an objective position implies a realist approach to ontology, supported by a positivist epistemology. It includes a deterministic, situation context view of human nature and an adoption of nomothetic methodologies, which revolve around the formulation and testing of hypothesis and which generally use quantitative techniques. The subjective view adopts an ideographic approach, which involves first-hand knowledge and stresses an insider view through close involvement with the research subjects (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Later classifications identified the research paradigms in terms of positivist, interpretive and critical studies (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991); and the categories of positivism-functionalism, post-positivism, critical theory or critical-ideological, and constructivism-interpretivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Ponterotto, 2005). These paradigms are discussed further, and the terms positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and interpretivism will be utilised in this study.

3.2.2. Paradigm Fit with Indian Philosophy

The current mainstream research tradition in India is currently observed to be highly reliant on positivistic research methodologies based on quantitative methods (Panda & Gupta, 2007), and so positivism is the paradigm that is initially considered. The epistemology of a positivist researcher is that knowledge is real, variables can be defined and measured, relationships and correlations between variables can be modelled, and quantitative methods can uncover the facts. Positivist studies are

“premised on the existence of a priori fixed relationships within phenomena which are typically investigated with structured instrumentation. Such studies serve primarily to test theory, in an attempt to increase predictive understanding of phenomena” (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991, p. 5). The ontological position of the positivist researcher is that reality is external, objective, observable and can be measured, so a position of realism is therefore adopted. Positivism holds that the universe is comprised of objectively given, immutable objects and structures, which exist as empirical entities on their own (Goles & Hirschheim, 2000). The primary goal of positivistic inquiry is an explanation that leads to prediction and control of phenomena (Ponterotto, 2005).

The ontology of positivism is realism, that of post positivism is critical realism and that of critical theory is historical realism; contrasting this, the ontology of interpretivism is relativist (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Positivism recognises an objective reality that can be measured, a position also adopted by post-positivists with the proviso that perfect or true reality cannot be fully captured or measured (Ponterotto, 2005). The purpose of research in the positivist and post-positivist paradigms is explanation, leading to prediction and control of research phenomena, and knowledge comprises hypotheses and laws (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Critical theory recognises a reality that is socially and historically constructed, based on power relations, and which is shaped by values (Ponterotto, 2005). The purpose of critical theory is emancipation, challenge of the status quo, transformation of

structures, and in this research paradigm, knowledge consists of historical insights (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Ponterotto, 2005). The aim of interpretive research is understanding and reconstruction of social constructs, and reality is recognised as being constructed in the mind of the participant (Ponterotto, 2005). Knowledge is obtained through achieving a consensus of the content, substance, and deep meaning of constructs. The first two paradigms are value free, whereas in the latter two paradigms, values are central to the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Prima facie, the positivist and post-positivist positions appear to be at some variance with general Indian philosophical thought, which places less reliance on rationalism and empiricism, and more on intuition and insight (Laine & Bressoud, 2003; Wadia, 1955; Walsh, 1989). It is held that “Indian philosophy is essentially a philosophy of values” (Mahadevan, 1967, p. 152), and therefore values need to be explicitly considered in this research. Moore (1951) also points out that while there are many similarities in approach to moral doctrine and ethical theory in Indian and Western philosophies, there are differences in the ordering and prioritising of values. The importance of values in this research therefore tends to favour the critical theory and interpretivist paradigms over the value free positivist and post-positivist paradigms. However, it is noted that the general aim in Indian philosophy is essentially to attain a position where an individual “feels at one with the universe and harmonises his own interest completely with that of the rest of the world” (Datta, 1948, p. 561). This does seem at odds with the critical theory paradigm,

which is about disruption and challenging of the status quo; change in power relations, transformation and empowerment (Ponterotto, 2005).

The basic ontological and epistemological positions underlying the interpretive paradigm however, holds out much more promise for this research. This paradigm is based on the work of Emmanuel Kant, who held that “a priori knowledge must precede any grasp or understanding of the sense data of empirical knowledge” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 225). This is similar to the position held by the Indian philosophers, who maintain that much more is known than can be accounted for by direct inference (Saksena, 1951). Such “a priori knowledge is seen as the product of the mind and the interpretive processes that go on within it” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 225). Indian philosophy also goes beyond inferential reasoning to recognise testimony amongst its sources of knowledge, and such testimony is seen as a source of transcendental truth. Recognising this, and contrasting Kant’s position with the statement of Giri (2000, p. 5), who maintains that Indian philosophers “are clear that they do not construct their knowledge but receive it directly through revelation, inspiration, intuition, and intuitive discrimination”, it becomes obvious that there is significant common ground.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) explain that understanding the relationship between a priori knowledge and empirical reality lies in the mind and intuition. Clearly this is a very similar position to Indian philosophy, where the emphasis is not on reason but on intuition and insight (Wadia, 1955). Finally, the observation that the

interpretive paradigm “reflects a social philosophy which emphasises the essentially spiritual nature of the social world” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 31) does find some echo in the Indian systems of thought where religion and philosophy are seen to go hand in hand, and where the two are held to be synthesised (Wadia, 1955). The interpretive paradigm is therefore explored further with a view to ascertaining its suitability for the present research effort.

Interpretive researchers hold that reality is constructed in the mind of the individual (Ponterotto, 2005). Interpretive research does not seek objective explanations but instead a “relativistic, albeit shared, understanding of phenomena” (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991, p. 5). Reality, according to the interpretive paradigm, is subjective and influenced by the context of the situation, namely the individual’s experience and perceptions, the social environment, and even by the interaction between the individual and the researcher (Ponterotto, 2005). For interpretive researchers therefore, ontologically the belief is that reality is internal and subjective. Epistemologically, interpretivism holds that reality should be addressed through subjective interpretations and cannot be addressed objectively.

In explaining interpretivism, Ponterotto (2005) discusses Kant’s position around knowledge being derived not only through the senses but also through mental frameworks which organise such sensory data. This is certainly closer to the position held by Indian philosophers that “reasoning is less reliable as a guide to reality and truth than the direct perception and feeling of an individual properly prepared for

spiritual receptiveness and subtlety by ascetic practices and years of obedient tutelage” (Durrant, 1954, p. 535). Given this discussion, the interpretative paradigm is most suited to the Indian social space under analysis. This is supported by Gopinath (1998, p. 271) who states that “it is possible that the prescriptive approach of the interpretivists (as against the positivist approach looking for cause and effect in the traditions of Hume and Mill) will be more readily acceptable in India”.

3.2.3. Interpretive Methodology

The discussion above leads to the conclusion that the paradigm with the best fit under the tenets of Western philosophy for this research is the interpretive paradigm. The aim of all interpretive research is to understand how members of a social group, through their participation in social processes, enact their particular realities and endow them with meaning, and to show how these meanings, beliefs and intentions of the members help to constitute their social action (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). This research therefore adopts an interpretive approach, with a view to understand within context. Interpretivism is about social and meaning-making experiences, if research concerns the attempts to reconstruct and interpret social experience, then investigative methods must also model or approximate such experience (Eisenhart, 1988, p. 102). The viewpoint is that social and cultural constructs are important, as are shared meanings and contextually important language and behaviour (Myers, 1999). As this research adopts the interpretive approach, it seeks to understand within cultural and contextual situations, in natural

settings and from the perspective of the participants (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). Reality, according to the interpretive paradigm, is subjective and influenced by the context of the situation, namely the individual's experience and perceptions, the social environment, and the interaction between the individual and the researcher (Ponterotto, 2005). The ontological position adopted in this research is that reality is internal and subjective. The epistemological position is that reality should be addressed through subjective interpretations and cannot be addressed objectively (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991).

It is also pointed out that “positivism and post-positivism serve as the primary foundation and anchor for quantitative research”, while the interpretivist paradigm “provides the primary foundation and anchor for qualitative research methods” (Ponterotto, 2005, p 129). This is discussed further in the next section.

3.3. Quantitative and Qualitative Methodology

Generally speaking, the quantitative approach focuses on the strict quantification of data and on careful control of empirical variables. Quantitative studies stress the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables (Ponterotto, 2005). Quantitative research has its main focus on deduction, confirmation, theory or hypothesis testing, explanation, prediction, standardised data collection and statistical analysis, while qualitative research is all about induction, discovery, exploration and theory generation (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). “Qualitative research involves the use of qualitative data, such as interviews, documents, and participant observation, to understand and explain social phenomena” (Myers, 1997, p. 241).

Mixed methods research, or triangulation, is another approach that combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques and methods, thereby going beyond issues of paradigm incompatibility and incommensurability (Denzin, 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This is a pragmatic approach that considers quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research equally valuable, but ultimately, as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.23) state: “it is the researcher’s task to examine the specific contingencies and make the decision about which research approach, or which combination of approaches, should be used in a specific study”. The qualitative approach represents a mixture of the rational, serendipitous, and intuitive (Van Maanen, 1979b). The assumption is that reality is socially constructed and based on the perceptions of the participants (Creswell &

Miller, 2000, p. 125). From the discussion of Indian philosophy and the research paradigms carried out above, it is the considered decision of this researcher that the qualitative approach is most suitable, and is therefore adopted, for this study.

3.3.1. Qualitative Research

This thesis therefore adopts the qualitative approach where the context for research is socially constructed reality and “the key task of observation and analysis is to unpack the webs of meaning transformed in the social process whereby reality is constructed. In qualitative techniques, meaning in context is the most important framework being sought” (Harvey & Myers, 1995, p. 17). Qualitative research is said to adopt an interpretive, naturalistic approach. Such researchers “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). This is an apt approach as the attempt is to create a holistic picture of a complex and culturally distinct social group in a natural, real life setting.

“Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex holistic picture, analysis words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting” (Creswell, 1998, p. 15). In the present qualitative approach to research on the ethnic communities, the “primary interest is in analysing and describing a culture, with the goal of describing a unique way of life and showing how the parts fit together into an integrated

whole. The goal is to try to understand the unique configuration of the culture of the bounded group with a minimum of preconceived ideas or theories” (Jacob, 1987, p. 12). The relationship between the researcher and the research remains interactive and holistic, with a continuous ebb and flow of information.

It is pointed out that researchers who undertake qualitative studies are confronted by a vast number of traditions, which include grounded theory, ethnography, phenomenology, feminism, post-modernism, hermeneutics, cognitive anthropology, case studies, narrative research and symbolic interactionism (Creswell, 1998; Jacob, 1987). These qualitative traditions present diverse approaches to research, and each tradition forms a coherent whole, comprising internally consistent assumptions about human nature and society, the focus of study, and methodology used (Jacob, 1987). Since this research focuses on the examination of ethnic communities or cultural groups, it is evident that those qualitative traditions that have their focus on the study of cultures should primarily be evaluated.

The anthropological traditions of holistic ethnography, ethnography of communication, and cognitive anthropology all define the subjective in terms of the culture of a group and are therefore the traditions of primary interest in this study (Creswell, 1998). The holistic ethnographers’ primary interest is the analysis and description of a culture or parts of a culture, usually with the intention of describing a unique way of life, and showing how the parts fit together into an integrated

whole. Ethnographers of communication focus on the patterns of social interaction amongst members of a cultural group, or amongst members of different cultural groups. Cognitive anthropologists have traditionally focused on understanding the cognitive organisation of cultural knowledge through the study of semantic systems, with a consequent emphasis on the relationships among words. Cognitive anthropologists assume that most of the cultural knowledge of a group is reflected in its language (Creswell, 1998; Jacob, 1987). The focus in this study is on understanding the culture of the social groups, and “for holistic ethnographers the concept of culture is central and complex” (Jacob, 1987, p. 11). Holistic ethnography is therefore adopted as the methodology for this research.

Holistic ethnographers “describe the beliefs and practices of the group studied and show how the various parts contribute to the culture as a unified, consistent whole” (Jacob, 1987, p. 10). Culture is therefore important, but the understanding of culture has changed over the years so that researchers “can no longer conceive of social groups of people with a culture that is clearly bounded and determined, internally coherent, and uniformly meaningful” (Eisenhart, 2001a, p. 17). Thus culture is a more dynamic concept. Culture remains the basic element of ethnography, but the understanding of culture has changed from a position where it is viewed as “an historical artifact imposed on passively receptive individuals to one in which culture becomes a dynamic set of choices, actively sought out by empowered individuals” (LeCompte, 2002, p. 291).

It has also been pointed out by Rouse and Daellenbach (1999, p. 489) that since the areas of study are “organisational in origin, tacit, highly inimitable, socially complex, probably synergistic, embedded in process, and often driven by culture” the only way in which researchers can acquire valid data is through in-depth fieldwork and ethnographic study methods. These researchers call for a high level of intrusion, research from inside rather than outside, high involvement or participation in the organisation in carrying out such ethnographic studies, to achieve greater sense-making, richer description and increased analytical possibilities. An integrative perspective, fieldwork-based and ethnographic in nature, is required to uncover valuable, strategically important factors, to provide intuitive understanding and clarity of social synergies (Rouse & Daellenbach, 1999).

3.3.2. Ethnographic Research Approach

The primary research approach adopted for this study is therefore the holistic ethnographic approach. It has been pointed out that many of the tenets of ethnography derive from an interpretivism philosophical position (Eisenhart, 1988). Ethnography as an approach relies heavily on participant observation, therefore considerable time was spent in observing and interacting with the relevant social groups, seeking through this observation to gain valuable insight into the group through their everyday activities and symbolic constructions (Herbert, 2000). What is important to understand is the culture of the social groups and to account for the observed behaviour within that cultural setting (Van Maanen, 1979a). Ethnography

uniquely explores the personal experiences of study group members, captures its richness and complexity, and assists in revealing the processes and meanings which drive social actions (Herbert, 2000). Ethnographic research provides a deep understanding of the people, the community, their culture and the social setting in which the economic activities are carried out (Myers, 1999).

Ethnography provides “a way to embed individuals within a cultural framework” and to “see communities not as monoliths, but as collections of individuals, whose often contentious interactions constitute the fabric of a culture full of hitherto unnoticed diversity” (LeCompte, 2002, p. 292). As interpretive research therefore, the mandate in this study was to evaluate how “social groups construct coherent systems of belief and action from inter-subjective meanings” (Eisenhart, 1988, p. 103). Ethnographic research is concerned with activities in the “real-world” and therefore the frameworks and understandings developed through ethnographic research are useful and practically relevant not just for the researcher but also for the social group. “The ethnographer becomes part of the situation being studied in order to feel what it is like for the people in that situation” (Sanday, 1979, p. 527). Ethnography is also very useful in the aspatial community context as “it has a unique ability to help define community, and to help people identify how they fit within communities” (LeCompte, 2002, p. 295).

Styles of writing were considered, ranging from an authoritative monologue to a position which represents interactive exchange between the researcher and the

subjects (Lassiter, 2001). It must be noted that there was significant interaction with members of different communities, in different settings, and at various times. Above all, the research sought to be open and transparent to the participants, and to work with them in an iterative back & forth manner, which guided the writing more on the reciprocal ethnography end of the spectrum as opposed to an authoritative monologue (Lassiter, 2001).

Another important consideration was adequate field work to achieve sufficient depth in this research. Ethnography requires an intimate familiarity with the studied groups and such familiarity can only develop over sustained exposure to, and immersion in, the social groups (Herbert, 2000). Significant time was dedicated for field work since the essence of ethnography is the belief that separating the facts from the fictions, the extraordinary from the ordinary, and the specific from the general can only be accomplished by long term, engaged and direct involvement in the social group under study (Van Maanen, 1979a). Three modes of ethnographic practice can be defined in terms of site visit frequency - the compressive, selective intermittent and recurrent modes (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004). While the first represents a short period of intensive research, the second adopts a more flexible approach with frequent site visits, and this frequency is based on the selection of particular foci and relevant events as the research develops. The third takes a more temporal approach to ethnography, with research carried out at regular and predefined times within the program. The selective intermittent mode provided the

researcher with the ability to follow issues of compelling interest and was therefore the mode that this research effort adopted, with frequent field visits over a four year time frame (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004). This approach was designed to provide a systematic approach to confidence building with the participants and communities, and to allow for better understanding of context and content. The selective intermittent mode also allowed sufficient time for evaluation of data, for introspection and reflection of observations, for the writing up of transcripts and field notes and for concurrent data analysis (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004).

However, it was noted and accepted at the outset that ethnography as an approach can be risky, in that ethnographic research is guided as much from drift as design, and there appear to be far more failures than successes in such research. There is no guarantee therefore that the data gathered will be pertinent and theoretically useful no matter how much time the researcher spends in fieldwork (Van Maanen, 1979a).

3.4. Ethnographic Data Collection

The unit of analysis explored is the aspatial ethnic community. Ethnography, which is the primary methodology of this thesis, is adopted in order to provide a deep understanding of the people, community, culture and social settings. The understanding of a culture requires a systematic study and appreciation of the motives, emotions and values institutionalised in the culture (Spates, 1983). Specific strategies were therefore employed in the current research to achieve this end.

Reliability and validity are important issues for ethnographic research, due to the contextual and local conditions under which the research is carried out where meaning is derived from specific local settings, situations and respondents. To ensure reliability in such research, it is considered essential that adequate details are provided about the choice of research units, the respondents interviewed, the locations where the research is carried out, the role of the researcher, the data collection methods, and the procedures used for data analysis (Eisenhart, 1988). These details are provided in this section to address reliability and replicability of this research.

3.4.1. Strategies of Inquiry

A strategy of inquiry comprises a “bundle of skills, assumptions and practices that researchers employ as they move from their paradigm to the empirical world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 14). The basic tenets of holistic ethnography were implemented, which included the gathering of evidence directly through fieldwork

in the culture under study; the documentation of the native's point of view; the inclusion of verbatim statements from natives in order to get their views of their world; and the collection of a wide range of data using a wide range of methods (Jacob, 1987). The most important aspect of ethnographic research is fieldwork, and “fieldworkers learn to use themselves as the principal and most reliable instrument of observation, selection, coordination, and interpretation” (Sanday, 1979, p. 528).

Fieldwork was carried out during this research in the selective intermittent mode with frequent field visits over a four year time-frame, between 2008 and 2011, to develop and follow up on areas of research interest. An insider perspective was adopted, which was anticipated to yield better data quality than observation from outside the communities, with a high level of participation and involvement with community activities (Rouse & Daellenbach, 1999). Archival data and available literature was sourced consistently throughout the research program to assist in understanding the broader context, along with informal social contact, discussions, scrutiny of artefacts and unstructured interviews.

An important form of data collection used in this study was interviewing, seen as an “economic means of learning the details and meaning of highly institutionalised practices and norms” (McCall & Simmons, 1969, p. 62). Interviews of 63 key community members were conducted to understand the specific areas of research interest within the communities. Interviews are “the ethnographer's principal means of learning”, such interviews are open-ended, free ranging and time consuming

(Eisenhart, 1988, p. 105). The interviews in this study were wide ranging in scope, with multiple community members involved at different levels of the community hierarchies. Details of the interviews are presented in Annexure A.

In addition to individual interviews, focus groups were also relied on in the fieldwork. In the focus groups, a group of individuals was selected and assembled to discuss, from personal experiences, the key research areas and questions. This resulted in rich and valuable insight provided by individual participants as well as from the interaction between group members. The focus group allowed insights based upon the experiences, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of the members. The essentially social nature of the interactions, and responses and reactions to what was being discussed and observed by other group participants, allowed deeper explorations of the topics. Group dynamics allowed a multiplicity of views to be expressed. The quality and quantity of information obtained through the focus groups is believed to be much greater than if each interviewee was spoken to individually (Gibbs, 1997).

Participant observation, often described as an ethnographer's major technique, was extensively used in this research (Eisenhart, 1988). Direct observation is a very useful strategy of inquiry, after all "if one seeks to know what exists or what is happening, the common sense impulse is to go and look at it, closely and repeatedly" (McCall & Simmons, 1969, p. 61). In such participant observation "the ethnographer becomes part of the situation being studied in order to feel what it is

like for the people in that situation” (Sanday, 1979, p. 527). This is a principal tenet of qualitative research methods, that the data is “generated in vivo, close to the point of origin” (Van Maanen, 1979b, p. 520). An emic approach was adopted, where “meanings are inside of the heads of the actors”, and therefore the study was “aimed at mapping how participants view the world” (Harris, 1976, pp. 336 – 337).

It has been held that a major characteristic of observation and interviewing in the field is its non-standardisation, and also that such work builds on and makes effective use of the relationships that the researcher has with the participants (Dean, Eichhorn, & Dean, 1969). There is a great deal of flexibility in the role or positionality of participant observer, which may “be either formal or informal, concealed or revealed; the observer may spend either a great deal or very little time in the research situation; the participant observer may be either an integral part of the social structure or largely peripheral to it” (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1955, p. 91).

The choice in this study was between four theoretically possible roles, that of the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant and the complete observer (Gold, 1969; Kawulich, 2005). As both a complete-participant and participant-as-observer, the researcher becomes a member of the group; however in the former the researcher role is concealed, whereas in the latter stance, the group is aware of the research activity. In the other extreme, the complete-observer stance, the researcher is hidden from the group, and members are unaware of being observed. In this study, the observer- as-participant stance

was adopted, which allowed the researcher to participate in group activities and collect data as desired, and members were aware of the researcher's observation activities (Kawulich, 2005).

High levels of participation were not advisable in this study because religion was a key focus area, and researcher participation in religious ceremonies could at times be sensitive. The observer-as-participant stance is also held to be the most ethical approach to observation that the researcher can adopt (Kawulich, 2005). Given this position, the ethnographic data collection method of researcher introspection is not adopted in this research. Researcher introspection is an ethnographic method where the researcher reflects on the data activities, records personal experiences, insights, revelations, interpretations and reactive effects during the conduct of the research (Eisenhart, 1988). This is, however, more oriented towards a reflexive or auto ethnographic approach, where the researcher becomes central to the process and is the primary research instrument (Denzin, 2003). "Reflexivity involves an awareness of reciprocal influence between ethnographers and their settings and informants" and an introspection that may lead to better and deeper understanding (Anderson, 2006, p. 382). However, Anderson (2006) points out that the auto ethnographic or reflexive researcher requires the adoption of a position of ultimate or complete participant in the research, which, as has already been discussed, is not considered suitable for this study. Additional concerns were around the ability of the

researcher to keep personal biases and beliefs separate from the data collection and analysis, thereby maintaining objectivity and accuracy in the study (Kawulich, 2005).

Participation in this study refers to the researcher adopting a peripheral or associate membership role, where group activities were observed within cultural settings but without complete participation in all important community activities (Kawulich, 2005). The observer-as-participant stance was relied on by the researcher to provide rich context, which allowed the verification of description against fact, permitted awareness of incongruous, concealed or unexplained facts, and allowed better inferences and conclusions to be drawn from the data collected (Becker & Geer, 1957). Participant observation is a research strategy that utilises a number of methods and techniques including observation, key informant interviewing, participating with introspection and document analysis (McCall & Simmons, 1969). Participant observation provides a “fund of impressions, many of them at the subliminal level, which give the researcher an extensive base for the interpretation and analysis of data” (Becker & Geer, 1957, p. 32).

The participant observation that was carried out in this thesis therefore provided context and depth to the interviews, directed the questions and discussions, and allowed confirmation of data collected in the interview. It also directed further exploration and lines of questioning. This participatory involvement also allows trusting relationships to develop with respondents, and provides deeper sense-making by achieving an intuitive and integrated understanding of often tacit,

sensitive but highly consequential data (Rouse & Daellenbach, 1999). In this study, participant observation was essentially relied upon to provide “a yardstick against which to measure the completeness of data gathered” by formal and informal interviews and focus group discussions (Becker & Geer, 1957, p. 28).

Sourcing and scrutiny of documents and artefacts was carried out consistently during the data collection process, as this was a way of understanding the broader context (Eisenhart, 1988). The field work carried out therefore involved considerable social interaction, direct participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, key-informant interviewing, collection of life histories and case studies, collection of documents and artefacts, and open-endedness in the direction of the study (Eisenhart, 1988; McCall & Simmons, 1969; Sanday, 1979).

The selection of correct informants or participants was of paramount importance to achieve the aim of “analysing and describing a culture, usually with the goal of describing a unique way of life and showing how the parts fit together into an integrated whole” (Jacob, 1987, p. 12). Identification of informants or sampling was not carried out completely in advance of data collection, but rather such identification was carried out continuously throughout the research. Snowball sampling was deemed most useful and was therefore used in this research, wherein one informant generated information of another likely informant and then on to a third and so on (McCall & Simmons, 1969).

The initial informant selections were based on a personal understanding of the community and their position within it, and also through interaction with and direction from important and prominent community members. It was kept in mind that “what the observer will see will depend largely on his particular position in a network of relationships” (Vidich, 1969, p. 78). Personal social networks were accessed to obtain access to community members, to build confidence and awareness of the issues involved, and to assist in careful and strategic participant selection to achieve the objectives of the research. Discussions with gatekeepers and community leaders provided further leads and direction, and a ‘snowball’ effect was created in participant identification. The snowball method is a non-probability, purposive form of sampling, and is distinguished from haphazard, accidental or convenience sampling (McCall & Simmons, 1969).

The research is in keeping with the stated sentiment that ethnographic research has to progress from the tradition of investigation of the culture of small, relatively homogenous, bounded groups to the study of diaspora cultures located in many sites and operating at many levels (LeCompte, 2002). Fieldwork and participant observation in multiple sites and at many levels therefore allowed this researcher to “secure his data within the mediums, symbols, and experiential worlds which have meaning to his respondents” (Vidich, 1969, p. 79).

3.4.2. *Selecting the Ethnic Communities*

The unit of analysis for this research is the aspatial ethnic community, linked by social networks rather than by geographic proximity. Selection of the specific communities for research was a critical task, and many Indian ethnic communities were therefore explored to evaluate suitability for research. An example of this is the Patel community, originally from Gujarat in India. This small community of Indian origin has attracted worldwide attention by achieving extraordinary success in the U.S. motel business, essentially through close family and social networks. Members of this prosperous community commonly share the surname of "Patel" (Pabrai, 2008), and these entrepreneurs are popularly referred to as the "motel Patels". This community was perceived as an ideal unit of analysis for this research, showcasing as it does the successful use of social capital and networks as a resource for entrepreneurship and economic gain. Interviews were therefore conducted with many members of the community and considerable data was collected.

However, there were two critical problems that were subsequently uncovered in researching this community. The first problem stemmed from the fact that the Patels could not be considered as a distinct ethnic community, since "Patel" refers more to an agricultural or land-owning status rather than to a distinct ethnic group (Pabrai, 2008). Patel community life is organised within a range of sub-castes within which marriages are arranged, and the motel Patels were discovered to be more a close family grouping than a separate ethnic community. This then rendered this social group unsuitable as a subject for this particular study.

The second problem stems from the fact that Patidar Gujaratis are Hindus. The actual term 'Hinduism' refers more to a location, the people of the Indus. Present day Hinduism encompasses a vast and complex mosaic of distinct cults, deities, sects and ideas. Hinduism is then better perceived as a common approach to life, with a central commonality of philosophical concepts, practices and cultural traditions, and with some unity through shared myths, beliefs and shared ritual patterns (Sivananda, 1999; Smart, 1995; Thapar, 1989). It was uncovered during analysis of this data set that there was not enough distinctiveness or difference in the Patel or Patidar community to consider them a separate religious grouping, and rather there tended to be a merging with mainstream Indian Hindu society in terms of cultures and traditions rather than differentiation. Despite the attractiveness of the motel Patels as a research subject rich in social capital, social networks and ties, this community was reluctantly dropped from this research. Interviews were carried out with other Hindu communities in India - including the Konkan Saraswat Brahmins, Punjabi, Marwari, Sindhi, Yadav, Tamil and Malayalee Hindu groups - to make a comparison and to better understand the Indian context. This examination of these other Hindu communities uncovered similar problems in terms of establishing community boundaries, external distinctiveness and internal coherence.

Phinney et al (2001) state that community or group identities are constructed from feelings of belongingness to particular groups, which are based on notions of common ancestry, culture, religion, language, kinship and places of origin. The

construction of community in India is complex, in a land where social groups are variously defined by eight important religions, 22 major languages and 1576 dialects, 3000 castes and sub castes, unique histories and territorial affiliations (Chandramouli, 2011; Ketkar, 1909). The Indian concept of "community" is strongly reliant on religion, regional origins, class or caste identity, family and kinship factors, and of all these factors, religion is observed to form the most important basis for grouping Indian communities (Iyer, 1999). Religion and religious affiliations were therefore of primary concern in identifying suitable units of analysis for this research. The majority of the people of India are Hindus, but the fact that Hinduism is all encompassing and accepts a wide range of beliefs and practices is problematic in terms of "groups" for academic study. Iyer (1999) points out that Hindu groups generally lack the coherence and community dimensions of some of the other religious based groups which have evolved from within Hinduism, such as the Jain and Sikh communities, and these two groups were therefore considered for further exploration.

Jainism is believed to be one of the world's oldest religions, and Jains follow the teachings of Mahavira, who was born around 599 BC. However, Jainism as a religion is stated to be in existence from many centuries earlier, and Mahavira is stated to have "restored an ancient faith" (Smart, 1995, p. 68), rather than create a new religion. The Jain community, with its better boundary demarcations, was selected as a subject for this research. Similarly the Sikh community, which has also evolved

from Hinduism, was also found to provide better boundaries and coherence for academic study. Sikhism developed from the teachings of Guru Nanak in 1469 AD, and eventually became a distinct religious based community (Smart, 1995). The Jain and Sikh communities evolved from within India and Hinduism over many centuries, therefore inherit and reflect the rich traditions and practices of India. These two communities were therefore chosen as primary “units of analysis”.

Other religious based Indian groups were explored - including the Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish and Parsi groups - and the Christian community was selected as a focus of this research to allow for comparisons and contrasts. Christianity has been brought to India from other countries: by the Apostles St Thomas and St Bartholomew in 52 AD and 55 AD respectively; by immigrant groups such as the Syrian Christians led by Thomas of Cana; by missionaries such as St Francis Xavier, Beschi, Ziegenbalg, Di Nobili and Carey; and by British, French, Portuguese and Dutch colonisers (Beaglehole, 1967; Frykenberg, 2005; Missick, 2000). However, Christianity has been in India for centuries, and may therefore have developed considerable overlap with existing traditions and practices. While the Muslim community was an attractive research subject, Islam had also been brought to India by foreign influences, but more recently than the Christian. Since the Christian community has been in India around 1500 years longer than the Muslim community, it was more attractive as a unit of analysis for this study.

Religion is extremely important in providing definition to communities in the Indian context, and selection of these three distinct religious based communities is therefore expected to provide depth and richness in the research. The Jain, Sikh and Christian ethnic groups were also chosen because the researcher's connectivity with these groups enabled immediate accessibility to data. While other Indian religious based ethnic communities - such as the Buddhist community - were also potentially attractive research subjects, lack of accessibility was an important issue. Since the key methodology in this research is the ethnographic approach, it is essential that the researcher has, or can develop, an adequate knowledge of these "units of analysis". The researcher shares a common culture with the members of the identified ethnic communities, in that they are of Indian origin and share similar values. The researcher is from one of the communities, has lived and worked alongside members from the other communities for considerable lengths of time, and has access to important community members.

More specifically, the researcher is from the Goan Catholic community, and his mother is from the Anglo Indian Catholic community. His sister is married into an Anglo Indian Anglican family in North India. The business partner of the researcher for many years was from the Syrian Christian community of Kerala. The wife of the researcher is from a large Catholic family in Pune, who are active in Christian business, the Church and charitable works. The respondent himself has lived and worked in Goa over the last seven years, and was an active participant in Christian

business and social activities. In New Zealand, the researcher serves as a board of trustee member of a local Catholic school and is active in the local Catholic church, which has a large number of Indian Christian parishioners. The personal network and connections of the respondent within the Indian Christian community is therefore very strong and enabled access to a wide section of potential participants.

The researcher spent many childhood years in Ferozepur and Chandimandir in the Punjab, and worked for some years as a computer engineer in Mohali, also in Punjab. The researcher is from an Indian Army family, an organisation that has disproportionate participation by members from the Sikh community, and therefore grew up with Sikh families. Additionally, the father of the researcher, who earlier served as Chief of the Indian Army, also served as Governor of Punjab during the time this research was conducted.

The researcher's neighbours and close personal friends over the last seven years were from the Jain community, and the researcher had celebrated Diwali and Holi for many years with this family and their community members in their homes. Additionally, the researcher had access to many members of the Jain, Sikh and Christian business and academic communities through his work with the local chamber of commerce in Goa, where he was a managing committee member. This background was critical in providing access to key informants in each of the communities, as well as in permitting sensitive contact and rapport with the communities and its people.

3.4.3. Data Collection and Field Work

The following Indian origin ethnic communities are identified as the focus of this research: the Jains, the Sikhs, and the Christians. Since the research was focused on aspatial ethnic communities that are dispersed across the world, data collection was carried out at multiple venues. The researcher was based in New Zealand and established contact with many of the target community members in New Zealand, who provided rich information in multiple settings, including at Churches, Temples and Gurdwaras. Participant observation was carried out at homes of community members during Birthday and Festive gatherings, at community functions such as Christmas, Diwali and Onam celebrations, and at religious sites such as at the Hamilton Gurdwara, the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St Pius X Catholic Church in Hamilton.

However, since these communities are essentially Indian in origin, it was necessary to conduct multiple field visits and research in India to strengthen the data and provide depth and validity in the research. Since members of each community retain strong ties to India, and are frequent visitors, this also allowed interviews to be conducted with community respondents who are actually based in many worldwide locations without necessitating extensive world travel. These site visits are described in detail, and the areas covered in each visit are explained. The total number on interviews was not planned or finalised in advance, rather interviews were continued for each community until theoretical saturation was

achieved, or to a point where no more new information was forthcoming (Eisenhardt, 1989). The details of the interviews are presented in Annexure A.

The Preliminary Field Work - A number of site visits were made to potential areas of research interest while the proposed research was in the process of finalisation. These visits were more in the nature of exploratory studies to ascertain the availability of data, and to "firm up" and confirm some of the potential areas of research interest. The initial research plan had been approved and conditional enrolment into the Ph.D. program at the University of Waikato had been achieved at this time. Since this researcher was provided with a time period of six months to finalise the research plan, it was felt that some initial field work would go a long way in assisting the development of the research proposal, and would also mitigate the event of any potentially nasty surprises arising during subsequent fieldwork. Such problems could stem from unavailability of data, the reluctance of potential respondents to respond to research questions, denial of access to key informants and research site, or a myriad of other unforeseeable potential complications.

The field work therefore settled some of these issues, provided reassurances on availability of data, the willingness of informants to share data and the accessibility of the important research sites. Multiple sites were visited across India during this time, between Nov 2007 and Jan 2008, commencing from Christian influenced Goa and Sikh dominated Punjab, and including the cities of Delhi, Pune, Gwalior, Jhansi, Patiala and Chandigarh. The Sikh royal family of the Maharaja of Patiala was also

visited at the Patiala Palace in Punjab, and discussions were conducted in an informal setting.

Religious institutions sacred to the Sikh, Christian and Jain faith were visited. This included the Christian Church dedicated to St Jude at Jhansi; the magnificent Jain temple complex at Sonagiri, a hill sacred to the Jain community, which houses as many as seventy seven Jain temples and which is one of the important pilgrimage sites for the Digambara Jains; and also Sikh Gurdwaras in the Punjab. The underlying orientation of this visit was in keeping with the sentiment that “the initial phase of fieldwork is a period of general observation” (Strauss, Schatzman, Bucher, Ehrlich, & Sabshin, 1969, p. 25).

The First Visit to India - The first field visit was made towards the end of the first year of research between 16th December 2008 and 12th February 2009 to multiple cities in India. Commencing from New Delhi, the researcher visited Punjab, the homeland of the Sikhs. Based in Chandigarh, the researcher travelled extensively throughout the Punjab, visiting important cities such as Ludhiana and Amritsar. Since major data collection methods in this study include participant observation and interviews, the researcher interviewed multiple informants and spent considerable time in observations and social interaction at significant sites, such as the Golden Temple and the Nada Sahib Gurdwara in Punjab. A Christian initiated charitable Street Children’s Home and an important Christian Public School in Punjab was also visited, and participant observation was conducted. Along with

direct observation, the researcher also sourced documents and artifacts throughout this field visit. While many wide ranging discussions were held with community members, key informants were also identified for deeper discussion, and many interviews were completed.

From Punjab, the focus of the research shifted to Pune and then on to Goa between 27th December and 12th January. In this stage also, many informal interviews were carried out with multiple informants, and participant observation carried out at the Holy Family Church, the Basilica of Bom Jesu and the Se Cathedral in Goa. Returning to Chandigarh on 13th January and after conducting further interviews, the research focus then moved to Bareilly in U.P., North India. Additional field work was carried out in Chandigarh, Ludhiana, Gurgaon and New Delhi from 20th January to 12th February, with an interim visit to Jaipur, Rajasthan. During this time, eighteen interviews were carried out, six in each community, were digitally recorded, and were subsequently transcribed.

The Second Visit - The second field trip was made from 26th June to 9th July 2009, and the focus was on Chandigarh and Goa, covering respondents in both North and South India. This second phase was “marked by greater attention to particular aspects of the field” (Strauss et al., 1969, p. 25). Field work in the Christian influenced state of Goa was carried out till 3th July, and then field work in Sikh influenced Chandigarh till 7th July 2009. The Christian Holy Family Church in Goa and Sikh Gurdwara at the Raj Bhavan in Chandigarh were visited and observation

conducted. Manufacturing units were observed during this time to see how work was organised, to understand the different philosophies of work. After two additional days in New Delhi following up on areas of research interest in each community, the researcher left for New Zealand on the 9th of July 2009. Eleven interviews were conducted, were digitally recorded and transcribed, and in addition many informal interviews were conducted with multiple informants. Many of the informants who had been interviewed in the first phase of data collection were contact, discussions were held to clarify areas of research interest, and snowball sampling was utilised to identify additional key informants.

The Third Visit - This field visit was conducted between 15th December 2009 to 18th January 2010. The circuit completed was Delhi, Chandigarh, Goa, Pune and Delhi. Participant observation was conducted at a Sikh wedding in Punjab, at a Christian family reunion in Pune, and a Jain temple at Goa. Some of the previously interviewed community members were contacted and follow up discussions were held, leads to other informants were explored, and fifteen interviews were conducted. In many cases, clarifications, deeper explanations and additional data was sought from respondents on specific points of research interest.

The Fourth Visit - The final field trip was carried out between 17th June and 22nd July 2011. Since much of the data analysis had been completed by this time, and a very preliminary draft report had been completed, this trip was oriented more towards confirmation and strengthening of the tentative conclusions drawn in the

draft report. Eight interviews were also conducted to further develop some of the information, and to obtain more data in critical research areas. These interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. The trip was focused on Goa, with short visits made to Mumbai, Bangalore and Pune.

3.4.4. Ethical Considerations

This research was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Waikato Management School. Participation from respondents was entirely voluntary and respondents were provided with an Information Sheet and a Consent Sheet which they signed prior to data collection. There were two steps to obtaining consent from the participants: In the first step, each of the participants were met with personally and the research project was fully explained to them. After this direct personal contact and discussions, respondents were invited to participate in the research. If they agreed to participate, the respondents were then asked to provide written consent by signing on the Information Sheet and Consent Form given to them.

In each and every case, the focus was on meeting the participants personally, on clearly explaining the research to them, and on spending as much time with them as required in order to ensure that they clearly understood the research. It was ensured that they understood the researcher's activities within the community (including observation and participation), how they personally fit within the research, and what they were expected to do. Only at the end of this personal

interaction period, once they fully understood the research, were respondents asked for their written consent. The respondents were informed that they could refuse to answer any particular question, and could withdraw from the research anytime in the next six months after their interviews. They were also informed that they were welcome to ask any further questions about the research, and would be given access to a summary of the findings from the research when it was concluded.

As participation was voluntary, it was considered important to respect respondents' confidentiality and so all interviews were coded to protect the respondents. Only the researcher and supervisors had access to the basic data, notes, tapes and information collected. All data was treated with the strictest confidentiality. Individual participants were not named, the identity of the participants were not divulged, and actual names were disguised or coded.

It was not anticipated that any risk would arise from the research other than any outcomes resulting from personal reflections by the respondents following the interviews. However, all attempts were made to minimize both the risks to the participants and the potential for any possible negative consequences from the research. The researcher continually consulted with participants to ascertain any risk that they themselves may identify, or concerns that they themselves may have. The relationship between the researcher and the interviewees was kept totally independent, bias free and professional.

3.4.5. Thematic Data Analysis

“Knowledge is within the meanings people make of it; knowledge is gained through people talking about their meanings; knowledge is laced with personal biases and values; knowledge is written in a close up personal way; and knowledge evolves, emerges and is inextricably tied to the context in which it is studied” (Creswell, 1998, p. 19).

As is expected from a study of this nature, a vast amount of data was generated, and in line with recommendations, data reduction was carried out continuously. A process of induction was implemented in the data analysis, which mandated the generation of inferences from the observations and studies (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Since it was always anticipated that there would be ‘mountains’ of data to contend with, an important issue was the requirement to commence data analysis at the earliest possible. Data analysis commenced therefore from the end of the second field visit, fairly early into the research.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) point out that qualitative research involves the collection of a wide range of empirical material and the deployment of a range of interpretive practices in order to achieve adequate understanding of the issues under examination. They refer therefore to the qualitative researcher as a “bricoleur”, literally a quilt maker, who produces “a pieced-together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation” borrowing from different disciplines and relying on more than one interpretive practice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In this research, ethnographic analysis is relied on. “Basically, ethnographic analysis consists of text-based procedures for assuring that the views of participant and researcher remain distinct and that all aspects of the material are

taken into account” (Eisenhart, 1988, p. 107). Data analysis consisted of the activities of data reduction, data display and the drawing of conclusions from the data (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990). The last activity involves the drawing of meaning, the observations of any regularities & patterns, deriving explanations, possible configurations and causal flows from the data. The data analysis activity and the data collection itself forms an interactive, cyclical process (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Creswell (1998) describes three aspects of ethnographic procedures, those that encompass the description, analysis and interpretation of culture-sharing groups. The description is detailed, the analysis is by themes or perspectives and the interpretation is intended to provide meanings for social interactions, along with generalisations about the group’s social life (Creswell, 1998).

A step-by-step process of analysis was therefore implemented as a means of obtaining clarity and transparency in the derivation of the themes from the data. Concurrently carrying out data analysis with the data collection not only gave the researcher a head start and direction in analysis but also allowed flexibility in the collection of the data (Eisenhardt, 1989). It was clear that the research questions came first, the data collection derived its direction from the questions and these questions also provided the impetus to the data collection techniques utilised and the data analysis (Howe & Eisenhart, 1990). “The ultimate goal is a theoretical explanation that encompasses all the data and thus provides a comprehensive picture of the complex of meanings and social activity” (Eisenhart, 1988, p. 107).

The use of computer software for thematic data analysis was considered and some work was done with software packages such as nVivo and Weft QDA. However, despite good progress, this approach was ultimately rejected. A critical area for this research was looking beyond empiricism and rationalism to ensure adequate incorporation of intuition and insight (Steingard & Fitzgibbons, 2004). Intuition and insight is seen as a key area in Indian philosophy, and this required greater engagement with the data than that offered by the use of computer programs. In the analysis, the use of computer software was found to be creating greater distance between the researcher and the data, and so this approach was discarded in favour of a more hands-on approach.

Thematic analysis was used in this research which is best described and understood as a "form of pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 4). These themes emerged from careful and repeated reading of the data to identify areas of importance or "themes" to the participants. The actual process of analysis commenced with the reduction or breakdown of the text, cutting up the text into manageable segments, which were believed to be meaningful in some way. Themes were then developed and attached to the meaningful and manageable chunks of text, which took the forms of interview paragraphs, quotations, key words and phrases. The themes were developed in a manner that ensured, as far as possible,

that they were explicit, non-interchangeable or redundant; and focused explicitly on the meaning of the segment (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

These themes were then further reduced to a manageable number, while striving to retain the importance of the meaning inherent in the data. Repetition is one of the easiest ways to identify themes, using the principal of "more being better". However, repetition of themes across interviews is not the only way of uncovering themes, nor is it a fact that constant repetition makes a theme more important. Deciding which themes are most relevant, valuable and important, and discovering how themes are related to each other, is an important part of analysis. In addition to repetition, recurrence and forcefulness were used to identify themes. Recurrence related to situations where different data sets showed commonality in meaning, whereas repetition was when much the same significant words were used by respondents across interviews. Forcefulness was concerned with the feelings, emotions, depth of meaning and significance the respondents attached to the statements or phrases (Owen, 1984). Primarily however, the focus was on discovering as many themes as possible, since it is only once themes are identified that analysis and interpretation can actually take place (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

These themes then provide "an expression of the latent content of the text" (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The themes themselves were carefully selected to capture the richness of the data contained in the particular meaningful text segments. Thematic analysis was perceived in this research as "a flexible and useful

research tool, which provides a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). The themes were then arranged in levels, in an approach where hierarchical coding was implemented to allow the data to be seen at different levels of specificity. Initial basic "themes" were connected to broader organising "categories". These categories were then explored to uncover "global themes" or theoretical constructs common across the entire corpus of data (Pandit, 1996). These levels of presentation are depicted in Figure 1.

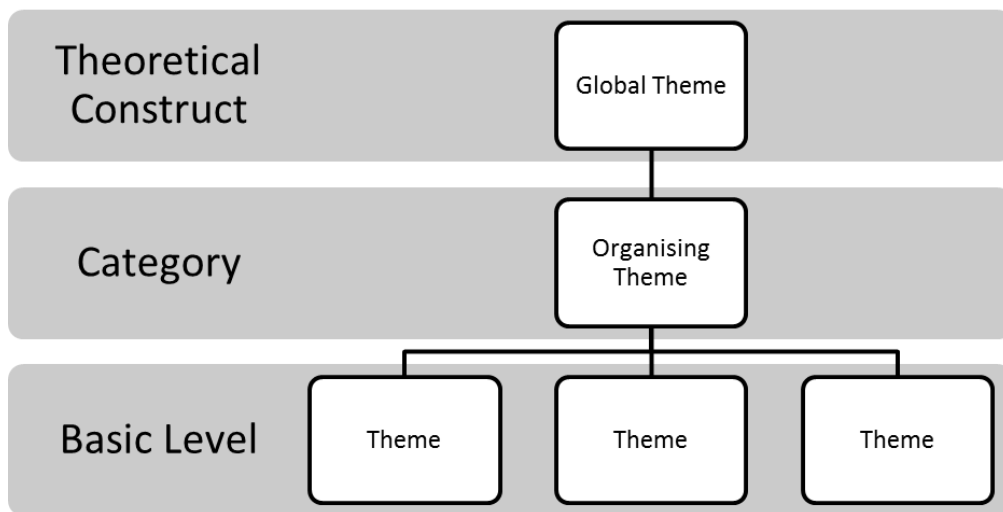


Figure 1: The Levels of the Data

Presentation of the Data

Every effort is taken to demonstrate clearly how interpretation of the data was carried out, and such interpretation is illustrated with quotations from the raw data. One of the most effective ways of showcasing and highlighting themes is understood to lie in the presentation of direct quotes from respondents, where the participants'

own words are provided to strengthen the credibility of the research. Themes are therefore consistently associated with verbatim data to ensure that data interpretation remains associated with the participant's own comments (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In this approach, “the researcher chooses segments of text—verbatim quotes from respondents—as exemplars of concepts, of theories, and of negative cases” (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 784). The use of direct quotes to highlight distinctive aspects of the communities under analysis is heavily relied upon to evolve a clear and vibrant understanding of the aspatial ethnic communities. These quotes are referenced in a code form to protect the anonymity of the respondents, and coded details of the respondents is provided in Annexure A.

In an attempt to build transparency in the data analysis therefore, results of the data analysis are presented to display basic themes, provide exemplars of each theme through verbatim quotes from the respondents, and to demonstrate groupings into organising themes. A central characteristic is the highly interactive nature of analysis, designed to be systematic, analytic and flexible (Altheide, 1987), and so there was considerable back-and-forth movement between the data. Another important aspect in the analysis of data is the fact that such text can have multiple meanings. Interpretation can and will be influenced by contextual, situational and personal factors, and therefore the presentation of verbatim quotes in this research is an attempt to let the text do the talking, rather than to interpret or attribute meaning that may not actually be there (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes, initially breaks up the data and then puts it back together to provide insight into the big picture. It allows patterns to develop and stories to be told in a manner that brings coherence to the data. Themes that emerged from the interviews of the informants are therefore integrated to develop a comprehensive understanding of the collective experience (Aronson, 1994).

Once some patterns developed and there was some coherency to the presentation of the data, then the next step was to revisit the literature review. The literature was sought to be interwoven with the findings, to provide a story with merit (Aronson, 1994). The constant interaction between the various parts of this thesis was an attempt to create a comprehensive, robust and valid report. Findings from the data analysis were linked with the literature, interwoven with the theoretical and empirical work of other researchers and present findings were analysed in the context of such work. The research questions were revisited afresh, the specific questions were responded to explicitly, and linkages were created between the data and academic literature. This is a significant attempt to bring it all together, and to make sense of it all.

In accordance with the convention adopted in this thesis, the term “Theme” is adopted for the basic level of abstraction or sense meaning in the data analysis. Themes are then seen to coalesce around certain essential concepts that are identified as “Organising Themes” or Categories. Such categories are further seen to

relate in a manner that allows Theoretical Constructs or “Global Themes” which are common across the communities. The theoretical constructs are developed through the grouping of related themes in ways that lead to a meaningful analysis within a coherent theoretical framework. In-depth analysis of the themes is carried out to understand the crucial differences, critical variations and uniqueness in sense making and in reality within each individual community. An example of the Organising Themes and Global Theme is presented in Figure 2.

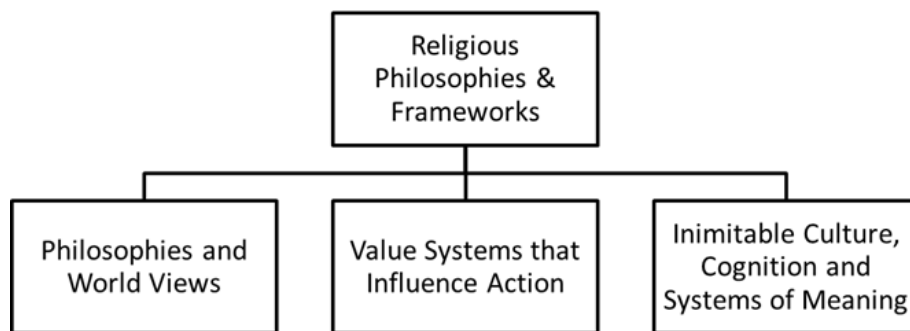


Figure 2: Example of Global Theme and Organising Themes

The next sections of this thesis present the findings of the data analysis in terms of the major themes that have been uncovered by the thematic analysis. In presenting and discussing these themes, verbatim quotes are used to link the theme with the data, to provide clarity and transparency in the data analysis. These themes are then categorised based on the conceptual nuances underlying each theme, and the shared sense making amongst the respondents, as they conceptualise each

theme within their individualised frame of reality. Various ways of presenting the data were tried, in attempts to provide coherence to the entire corpus of data and to make the data legible. Presentation based on each community was attempted, where separate chapters were devoted each specific ethnic community, and then to the themes relating to them. However, this tended to isolate the data too much and it was felt that the data needed to be interwoven and integrated more with each community. The chapters are therefore arranged in the form of global themes, where each chapter explores the global theme in detail, as it relates to each community. Themes are presented for each specific ethnic community within the chapter, ordered under the relevant organising theme, and as part of the overarching global theme.

Chapter 4. The Indian Research Context

This chapter establishes the context for the research and provides an overview of the three aspatial case studies selected as research subjects. Since the research questions in this thesis are concerned with unique traditions in each community, as well as the social interactions and relational ties developed over many centuries of interaction, the history of each community is explored. It has been pointed out that unique histories and traditions can lead to the creation of inimitable resources (Barney, 1991). Imitation in such cases is not possible since creation of the resource is related to the time line, particular circumstances and the peculiar accumulation process. Such strategic asset stocks are non-tradable, non-imitable and non-substitutable (Dierickx & Cool, 1989; Miller, 2003). It is also believed that collective and collaborative skills, which rely on inimitable histories and on unique collective experiences, are difficult to replicate (Miller & Shamsie, 1996).

Clearly each community has unique stories, experiences and myths, that persist over many centuries of interactions. The factors that are uncovered in this analysis, and which go towards making up inimitable traditions in each community, are depicted in Figure 3. These communities are also examined to ascertain if these unique histories give rise to valuable resources or capabilities.

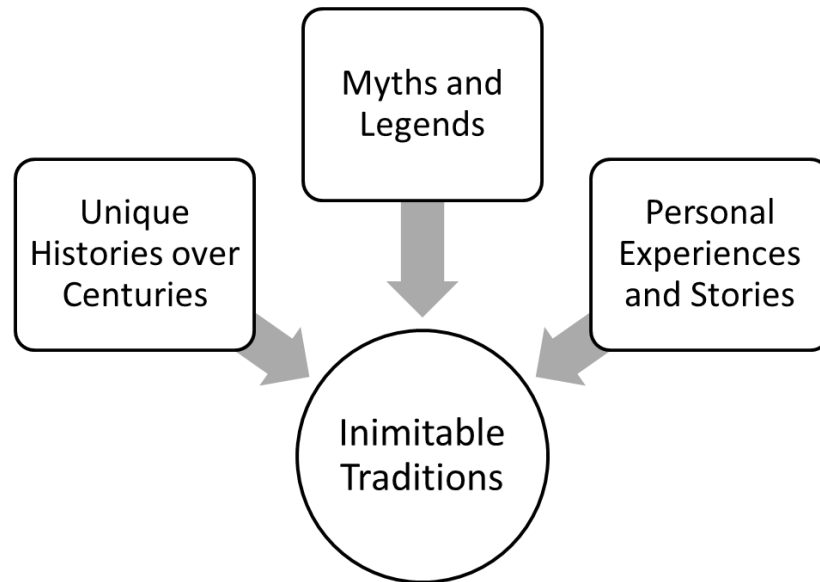


Figure 3: Factors in Inimitable Traditions

4.1. The Hindu Background

Given that Hinduism is dominant in India, understanding the Hindu traditions within which this research is conducted is important to establish the context of this study. Hinduism is a term that is used to describe or classify the religious and spiritual beliefs and practices of the majority of the Indian people. These religious practices are believed to have their origin around 2000 BC, and are essentially centered around the sacred ancient Indian texts known as the Vedas (Jamison & Witzel, 1992; Sivananda, 1999). The Vedas are believed to be the eternal truths revealed by God to the great ancient Rishis or sages of India (Saksena, 1970), and Hinduism is therefore stated as being the religion of those people who acknowledge the authority of the Vedas in all their thoughts, words and actions (Smart, 1995).

While the Vedas are seen as the foundational scriptures of the Hindu religion, further concepts and philosophies in Hinduism were developed through the literature of the Upanishads between 1500 to 500 BC (Saksena, 1970). This literature is held to be a complete and comprehensive philosophical system, a final authority embodying the doctrines of the Vedas (Shastri, 1911). Worship of particular deities such as Vishnu, Krishna and Shiva commenced around 500 BC, and the Hindu Epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana written during the same period also added richness to Hindu belief and expression (Saksena, 1970; Sivananda, 1999). The Bhagavad Gita forms a part of the Mahabharata and contains the essential teachings about the duties of life and spiritual obligations (Smart, 1995). Reformers and dynamic spiritual movements within Hinduism gave rise over the many centuries to powerful traditions, cults and sects within Hinduism. The term Hinduism reflects an umbrella term that covers a large number of religious beliefs, traditions and ideas, linked by their acceptance of Vedic authority (Sivananda, 1999; Thapar, 1989). Present day Hinduism therefore can be seen to draw upon a history that is a rich and varied "tangle of most divergent roots" (Smart, 1995, p. 43).

The Hindu traditions and social systems developed rigid and inflexible hierarchies and differences within society primarily based on the caste system (Saksena, 1970), and these powerful forces may have important repercussions for this research. The Indian caste system is estimated to have been developed around 1000 BC, is a form of social stratification, and is seen to be distinct from the

concepts of race, class, ethnicity and tribes (Freitas, 2006; Mencher, 1974; Narasimhachary, 2002). “Hindus believe that all men in the world are divided into four castes: Brahmanas (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (common people) and Shudras (servants)”, and this caste system is further divided into around three thousand sub castes (Ketkar, 1909, p. 19). There is also a fifth caste, of untouchables or people outside of the caste system (Narasimhachary, 2002). The features of the caste system included occupational specialisation, a rigid hierarchy, commensality, a determined position with the social strata, position determined by birth, and endogamy (Freitas, 2006). Inter-marriage and social interaction was forbidden between castes (Ketkar, 1909). Each position in the system was rigid and a result of one's birth, and there was no movement permissible between the castes (Smart, 1995). Although the caste system was formally abolished by law in India in 1950, elements of the caste system still exist at a cultural level and continue to influence society at multiple levels; for example, India's census in 2001 reported more than 2,000 different subcategories of caste (Vissa, 2011). The caste system has been in existence for over 3000 years, and its legacy is powerful (Freitas, 2006; Sivananda, 1999; Smart, 1995). This legacy as it persists in each Indian ethnic community is explored in this study.

4.2. Centuries of Tradition

The three ethnic communities selected for research each have their own histories, myths and legends, which give rise to unique traditions and practices. The history of each community is examined in this section.

4.2.1. The History of the Jains

The 6th Century BC was a very important time for the development of Indian philosophical thought and two of the most important philosophers of this era were Gautama Buddha and Vardhaman Mahavira, born in 560 and 599 BC respectively (Dundas, 1992; Long, 2009). The teachings of Gautama and Mahavira gave rise to the important religions of Buddhism and Jainism respectively, which are seen as offshoots from ancient Hinduism and therefore there are many Hindu traditions, customs and practices that are reflected in these two religions. However, these philosophers both staunchly opposed many of the established practices of Hinduism, such as the dominant Brahmin-led social structure and the caste system (Long, 2009). Both rejected Vedic authority, Brahman and the caste structures and hierarchies, and both founded orders comprising people who renounced the world (Cort, 2004; Dundas, 1992).

Historically Jainism is older than Buddhism, and Mahavira (599-527 B.C.) is believed to be an older contemporary to Buddha (560-480 B.C.) However, followers of Jainism maintain that Mahavira did not actually found Jainism, but was the last of the line of the major Prophets of the religion (Marett, 1990). Jainism is believed by

its adherents to be one of the world's oldest religions, and Jains hold that there are twenty four great circles of time, each circle sees the coming of a great Prophet or Tirthankara, and Mahavira is seen as the latest of the 24 great teachers, Tirthankaras or "ford-makers" of the Jains (Cort, 2004; Long, 2009; Marett, 1990) The form and substance of Jainism is therefore believed and understood to have been developed over many thousands of years, through a process of evolution and discovery rather than of revelation, as explained by the respondents.

Human history is 45,00,000 years old; in all that history we only know something about the last 10-15,000 years. Jainism is as old as human history, but we only know a little of our history. We know of the 24 Tirthankaras, who are those who have achieved the highest status of moksha. Mahavira was from 599 BC, the 1st week of April. We know a little of the Tirthankaras like Rishaba, he is mentioned in the Rig Veda. Bhagvan Parshvanath was around 800 BC, but about the others, nothing much is known, there is no history. We know of Mohenjo-Daro and the coming of the Aryans and in Mohenjo-Daro, there are some signs and traces of Jain history. The religion just kept on developing over the years and with Mahavira, the Jain religion came into being, came into full force (J-2).

While Mahavira is not seen as the founder of Jainism, he is seen to provide a systematic form to the beliefs and philosophy of the earlier Tirthankaras, and he did establish a new social order in society (Long, 2009).

Mahavira was born in 599 BC, as Vardhaman. His father was King Siddhartha. After his birth, the kingdom found great prosperity (J-4).

The respondents go on to explain how Mahavira married and had a family, despite his personal inclination to an ascetic life. In doing this, Mahavira

demonstrated, through personal example, one of the two forms of living mandated for a Jain - that of a Householder, with all the associated responsibilities.

Mahavira was inclined to an Ascetic life at 18 or 19 years, but was persuaded otherwise and was married to Yashoda. He had a daughter called Priyadarshini (J-5).

However Mahavira then left his family and went on a quest for knowledge. This demonstrated the alternative form of living for a Jain, that of an ascetic.

Eventually he left and did many years of penance, visited many holy places, tried to learn from wise men. This went on for 20 years and then he came into his own understanding on how to deal with the evils of society (J-5).

This personal history of Mahavira provides an example of an ideal life to the Jain community, comprising elements of a family life and of ascetic practices. Once he attained enlightenment and started teaching, he attracted many followers and his teachings spread. Mahavira died at 72 years of age of self-starvation. This is an accepted way of death even today among the Jains, signifying self-denial and self-sacrifice, and such practices form part of the unique culture of the Jain community (Cort, 2004; Marett, 1990). In terms of how the community came into being and the history behind it, all the Jains interviewed have a very clear story to tell about their religion, traditions and its history. Such common narratives and shared traditions assists in creation of cohesion and cognition amongst community members.

With Mahavira's teachings the principles of Jainism spread very fast all over India. He unlocked and threw open the treasury of knowledge. All this opening up started with Mahavira and Buddha, whom we know were contemporaries. They both lived and taught in the same area, at the same time and with the same message (J-1).

In terms of immediate personal histories, members of the Jain communities clearly have a strong sense of their own origins. Again this gives them a strong and robust self-identity, and creates bonds with their fellow community members.

Bhadrabahu Swami came with 25,000 followers from Bihar, he came to Hassan in Karnataka and settled over there around 3 BC. We are originally of that group, Karnataka Jains. Jains have been in Goa from the 3rd/4th Century. At liberation of Goa from the Portuguese, there were a few Jain families and one temple. Thereafter Jains started pouring in from Gujarat, Saurashtra and Rajasthan, and Jains from Karnataka came in to start farming, trading and business (J-2).

Such shared narratives provide social anchors, and shared life stories create strong bonding forces and cohesiveness amongst the Jains. Relational embeddedness is determined by personal relationships, which is determined by a history of interactions (Granovetter, 1992). There are about 5 million Jains worldwide, with a little over 4 million concentrated in India (Chandramouli, 2011), and another 1 million spread out aspatially around the world (Jacobsen, 2003).

The Jains are well known worldwide for their dominance in the global diamond trade, and their culture is seen to value kinship ties, collectivism, social networking, strict moral and value systems, all attributes essential to success in the high trust diamond business (Bilefsky, 2003). The Jain community's success is also showcased as evidence that ethnic trading networks can flourish in a competitive global economy (Richman, 2006), therefore highlighting the importance of this community to the present research.

4.2.2. The Sikhs of the Punjab

Sikhism originated in the 15th Century in India, and is therefore considered as one of the world's youngest religions. The founder of the Sikh religion and community was Guru Nanak, who was born in 1469 AD in Punjab in north India (Butalia, 2004). His leadership mantle was passed on to nine successive gurus, until 1707 AD when the writings of the Gurus - along with the teachings of leaders and poets of different faiths - were compiled into a Holy Book, the Adi Granth. The 10th Guru stated that there would be no more human Gurus after him and that spiritual guidance would henceforth be provided by the Holy Book, which was then named the "Guru Granth Sahib". The Sikhs then are the disciples of the Ten Gurus and of the Guru Granth Sahib (Butalia, 2004; Cohen, 1987). While Sikhism is a relatively "young" religion, Sikhs have a clear sense of their descent and have a clear conceptualisation of how they have come into existence as a separate group.

We are actually an offshoot from the Hindus of the North who decided to follow the first Guru and who then became Sikhs. It all started with the teachings of Guru Nanak, which was around the years 1400-1500. He said that all people are equal and that there is no caste system, also that there is no Hindu, no Muslim differentiations. After him there were 9 more Gurus and the last Guru was Guru Gobind Singh, who structured the community and formed them into the Khalsa, which was for defence against the Muslim invaders. After the 10th Guru, the leadership passed on to the Guru Granth Sahib, as there were to be no living Gurus but the Holy Book is to be the Guru (S-8).

The story of origin can also find links directly with founding figures in the Sikh religion, and the stories and heritage is kept alive by present members of the

community. How and why the Sikh religion came into being is also very clearly related by community members.

The religion started in the 1500s, somewhere about that. That is when the Sikhs took up arms and defended against the Muslim invader. They were the warriors of society. The leadership of the Gurus made us into a strong united community, gave us the symbols, the name of Singh. That is when Sikhs actually came to exist. We are Sodhis, we have direct linkages, family lineage with the Gurus (S-10).

The Sikhs share a common history, one in which strife, conflict and battle feature prominently. Much of the work that they undertake can therefore be understood in this context of uncertainty, and a search for stability, in a constantly changing world.

Sikhs were formed because of the fight against the invaders of India, and have always been at the front in battle for freedom. Even now there are so many Sikhs in the Armed Forces. Our history is important, the way we have involved ourselves in struggles against oppression, always in danger, uncertain and always self-reliant (S-17).

The legends, teachings and the stories of the Gurus, or spiritual leaders, are referred to time and again in the interviews. The teachings are seen to be relevant, current and at the forefront of every Sikh's consciousness, and there are constant references to these teachings in the discussions with Sikh respondents.

Which Guru Nanak started (S-7)... that is what the religion is all about (S-8)... Guru Angad Devji has said, no obstacle or calamity can scare you (S-2).... As Guru Nanak Devji told us, that is what we follow (S-19).... You are baptised for the defence of others by the Gurus(S-17). A Khalsa is a guy who is actually following what the Tenth Guru said (S-1) Guru has said, whatever work you do first help the poor, talk with love (S-20).

While visiting the Golden Temple at Amritsar, a very important Sikh institution, the legends and historical personalities are clearly alive to the Sikh community members, as demonstrated vividly by the stories they narrate. Such shared myths, traditions and stories help to keep the community together and provide bonding.

This is the tree where the Guru used to tie his horse to, when he visited this place (S-14) ... Over there, you see that, the well? It has tremendous significance because is the well where the Guru used to sit and drink water from (S-13)... This is the place where Baba Deep Singh was martyred, he was beheaded during the fighting, but came here to die in accordance with his promise to the people (S-16).

Given the history of the community, Sikhs perceive that there are two aspects to their existence; one given to the spiritual, while the other is more oriented towards defence, protection of the oppressed, and upholding ideals of justice and fairness.

We were also given the Miri Piri system by the Gurus. This has reference to the swords taken up by Guru Hargobind ji and the strength that Sikhs must show. He said that the two swords represent Bhakti and Shakti joined together - spirituality and strength. A Sant or holy man should not be so weak that he cannot fight and a soldier should not be so "zalib" or bad that he cannot be spiritual. There should be a balance between softness and hardness (S-17).

Sikhism faced many battles against foreign invaders and oppressors, and the Sikhs then became the warriors of Indian society who took up leadership positions in upholding local rights and freedom. This leadership position continues till today, and the Sikh is seen to be a highly visible leader in society.

The Guru took five average men into a cave and initiated them into a select warrior band, made them into the "panch pyares", the "five beloved" of the Gurus. He made them into warriors, installed pride and ego into them. Sikhs have been frontline warriors ever since,

leading the fights against the foreign invaders. So many of our leadership was martyred, their children and families slaughtered by the Mughals. That did not deter them, they continued to protect the people, to lead them in the fight against oppression (S-8).

This position of leadership in society, being in the forefront in fighting against oppression and injustice, has important ramifications for leadership and authority within the community, and also the acceptance by Sikhs of any such authority, both external or internal to the community. The strong and deeply held approach to upholding core values, principles, ethical leadership and moral codes also has an important impact on the behaviour of Sikhs, and this is explored further in this study. There are approximately 21 million Sikhs worldwide. There are 19 million Sikhs in India and most of them live in the Punjab, which is considered the homeland of the Sikhs (Chandramouli, 2011). Approximately 600,000 Sikhs live in Britain, 450,000 Sikhs in the USA and Canada, and a number of Sikh communities exist in many other countries around the world (Butalia, 2004).

4.2.3. *The Arrival of the Christians*

In contrast to Jainism and Sikhism, Christianity in India did not have an Indian founder but was brought to the country by Apostles, Prophets, immigrants, colonial rulers and missionaries (Beaglehole, 1967; Frykenberg, 2005; Missick, 2000; Ninan, 2005). Christianity is believed to be India's third-largest religion, with approximately 24 million Christians constituting 2.3% of its population (Chandramouli, 2011). There are many denominations of Christianity in India, but complete coverage of each of

these denominations, schisms and splits in the Christian Church is outside the scope of this research. However, the Christian population in India is predominantly Roman Catholic, with 71% professing to follow that Church (Vitillo, 2007). While attempts have been made to interview a representative cross section of Christian respondents, the focus has remained on major groups and overarching views, so the Roman Catholic perspective may predominate.

Rather than a shared common history, each sub sect within the Christian community has its own unique history and particular story to tell. Christianity in Kerala in South India has existed since the time of St Thomas's arrival in India around 52 AD (Missick, 2000). The history of the Kerala community, and its long term commitment to their Christian faith, is well known in India.

There are two very important Thomases in our history. One was St Thomas the Disciple of Jesus, doubting Thomas as he is called. He came to Madras in 52 A.D, after the crucifixion, and he made many converts. He also established a number of Churches, in seven areas. The second Thomas was from Cana in Syria. He came with a group of people and settled in Kerala, from this the Syrian Church was established (C-5).

Christians in Kerala are divided into three broad groupings - Syrian Christians, Latin Christians and New Christians. The Syrians are descendants of the followers of St Thomas, and also of the Persian settlers led by Thomas of Cana (Missick, 2000).

So what happened is that many years ago, the Syrian traders came to Kerala, they converted people and that is how my community began. We have a Pontiff, he is from Lebanon. Married people can become priests, but the bishops cannot be married. The unmarried priests can go on to become bishop (C-13).

The Latin Christian community is understood to have been established mainly as a result of the missionary works and teachings of St Francis Xavier, who visited Kerala in 1544 and 1549 AD (Frykenberg, 2005). St Xavier converted many people from the fishing communities of the Travancore coast. The New Christians are understood to be the descendants of converts by the missionary endeavors that commenced in the nineteenth century (Fuller, 1976; Missick, 2000).

The original Church of St Thomas was Syro-Malankara. Our community came about directly from the teachings of St Thomas, and believe that we are direct disciples who have been baptised by St Thomas. Our community only became part of the Roman Catholic Church in the 15th Century, earlier we had our own Church and our own traditions and beliefs (C-26).

These main groups have seen many splits and sub groups emerge and there are therefore many Christian branches, divisions and sects in Kerala (Fuller, 1976; Missick, 2000). In 1510 AD, the Portuguese arrived in Goa on India's west coast, made it the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, and this brought a new set of Christians to India (Young, 2005). There is now a large Catholic community which is based in and around the state of Goa.

The Portuguese came to India in the 15 to 1600s, and eventually they controlled the area that is now Goa, though they also has a strong presence and influence in the Bombay area. They intermarried with the locals and that is how we are Christians, how we came into existence in India. Some conversions were also made amongst the Hindus, forcibly in some cases. Goa was also the centre for missionary work in the East by the European Missionaries. They used to first come here and live in the many Seminaries and Nunneries, and then go to other parts of Asia to work. So there is a very strong Christian presence and influence in Goa (C-28).

The Portuguese Inquisition was also set up in the 16th Century and this, together with the many incentives provided to Christians, succeeded in converting many Indian groups to Christianity. The Portuguese were given the mandate to spread the Christian faith in Asia by the Pope, and so extended their teachings to many parts of India and succeeded in establishing many Christian congregations, particularly in the areas around Bombay (Young, 2005).

We call ourselves Christians, we are East Indians. This is the name given by the British to us people of mixed blood. We are the descendants of the Portuguese who settled in Bombay (C-22).

The Goan Catholics claim to have Portuguese ancestry. In this, they are similar to a large group of people in India, who have European (English, Portuguese, French) forefathers. The term Anglo Indian is generally used in discussing this group which has British or European ancestry, as stated by many Christian respondents.

My Father, he was not an Anglo-Indian, he was British (C-2)... if you trace my father's ancestry, it is Portuguese (C-4)... My mother had Irish blood, and her father was Portuguese (C-3).. My grandfather was of Dutch origin (C-16).

Many Christian congregations were established as a result of a complex history of interaction of the Europeans in India, in which many strands are interwoven to create a complex Christian network. The first of these European Christian strands developed from the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa in 1510 AD as discussed above. The second Christian strand commenced in 1601 AD, when the East India Company established settlements across India. A third Christian strand was when the French established a settlement at Pondicherry in 1672 AD (Anthony, 1969; Blunt, 2003).

We are Anglo Indians. My Father was an Engine Driver with the British, he was of European origin and he married an Irish girl. We were brought up in an Anglo Indian railway colony at Abu Road and attended Anglo Indian Schools which were run by the Irish Brothers (C-3).

The British gained control of all European trade in India by 1769 AD, directly or indirectly ruled much of the country, and their enduring Christian legacy lives on in the Anglo Indian community of India. An Anglo-Indian is formally defined as a person whose father is or was of European descent, but who is a native of India (Anthony, 1969). While this definition is most commonly used in terms of the English or British community, it has also been defined and utilised broader in scope to include the Portuguese, French, Dutch and Spanish descendants, as also those with European matrilineal lineage - essentially anyone with mixed European and Indian heritages. Anglo-Indians represent one of the largest and oldest communities of mixed descent in the world today (Blunt, 2003). They are also held to be the only European origin group to be acknowledged in Asia as a recognised entity (Anthony, 1969).

In addition to these sub groups, there were also substantial conversions to Christianity through missionary activities in India, and this created another major sub-group. The Jesuit missionary De Nobili worked in Madurai in the 17th century, the Lutheran missionary Ziegenbalg and the Jesuit missionary Beschi worked in Tamil Nadu in the early 18th century; all three contributed extensively to Tamil Christian scholarship and the growth of the South Indian Christian community (Gertz, Frykenberg, Harper, & White, 2005; Jeyaraj, 2005; Wilfred, 2005). The

Lutheran missionary Schwartz and the Baptist missionary Carey also made important contributions to Christianity in India in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Frykenberg, 2005). Christianity was brought to the North East of India by American Baptist and Welsh Presbyterian missionaries in the late 19th century, and 90 per cent of the people of Nagaland state, 85% in Mizoram and 65% in Meghalaya states are reported to be Christians (Gertz et al., 2005). Christianity in India can therefore be seen to have a rich history and an enduring presence, even though, as a respondent points out, the community is fragmented and often in isolated pockets within mainstream society.

When the missionaries came to India, they looked for the heathen to convert. And they found them - but in the remote hills, in the far off, isolated people. So they converted the tribals - the Adivasis from central India, the Head-Hunters of Assam, the independent tribes in Manipur and Meghalaya. They did not make the slightest impact in mainstream India. There was almost no conversions from the Hindus, the Muslim and the other major religions, but they did bring the tribals into Christianity in large numbers (C-27).

Each community clearly has unique histories and traditions, spanning over many centuries. Such a strong shared history helps considerably in the creation of bonding ties, and a strong sense of common identity. Social identity is concerned with an individual's social relationships and membership in social groups or categories (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). Bonding is seen to be about those ties which provide cohesiveness to the group, and such bonding is seen to facilitate the pursuit of collective goals (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Granovetter, 1973, 1983). Social capital has been described as a form of accumulated history (Bourdieu, 1986), and

embeddedness is related to a binding of social relations in the context of time (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). How such histories, traditions and embeddedness then influence shared systems of meaning, organisation forms and relational networks in each of the three ethnic communities is explored in the next three chapters.

Chapter 5. Religious Philosophies & Frameworks

Analysis of the data reveals that essentially three major global themes emerge, which are observed to coalesce around Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) three social capital dimensions: the cognitive, relational and structural domains. The next three chapters are therefore organised around each of these three dimensions.

This chapter addresses global theme No. 1: religious philosophies and frameworks. This chapter has its focus on the cognitive domain of social capital, which addresses deep seated and shared mental processes that encourage cooperative actions (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Uphoff, 2000). These cognitive aspects are developed and influenced over centuries of social interactions (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), and draw upon a shared history (Bourdieu, 1986). Value systems and value introjections from such shared cognitions then determine group behaviour and decision making, and provide internal coherence to each of the social groups while differentiating them from other groups (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). All three communities are observed to have distinct and unique philosophies and world views. This chapter therefore explores the specific philosophical, cultural and religious traditions in each community.

Indian philosophers in general terms never set out to establish new religions, and never claimed divine origins for their teachings. Major Indian philosophers such as Gautama Siddhartha (The Buddha), Nanak (The Guru), Vardhaman Mahavira (The

Jaina) sought instead to teach people how to practically live their lives (Curnow, 2003). Some of the teachings of these philosophers and thinkers eventually developed into major religions, as exemplified by Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism. Other teachings and philosophies, such as the Christian, were brought to India by teachers and missionaries, and developed alongside the indigenous Indian philosophies over centuries of interaction. The ethnic groups in this thesis are therefore seen to follow the teachings of particular philosophers and teachers, and this section explores the specific teachings that respondents uphold in each group. The responses in the interviews were seen, in each community, to coalesce around a global theme of religious philosophies & frameworks (Figure 4).

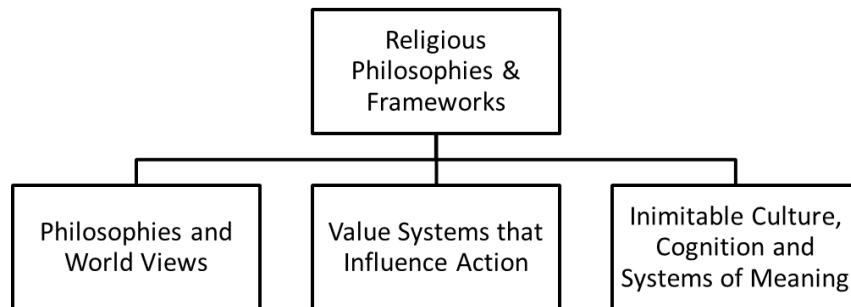


Figure 4: Global Theme No.1 - Religious Philosophies & Frameworks

5.1. Philosophies & World Views

Unique philosophies distinguish each of the ethnic communities, and provide them with internal coherence and consistency. Such philosophies also give rise to powerful value systems, traditions and ways of doing things that are unique in each community. These are explored in this chapter, since they are directly relevant in responding to the research questions in this study.

5.1.1. *The Jain Perception of the Universe*

"Guarding one's self, always prudent, one should pass life on the right road" - Acarangasutra.

Jain philosophy holds that the world is not created, maintained, or destroyed by any personal deity or God, but functions only according to Universal Law. Jain respondents state that they do not believe in God as a Creator.

There is no such thing as God. As Jains, we do not believe in God, in a Creator. Our faith is "Nir-Ishwara" – without God. We believe that we alone are responsible for our every action and every consequence. Whatever you get is due to your actions in your past births and today, not from any blessings or gifts from God. Your existence is a culmination of what you have inherited due to what you have done in your past birth and what you have done now. It is a result of that and nothing else, directly attributable to your own actions (J-2).

Respondents mention that *"Jainism is not a specific religion as such. In theory there is no religion but you can say it is a distinct way of life" (J-13)*. One of the issues that Jains highlight is that the concept of "Religion" requires there to be some sort of framework, some central Holy Book, which respondents say is not there in Jainism.

There is no Holy Book in Jainism. The Hindus have the Gita and the Christians have the Bible and the Muslims have the Koran, but for the Jains there is no Holy Book. Yes there are the Agamas, but these are stories, they are recitals over many generations. They cannot be taken as Sacred Scripture or as a particular Holy Book in the way the Bible is a Holy Book which is central to the religion. There is no framework of the Jain religion, there is no central canon (J-12).

A shared history and common "perception of the universe" goes a long way in the creation of strong and enduring bonding ties within members of the community.

What did Mahavira preach? He asked who created God and the Devil – it is only human beings. He said this is 599 BC in answer to the Brahmins. They had said that only they can appease the Gods. This view of God was contested by Mahavira. When the Brahmins said that God will curse you if you do not give and offer, he asked who is God? God is within you, is in you yourself, in your heart. You have created this concept, it does not exist. That is the Jain perception of the universe (J-3).

An important teaching of Jainism is that every living being has a soul and is equally important. This philosophy gives rise to a unique approach to life.

He (Mahavira) taught that every life has a soul, even a virus, a tree and a plant. Mahavira said that even fire, air and water has life – now we know that they are full of bacteria and living organisms, so he was not wrong, Every soul is a part of God's soul, every soul is a part of Parmatma (J-2).

The respect for all living things is a very strong theme underlying Jain philosophy. This also has a significant impact on the various kinds of work that Jains are encouraged to do, and the works they are discouraged from doing, something which is explored further in this thesis.

We believe in the plurality of soul. Every living being has a soul. All living beings desire to live, nobody desires death. All living beings are

equal, the soul is independent, eternal and immortal, it continues even after the death of the living body (J-1).

The objective of living is to achieve a state of Nirvana, which is Eternal Peace, and which ends the cycle of rebirth (Saksena, 1970).

The ultimate is when a soul attains moksha, is liberated, gets merged with the Parmatma, which is the highest level of existence. The Parmatma is one thing which has no feelings, no emotions, no anger, no happiness, no joy. It is Pure Knowledge. This remains static and stable. The Parmatma is "nirgurdiyanirankara" – that which has no shape. The concept of God for us is like that. So how can you influence something which has no feelings? Do not believe what the Brahmins say, therefore. The Parmatma does not have anything to give and nothing affects or influences it (J-1).

The eventual aim of living, according to the Jains, is to attain liberation or freedom from all things and attachments.

5.1.2. The Teachings of Sikhism

"Wisdom, honour and wealth are in the laps of those whose hearts remain permeated with the Lord" - Guru Granth Sahib.

Sikh philosophy is based on the teachings of Guru Nanak and of the subsequent Gurus, and also the teachings which were compiled into the Holy Book of the Sikhs, which is known as the 'Guru Granth Sahib'. The term Guru translates to a teacher of great knowledge and wisdom.

As Sikhs, we believe in Waheguru - the one God. We follow the teachings of our Gurus and the Holy Book, the Guru Granth Sahib. Through daily prayer and meditation, we get closer to God, and through living our lives according to the teachings of Sikhism we attain salvation (S-4).

Guru Nanak did not set out to establish a new religion, but instead emphasised in his teachings the importance of concepts as the brotherhood of man and the rejection of caste and meaningless rituals by people of all faiths. Circumstances however, lead to the eventual establishment of a strong community with clearly delineated physical and social boundaries (Kapur & Misra, 2003). The Sikhs are seen as a distinct ethnic group and religious community, based in Punjab State in India.

It is the behavior that makes a Sikh and the belief - it is a lifestyle or a way to live. It is the attitude (S-1).

The critical teachings in Sikhism are to do with leading a pure life in accordance with the teachings of the religion. There are strong religious influences therefore on the kind of work, and attitude to work, by Sikhs.

We should lead normal lives, family life, but should be truthful and maintain our morals and values. This is the essential teaching of Sikhism. We must remember God at all times, must meditate on God and take the name of Waheguru, while ensuring that all our actions are correct and pure (S-6).

The Sikh religion teaches that of all forms of life, human life is supreme. It is a gift from God, and it provides an opportunity to understand God through love.

If we lead a good life, then we can attain salvation, and become one with Waheguru. Then we no longer take human form, and leave the cycle of birth and death. We seek to be released from life forms, and the suffering associated with it, and to be merged with the Almighty (S-4).

The ultimate objective for Sikhs is therefore to be released from the burden of life, and to become one with the 'Waheguru', the Almighty. This is achieved by following the principles of Sikhism, and the teachings of the Gurus.

5.1.3. **The Christian Beliefs**

"You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it, You shall love your neighbour as yourself". The Bible, Matthew 22.36-40

Christianity is seen as a philosophical system that is based on the teachings of the Bible as the Word of God.

We are the followers of Christ, of his teachings. We base our beliefs on the Bible, on the New Testament, which is about the life of Christ, and on the Ten Commandments given to us by God. Our people have followed Christ since the time of St Thomas, in 52 AD. We believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, of everything. There is only one God, the giver of life (C-14).

The basic Christian philosophy is stated to be about respect and love for all people. This then is important for both bonding and bridging ties in society, since these teachings should directly translate into better relationships with people from all walks of life.

Christianity's basic philosophy is to do to others what you want others to do to you. It is all about how we treat other people, in how we can show the teachings of Jesus in everything we do. Love your enemy, love everybody (C-12).

More fundamentally, the beliefs of Christians are expressed by the respondents as follows.

We were created perfect but have sinned and have turned our faces away from God. This is what is known as original sin, it is within us, we are sinners. We have moved away from Paradise, the Garden of Eden. But we have knowledge and have free will. Evil is the result of us turning away from God, to do our own work, not God's work. Evil is the absence of good. All humans are sinners but Christians are forgiven of their sins, because Christ died on the cross (C-6).

The teachings of the religion state that humans have a choice to make between good and evil, and that is of their own free will.

We are made in God's image and we have free will, we have the freedom to choose between good and evil. If we choose to do - and to be - good, then we will achieve salvation on judgment day (C-6).

Christians believe that God will bring every aspect of their lives and work into judgment on what is believed to be "Judgment Day".

If you are good then you go to Heaven, if you are bad, then you go to Hell. This is for eternity, for all times to come. The purpose of life is to be saved. We have to seek Salvation, and this is through following the ten commandments, the rules or laws given to us by God, and leading lives of good Christians. There will be a judgment day, when we are called to account, so we have to prepare for that day when we will be judged on how we have lived our lives (C-20).

The ultimate objective in Christianity therefore is to be saved, to find salvation. Salvation is achieved by personal actions, by upholding core principles and values in everyday life, and therefore Christianity provides its followers with directives on how they should live their lives. The philosophies in each ethnic community then provide groups members with value systems that they are expected to follow and which direct their every action, and this is discussed in the next section.

5.2. Value Systems that Influence Actions

These philosophies in each community are important because they guide and direct the respondents in how they should lead their lives. They provide guidance as to what ultimate objectives are in living, and therefore provide motivation and direction to community members. These deep seated value systems, which correspond to the cognitive domain, therefore powerfully influence actions and decision making in each ethnic community.

5.2.1. The Jain Approach to Life

If the Jains believe that there is no God, who or what do the Jains believe in, and what principles do they follow?

We follow the Ratnatraya, the three jewels – right faith or Samyak Darshana, right knowledge or Samyak Gyana, and right conduct or Samyak Charitra – following this leads to Moksha or salvation (J-14).

Moksha essentially translates to liberation from the cycle of birth and death, or salvation (Jain, 2011; Saksena, 1970). This philosophy guides Jains in all the work that they do, and in their daily actions, and so has important consequences. The Jains believe in the concept of reincarnation, where the soul returns to earth after death but in different life forms, based on a person's past actions. Jains believe that it takes multiple lives to achieve salvation, and that human form is particularly precious, since humans are given a unique opportunity to think, to take necessary action and to attain salvation.

There is a circle of lives, when you come into human form, you have an opportunity to think, the power to understand, to keep away from

evil and attain Moksha. As a human, you can free your soul from worldly affairs (J-14).

Jains strongly believe in the principle of cause and effect: for example, causing suffering brings suffering, engaging in violence or selfishness results in the same actions being bestowed in response. This moral principle is called “Karma”, and is a moral law governing action (Jain, 2011; Saksena, 1970).

You do good things, and you will get good things. Do bad things and you are sure to get punished. Whatever is your karma, according to that you will get benefits or will get punished. There are eight types of Karma, and what you are is in your Karma, There are layers or coating of karmas, and this is where suffering comes from, but you can remove it through your own good efforts. We do not give anything to any God and do not ask anything. You have to attain everything through personal principles; no God will give you anything (J-1).

Central to Jain teachings is the concept of non-violence or "ahimsa". Since every living thing is believed to have a soul, Jains are enjoined to be careful not to cause any harm - or to limit the harm caused - to any and all living organisms. This gives rise to the important Jain teaching of Ahimsa, which means non-injury or non-causing of harm (Jain, 2011).

All living beings are equal. Every living being has a soul, independent, eternal and immortal, it continues even after the death of the living body. “Ahmisa”, or causing no harm to any life form, is central to our faith (J-6).

Vegetarianism amongst the Jains is one result, but also their reverence for all living things. This is an attitude that is strikingly different in modern society, and which keeps Jains a people apart, a special people.

The Buddha's disciples questioned him, saying we are starving, allow us to eat non-vegetarian, without us, how can the religion survive? So Buddha gave a middle path, eat but do not kill. You can eat what others have killed but do not cause harm yourselves. That is why it is known as the "Middle Path". But this is not so with the Jains, we cannot consume non vegetarian at all, that would be causing harm, would be against Ahimsa. We would therefore prefer to die rather than eat non vegetarian food, which is the flesh of animals (J-2).

Ahmisa also means that animals cannot be exploited, which also may have an impact on the kinds of work that Jains can do. However, the concept of Ahimsa - which is discussed by many of the Jain respondents - goes much beyond mere physical injury, and it is central to every Jain action.

The concept of Ahimsa holds that even evil thought damages the soul. In Ahmisa, there is one Ahimsa which is absolutely forbidden. Sankhalap – by deciding that you are going to kill and then doing it, knowing that you are going to hurt someone or something and yet going ahead and doing it deliberately, is forbidden. "Ahmisa Parmo Dharma" - Ahmisa is central to our faith (J-2).

The concept of Ahimsa as propagated by Mahavira found wide acceptance in Indian society, and is now an integral part of the Hindu ethos and value system. This has also helped in the development of bonding ties, which will be discussed in more detail. Other important teachings are "Aparigraha" or non – possessiveness (Jain, 2011), where excessive personal possessions are to be given away or donated to charitable purposes, as explained by the respondents.

Our religion instructs us to follow Aparigraha. You earn by fair means by following Ahimsa, Satya, but retain only what you need for you and your family. Rest goes to the community, to the temple – "Nirmalaya". You are not expected to hold on to what is not needed.

*You instead give to the temple who will then distribute it to the needy.
Not just to the Jain needy but anyone in society (J-1).*

Further teachings are Truthfulness or “Satya”, and “Asteya” or the avoidance of stealing or taking that which is not yours (Jain, 2011). These age old teachings, imparted to the Jains over centuries, form the core of Jain value systems.

Parshvanath had already given the concepts of Ahimsa, Satya and Asteya in 7- 800 BC, which Mahavira’s father was already following. Mahavira’s own and main contribution was Aparigraha and Anikantvada. Aparigraha is one of the 5 principles for practice – the other are Ahimsa, Brahmacharya, Satya and Asteya (J-8).

The concept of Brahmacharya, while directly translating to celibacy (Jain, 2011), is more to do with controlling one's impulses and desires. For a Jain, it is about maintaining the sanctity of marriage, and control over the passions. The principles that go to make up Jain philosophy are clearly strong and relevant, and have an impact on their work, lifestyle, attitude to life, and the way Jains fit into mainstream society. This is explored further in this study.

5.2.2. The Sikh Discipleship

The word Sikh is understood to be derived from the Sanskrit word ‘shishya’, which means disciple (Paxson, 2004). An open attitude towards learning ensures that religious teachings are kept to the forefront in everyday life, and therefore the level of consciousness of the Sikh of his every action is consequently high. It is not therefore only about reading the scriptures, but practicing them in daily living

A Sikh, according to all of us, is a person who has certain attitudes, attributes and qualities, beliefs and values. A Sikh is a person who is

willing to learn, and a person who practices what he is taught. Not just learning the theory, but to actually and practically make use of this learning or wisdom in daily life (S-7).

A theme that comes in for constant repetition in the data set is that of honesty, a theme that was emphasised by many of the Sikh respondents. Sikhs see honesty as a very important part of being a community member in good standing, and something that is ingrained in every Sikh. This is part of their instructions from the Gurus, and is a core value provided by religious teachings.

For me, first and foremost, the main value as a Sikh, it is honesty. An honest person is very important for me. Honesty means a person who is not hiding anything from me, about me, towards me, will not do anything based on a lie; whatever he or she wants, in whichever manner they want to deal with me - they will be straight and honest about it. You do not expect a Sikh to be dishonest. This honesty is ingrained in us right from the time we are born. You have to be honest; you are not going to be dishonest. You must have the strength and the courage to be honest (S-8).

Sikh are taught that they cannot lie, cannot be deceitful. This has important implications in terms of how Sikhs are perceived and treated, particularly with regards to business reliability, and in the relationships that they then develop with society. The theme around the concept of being good is highlighted by respondents.

The first most important thing that I feel as a Sikh is that you should not ever deliberately do wrong to another person. The second thing which I feel is that you should do good, irrespective what the other person does, the good always comes back. Third is, do not lie unless it is in extreme circumstances, such as saving a life, but do not lie for personal escape or gain. It is important for a Sikh to not take anything incorrectly from any person, no bribes from anyone (S-11).

A Sikh must be responsible for all personal actions, no matter what the consequences. This, at times, can serve business partnership or working relationships very well, and also influences the quality of bridging ties.

If you have done something wrong, then stand up and take responsibility. Speak the truth, do not tell lies. If you have done something wrong— admit that you have done it (S-10).

Simple living is stressed in the teachings of Sikhism. It has also been highlighted during field research that it is not the symbols that make a Sikh but “*it’s a lifestyle or a way to live*”(S-4). The descriptions are focused and specific in terms of the attributes and values of a Sikh.

A Sikh is someone who is sincere, pure, one who believes in God. Is an honest person, protects dignity of the ladies, helps a person, assists those who are trouble. Hard working, not taking anything from anyone, friendly (S-2).

Generosity of the Sikh also comes for constant mention from respondents, but this is not just in terms of financial giving but openness and acceptance, a generosity of the spirit. Not just charity but also in terms of the fact that their homes and hearts are open, and all are welcome to share in what they have. This is also linked with acceptance of all people as equals.

Sharing is very important in Sikhism, to be able to share things with each other. From your earnings, 10% should be given for good works - to the Gurdwara, to the poor. It is one of the three things that Guru Nanak Devji told us - share whatever you have, eat together, be good to each other, and remember God. These were the three basics (S-19).

Such sharing may permit the development of community based shared or pooled resources, which can then be valuable. It may also be the case that such teachings

around the acceptance of all people and all faiths may allow the Sikhs to develop enduring bridging ties and strong relationships even with people who are not from their immediate community. This is explored further in this research.

5.2.3. The Christian Commandments

The Ten Commandments that are taught to all Christians are the rules that every Christian has to obey. Christians essentially follow the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Most important for us is the 10 Commandments -The first Commandment from God is to acknowledge Him - “I am the Lord thy God” - acknowledge and submit to Him. This is what we believe (C-12).

Doing good in one's life, treating everyone with love and helping one another is a constant refrain from the respondents, emphasising that these are core teachings.

Any Christian - Anglican, Protestant, Catholic, Indian Christian - from birth we are taught and told that to be a Christian is to be a good person, respectful of all - our teachers, the Priests, Nuns, parents, family members. It's not about going to church and praying, but living a life of goodness. To follow the teachings of Jesus in all that you do in your life (C-18).

Charity is a strong theme, and the teachings around not taking but 'giving' should have important consequences for motivation for work in this community.

We are told it is better to give than to receive. You cannot be greedy, accept what is given to you and what you deserve through the Grace of God. Remember what has been taught - that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into heaven. Work is its own reward, we cannot aspire to grandness and high living - we are taught about high purpose in giving and not about high living (C-6).

This is a major moral teaching of Christianity, which found reflection and echo across the community. In general terms, many of the respondents referred to this statement from the Bible: *"It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for one who is rich to enter the kingdom of God"*. Respondents point out that an excessive focus on wealth and money can be a hindrance in seeking salvation. The discussion around higher purpose in work is then an important issue which finds repeated mention. Charity is an important component of the work of Christian community members.

The normal perceptions about Christians in India is that they do good work and charity. There are many who believe, trust and try to live by the teachings of Christ. People who feel the need to do something in His name - for did not He say "whatsoever you do to the least of my brethren, that you do unto me". Many lay Christians do try to make a difference, in the slums and villages, all in God's name (C-3).

This certainly does have an effect on the Christian attitudes to work and wealth accumulation. The essential teachings and lessons of Christianity are drawn from the life of Christ, where forgiveness is a major teaching.

Our religion is the only one where God took human form and died for us. In doing this, he taught us about suffering and pain, how to live and die with dignity, compassion, healing and, most importantly, forgiveness. His last words were "Forgive them, for they know not what they do". Any person's last words are very important, and his was about forgiveness. We are sinners, we are human and will make mistakes, but to be a Christian is to acknowledge our mistakes and sins and to seek forgiveness (C-6).

The theme of learning to deal with suffering is also a teaching that is pointed out by many respondents.

Often we ask, as Jesus did on the Cross – “Why has thou forsaken me”? But we are not forsaken, you have to remember when you are in trouble, in strife - that you are not alone. This is known as "The Dark Night of the Day" - the sorrows that come to you and the problems that beset you. Life is full of pain and suffering. Jesus exemplified this by The Desert Experience - he wandered the solitary desert in loneliness and despair for so many days. We have to learn from this and apply these teachings in our own lives (C-6).

Forgiveness, both for oneself and to forgive others, is therefore seen as a central teaching in Christian philosophy. Other lessons are to live as one people, one community, which is a strong theme among the Christians in India. This teaching is probably stressed in the Indian context because of the wide divergence amongst the people who follow Christianity, and this may have an impact on bonding ties.

The lesson from Christ was also about community - he brought the disciples from different backgrounds into one community, showed them and us how to live together as one people. It is about bringing people together. Jesus said "I thirst" - Thirsting for all the souls of the world to come to him and be refreshed and be quenched. He wants us all to come to Him, to join as one people and attain the glories of God through Him (C-5).

Trust and faith are major teachings. How such trust manifests itself within the community, and therefore the quality of its bonding ties, will be explored in this research. Trust, faith and acceptance of suffering may also have an impact on the general acceptance of economic and social position of Christians in society, which may influence entrepreneurship and personal efforts to improve one's economic situation. This is explored further.

You have to trust in the Lord, believe in his mercy. Remember what he said "Into thy hands I commend my spirit". Similarly, we have to place our lives in his hands, and trust to his goodness (C-20).

This is also linked to the issue of faith, which is seen to provide guidance through the intervention of God to help make the right decisions in everyday living.

When we are baptised, the Holy Spirit enters us and we affirm our commitment in Communion. The Holy Spirit within us is what keeps us on the right path, it guides us and directs our lives. It was said, "go to the Mount and I will speak through you". The same way, what I am saying to you now, the explanation that I am giving you, is guided by the Holy Spirit within me (C-5).

This aspect of constantly seeking divine guidance is highlighted as an important teaching in this community. The central importance of faith is affirmed by many Christian respondents. God always answers our prayers, if we only have faith, as expressed by many of the respondents.

Faith can move mountains and faith, prayers and beliefs have seen many miracles performed in the name of Jesus. The blind can see, the lame walk, people are cured miraculously of cancer and other life threatening diseases. There is no explanation and no understanding of how this happens, but it does occur and always due to prayer, trust and belief in the Lord. We have all benefitted from Jesus' mercy and kindness in many different ways and on many different occasions. It is our strong faith in Him that sees us through (C-6).

Christian belief holds that such good works will be rewarded, that there is a life after death, where the physical body is left behind but the soul moves on. This may therefore have important implications for how members of the Christian community approach life and work.

We believe that there is life after death. We believe that when we die, the body goes to the soil but the soul goes to God. If we are not good, the soul goes to Hell. If you do not follow the Will of God, do not do what Jesus has told us to do, then you do not fulfil the purpose of life, which is about doing good and being compassionate (C-23).

Religious teachings are seen as relevant and binding by all respondents, they are not just guidelines for daily life but laws that govern every aspect of it. There are strong aspects of honesty, equality of all, acceptance and sharing in each community, and this may have important implications for bonding, bridging and pooling of resources.

5.3. Inimitable Culture, Cognition & Systems of Meaning

Culture includes factors such as religion, language, symbols and customs. The cognitive domain is about mental concepts and ideas, which arise from common cultures, norms, values, attitudes and beliefs (Uphoff, 2000). Language is an important aspect of culture, and is a theme that is highlighted in discussions with the respondents, one that also has an association with religious traditions. Other practices and traditions are also observed that are unique to each community. These cultural issues are discussed in this section.

5.3.1. The Unique Jain Culture

The language that the Jain teachers adopted was designed to make Jainism accessible to the common people and to break the perceived hold of the Hindu Brahmins on mainstream society, through making knowledge available to all.

The language of education in those days was Sanskrit, a very difficult language, not known to the general population. The common languages were Sharushi Prakrit, Ardha-maghadhi and Pali, so he taught in these languages. 70% of our literature is in these languages, 30% is in Sanskrit. He started teaching to break the hold of Brahmins and Sanskrit. So he adopted Lok-bhasha, the people' language. (J-2)

Jainism is seen as a difficult religion to practice, given some of its austerities and traditions. Culturally, Jains have some of the most difficult penances.

There are very few religions that are so strict. The Jains have full fasts for one month, no food at all. You have to prepare the mind, you cannot do any work, just cannot move, only find a place to rest and fast. In our family, members do the Varshi Tap, which is fast one day, eat a little with control the next day, then fast again - and they do this for one year(J-3).

The strictures against harming any other living being weighs heavily on the Jains, and guides their every action. This strongly influences work done and acceptable work by members of the community.

I cannot kill even a mosquito. Even God has accepted a little "Himsa", a little harm, that there is some harm in nature to provide a balance. Like a Lion killing a Deer, God has accepted this, it is the way of nature, but we cannot accept this. We cannot kill (J-6).

The reference to God is from a Jain who reads the Bible, and who states that he derives much comfort from it. The strictures against causing harm are what drives the strict vegetarianism of the Jains, not for any health or other reasons. The ability to comply with extremely strict codes of behaviour and cultural traditions in everyday activities like eating and dining out may be difficult, but is strictly maintained by the Jains.

I am a pure Jain; I am 14 years now in Goa and still maintain principles of no drinks and only eating vegetarian food. My friends and business associates eat together in restaurants, someone will eat fish, someone else pork, all will drink alcohol. I sit at the same table but eat my own vegetarian food. Of course it is difficult, but to be a Jain you have to be strong minded (J-3).

The austerities and demands are particularly difficult for a person who adopts the life of a Sadhu or Ascetic.

My sister's husband's brother is a Jain monk, he is hardly 22 years and the first monk from Goa in over 100 years. It is a very tough life. When they join they have to physically pull off all their hair, including the facial and head hair, can only wear white clothes, also they can only walk, and cannot use any transport. They cannot even prepare food themselves. The Digambara Sadhus cannot even carry a begging

bowl. They can only eat what fits in their cupped hands, nothing more (J-3).

The ultimate penance is the fast unto death. This is a unique practice, but is undertaken by a number of Jains every year.

At times members of our community resort to what is known as "Santhara", which is when they stop eating anything at all. This is normally once you reach a certain age. One of my grandparents did this, no food or drink, only prayer. This is not a fast process, and there is enough time for meditation and reflection. It is not suicide but purification. Through this you get spiritually purified and get closer to moksha (J-15).

Unique cultural practices may work to create strong bonds and ties within the Jain community, and does provide them with strong self-discipline and structure.

Table 2 highlights important Jain cultural aspects.

Table 2: Jain Cultural Traits

Area	Religion	Language for Worship	Social Language
Within India	Unique	Common	Common
Outside India	Unique	Exclusive	Exclusive

Source: Original, from data

5.3.2. Sikh Systems of Meaning

The Sikhs share a common language with the people of the Punjab, which includes Hindus and Muslims. Their language is not therefore unique or exclusive to the Sikh community. However, the religious prayers and ceremonies are conducted in Gurmukhi, which is understood as a simplified version of Punjabi. This is therefore their own language, given to them by the Gurus

Punjabi is the language of our Gurus, all Sikh people speak Punjabi. But Gurmukhi comes from Guru Angad Devji, these words come from God. This language is written in God's words, all the prayers and Hymns are from God. More that you read them, the more the improvement there will be in your life. Gurmukhi is easy to communicate (S-2).

Sikhs anywhere are immediately recognizable because of their cultural symbols, and this strong symbolism serves as an immediate identifier of community members. This may actually adversely affect bridging ties, particularly outside India.

These are some of the things that all Sikhs must have - the long uncut hair, which we keep under our turban, and the beard, this kada or iron bangle, the kirpan, which is a small dagger, then there is the kanga or comb, and the kesh or undershorts. All Sikhs must maintain these symbols (S-12).

The strong symbolism makes the Sikh highly visible and the distinctive appearance of a Sikh is recognisable anywhere in the world, through these symbols that mark a Sikh. Such symbols also serve to keep the Sikh apart from the society within which he lives, and may therefore affect bridging ties, while assisting in the maintenance of bonding ties.

Sikhs are a people who look different, who wear turbans and beards, who keep the five symbols of Sikhism, who are baptised and pure. The first impression is the best, maybe last, impression. So I must look smart, speak very politely. Show what it means to be a Sikh (S-12).

The overall appearance of a Sikh is seen to be very important by community members. Because a Sikh is subsequently so noticeable and easily identifiable in any society, terms like smart, well groomed and strong predominate in the conversations with respondents. It must be mentioned that it takes a certain degree

of courage and strength to wear the symbols of the Sikhs, particularly outside India, in environments where they immediately stand out and are noticed. While in the company of Sikhs in New Zealand, there have been occasions where this researcher has noticed comments being made, such as young people driving by in cars shouting something in fun. Sikhs take this in their stride, and are not bothered by it, but it does underline some of the issues raised in terms of responsibility, visibility and fortitude. Wearing the distinctive symbols shows sincerity and takes commitment.

It does not bother me. The symbols are not just for show, they are meaningful and remind us what we are as Sikhs or how we are to behave. The turban worn over our long hair is a visible symbol of who we are and therefore we have to live up to our ideals. It is a sign of commitment to our principles. The Kada, which is this circular iron bracelet, reminds us that there is no beginning and no end, reminds us of God every time we use our hands. The Kachcha reminds us to keep control of ourselves, self-control. The Kripan is there for us to fulfil our obligations as protectors and defenders of those who are in need. We cannot ignore injustice or walk away from evil, we have to actively stop all such bad things from happening (S-2).

Sikhs also share a name or a title, which is more by nature of being a designation attached to their given names. Most Sikhs have three names - a personal name, a common name to show Sikh identity i.e. Singh for the man (meaning Lion) and Kaur for the women (meaning Princess) and the clan name.

The name of Singh, which means Lion, was given to the Sikhs by the Gurus. The Sikhs are the lions of Punjab, and like lions they are leaders, prominent in society. All Sikh males are given the name of Singh and all females are given the name of Kaur. This signifies togetherness in the community, that we are of one group (S-19).

A strong culture and the unique features of the community helps maintain the distinctiveness of the community, and makes them stand out in society. Table 3 highlights the important cultural aspects in this community.

Table 3: Sikh Cultural Traits

Area	Religion	Language for Worship	Social Language
Within India	Unique	Common	Common
Outside India	Unique	Exclusive	Exclusive

Source: Original, from data

5.3.3. *The Western Culture of the Christians*

The Christians in India were differentiated by being very western in outlook, having few taboos or restrictions in food habits, speaking good English, wearing western outfits and being socially out-going. English was an important link language for the Christians, as they prided themselves on their education. However, even here there are also regional and slang differences. Language is a differentiator among many of the Christian sub groups, but these separate languages do not seem to create any unity in the Christians, rather the opposite.

We just speak English, but in Goa the Roman Catholic Brahmins would speak Portuguese amongst themselves and they would speak Konkani to the lower class (C10) In Kerala, all social interaction is in Malayalam. In my grandfather's time they said the mass in Aramaic. Slowly, everything changed into Malayalam (C-13) ... The official language of the Anglo-Indian remains English, but they have own style and their own grammar (C-19).. They use slang words, very typically Anglo-Indian, they have a distinctive accent in the way they speak English. Anywhere in the world, if you hear them speak, immediately you can identify - that is an Anglo Indian (C-2).

The western style of dressing of the Christians was a marked differentiator within Indian society.

The Christian identity is also there in the formal suit and tie. The Anglo-Indians particularly are amazing - where the temperature outside is 42 degrees, the party is on, you won't remove your tie, till you are probably sloshed or drunk. You will wear that coat, you are dripping with sweat, but you have to be perfectly dressed (C-2).

The Christian community in India was also very social and there were many dances and parties. This was a differentiator in general Indian society, which tended to be more conservative. While general Indian society maintained many restrictions, for example on the freedom of women and the eating of pork or beef, the Christian community was much more liberal and tolerant. Social interactions and food habits were therefore also major differentiators.

We Christians are different from the other people in India because we can and do eat anything and everything. We are certainly not vegetarian, and we eat pork and beef, which is banned for others. Many people in our areas are vegetarian, but not us. Also in our community, there were a lot of dances and social functions. When I was young, there were a lot of dances and pound parties - where you brought one pound of food and a bottle of whatever to drink (C-8).

There are major differences within the Christian community in terms of cultural activities around religion, and the attitude and involvement in religion. While this differentiated sub groups within the community, it also served to differentiate them within Indian society in general. These traditions create strong linkages and relationships with the communities. Cultural and religious traditions are also maintained, even when not in India.

In Kerala, in Church we have the feasts of the saints celebrated solemnly. Every family member will come to church, all 1200 families from our area will attend the full three day functions for our Feast Day, which is Mother Mary's feast. There will be Mass, choir singing, cultural events, Priests will speak on various issues. In New Zealand, like in Kerala, we say the Rosary every day at home, Then, starting around May and June of every year, we have the rosary in turn in each home of our community members, during these months dedicated to Mother Mary and St Joseph. There are at least 90 days of common rosary, one day in each house. This has been happening in New Zealand for at least the last 6 to 7 years. This is the same thing which happens in Kerala, and now in Hamilton, in Rotorua, in Wellington, even in Australia (C-5).

Table 4 highlights the important cultural issues in the Christian community

Table 4: Christian Cultural Traits

Area	Religion	Language for Worship	Social Language
Within India	Unique	Exclusive	Some Exclusivity within sub Groups
Outside India	Common	Common	Common

Source: Original, from data

In terms of cultural aspects, language is clearly an important factor in each of the ethnic communities. In the Indian context, Vissa (2011) has noted that there are 29 different languages in India, each of which is spoken by more than a million native speakers. His research also uncovered that language similarity significantly influenced the initiation of economic relationships and the formation of interpersonal ties amongst entrepreneurs in India (Vissa, 2011). The importance of language and the other cultural aspects is therefore addressed in this study.

5.4. Impact on Work: Motivations & Attitudes

An important finding from the interviews and data analysis was the influence of religion in all aspects of the working life of the respondents. Religious teachings and traditions determine not only what work is done, but also how work is done in these ethnic communities. More than this, the spiritual underpinnings of the religions also determine why work is done, to what end, and also to some extent the way work is organised, or the particular organisation forms adopted for doing work.

Shared cognitive aspects of meaning are embedded in a social context, shaped and strengthened by constant interactions between community members. Unique philosophies in each community therefore determines both what work is done and why work is done, while cultural traditions and foundations influence how work should be done and also the principles of work organisation. This is discussed in the following section.

5.4.1. Jain Business Orientation

Jains are believed to be a highly successful business oriented community, and are also known for their vast wealth. Attention has been brought particularly on their domination of the worldwide diamond trade, which has brought them to prominence as a successful, wealthy business community (Richman, 2006). Respondents point out that this is not the case for all Jains, and in fact most Jains carry out occupations other than business and trade.

It is a misconception that all Jains are in business and all Jains are rich. In my area, which is rural, village based, not more than 20% of

the Jains are in business or trading. Many of them are labourers, no education, no schooling. The greatest numbers are in agriculture, farming, and they are subsistence farmers. Just making very little, just staying alive and surviving (J-7).

Farming is an occupation not generally associated with Jains, and there are philosophical issues raised even within the community around damage to living beings caused through agriculture, or because of the impact on Ahimsa. Among some members of the community, farming is therefore not seen as an occupation suitable for Jains. However, many Jain families are traditional farmers, and continue to work in agriculture related professions. This is clarified by the respondents.

Here in our colony there are two Gujarati Jain Families. They originally had big farms, but they sold them and gave them to the cultivators and went into business. They are shocked that we still cultivate and farm. How can you cultivate as a Jain, they ask us? But Jains can do everything and they are doing everything. We are proud to be farmers. I know that some people say Jains cannot be farmers because of Ahimsa, but this agriculture is given to us by Adinath, who was the first Tirthankara. Is it OK to eat what someone else has ploughed and farmed, or else do you not eat at all? Is this not also done through killing insects? I say that if you plough yourself, then at least you can take care to minimise any harm (J-2).

While there are strictures that have to be followed, rules are stricter and rigid for the sages but the householder has to follow the rules to the extent possible, which makes it allowable to undertake such occupations where there may be some unintentional harm to life forms.

Of course, our sages have to take extra care to protect lives - ensure that they do not step on insects while walking, putting on a mouth-cloth so that microscopic life is not harmed. But the Grihastha is expected to follow to the extent possible. We cannot have rigidity,

extremism - we have to be practical. Practical religion is what we actually follow (J-124).

It is explained in the teachings of Jainism that living beings can either be free from attachments or be tied down by material things. "A soul can either be "mukta", emancipated, or else "samsarin", Buddha, worldly" (J-1). Jainism therefore instructs its adherents to turn away from material things and not to be possessive, and by doing so to achieve freedom. This includes moving away from a focus on money, personal wealth and the acquisition of personal possessions. This teaching has important ramifications for why work is done in the community, and also for the availability of shared and pooled community resources.

Jain philosophy holds that there are only two things in this world – jiva or life forms and Ajiva, or non-life forms. All life forms have layers or coating of karmas, and this amounts to suffering. Why? Because that jiva is in contact with ajiva or material things – land, house, car, worldly possessions. Jiva is attracted to Ajiva - living things are attracted to that which has no life - and therefore commits all these sins, evils of life. We therefore have to overcome this attachment, this desire for non-living things, and pay more attention to living things. We are all faced with temptations for material things. That is why we are in this state, the moment we do wrong deeds (J-1).

This teaching is known as Aparigraha or non-possessiveness. Jains are instructed to avoid the accumulation of material possessions, and to give excess possessions to charity or to the needy. Clearly, this has important implications for work and economic earning incentives, as well as to surplus wealth available within the community, particularly if such earned money is not permitted to be dissipated on non-essential and material goods. Such surplus wealth then becomes available as a

resource within the community, to be used for such community purposes as training and educating youngsters, supporting entrepreneurship or for similar community development purposes. This has interesting consequences for such issues as the savings rate and capital availability amongst the Jain community, which then becomes valuable resources.

Mahavira's teaching was about Aparigraha and Anikantvada, earlier Tirthankaras had already given us Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya and Brahmacharya. Aparigraha is a concept that is rich in meaning for us. It is certainly about giving up material things, not to be attached to material wealth and possessions that have no Jiva, but it is more. Aparigraha is also about detachment from emotions, giving up of feelings, reduction of needs and wants. It even extends to giving up of relationships. That is extreme but then you leave the normal life of a Grihastha and become an ascetic. This is a fundamental teaching of Jainism (J-4).

The teachings of Jainism, and in particular that of Ahimsa, does influence Jains to move into occupations where they can minimise harm, and this trend is accentuated by the many opportunities that are now available in a networked world. In terms of work done, the influence of Ahimsa is then clear.

There is no rule against Jains in any business; they are in trading, marble, jewellery business. There are no restrictions, if my father did farming, I would also do it. Just remember to not harm anything. Jains tend not to get involved in trades which involve leather and animal products. This is due to the basic tenet of non-violence in Jain philosophy (J-15).

The stricture on not causing harm is most important, and therefore Jains actively look to work in occupations where they can uphold the principles of Ahimsa.

5.4.2. *Sikhs and Service*

The teachings of the religion, and in particular the emphasis on service to all, seems to orient the Sikhs away from business activities.

Sikhs are not in business, they are in service. This is where their inclination lies. You can go to any Sikh Gurdwara, our temples, and you will see people come in a Mercedes Benz, then get out and start sweeping and washing the floors, they will wash dishes, serve food, do any menial work. This is part of “Kar Seva”, doing work in the service of God. You are showing this way that we are all equal and also removing pride and self-importance (S-3).

Since the Sikh Gurus spoke out against the caste system, it follows that everyone is free to do whatever work that they want to in order to improve their position in life. This should lead to a high transformational potential in Sikhism.

There is no work caste system, anyone can do any work. There is no obstruction to work. But you should work, you should earn food and enough to satisfy yourself. The poet Kabir has said that you cannot pray if you are hungry. Therefore first you must meet your needs, then you can attempt to attain your spiritual goals. But you cannot if you are hungry or desperate, there must be peace of mind (S-2).

Sikh work attitudes are heavily influenced by the teachings of the religion, which state that honest work carried out sincerely is the best path.

Honest work is the way to achieve salvation. You will never see a Sikh beggar, it is against the religion to beg, and to steal and to be dishonest. Every Sikh is hardworking, and does not run away from manual labour or hard physical work, he enjoys it, it is his religion. Sikhs have to earn through honest means and hard work. They cannot do anything bad or illegal or dishonest. There are no restrictions on work. But you have to be successful through hard work, do not be greedy, do not show off. Live a good life, a normal social life (S-8).

It is noticeable that business activities, and the people who are focused on business, are treated within the community with some disdain. The business community as such is viewed within the Sikh community with some hostility, and those traditionally in business are seen to be exploitative and shrewd.

The business community of Sikhism is considered to be very sharp and very shrewd businessmen. This is a separate business community amongst the Sikhs, we call them “Bhappas”. This business community of the Sikhs is almost shunned; it is an unwritten law that you should be very careful dealing with that set of people. They are very shrewd, very money minded. If I had to take a partner or invest money - I’m afraid I would prefer to associate with a Hindu businessman rather than a Sikh (S-3).

Sikhs do consider it important that they remain true to their teachings, moral code and value systems, and therefore the money minded business community seems to be treated with some hostility, as it may be felt that they do not live up to the values of Sikhism.

Those who have too much money, they do not think of religion, do not think of Sikhism. They only look to themselves. Too much money is not a good thing (S-11).

The business group is perceived as a sub-group separate from the Sikh mainstream, a sub group which has different values and attitudes. Business activities are therefore not seen to be encouraged within this community. There is a disinclination for business activities and a strong orientation to independent achievement, and this is exemplified by powerful Sikh tradition of service in the Army and other uniformed services. This creates a shared tradition and shared history, which creates a strong sense of solidarity within the community.

The army is related to the community in a special way, we have lots of people in the army. My great grandfather was in the army and lots and lots of my relatives. This is a tradition because it is considered to be a noble profession and prestigious one. Serving in the Army is a preference for our community members. You are oriented in your thinking to the armed forces, growing up with the stories of our heroes in uniform. It may be also that since our ancestors have always been in this part of the region, which has been the corridor of all the invaders, and it is in the genes. To take up arms and fight (S-10).

The Sikh is clearly not motivated by money alone in the type of work that they do, but by the need to achieve a fulfilling social and family life. Sikhism is contrasted from the other Indian religions by its focus on the present, not in any after-life, and teachings emphasize leading an honest, sincere social life while maintaining a detachment from worldly temptations. Salvation is sought through service in the present life, and this has profound implications for the Sikh approach to life, lifestyle, values, beliefs and practices (Paxson, 2004).

5.4.3. Christians & Job Security

The Christians discovered that they excelled at certain occupations, and made them their own particular niche. These occupations provide the Christian community in general with common interests, and lead to the creation of bonding ties. One important area is the field of education, where the Christians are advantaged by their command of the English language and western orientation. The community has always seen education as a way to better their prospects, and so the Christian community is traditionally highly represented and very visible in the best schools and education institutions in India.

My School – St S. - is recognised as a premium education establishment. Then there is Barnes School, Bishop Cotton, Frank Anthony Public School, La Martiniere, Lawrence Schools - the list of our top schools is endless (C-2).

Education provides a strong and stable work outlet for the community, and provides opportunity to its members, particularly the women. In addition to education, a way to social respectability, which is a major objective for community members, is through building a career. A distinction from Indian society over the years is the fact that the women of the community work and are independent . Working in recognised professions is important to the Christian, this is connected to the importance of being respectable, achieving a good status and providing stability in their lives. Certain professions and occupations, in addition to teaching, are deemed desirable and community members are encouraged to go into such jobs.

The women are mostly nurses or stenographers or secretaries, educated and qualified professionals with steady jobs. The cultural thing now is to finish graduation and then work in banks, government jobs, large institutions. All our family heads push us in this direction, you are under so much pressure that you cannot do what you want to do. J. wanted to qualify in medicine, but Mum would not let her leave the house and stay in a hostel. My brother always wanted to go work on the ships but my Dad said no - you have to get a bank job. My Mum was a teacher so I was destined to be a teacher, that was achievable. But I really wanted to be a Doctor, that was my dream but unattainable. It was not allowed (C-25).

The Christian, and in particular the Anglo Indian, community historically has strong work affiliations in the railways, police and civil services. They were almost guaranteed jobs in these services by the colonial powers, as they were considered to

be uniquely qualified by their language, culture, traditions and religion, in particular the fact that they were Christians, to positions of trust and responsibility.

For Anglo Indians, it was not business. Mostly, they were in the post and telegraph, railways, police, and in the civil services. We had people in each of the services who would help us get in, and who would mentor us once we were in, make sure that we were OK and did well. I suppose you could say that they were our leaders, they certainly provided a leadership and mentoring function within their area of influence. But then even these people migrated, and there was no one to help, provide leadership, provide mentoring (C-3).

However, the privileged position of the Anglo Indians in protected jobs in the railways, customs, and telegraph offices ended in 1957, and being Anglo Indian or Christian now no longer guarantees a secure job.

Earlier they looked on the Anglo-Indian label for a job. They know that does not make a difference today. They know that they have got to earn that job. There is no point in saying that I am an Anglo-Indian or a Christian. That is not going to get you the job (C-17).

Despite the fact that there is no longer any reservation or preference shown in the services, the tradition of individual excellence in the service sector continues, and this is another area where members of the Christian community are high achievers. The Christian community has a long and distinguished tradition, for example, in military service.

There are so many Christians who are very visible in Indian Armed Forces - We have our Chiefs, people at the very top. A lot of Anglo-Indians went into the air-force and if you take the 1965 war, practically every single squadron was commanded by Anglo-Indians (C-7).

Civic leadership is an area of excellence for the Christian community. Leadership and visible positions for Christians within institutions in society does create more trust in such institutions for the Christians, and there may be a greater willingness to rely on, and to trust, social institutions than other communities. This has important implications for interaction outside of the community, and reliance on internal versus external authority and systems.

A large number of Christians in India are descendants of those converted by missionaries, under the colonial establishments and in more recent times. The missionaries were seen to have concentrated their attentions on, and found the most successes with, the lowest castes, outcastes, tribals and the economically backward groups. Work of a more menial type is consequently also associated with the Christian community.

Many of the Christian in India are perceived as being converts from the lower classes. Even in the movies they are portrayed in this way, and the famous ABCs were – Ayah (maid), Butler, Cook. They are seen to be in menial jobs, the Ayah Mary and Butler Robert syndrome. This is the status of Christians in India. The Christians were also many times from the fisher folk. They were not educated. They caught and sold fish in the local markets. If they were self-employed, it was in the fishing trade, else they were servants (C-16).

The impact of this on bridging and bonding ties is evaluated. While there is a strong tradition of service in the community, Christian are not generally perceived to have been as successful in business activities. It is pointed out by prominent Christian business people that they are actually marginalised and not fully accepted in business circles.

It is a rare Christian who is in the inner circle of business in India. In fact, even if you reach the top, you are never entirely accepted as part of the inner circle, the power brokers, the coterie. Even there, we Christians are always somewhat outsiders. And I am saying this to you as the CEO of a very large Indian business house, this is based on my many years of experience. We are isolated in the Indian business houses and companies. We have strong Christian values, and bring these values to the workplace, so are accepted as sincere, honest workers. but we are always apart, outsiders. We have a good command of the English language, dress western style, are more modern and have a different value system. We never quite fit in, we are always just a little bit outside of the majority groups. It is not that we are not accepted, we are, but not entirely. We are always different (C-27).

In addition to the lack of acceptance in established business, respondents also highlight obstacles to setting up businesses and achieving success. A lack of bridging ties with society is seen to work against business initiatives by the community.

We are a marginalised community, the Christians and the Sikhs are marginalised in society. The Parsi community is one minority group that has developed linkages and relations with the majority community, and they have a strong political awareness. Earlier they handled the British and now they handle the present leadership and religious groups in society. They have done very well in business. We do not have this political awareness, so we are adrift (C-21).

On the one hand, the Christian are never fully accepted into the inner business circle and on the other, the community does not seem to support business activities. Respondents strongly point to the influence of the Church and its teachings in this matter. Christian values mandate against excessive greed, and this is demonstrated in the attitudes to work in the community.

We are heavily influenced by the Catholic Church. There is certainly some truth in the belief that we should not chase wealth to the

exception of anything else. How much is enough? Scripture tells us that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than a rich man to get to heaven, and we honestly do accept and believe this. We are happy within limits, we do not need huge amounts of money to be happy, enjoy money, not just focus on maximising it (C-20).

The other issue which affects motivation for work is that of achieving a balance between work and leisure, which is seen as being important.

Our community members “clock in” very consciously on their work time. Once they feel they have worked enough, they “check out” at work, then they go and drink. Leisure is exceedingly important to them and their social life has to be a prominent part of the day, to achieve a balance with the work (C-15).

An important factors that mandates against risk taking work is that the community members seem to have no desire to achieve high levels of wealth and prosperity.

Our objective is to reach a certain level of prosperity and then stop, not so greedy – the “susegad” (easy going) influence. Our only objective is to grow, make some money and immigrate to English speaking countries, Christian countries where we will fit better, who we can identify with. We do not look to go to the Far East, Africa, Russia, Eastern Europe even though there are great opportunities there. No, our entire orientation is on the West. Our Church also is the Church in Rome, the Western Church (C-27).

The community is certainly traditionally more oriented to service, and there is little support for entrepreneurship and business. All education, religious and social institutions are oriented towards service not business, but this also is changing as community leaders realise that entrepreneurship can open new opportunities for community members.

Catholic Church is now opening its eyes to business. We just started a business directory in the last year, where all Christian businesses are listed, so that youngsters from the community can see what is going on and maybe get involved (C-6).

By keeping to their place in society, community members were traditionally guaranteed good jobs in acceptable professions, and the legacy of this system can be seen even today in the focus on getting good, steady jobs with limited ambition.

I think this whole issue of knowing our place works a bit against us. In that we seek to get respectable, acceptable jobs which are mid-level and stay there. Our place is in the middle, not at the top. Our ambition has been curtailed. So many years of middle level, being subservient to the top people has been ingrained in us. Now we are satisfied with just having enough to be respectable (C-10).

Respondents from each community express strongly held religious philosophies, which have endured over centuries in a country which itself has a powerful dominant philosophy and a majority religion. This has resulted in unique and complex cultures, which provide moral rules and guidelines to the respondents, derived from path dependent, centuries old histories. They also give rise to deep seated value systems which powerfully influence their actions and decision making. The relevance of these factors is discussed in the next section.

5.5. Discussion: Philosophy, Values & Culture

The three Indian ethnic communities that are the focus of this research are differentiated by their unique philosophies, value systems and cultures. Table 5 highlights what the respondents from each community state are important to them.

Table 5: Philosophies of the Communities

Philosophical Beliefs	Jains	Sikhs	Christians
Traditions from	599 BC & earlier	1469 AD	52AD
Source	Mahavira / Agamas	Guru Nanak/ Guru Granth Sahib	Jesus / Holy Bible
Existence of God	No	Yes	Yes
Reincarnation	Yes	Yes	No
Structured Priesthood	No	No	Yes
Key Practice	Ratnatraya / Three Jewels of Right Faith, Right Knowledge, Right Conduct	Meditation on "Waheguru", the Almighty	Prayer to God/ Follow the Will of God
Key Concepts:	Ahimsa / No Harm	Honesty	Love & Acceptance
	Anikantvada / Multiple Perspectives	Equality	Forgiveness
	Aparigraha / Non Possessiveness	Sharing	Faith
Objective	Liberation, free soul from worldly attachments	Released from life form; Reunite with God	Be in Heaven with God

Source: Original, from data

Respondents interviewed spent considerable time and effort in the interviews to explain their world views, their philosophies and their points of differentiation from

general society. This is around an explanation of "how are we different" or "what makes us so special" as a community from general society. The cognitive domain concerns shared systems of meaning, mental concepts, ideas and beliefs, which encourage cooperative and collective actions (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Unique and shared philosophies and worldviews would therefore have a significant impact on behaviour and interaction between group members.

There is a high level of acceptance of religious instructions by the Sikh and Christian respondents, and an active seeking of, or receptiveness to, spiritual guidance and intervention. The Jain respondents also continually seek spiritual guidance, but from enlightened beings who have achieved liberation and wisdom rather than from God. Respondents from the Sikh community explain how salvation is to be attained through sincere, honest service in the present existence, remembering at all times the teachings of the Gurus or Sikh teachers by constantly meditating on God. Christian respondents stress obeying God's will and commandments in all actions, words and deeds.

Religious beliefs and teachings are an important consideration in India, Bhalla et al. (2009, p. 91) point out that strategy-making in Indian ethnic firms are not governed by rationality but "by religious convictions, and by conceptions of cause and effect which emphasise the role of fate and the power of destiny". It is held that, compared to the West, Indian managers rely more on their intuition (Cappelli et al., 2010; Virmani, 2001) which is perceived as a kind of divine guidance. This is

observed to prevail in the communities, for example, when the Christian talk about the “Holy Spirit” guiding their actions, and driving their words and work. Similarly, Sikh respondents emphasise the importance of remaining receptive to guidance, which is achieved through constant meditation on the teachings of the Gurus. It is observed by Pio (2010, p. 39) that “spirituality is like an invisible cloak and a deep anchoring force in many Indian entrepreneurs”, and Cappelli et al. (2010) state that Indian business leaders lay great stress on transcendental mission in their work. This strong emphasis on, and receptiveness to, spiritual guidance and religious teachings is recognised as an important feature of the Indian management framework.

5.5.1. The Economic Influence of Religion

India is a deeply religious nation and there is a strong influence of religious norms, values and beliefs in all aspects of behaviour (Heuer, 2006). Cultural, religious and traditional values that exist within Hinduism are believed to work to reduce entrepreneurship, lower risk taking and to stifle economic development (Audretsch, Boente, & Tamvada, 2007; Tomalin, 2009). However, the two communities examined in this thesis that emerged from within the Hindu fold, Jain and Sikh, are observed to strongly oppose many of the Hindu traditions such as the caste system, stress equality between all people, and emphasise that people can undertake any work they choose to better their position in society. In the third community, Christian respondents stress the teachings of equality, since all humans are seen to be made in God’s image. Such teachings are seen to encourage

entrepreneurship since people are not constrained by the rigidities of society but are free to better their own lives. All three groups deny occupation specialisation based on caste, teach that rewards come from personal efforts. Jain respondents stress personal responsibility and rewards based on personal actions. Respondents from the Sikh community stress sincere, honest service that personify through their actions the teachings of the Gurus. Christian respondents stress obeying the Ten Commandments in all aspects of work and life. While the Jain respondents exhibit a high orientation towards business, the Sikh and Christian respondents appear to focus on service rather than self-employment. All respondents stress the moral aspects of work (see Table 6).

Table 6: Issues Around Work

Issues	Jain	Sikh	Christian
Structure of Society	Equality	Equality	Equality
Work Restrictions	None, remember Ahimsa	None	None
Transformation Potential	High	High	High
God in Work	Personal Responsibility, Cannot seek Divine Intervention	Honest, Selfless Service as Offering to God	Work with Faith in God and Acceptance of His Blessings
Attitude to Wealth Accumulation	Focus on Non Possessiveness / Aparigraha	Defeat Greed and Material Attachment; Stress Sharing & Charity	Better to Give than to Receive
Work Orientation	Business	Service	Service
Important Teachings	Right Conduct	Honesty	Against Greed

Source: Original, from data

The concept of transformation potential of a religion has been discussed by Eisenstadt (1968, p. 10), as the “capacity to legitimize, in religious or ideological terms, the development of new motivations, activities, and institutions”, which foster new economic activities. He points out (p. 9) that economic behaviour, is greatly influenced by different religions since it is the “attitudes inherent in the ethos of each which influence and direct economic motives and activities”. Religions with high transformational potential, such as Protestantism, have a “strong emphasis on individual activism and responsibility”, as well as on autonomy, self-sufficiency and open social structures (Eisenstadt, 1968). The Jain, Sikh and Christian religions can be observed to have a strong transformational potential, as all three religions promote individual responsibility, activism, social openness and flexibility, and therefore encourage and promote entrepreneurial behavior (Audretsch et al., 2007; Audretsch & Meyer, 2009).

There is a high degree of situation acceptance noticed in the communities. In Jain and Sikh respondents this stems from acceptance of reincarnation, and the acknowledgment of the present position in life as reflecting the results of past actions. With the Christian respondents, this is seen as acceptance of God’s purpose in their lives. This may actually reduce transformation potential in these groups. It has been stated that Indian value systems stress the concepts of hierarchy, social embeddedness, personal relations, harmony, tolerance and duty to society (Virmani, 2001). Studies have shown that Indian managers are largely comfortable with

traditional hierarchies and are not entirely comfortable with concepts such as empowerment and shared power (Chatterjee & Pearson, 2000). This situational and role acceptance is acknowledged as an important aspect of the Indian management framework.

5.5.2. *The Role of Value Systems*

Each community has deep seated philosophies, ideologies and value systems developed over centuries. It is held that “the Indian value system is set within the framework of transcendent ideology which is the cutting edge of India’s deep cultural structure” (Neelankavil, Mathur, & Zhang, 2006, p. 54). In these communities, respondents are observed to be strongly governed and guided by complex and multi-layers value systems, and there is high levels of motivation expressed by societal and higher order purpose in the accomplishment of work (see section 5.2). Multiple layers of values are observed to exist in the Indian social space, variously rooted in age old traditions and modern experiences, and so Indian managers need to reconcile value dilemmas from the fact that they work in formal, western oriented organisation while personally and emotionally remaining rooted in traditional social systems (Gopinath, 1998). It is stated that Indian managers need to refocus on the “core values and traditions of an ancient and complex society”, rather than attempt to replace these deep seated value systems with entirely new imports (Chatterjee & Pearson, 2000, p. 82), and this focus on traditional values clearly takes place in these communities. Values are seen as the “first anchor “in

Indian businesses (Cappelli et al., 2010, p. 78). The reliance on core value systems is identified as an important feature of the Indian management framework.

As a consequence of these religious teachings and strong value systems, it is noted that Indian entrepreneurs find expression of their religious beliefs through social oriented entrepreneurship for the betterment of society (Pio, 2010). There is "a surprising degree of altruism in Indian management" (Khandwalla, 1980, p. 174), where altruism is defined as giving of service or work without consideration of the self, concern for others more than individual interest. Such "others" which are important for Indian managers are noted to be the family, the caste group, the community, society or nation, and altruistic concern for the larger group interests appears to be stronger than mere self-interest (Khandwalla, 1980). There are surprising similarities around the attitudes to wealth accumulation and the profit motivation in work in each community, respondents consistently stress societal and higher purposes over personal wealth objectives (see section 5.2).

Teachings in all the communities are strongly against greed and wealth accumulation. Jain respondents stress avoiding attachments to material possessions or to non-life forms. Sikh and Christian respondents similarly express powerful teachings against greed; stressing instead sharing, charity and giving rather than seeking to receive. Instead of the "rational pursuit of individual gain", strong embeddedness results in economic transactions being determined by social and kinship obligations (Granovetter, 1992, p. 27), and also are noted to be guided by

philosophical and religious teachings in the communities. These teachings are observed to result in a “passion for corporate charity and a sense of social purpose” in Indian business, particularly in the family controlled groups (Ward, 2000, p. 273). The focus on social responsibility transcends self interest in Indian companies, and the emphasis on a broader social mission is a “uniquely Indian” aspect of management (Cappelli et al., 2010, p. 287). The strong altruistic component of the Indian management framework is acknowledged in this research.

It is therefore observed that “a people’s cultural tradition, comprising beliefs, values, attitudes, and social practices, strongly influences their behavior in modern business organizations” (Kakar, Kakar, de Vries, & Vrignaud, 2006, p. 105). These factors also impact on ethnic identity and bonding forces in each group, and this is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6. Ethnicity & Relational Ties

The chapter addresses global theme No. 2: ethnicity & relational ties. It addresses the kinds of relationships that have been developed over many centuries of interaction. The strength and persistence of ethnic group identity, and consequent implications for the communities, is explored in this study. In terms of Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) framework, this global theme is observed to correspond with the relational domain of social capital. The relational ties in each ethnic community are seen to be socially complex and idiosyncratic, therefore inimitable (Kale et al., 2000).

The relational view includes issues such as trust, norms and obligations in each social group, as well as identity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Ethnic identity is associated with common ancestry, and with shared culture, religion, language, kinship and places of origin (Phinney et al., 2001). Identity and culture are fundamental to construction of boundaries, and the production of meaning in the groups (Nagel, 1994). A strong group identity can lead to the recognition of interdependence among the social group (Peteraf & Shanley, 1997), and can therefore increase the frequency and quality of cooperation between group members (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). A strong component of ethnic identity may arise from unique religions and practices, which also defines and strengthens value systems in the group, and this has been discussed under the previous global theme.

The other factors are discussed below, and the three organising themes that form the global theme of ethnicity and relational ties are portrayed in Figure 5.

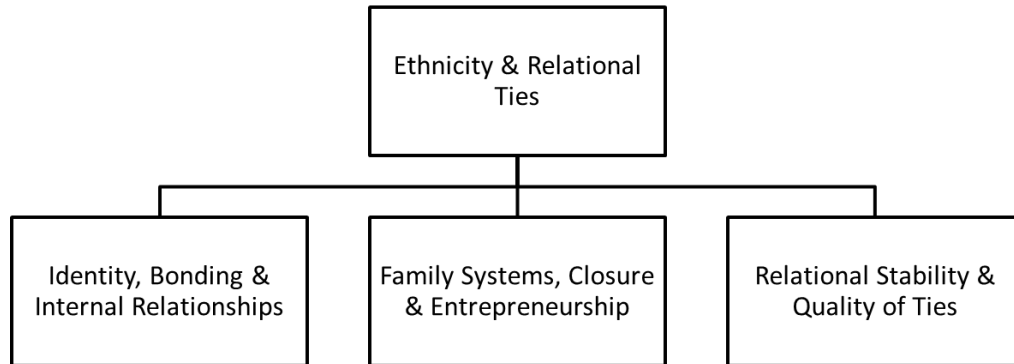


Figure 5: Global Theme No.2 - Ethnicity & Relational Ties

6.1. Identity, Bonding & Internal Relationships

The major philosophers and thinkers, and in time religious founders, directly challenged the entrenched religious and secular establishments, the dominating ideas and vested interests, and this gave rise to new power structures and groups within society. Group members developed many commonalities, which led to the creation of robust bonding ties. This is explored in this section.

6.1.1. Jain Solidarity

The unique term "Jain" encompasses all the followers of Mahavira, and therefore provides a shared identifier for group members.

We are called Jains. This name is derived from term Jaina, that is the "conqueror", one who is liberated. Jains are those who are free from all attachments (J-10).

It is mentioned by respondents that, unlike the mainstream Hindu society, there is no caste system or differentiation amongst people in the Jain community. This should therefore lead to strong bonding ties.

There is no caste in Jainism, absolutely no caste system but only different views and ways of thinking, and we must accept that in humans this will always be there. The human mind is very vibrant, man is a thinking animal, so we cannot expect all humans to think in the same manner. There will be some differences in the way we think and therefore in the way we act (J-11).

However, it is also mentioned that there are many sects and sub sects within the Jain community, and this can have important implications for bonding ties and social relationships. Digambaras and Svetambaras are the major sub-sects in Jainism, and approximately 80% of Jains are Svetambaras.

Originally we were all Digambaras but it was found that people cannot follow the strict rules, particularly when they travelled. So then that group became Svetambaras – the white clad as opposed to the custom of "sky clad" or unclothed, this is around B.C 2 or 3 centuries. There are three main divisions within the Jains – the Sthanakvasis, the Digambaras and the Svetambaras. There are also many further divisions, but these are the main three (J-10).

As is mentioned by respondents, these sub groups are not new creations, but have been in existence over many centuries . These differences are more to do with adaption to the requirements of the world, such as for example, wearing clothes while travelling to other areas. Most importantly, respondents point out that, despite the divisions, the essential teachings and beliefs are the same across sects, so there is a high degree of solidarity among the Jains.

All the sects are Jains and the “shlokas” (lessons) are also the same. There are some difference like we wear clothes and the Digambara Monks do not wear anything. Other differences are based on following unique rituals that originate from different places, but essentially we all follow Mahavira. There is no difference between us, and we all meet socially. We all participate in the festivals, though timing of some festivals may be slightly different, but the main festival of Mahavira Jayanti is the same for all (J-6).

In discussion with respondents, however, it was noted that there are further sub sects, or "Gacchas", within the Jain community, which are explained by respondents as follows.

Each group of Jains get their rituals and teachings from a particular Acharya or Sage. When these Sages preach, explain and write, they transmit their message, but each message is slightly different and this then becomes their own version and explanation. This is how Gacchas came into being, based on different perspectives and different traditions. It is nothing more than that, and too much emphasis should not be put on this. Even in the Gacchas, even in a particular lineage, someone will change the teachings slightly. The first person, the Suri or the Acharya, will say something and then the one who comes after him will change or add or delete to what is there, and then starts a new tradition (J-2).

The fact that there is nothing sacrosanct, and no sacred canonical book, also explains the differences between sub groups. Jain teachings have traditionally been carried out over the centuries without reliance on writing, through verbal dialogue and an oral tradition, and this further explains the different sub-sects.

It could be because there is no central canon or Holy Book, the writings take different forms and different explanations are provided over the years, so these differences arise. But they are small differences. As time progresses, someone has added something or deleted something or commented on the recitals in a different form. So they keep on changing and there are different versions (J-1).

However, these are perceived to be minor differences and the Jains profess strong solidarity and ties within the religion.

In terms of division within the Jains, there is nothing like that. We are not that fanatic, and there are no wars amongst us like you will find with the Shia and Sunni Muslims. We meet each other and go to each other's houses and functions; we accept that there are different views on the same point. Marriages also take place with each other, and there is acceptance of each other within sects (J-4).

Given the fact therefore that the sects make no significant difference to the essential oneness of the community, based as they are on relatively minor issues, bonding ties are strong in the Jain community. It is seen that the religious distinctiveness and unique values of the Jain community lead to cohesiveness and a strong sense of collectiveness, which certainly facilitates the creation of social capital in this community.

6.1.2. The Symbols of a Sikh

This religiously differentiated community has a clear, widely accepted common proper name, that of "Sikh", that serves as a unique identifier for all members of the community, and which forms a part of their perception of self.

We are Sikhs, we are actually an offshoot from the Hindus (S-3).

The name of "Sikh" is common to all members of the community and one that is spoken with pride. However, there are seen to be some issues which may adversely affect solidarity within the community. The Sikh Gurus made it a point to directly

attack the mainstream caste system and continually stressed the equality of all people in their teachings, as highlighted by respondents.

Guru Nanak Devji is said to have made the Dharma perfect by removing the four castes. He also preached that there is no Hindu, there is no Muslim differentiation. Guru Arjan Devji had the foundation stone of the Sikh Temple laid by a Muslim Saint - Mian Mir, and also incorporated verses and compositions of Muslim and low caste poets into the Holy Book - the Guru Granth Sahib. The Guru ka Langars were established by the Gurus as dining halls in the Gurdwaras where people of all castes, religious, backgrounds, occupations ate together. So the Gurus ensured that all were included (S-2).

However, there are also seen to be persistent differences within the community, despite the powerful teachings for equality. This is seen to be based on factors such as occupations, land-ownership status, and original castes.

There is a very major diversification or divergence within Sikhs. One group is the land owner Sikhs, called Jats. The "Kshatriyas," the fighters, warriors. So the basic divide within the community was the Jats and the non Jats. The non Jats will be the business class or the money lenders by and large, and the others were the warriors (S-3).

It has been noted that while Sikhs have a common name of Singh, many also retain a clan name, other than their given name. This has important implications for bonding ties and leadership, which is explored in subsequent sections of this study.

There are castes in the Sikhs, like there are certain castes. You will come to know and realise that there are Gills and Brars and Sekhons, Sidhus and all these within the community. These are castes within Sikhism. These differences show themselves at the time of marriage. When my daughter was looking to get married, we were introduced to a Sikh family, very nice people, very suitable son. They came and met us, afterwards we got to hear that they were checking our background. Now they are Bedis, and we are Sodhis - I was a Major

General at the time so it is not about wealth, or status, or position in society. It is something else, our origins (S-10).

The Sikh community has developed over the years as a result of complex interactions between religious principles, cultural patterns and economic and power interests. This has led to the creation of a kind of a Sikh caste hierarchy, which is distinct from, though parallel to, the Hindu caste system. There is also the maintenance of a certain degree of endogamy within the community. However, this is also seen as something that goes against the teachings and which should not be accepted. This is seen by respondents to endure basically in the villages, or in the less educated sectors of society.

These differences are there. It is as old as the religion. It is only social, but socially it is quite strong. Mostly it is not very regimented but you will find that people socialise within their own communities groups more. Recently there was the fight in the Gurdwara in Austria, over the Scheduled Caste Sikh Priest, from the Dalits - one priest was killed and one was injured. This is common, there have been fights at New York, Sydney, over such caste issues (S-3).

Such schisms and sub clustering behaviour can adversely affect social cohesion, and this may then reduce the availability of social capital in the community. Respondents are at pains to point out that, while admittedly and regrettably such issues exist in the community, it is not a part of the teachings of Sikhism, and while there is gradual change in century old customs, attitude changes take time.

In Sikhism, all are to be the same, considered equal. There are no caste or any other differences. Our Gurus did not believe in this Jat, Saini, Bajaj issue. This issue of castes belongs to the old traditions; Sikhism does not believe in this caste issues, everyone is equal (S-4).

The Sikhs have never accepted the validity of the caste system, and these issues are not seen by respondents to be a major polarising factor, merely century old prejudices that take time to disappear. However, despite this strong orientation towards equality and powerful teachings against the caste system, some divisions are still seen to persist.

As individuals our performance is perfect, but as a group we do not perform as well as we should. There are so many sects in such a small community. We are so few Sikhs and so many divisions. Where is Sikhism going, when it is distributed in sects?(S-2)

This has been highlighted by respondents in discussions on leadership, and remains a significant issue for the Sikh community. An important factor in the Sikh community which has been highlighted by the respondents is the highly individual nature of the Sikh, and a fierce sense of independence, which goes against their working with other people, even from within the community. The high individual orientation and ego of the Sikh are seen by respondents as factors that mandate against working together.

Ego is a huge problem, very huge one. You have seen the movie that "Singh is King." That actually just a normal part of the usual Sikh attitude of "I am the man, I am everything". I do not need you (S-7).

Sikh teachings seem to stress individualism, and therefore there is a strong orientation to independence and self-leadership. Self-reliant is a term that is repeated as an important cornerstone theme for the community, being independent is important. Sikhs are enjoined to look after themselves, rather than look to someone else for assistance. History weighs heavily on the Sikh, and their past

experiences, particularly being in the front line in the wars between India and its neighbors, underlines and strengthens this self-reliance.

There has been no kind of binding force in Sikhs. I don't say that they go individually because they don't trust each other, it's more because it's been taught and it's been ingrained in us to be self-reliant. You have to do everything by yourself and for yourself. When wars have taken place, it happens within your house, your house is snatched away and is torn apart. This is our experience. You have to fend for yourselves. We fought our way through and we fought our way up. We value our independence, no one can tell us what to do, or can take anything from us. We do not owe anyone anything. While you have to manage on your own, without any financial support, you also have to remember the family once you are settled. But first you are a Sikh, you are independent and can make your own way in the world without being a burden on anyone (S-8).

The Sikh community, however, can be seen to be collective in orientation, in that primary identification is with the group not the individual, group goals take precedence, norms and obligations govern behaviour, and relationships are critically important. Group objectives and achievements are stressed, as is interdependence. However, there is a strong teaching of self-reliance in the community, which may direct towards independence and individualism. It has been pointed out that self-reliance can have different interpretations, "in collectivist cultures it means 'I am not a burden on the in-group'; in individualist cultures it means 'I can do my own thing'" (Triandis et al., 1990, p. 1007). Clearly in the Sikh community self-reliance is stressed in terms of not being a burden on the social group, while relationships and interdependence continue to be strong, so is seen to be consistent with a general collectivist orientation.

6.1.3. *Christian Fragmentation*

The term "Christian" in India seems to be applied to a wide variety of people, who appear to be more inclined to accentuate the differences with each other rather than the commonalities. This heterogeneity does seem to have a significant impact on bonding ties and feelings of solidarity within the community.

I am what we call an RCSC - a Roman Catholic Syrian Christian,. There are four different Catholic sects in Kerala - Syro-Malabar, Latin Christian, Syro-Malankara and Knanaya. All these groups follow different rites and have different traditions (C-5) ... I am a Goan Roman Catholic, we are from Goa and are descended from the Portuguese who came to India 500 years ago (C-11)... We are East Indians Christians who are from Bombay, from around the Konkan coast. We are also of Portuguese descent, but we have a different culture (C-24)... I am Anglo-Indian, I am a Pinto but from Madras (C-7).

There are also the various denominations and sub groups within the Christian community in India, all of which serve to accentuate or reinforce this lack of a coherent structure.

We have a fragmented scattered community. We are all Christian and share in our devotion to the Lord. But we exist in little pockets all around India, we are strong in Goa, Bombay, Kerala, Mangalore and in the North East of India. But certainly there are many differences between us, cultural, language, customs whatever. The Goans are one Christian grouping, the East Indian another, so also the Pondicherry Frenchmen, the Calcutta crowd, so many smaller groups. These are just the Catholics, let us not even talk about the Anglicans, the Church of North India, the Methodists and all the other congregations. There has been no central leadership as such, which has brought all the sub groups together. No doubt there were some efforts, but not enough (C-20).

While the Christian community in India is predominantly Roman Catholic, there are many other sub groups from different Christian denominations in India.

There is a vast difference between Protestants and Catholics. Anglicans and Catholics, there is a distinction. The Barnard homes, Cheshire homes - which are orphanages - they are only for Anglicans. They are not for Catholics. For a long time we were never permitted to go to a Protestant church. As a Catholic, when we were children, it was a sin to go into a Protestant church. In Meghalaya the distinction was between the Presbyterians and the Catholics. There were terrible fights and they virtually went to war, massacres and atrocities, and this was between Christians in India (C-8).

Then there is the issue of economic and social differences within the community, which adversely affects solidarity and feelings of commonality, and which invariably surfaces when respondents talk of the “Indian Christians”, who are identified as a distinct sub group.

Indian Christians were the people who originally worked in the churches. They worked as servants with missionaries but then they converted. They were the Rice Christians, who joined the church for food and economic reasons, not any strongly held convictions or beliefs. They are from the lower and poorer classes in traditional Indian society. They have now become the majority Christian community in most Parishes in north India (C-27).

Even in the Christian community some influence of the powerful Indian caste system can be seen to manifest itself. These are then distinctions created over many generations, which serve to further divide the community.

Of course there is a caste system and, despite our education and protestations to the contrary, this comes out in the open and can be seen in our weddings. My Aunt married "beneath herself", into a lower caste Christian family, and for many years they were ostracised, not accepted in the family fold (C-12).

The difference are most marked when it comes to marriage, with many of the communities trying to achieve a kind of endogamy, through marriages being restricted to within the sub group. This may also lead to the creation of resource groups within the community through strategic marriage alliances.

Each sect member can go to any Catholic Church and participate in Mass. However for the Knanaya Catholic community, it is only permissible to marry within their own community. Since I am Syro-Malankara, I cannot marry a Knanaya girl, and no Knanaya man can marry a non Knanaya girl either. The Roman Catholic Church agrees with marriage within the Jacobites, because they believe in and accept Mother Mary. The Mar-Thoma Church members cannot have intermarriage with the Roman Catholics (C-5).

However, in other sub groups, it is the caste or origin that is the central issue. Community members appear reluctant to allow marriages to different sub-community members, even though they are also Christian.

We were asked to arrange a boy – a husband - for the daughter of a family known to us. This Christian lady rang me up and she asked what caste are they. I said, she is a PhD in chemistry and she is a teacher. She said, no we only want a Brahmin girl. So I said, why not fix a marriage with this doctor. She said, over my dead body, he is a Malayalee - a Christian from Kerala, she will only marry a Goan. (C-8)

There may be some valid reasons that underlie this insistence on marriage within the community. For example, Anglo Indian status was only bestowed legally through the father, and not the mother, which has unfortunate implications for identity.

When a girl marries outside a community she retains the status of Anglo-Indian, but her children do not. It is very unfortunate, but unless it is changed by an Act of Parliament there is precisely nothing we can do about it (C-2).

However, changing times mean that inter-community marriages are no longer frowned upon. The changing nature of the community manifests itself strongly in the context of marriages in the community. This has important repercussions for identity, as the community boundaries become more fluid and dynamic.

Our community has integrated a lot, many daughter in laws are not from the community, there are more connections now with non-community members. I have about 34 nephews and nieces and another 36 grand nephews and grand nieces, out of which three are married to Hindus, two are married to Muslims; one is married to a Jew and one married to a Protestant. I tell you that they get along very well. They are non-Catholic but their children are brought up as Catholics (C-9).

Such factors have an important impact on social relationships within the community, and the bonding ties. Such high degrees of fragmentation with the Christians community does adversely affect the creation of social capital within the social group.

Bonding ties are strong for Jain respondents, these ties are strong in an Indian context and remain strong even outside India, in an aspatial context. High traditions of independence in the Sikh community result in weak bonding ties. Christian respondents manifest also weak bonding ties, due to the high fragmentation of the community and the lack of effective community leadership. It has been hypothesised that membership in Christian congregations may result in an expansion of personal networks across socio-economic divides, thereby increasing bonding capital, and also that the values stressed by Christianity may result in higher trust in group members (Eberhard, 2008). However, this study finds that

there is strong heterogeneity within the Christian community, with many divergent groups forming the whole of the Christian community in India, and this adversely affects bonding ties, trust and cohesiveness to some extent.

It is noticeable that in conflicts between the individual, family and community, the group identity takes precedence over individual identity in all three communities. This is seen, for example, in the teachings of independence in the Sikh community which clashes with the collective orientation, where the collective interest takes precedence. The Indian concept of the self revolves around the “familial-communal-spiritual” rather than merely the individual (Gupta, 1991). The Western concept of the "individual" has been contrasted with the Indian concept of the "dividual", where collective components of identity are stressed over the individual. Dividual in this context implies a more divisible, shared and distributed identity. The individual identity in India is observed to be subordinated to family, caste and other group interests, with social relationships taking precedence (Mines, 1988). Individual interest and identity is then subordinate to the collective interests and identity, and “dividual identity” is acknowledged as an important consideration in the Indian management framework.

6.2. Family Systems, Closure & Entrepreneurship

Closure of the social group is stated to be beneficial for the creation of social capital, since such closure leads to strong norms and trust within the group (Coleman, 1988). Such closed groups are defined by multiplex, reciprocal ties and dense networks of interaction. Organisation forms in each community that facilitate interaction, interdependence and high connectivity are explored in this section.

6.2.1. Jain and the Joint Family System

The basic building block of Jain society is mentioned to be at the family level, where there are two alternative forms of organisation within the Jain community, as exemplified by the life of Mahavira. In the first, Jains are enjoined to maintain families, to be householders, and to be responsible members of society. The other alternative lifestyle is to become an ascetic, to renounce everything and become a Sadhu or Shrivak - terms which mean ascetics, for men and women respectively. However, it is stressed that it is not necessary to become an ascetic to achieve salvation, and even householders can attain such status.

The basic structure is the concept known as Grihastha, or householder – which is a married man with children and responsibilities to the household. Every Grihastha, and that includes every woman, can achieve Moksha or salvation. Grihastha or householders can also reach Moksha, even without renunciation, without becoming a Sadhu but by behavior (J-10).

So the essential structure of the Jain community is that of a family, with the extended family being the norm. In terms of carrying out work, the predominant form of organisation is the joint family system, which is the basic social structure.

The system of business organisation in our community is the family. You have the family tree - grandfather, father, all the relatives. All go to form a family and they do the family business. The father sets up the business, elders in the family provide leadership and direction. The sons and youngsters in the family will learn, and then will develop their own business and activities. Joint family is about balance and management. He will get all the help necessary from the family - funds, property. Even if the sons want to do something else, some other type of business and not the family business, they can do so, and they will be supported. If it works then more family members join, if it fails they come back to the original business (J-11).

Since the economic and non-economic activities are structured in the same way, there is high interaction between, and integration of, economic and non-economic activities in this community. Networks that allow access to multiple resource-rich and experienced members are valuable, and this seems to be achieved in the Jain community by the overlay of elders and authority figures. The value system of the family then passes through into the business and there is observed to be a good fit between the philosophy and value systems and the way in which work is done.

The sense of family, the bonding, has to come from within the family. The values of family have to be taught, then they are free to do what they want. One automatically learns from being in the family, in the business, do not need any special training, everyone is in it, it is a part of our life. You may do an MBA or something, but more learning is from living the business, being in the family. We send youngsters for training or employment to other businesses that are connected to us by marriage relations, to our relatives. This way, we help each other, through our marriage relations. Even in money matters(J-6).

The family structure therefore continues in relevance for this community in the economic arena, the terms of skill training and transferring business knowledge. In addressing the issue of traditional versus modern forms of business, respondents

are clear that, while more Western and modern forms of business also exist, they are for a specific purpose, a means to an end, and are supported or underpinned by the more traditional forms of organisation.

We may form a private limited company, but that is for status and to get known to the public. Joint family and traditional forms of business can take you to a certain level, but to grow and to access public funds and other resources, you need a private limited company. Then you can issue shares, raise funds from the stock market, get bank finance and so on. But behind the private limited form is the traditional organisation, ancient ways of business that are natural in our community, which networks and works within the community. For example, the "Hundi" system - our promissory note - cannot work with private companies- it is not legal, it cannot be done, but it is a very old and important way of finance, and continues in traditional forms (J-12).

With the entrepreneurial family as the basic organisation structure or building block, there is a strong collective entrepreneurial orientation amongst the community. As has been pointed out by a respondent – “Jains can do everything and they are doing everything” (J-2). Consequently there is no bar on them taking up any activity and this encourages entrepreneurial behaviour. Jains are therefore taught to achieve through personal efforts.

You have to attain everything through personal principles; no God will give you anything. You have to do, and you have to achieve by yourself, through your work (J-1).

This is extremely important in terms of transformational potential and in consequence for the encouragement and support for entrepreneurship. If each person is personally responsible for their position in life and can aspire therefore to

achieve anything, then transformational potential should be high in the Jain community. How this translates into entrepreneurship is explained by a respondent.

We have a 60 year old business, made and built up by my father. He struggled from 18 years to set up the business. Before that he was working for my uncle in a different business, he learnt from him and then set up his own business. Now this is a Rs 600 million company, which has taken one life time to achieve. He is 82 years old, he still comes to the office, from 10 am to 9 at night, he is in the office. I will make 600 million in my business, my son will make 6000 million. If I do not do it first, if I do not show the way, he will set low targets. I have to work, to prove and to show results, then my son will take the business and move it forward. Only then he will listen, if I do. But if I do not do, then it will be "Dad only talks, he does not do anything" (J-6)

The Jain teachers abolished the caste system for their adherents, taught that all people are equal, and that everyone can do anything. Since it is the family that is important, entrepreneurship is seen as necessary for moving the family forward and for their security. Clearly economic activities are not about individuals, but about families and the community.

Courage comes from the elders in the family who support new ventures. Those who question why to do new business anymore, we already have enough, will lose it all. Slowly, but it will all go and there will be nothing for the future generations. So we have to keep striving and achieving (J-7).

While there is a trend for the younger generation to earn professional degrees and qualifications, many community members venture into business activities even after obtaining high qualifications. In such entrepreneurship, they rely on and utilise

the traditional family and community networks. The collective entrepreneurial tradition therefore, is a very strong influence in this community.

In our community, the upcoming generations are now heading for popular professions such as Medicine, Law, Accountancy, Pharmacy, and Actuary. But many still come back to business, even after qualifying, and are now utilising their family connections and community networks in India to indulge in import, export, and also in setting up info-tech industries such as in software and call centres (J-15).

The predominant organisation form for respondents in the Jain community remains the social joint family structure, and this enhances interactions, the sense of obligation and authority within the community. The Jain community maximises these benefits of the joint family system in the social space by mirroring this structure in the economic arena, and leadership also comes from the family structure. Most learning is provided from within the family and community structures. Access to human capital acquired attributes, such as education and work experience, are achieved through community and group membership. Members of this community express a strong preference for business and collective entrepreneurship in work orientation. Potential entrepreneurs are encouraged to innovate and diversify into new areas, with the assurance that the joint family and community support structure will support and absorb them if they fail.

6.2.2. *Sikh Social Order & Equality*

In terms of basic structure, while the joint family does exist in the Sikh community, it appears to be more predominant in the villages of Punjab, or in more traditional settings.

Sikhs have the joint family system but these days it is difficult to maintain. In the city we live in small houses, in the village there were big houses, more land, everyone could live together. Land needed to be worked and everyone joined in the work. So there is more joint family in the village. When you go outside the village, then joint family becomes difficult so it is only mother, father and children as one unit. Now with TV and consumer culture, needs are more and people are looking after their personal interests more (S-1).

While the traditional organisation form is the joint family system, the basic structure that currently predominates in the Sikh community therefore appears to be that of a nuclear family, with a high degree of independence. In terms of organisation for work, individual success stories and small family groups are highlighted where work has been accomplished successfully.

In business, the family groups are the success stories. You will find successes like the Ranbaxy family. They are family business success stories. Within the family, it is quite well structured and there is family oriented leadership. That is a reason for their singular success. I do not know of anyone else. We do not have any Tatas or Birlas, any really big family group (S-8).

It is also noted that there is a lack of large business houses in the Sikh community, something which is mentioned by the respondents. Sikh businesses have not grown to large scale organisations, and remain small and medium in size. The form of work organisation that predominates seems to be the private limited

firm. The fundamental issue in the joint family system of business appears to be the presence and acceptance of authority. While the Sikh community does have the joint family system of organisation, it is observed that this is not relied upon, for reasons such as lack of accepted leadership and a desire for independence.

Most companies would be private limited or proprietorship. Yes, we can set up under the undivided family, the joint family system of business, but generally there are fights and splits. No one is prepared to accept the other person's authority. Even in Ranbaxy there was a major breakup - the father and his two sons split the company into three, and each runs his own company. This is invariably the case (S-3).

The reasons why the joint family system is not as popular or as well utilised within the Sikh community has further been addressed by respondents.

My uncles did live with us in a joint family but then when they got married, they set up their own households. Everyone wants to live independently, everyone likes to enjoy personal life. Most important, the needs are more now. There is more opportunity and the thinking of the younger people is different now. Also it has been affected by the shift from the village to the city. In jobs and service, joint family is not possible. If you have a business, then maybe you can have the joint family structure, but it is still difficult to keep everybody together (S-5).

However, the business sub-community within the Sikh community does recognise the advantages of the joint family system of organisation, which they adopt to economic advantage.

The Sikh business people, the Bhappas, do have the joint family business. They are mainly in J&K, UP and Delhi, not so much in Punjab. They are in businesses such as cloth business, chemicals, factories, retail. They are staunch Sikhs, if someone does not maintain the symbols, then they are thrown out of the community, are ignored.

They are very orthodox, very close and marry within their groups. Keep all aspects of business in the family systems. Family members have to follow strict discipline and this also makes the joint family possible (S-20).

The Sikhs are encouraged within the community to be risk takers, and to enter into new ventures, but as individuals going it alone rather than as a community driven initiative. Respondents point to an enviable ability of Sikhs to move freely and confidently across geographic boundaries, and to extend their endeavours to any area where there is opportunity.

We are a very adventurous people, always ready to travel, to enter into new areas. Our families encourage this, our history is one of moving ahead, exploring new areas, getting into trouble but always moving ahead. Generally the youngsters go, get a foothold and then other family members follow. You will find a Sikh anywhere you go in the world. Go to any airport and count the Sikhs there. I guarantee that you will find at least ten turban clad Sikhs, going somewhere, anywhere. Always on the go, always restless. Looking for new opportunities (S-18).

Personal attributes, such as the strongly independent spirit mentioned earlier, are also contributory factors to high entrepreneurial orientation in this community. There is certainly strong freedom of choice in individual development, and Sikh Individuals are not pressurised to conform or to follow prescribed lifestyle patterns, but are free to define their own paths. The Sikh community is generally seen to be very supportive of entrepreneurship, and families provide moral support and encouragement, even if there is generally very little financial and systemic support.

I have full support from my family to do these things, to take risks, to try new things. How will I get ahead in life if I do not take risks. But

they support this. I do not want help from them but it is important that I have their approval (S-20).

There is however no financial support provided by the community or the family, and Sikh entrepreneurs have to succeed independently. A lack of resources within the group is seen as an obstacle to entrepreneurial activities and risk taking.

We can set up businesses when there is some backing, some support. If there is no money, no resources in the family, then you cannot do business. I have personally got no help from the community. The religion wants to help, but the people do not. The true teachings of the religion are not being fulfilled. Yes, anywhere I go there is the Gurdwara so I can find a place to stay and get something to eat, but nothing beyond that. No trying to make jobs available for youngsters, no training assistance. I am willing to work hard, but I need to find opportunities. My community does not help in this, I am alone (S-6).

The focus for the individual Sikh is to get independently established, and achieve financial security. The emphasis is not primarily on the accumulation of money and wealth, but on stability and creating a secure future.

If I am sincere and pure and believe in God, money will come, relatives will be good, everyone will be happy with you. Money is many things but not everything. I will become a rich man through hard work, but some money is for me, some to help people. Manage my own house and teach people who are poor (S-20).

It is also seen that entrepreneurship comes about more as a result of circumstance where there are no service opportunities, and is generally more accidental or situational, rather than derived from an orientation to business.

In New Zealand at that time it was not a question of not getting a job because we were different, because we were Sikhs who wore turbans and had beards. Everyone was different, there were people from everywhere, and we were just seen as another bunch of Indians. We

did not get jobs because we did not know anything, we did not know the language, the business systems, the rules, the laws. So we bought a farm and carried out farming, and many other community members worked for us (S-9).

It does appear that there are more entrepreneurial success stories amongst the Sikhs outside of India, and the fact that Sikhs outside of India tend to be higher achievers has been highlighted by the respondents. However, this is also on an individual or nuclear family basis.

You can see individual success stories in our community, such as Sant Chatwal in Hotels, Didar Bains and Harbajan Samra in agriculture in the US. Also the rise of the political Sikhs in Canada and the UK, who have become members of Parliament and Ministers. In industry I do not know of many, maybe Thakral from Singapore and Bhai Mohan of Ranbaxy (S-16).

A possible reason for this is that business activities in the Western countries are perceived to not require resorting to dishonest and under-hand activities, and also that the benefits are seen to flow back to the entrepreneur. Both factors seem to therefore encourage entrepreneurship, as it is perceived that entrepreneurial activities can be pursued while upholding the principles of Sikhism.

The Sikhs do very well outside India. In Canada and Australia and New Zealand, so many Sikhs went and they worked hard and then found that they could get rich through hard work. They got all the support and facilities from the government and banks and other institutions. They got full support from society and then they worked even harder. You get the fruits of your labour there. In India, you work hard but someone else is always plucking the fruit of your labour. You have to bribe, and do underhand and dishonest things to make money. This goes against Sikhism. Why work if you have to be dishonest and in any case you have to give so much to dishonest people? (S-12)

However with leadership restricted to smaller, nuclear family oriented groups, and a lack of community resources being made available, much of the inherent potential within the Sikh community for entrepreneurship seems to go unrealised. The nuclear family is the norm for accomplishing work, this does not enhance or promote cohesion but rather independence, and does not effectively capture social capital value. The Sikh community can legally utilise the joint family system for business, but traditions of high independence and lack of acceptance of authority within the group seem to lead them to adopt the proprietorship or partnership form. The lack of accepted community leadership is also seen as a significant issue in orientation away from joint family systems.

In the Sikh community, it has been mentioned by respondents that members were forced into entrepreneurship because they did not know how to engage with the mainstream economy in different parts of the world, so they then established their own economic systems. Entrepreneurship is therefore seen to arise as a result of the exclusion of members of ethnic communities from society (Greve & Salaff, 2005), but again is an individual effort. The Sikh community represents an unusual situation where community orientation is collective but entrepreneurship orientation is individual.

6.2.3. *Christian Social Organisation*

Within the Christian community, the dominant and traditional organising form is stated by respondents to be the joint family.

We had a very big clan and we were all kept integrated. We all stayed in one big house so everything and everyone got together. The joint family house was very important in maintaining closeness (C-28).

However, this is noted by respondents to be changing, particularly as the community members migrate and the community becomes more aspatial in nature.

The joint family system is breaking down. We are now in Hamilton, and there is only us - my husband, me and our two children. In India we lived in one big house in Bombay, we had own wing with our own bedroom and bathroom, and the dining and kitchen area was common. Here in Hamilton we have a cousin who we used to live with in the same house in India, here we do not even talk to each other. The joint family is giving way to what you can say is the nuclear family. Just a couple and their children, everyone wants their own space, own independence. And there is much more financial independence, no one is reliant on the traditional pooled money or assets, everyone earns their own now, and spends their own (C-23).

The present basic structure in the Christian community seems to a mix of the joint family system and the nuclear family, with an increasing trend to a nuclear family structure. The Christian community does not, however, seem to perceive business as a family affair. On the contrary, business is not seen to be a desirable occupation, and consequently it is kept private and confidential, even from close family members.

I cannot ask anyone from my family, like my sons-in-law, to give up their jobs and work in my agency. I know how dirty and stressful the business is, how much corruption and how many people we have to pay off. How can I ask them to get involved? Better that they remain where they are, in good jobs, rather than get involved with this business where people are lying and cheating all the time. Let the business suffer, I make enough to support myself and I am not obligated to anyone (C-6).

In keeping with this, the form of business is generally the proprietorship form, which is seen to be simple to establish and shut down.

Generally we Christians establish proprietorship companies, since this is the simplest form and easiest to manage. Partnerships, wherever they have been done, end up in bickering and a mess. With proprietorship you have full control and can do what you want with your money. I can leave it anytime I want, with no complications (C-13).

The community members who are successful in running businesses do not provide encouragement to other community members, or even to close family members. This results in tightly controlled, individual entrepreneurial organisations, where the focus is not on growth but on survival and immediate profitability.

I can give you a concrete example of M's agency, why are her family members not involved in this profitable business? She finds it is hard to run, it is in constant crisis and she complains all the time, but cannot give it up or allow anyone else to run it. She never allowed her daughters to get involved, and now does not want to run it so will just let it run down, eventually shut it down. What sense does this make?(C-21)

There is an issue that emerges which may be critical to entrepreneurship in the Christian community, and that is to do with a general expectation or norm that economic success is to be shared with family and community members. This is explored further. Even when entrepreneurs seek to establish businesses, this is many times developed or maintained due to family pressures as a sideline, as a hobby, as an experiment, rather than a serious primary source of income.

Even in our immediate family we had people who tried to set up businesses - B's car perfume, V's buses. They could not give up their

regular jobs to develop the business. They were not allowed to, it was unthinkable. They had to run their businesses as a side show while working in their regular jobs. We cannot take risks, we have to keep the service job for monthly income. Of course they failed. How can you run a business only on the weekend? There was no backing or support, not morally or financially, from anyone, including family (C-21).

There is also an attitude of being contented with certain levels of achievement, and this puts a limit on business growth. The community members are not seen to be seeking to maximise wealth or achieve full potential in business development, merely trying to getting to a certain level of prosperity. There are many case histories narrated within the community of high achieving members, who reach a level of achievement and then stop business activities. In terms of organisation, almost all the stories are about individual enterprises or nuclear family organisations, and limits to growth in this kind of structure are seen.

All of them do not know how to use money to the highest potential. We have a rich history of being taken advantage of, we never do well in business. See the V H people, all from our community but they sold out even though they were doing so well. They were happy with what they had, cashed in once they reached a certain level. So long as it is within the family, all is fine. Once it gets to a certain level, then either we sell out or get taken for a ride by partners we bring in. There are no other alternatives or paths. Then there are the F family, who had such a good business in music but they wanted to go to Canada so they sold out. Then there are the M boys. They had three or four medical stores, and were role models in the community. They eventually sold out and went to Canada for the good life (C-20).

Since the younger members of the community are actively steered and guided into the acceptable professions, it is observed by respondents that it takes time for

them to break out of these community boundaries, even if they have powerful achievement motivations. As a result, they can only explore entrepreneurship once they have achieved a little independence from the family and community.

Parents pressure you to conform and to take jobs, not risks. Once we are at 25, we look for a job, at 35 we start looking to achieve potential, then you realise what you are capable of doing and then want to achieve. But by then it is a little late for you. Our Christian women are achieving after their children cross 10 years, they themselves are at 35 years, they marry, bring up families, and only then they look to achieve what they themselves want to do (C-20).

There is significant opposition from immediate family members to giving up of low risk jobs for high risk entrepreneurship. Strong social relationships and ties are therefore seen to work against entrepreneurship in this community.

The social network is stifling in our community, in our families, we are too much cocooned. We are smothered in cotton wool and social networks, not allowed to spread our wings and reach for our aims. The main objective is to get you into the service sector rather than the business sector. Most of our community members are working fathers, there are very few business houses or businessmen (C-21).

The lack of leadership and direction within the community, in addition to a lack of resources, is highlighted by the respondents.

Our elders do not know enough to help us in career planning, in going into new areas. They themselves have limited knowledge of the outside world and opportunities that may be available, so how can they advise us? I wanted to be an Aeronautical Engineer, but I had no marks or money. I did not have finance to get further, needed financial backing and someone to guide me. But I lacked that support (C-22).

Given the lack of an entrepreneurship orientation and support within the community, potential entrepreneurs are not just discouraged but actively prevented

from entrepreneurship. There is actually a kind of stigma associated with business and entrepreneurship within the Christian community.

S was oriented strongly toward business but his parents did not allow it. He would have done well as an entrepreneur, on his own, but he was pushed away from business and into service. The women and wives are very scared of being on the road, of being destitute. They actively dissuade their men from going into business. The issue is social security and respectability first. We are brought up to consider business people as corrupt, greedy. We look down upon them (C-20).

Respondents also highlight the value systems that they have been taught, particularly through the Church, which mandates against going into business. There is therefore no tradition of business in this community, and no support for business.

I guess because we make a big issue of virtues like honesty, integrity, and in business you have to tell lies and cheat to make money. The values that we have been taught orient us towards service not business. We are seen to be too frank and open, we cannot hide money like other communities or people. We cannot keep business matters apart from the personal life. We do not like owing money, even to Banks. If in debt, we put in all family assets into the business, an “all-in” approach which is difficult and not suitable in business (C-12).

This issue of keeping economic activities separate from non-economic activities is important, and issues such as accessing external finance or debt for business is frowned upon by family members. This certainly puts a curb on entrepreneurial initiatives, since all finance has to be sourced from within the family. The community is not risk taking and does not encourage its members to take entrepreneurial risks. Close social networks and ties are therefore seen to work against entrepreneurship and risk taking in this community.

The community is not risk taking, we are very worried by the implications and thoughts of failure. Our community members also know that if they fail, the other family members will have to support them and there are implications therefore for all the family in failure. So in reality the close knit personal and family ties are a disadvantage in business. Conversely if the family is doing well, everyone wants to claim closeness and relatedness so that some of the reflected glory rubs off on them also (C-15).

The Christian community as a result is oriented more towards service jobs than business and entrepreneurship.

Most members of my family prefer to take jobs – we are much more service oriented than business oriented. Many business members had no intention of going into business but fell into business by chance – such as my mother who was given a gas agency to run by the government when my father died in service in the Army (C-12).

The lack of support from within the community is so significant that would-be entrepreneurs from within the community recommend working outside the community if entrepreneurship initiatives are to succeed.

You will never get any support – financial, moral – from our community as an entrepreneur. If you want to do well in business, stay away from the community and work alone. Our community will only carp and criticise, negative about everything. And when you fail, they will line up to say that I told you so. In this climate, with this attitude, how can anyone succeed?(C-21)

Christian respondents also mention the fact that successful community members do not help other members of the community. Success is sought in an individual capacity, and success is not shared. This however also points to an expectation within the group that successful members should share their economic success with

other community members, or a “free rider” problem, which can significantly constrain economic activities.

Our community members are too scared to help each other. They try to show that they are self-righteous, typical of community. E is the top man in Bajaj, V is a top man in Telco, they just do not help any of us even though they are direct relatives and we meet them so often. Do not impart any information to any family members though they trade on their own personal accounts. Even in these little ways they do not support family members (C-20).

Christian businessmen do see themselves as being disadvantaged by virtue of their religion, and therefore it is noted that some Christian entrepreneurs resort to fairly extreme tactics to obtain access to resources and structures ordinarily unavailable to them as Christians. This is seen to be primarily to take advantage of organisation forms which are not available to Christians in India.

There are many people within the Christian community who have reverted back to their Hindu origins, names and caste. This is only to get the benefits of the Hindu business systems, such as the joint family structure and access to finance. There are devout Christians, who come to Church every Sunday, who use Christian first names but Hindu surnames. It is only now that I am involved in business that I understand why this is so – it gives them huge business advantages which we Christians otherwise do not have (C-21).

There is also recognition of the fact that quality of ties is lacking, particularly bonding ties, and this constrains entrepreneurship and access to resources. Consequently, some fairly extreme measures are recommended by respondents to succeed in entrepreneurial activities.

Catholic men should marry Hindu women, they will get full support from their wife and her family in business. Her family will support and

will pull you up in business. They know how to work the system to full advantage, we are unable to do that (C-21).

Clearly there are many issues within the Christian community which work against entrepreneurship. Teachings, traditions and value systems direct community members away from entrepreneurial risk taking, and therefore stifle economic initiative in this community. Christians cannot legally utilise the joint family business form, and are oriented to the proprietorship form, which is seen to be simple, allows control, and where barriers to entry and exit are low. The Christian teachings against excessive greed are noted to restrict business growth, or to motivate exit once a certain level of success is achieved.

Respondents mention how successful community members do not assist other members, di Falco and Bulte (2012) state that kinship is a major component of social capital but kinship obligations may also have adverse economic consequences due to norms and expectation around sharing, something that Christian businessmen clearly guard against. Business activities are also observed to be short term efforts, with no attempt to create an enduring entity. Once certain levels of success are attained, there is a tendency to “cash-out” of the business, interestingly observed to be driven by strong religious teachings against greed. However, it is also striking that some Christian businessmen are reverting to their Hindu ancestry and heritage, readopting the Hindu names and traditions in order to legally utilise the joint family business structure that is ordinarily denied to them as Christians. The implications of these issues are addressed in this study.

6.3. Relational Stability, Trust and Quality of Ties

Relational stability is seen to arise from such factors as a shared homeland, and a shared sense of solidarity between people of the community. Relationship stability and durability is directly correlated with high levels of trust and cooperation in the group. Trust is a very important factor that determines the strength and quality of the relational ties, and this is addressed in this section.

6.3.1. Jain Solidarity

Jains do not have a common homeland, though they are basically an India based religion. Within India, they are scattered in many parts of the country.

Jains are from India, we are from this land - but from Rajasthan, and from Gujarat. We are originally from Rajasthan, but there are Jains in all parts of India. We do not have any particular or unique state or homeland for the Jains. We are a very small community. The Jains are only 1% of India but where ever you go in the world you will find Jains. But yes, we are a unique Indian religious based community (J-5).

The Jains have established community groups all over the world, but without any significant numbers in any one place that would enable them to claim that place as home. India still remains the homeland of the Jain community. Each Jain community based in different parts of the country has developed slightly different practices, given their relative isolation and lack of contact with each other.

The Rajasthan and Marwari communities were in business and different from us. The distance between Jain communities was so large, and also the proximity and influence of other religions, so practices also differ (J-1).

Such relative isolation in various pockets around India and the world may adversely affect the creation of bonding ties, strong within geographic sub groups but weaker across them. However, in general terms, bonding ties are strong and social relations are robust amongst the Jains. Strong trust is a consequence.

I will trust anyone but I will tend to trust a Jain more. Not that I will trust him only because he is a Jain. I will certainly try, but if there is any reason to doubt, then I will not trust him. If he is a true Jain, then certainly I would trust him. There is certainly more trusting attitude within the Jains (J-6).

However, even with a general disposition to trust, Jain respondents express an non-trusting attitude toward current society and its institutions.

Now days there is very low trust. We now trust only based on personal experience. There is so much corruption in everything. So even in personal relations the doubt comes in - are they corrupt? The assumption now is that everyone is corrupt, in society even good people have been proved to be corrupt, so now we doubt everyone and trust is low (J-11).

While there is high level of trust within the extended family and the community members, there is a high level of distrust in outsiders.

There are low levels of trust. So many good businesses are collapsing because you cannot trust anyone, you cannot rely on them like our parents used to (J-12).

How trust works in this community is best exemplified by a case study that was described by a respondent in his own family. This highlights the fact that social and business relations have formed over many years, and over many generations.

Trust is generally based on many centuries of interactions and relationships. For example, I have a long standing trusting

partnership with the D. family, who are Brahmins from our Village. This family and my family - who are Jains - have had deep trust built up over centuries of interactions. Our partnership has been there over centuries, for the last seven generations, we have been in partnership and have had trusting relations. This business was entirely family managed, only their family and our family (J-1).

Clearly there are strong shared norms and values within the Jain community, and this should assist in the creation of social capital and economically useful resources within the community. The ethnic identity is strong, and group orientation is towards collectivism. The group and network sizes are small in the Jain community, which should lead to strong social capital within the community. The boundaries of the community are closed since, while anyone can become a Jain, actually maintaining the principles and practices of Jainism require "strong mindedness" and is difficult. However, there is some diffusion of boundaries with Hinduism and consequently some fuzziness and non-exclusivity in identity. Membership is homogeneous, which leads to a strong shared identity. Important attributes are summarised in Table 7.

Table 7: Jain Community Attributes

Ethnic Identity	Strong
Group Orientation	Collective
Group Size	5 Million
Network Size	Small
Community Boundaries	Closed, with minor diffusion
Group Membership	Homogeneous

Source: Original, from data

6.3.2. *Sikh Relational Ties*

No matter where the Sikh is in the world, there is always a very strong identification and association of the community with the state of Punjab in India; relationships, communication and ties with specific regions and villages are maintained. Village origins are particularly seen to be important, to create affinity and to foster closer ties.

Punjab is always my home, where my family is, where I go for holidays and special events. It will always be my place. The first thing any Sikh will ask is "which village are you from?" If you are from anywhere near in his village in the Punjab then there is an immediate bond, you are one with him, immediate friendship and identity (S-16).

The Sikhs retain strong ties to the Punjab, which is their homeland, and a place to visit often for special occasions. The Sikh community also draws upon family linkages in the Punjab and from its villages for marriage. Even with the Sikhs settled in other countries, India, and specifically the Punjab, is the place they turn to for marriage alliances. More specifically they turn to their village, and some level of endogamy is preserved and resource groups are created.

When it is time for me to get married, once I have got PR (permanent residence), then I will go to Punjab to my village to get married. My wife will come from my home village. People tell me that why do you not marry a Kiwi girl, she will get you settled, get you PR. For me that is not possible, I will be thrown out of my family, my parents will not accept it. I will only marry once I am settled, and then with my parents blessings (S-2).

Social capital is strengthened by these linkages with the Punjab and the village based families. The social network therefore remains strong and is constantly

rejuvenated by the alliances created through marriage. Sikhs share a great deal in terms of religion, history, shared struggle and traditions. It can certainly be seen that this, and the symbols, do affect in some way the attitudes and solidarity within the community, as is been mentioned by many respondents

If I have to choose between assisting two people who are equal otherwise, one person with a turban and the one person without a turban, I will have a little tilt towards that man – the one with a turban. Our communication is better. If I react to a certain situation, he knows why I have reacted like that, since we are both Sikhs (S-8).

The shared rituals and traditions of Sikhism are very important in creating a sense of togetherness; the Guru Granth Sahib is the Holy Book of the Sikhs, the living Guru, and members of the community are encouraged to constantly read from it.

Get up at 5 am, bathe and pray by reading the Holy Book . Read the Guru Granth Sahib every day. Changes come in the life from the word. It is God's gift to us, all the words come from God. If I go through the words, life is good (S-18).

The community has seen its share of crisis situations over recent years, and this has brought them together, strengthening bonding ties and solidarity.

The community is drawn together during times of crisis - like when Operation Blue Star took place, the fight at the Golden Temple, and also the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the massacre of Sikhs in the cities of India. This definitely brought the community closer together, we could only rely on each other and no one else (S-15).

It does seem that there is an issue with lack of trust both within and external to the Sikh community. Informants point to the history of the community, the constant struggle and conflict as possible reasons why trust may be low. Historical reasons are seen to promote individuals over community mechanisms.

Ours is one community where actually interpersonal faith is a little low. People living in this part of the country have had the Mughals invading us, the British came in, we are at constant war with the Pakistanis, so all that led to broken families, physically broken apart. And each one has actually struggled through his life, and struggled in a sense of even putting the other guy down to go up. So therefore interpersonal trust is a little low and I won't trust anyone unless he proves to me that he is a good guy (S-8).

There are also very low levels of trust in civic organisation within the community, and in the political system in society. Consequently, Sikhs seem to work individually, rather than rely or work with people whom they do not know and trust, and this may result in constraints on growth of organisations and entrepreneurship. Respondents also highlight personal experiences which orient them towards a lack of trust in non-community members and external institutions in India.

The Indian government? I do not trust them. There the system is not good, MLAs take money, they do not look after the people, only their own pockets. Maybe the Central government does something, but Punjab government does nothing. In India, everything takes too much time, too many bribes are to be paid and you always need influence to get work done - friends in high places. I cannot trust the Police also. My father is a policeman, he says that everyone takes money, everyone breaks rules and then pays money to get away. In society there are some good people, everywhere there are bad and good people, but the system is bad everywhere in India (S-15).

However, the situation is distinctly different outside India with regards to trust in the system.

In New Zealand, the government is good, the system works. I can get my work done with government with no problem and no payments. In New Zealand I trust the government, in India I do not. If I do not have money, the government will do something. they will help my children, they will help if we are sick and need help. There are honest people

here, who do not ask for money but do work without cheating and cunning behaviour. Nor do they like such behaviour (S-9).

However, the aggressive independent orientation of the Sikh does tend to lessen trust and solidarity within the community, with such factors as the ego and high self-belief leading Sikhs to the situation where they trust and rely only on themselves rather than anyone else. The ethnic identity is strong in Sikhism, and a unique, differentiated identity is maintained by the strong symbolism practiced by this community. Group orientation is collective but there is a strong individual entrepreneurship, or rather a self-reliant, orientation or attitude which is explored further. The group and network sizes are relatively small in the Indian context, where Sikhs constitute less than 2% of the population. Community boundaries are closed, strengthened by the strong symbolism, though there is some overlap with Hinduism in some sub groups. Group constitution is fairly homogeneous, probably due to the strong concentration of Sikhism in the Punjab region, which is its place of origin and homeland. Table 8 highlights the important Sikh attributes.

Table 8: Sikh Community Attributes

Ethnic Identity	Strong
Group Orientation	Collective
Group Size	21 million
Network Size	Small, in the Indian Context
Community Boundaries	Closed, minor diffusion
Group Constitution	Homogeneous

Source: Original, from data

6.3.3. *Christian Sub-Group Ties*

While there are some states in India where there are large numbers of Christians, there is no individual area that the Christians can consider as a homeland.

We are from Bombay. Other community people say that they are from Lucknow, or Pune or Calcutta (C-1) ... I am from Madras, my wife is from Goa (C-7)... Our family has ties with Pune and Belgaum. My Grandparents are there (C-12).

However, certain Christian communities do have strong linkages with particular states in India, as mentioned by respondents.

We Goan Roman Catholics have our own state, which is Goa, though we are a minority there. The East Indians share Bombay with us, though they are also in Calcutta and other places. All the Malayalee Christians have very strong family and cultural ties to Kerala. In the North East, of course there are Manipuri Christians and Meghalaya Christians and they have their own home states (C-16).

In general terms, many of the Christians, particularly the European origin Anglo Indians, never identified with any particular place or region as “home”, and were scattered in towns and cities throughout India, though in enclaves.

The Christians of Portuguese origin who are in Goa consider themselves Goans, but outside Goa, they become Anglo Indians. Like Peter who is of Portuguese origin but in Madras so the family has always considered themselves Anglo Indian. Then there are the English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Dutch Anglos. Like the Jansens of Abu Road, Fyfes of Madras, Kerrs of Dehradun, Noronhas of Pune (C-8).

Interestingly, many Anglo Indian Christians did not consider India home at all, but looked on England as the homeland. This was also true, to a lesser extent, for people of Portuguese and French descent, who considered those European countries as their homes.

For us, England was always home. I suppose we lived in an Anglo Indian colony, but even these Anglo Indian enclaves were not Anglo Indian property but belonged to the railways, and this was not home as such. We went back to the colony where I was born after many years, some of the old Anglo Indian families are still there, and they knew my brothers, but that is not home for us. England was home. I remember the uncertainty as a child in the 1950s, as to how we fit within Independent India. If we had a home any more (C-3).

The Christians, and particularly the Anglo Indians, could not maintain their bonding ties when they became “aspatial” in nature, and relocated around the world. The Christian community in general terms therefore has no special affinity with any particular place, and has no state or region in India that they can call home.

That is why there have been so many issues within the community and why so many people emigrated. Where was home? We had no place that we could say we were from. It was like we suddenly got lost. From being a people apart we actually came apart - just became oddities, anachronisms, relics (C-2).

As is clear from the respondents, the many different sub communities within the Christians of India do not create a strong feeling of solidarity and oneness. Rather, responses from members of each sub group highlight the differences between members of other sub groups.

They have converted the tribals, outcastes and servants in such large numbers that we have lost all identity and identification with the congregation. The Christians in India have become a backward class, but without any of the benefits of such backward class status, such as reservations and government support (C-27).

Reference is also made by the respondents to the fact that Christianity in Kerala is different, developed in a more Indian or local manner, while in other parts of

India, Christianity was more imposed by colonial rulers, missionaries or external teachers. However there are also other differences that make it difficult to achieve any sense of solidarity in the larger Christian community.

The Kerala community has their retreats and special prayer sessions, their different traditions, but they only speak Malayalam so we other Christians cannot take part since we do not understand anything. They are a closed community in many ways (C-12). In Bombay everyone is accepted. The only people that we Goan Catholics fight against are the Catholics from Mangalore. We call them "Mangis" they call us cooks, butlers(C-9) The Goans and Anglos are also Christian like us. But we look down on them, Anglos are only looking to have fun, they are extra fun loving. Our parents and elders have this ego, this pride that they are different, are special. We are East Indian (C-22).

Such issues definitely have an effect on bonding ties. It is clear that while there is trust within the immediate, well known members of the community or family, such trust does not seem to extend to the entire community.

Generally, when you know the person of a community, you also know the people around him. So I would trust a member of my community more than some external person. You can trust because so much information about him is known. I would certainly trust people within my family. And I know that they would trust me and do anything for me. Outside of the family, I would be careful (C-13).

There are significant issues with community-wide trust. One issue with trust is the fact that the community is fragmented and scattered, and each sub-group has its own internal structural issues, leaderships and problems. Trust then breaks down at the boundaries of these sub-groups and remains limited to the immediate social grouping. Personal interaction and knowledge is seen therefore as a significant

factor in their dealings within the community. A second issue, as many respondents state, is that trust in Indian society and its institutions is very limited, and that social institutions have been corrupted.

I feel that to trust was always part of our basic Christian education and it is still important, in that we want to trust and have faith in people. However the scenario has changed. This has become a materialistic world and our scepticism of people, given our history, is understandable. It is better to be safe than sorry. Personal relationships are different and can be particularly valued. I know my family and the people from my community that I meet with and interact socially. I would trust them, my people. I would not trust people outside this social group as much, unless they are personally known to us (C-15).

It is also pointed out that, since there are limited Christian business organisations, the issue of inter community trust in business does not really arise.

There is very little by way of big businesses that is sponsored or run by Christians, so the question of trust in business within the community does not really arise. It is more a question of how you are perceived as an individual by society that impact relationships and indirectly, the issue of trust. To be a Christian is to be someone apart, someone different, of whom more is expected, so life is an on-going challenge. One is acutely conscious of the fact that you are received as being different, so your standards are always higher (C-4).

Members of this community are open hearted and have a propensity to share what they have, but are aware that generosity and charitable assistance may not always result in reciprocation.

When we were growing up, we certainly trusted members of the community, especially the elders. The word of the elders was law. Now with experience and having seen what I have in my own family, I would make sure that I have my back covered, I still give but with no expectations of return. Would still trust, but much more calculative,

there are limits to my trust. I only trust to the extent of what I could afford to lose. If I had 100,000 rupees, and my brother would say let's go into business, I would first evaluate if I can lose the 100,000 rupees or not. So I believe in analysing and saying alright I can spare this, so it is an investment and if it comes back, cheers (C-22).

Trust seems to be more calculative trust than open trust, in that trust depends on how well the person is known. The Christian ethnic identity appears flawed because of the high fragmentation of the community, and many sub groups exist around the world. The group orientation is towards collectivism, though this coalesces around sub group concentrations. The group size is 24 million, which is small in the Indian context, but the potential network size is large, since it can include all worldwide Christians. Lower tie density then leads to lower social capital, which is further hindered as community boundaries are open and group membership is heterogeneous, comprising many different types of people, from myriad origins and backgrounds. Common identity is therefore weak in the Christian community. Table 9 highlights the important Christian community attributes.

Table 9: Christian Community Attributes

Ethnic Identity	Weak, Fragmented
Group Orientation	Collective but Sub - Groupism
Group Size	24 million
Network Size	Large; potentially includes all worldwide Christians
Community Boundaries	Open
Group Membership	Heterogeneous

Source: Original, from data

6.4. Discussion: Ethnicity and Relational Ties

There are six areas examined in exploration of Ethnic or ethnic group identity (see Table 10) - a collective name, a shared history, a myth of descent or a common ancestry, a common culture including language and customs, a particular homeland, and a sense of solidarity (Chandra, 2006; Smith, 1986).

Table 10: The Ethnic Group Identity of the Communities

Ethnic Factor	Jains	Sikhs	Christians
Common Name	Yes- a single name that identifies the community members	Yes- A single proper name that all members of the community identify strongly with.	Yes - but many qualifiers within the proper name.
Shared Origin	Yes - a clear storyline and understanding of origins	Yes- clear myth of descent	No - Each sub group has a unique story.
Shared History	Yes- A long, century spanning story with clear narrative	Yes- Strong history, traditions and legends. Relatively recent history but strong.	Fragmented - many paths to Christianity. Within sub groups - Common history with similar storylines.
Common Culture	Yes- Unique culture and traditions. Striking at times in their uniqueness	Yes- Strong and unique culture with a common formal language	Yes- common cultural elements. Different languages specific to sub groups.
Link with Homeland	No - Lack of a common homeland, though India based group	Yes- Strong historical and continuing linkages with the Punjab	No common homeland. Sub groups identify with particular territories.
Sense of Solidarity	Yes- Strong sense of solidarity.	Yes- solidarity created through many institutions	No - heavily fragmented, but solidarity through Church.

Source: Original, from data

Vissa (2012, p.154) found that “language similarity, caste similarity, and task complementarity had a strong, additive effect on entrepreneurs’ intentions to form interpersonal ties”. Similarly, in discussing social capital in the context of India, Serra (1999, p.15) states that a “basic tenet is that people similar to one another in terms of language, ethnicity and culture manage to cooperate more successfully due to ease of communication, possibility of building reputation and trust, and the presence of common values and conventions”. The implications for ethnic group identity and collectivism are explored in the next section.

6.4.1. A Collectivist Orientation

It is observed that the Jain and Sikh community have internal cohesiveness and unity, with a strong individual history that is unique to each community. The Christian community, by contrast, is strikingly fragmented, with each individual sub group or fragment presenting a personal history and narrative that is individual and unique to itself. The community structure is spread out, fragmented and open ended, forming splinter groups, with multiple regional groups developing their own identity, boundaries and structures. Differences in geographic concentration and history determine the identity of such sub groups. The Sikh community is the only one that has an identification with a specific homeland and areas, while both the other communities are scattered. The Jain and Sikh community have a strong solidarity, created through common traditions, norms and cultures, but the Christian

community does not have overall group solidarity, though sub-groups do demonstrate strong internal solidarity.

Respondents from each community consistently exhibited a collective orientation and the powerful influence of century-old traditions. In each of the communities, self-concept is strongly identified with group identity, and respondents identify themselves primarily as Jains, Sikhs or Christians rather than emphasising individual attributes. In the Christian community, the primary identification is actually with the sub group, then with the main Christian identity, but this is consistent with Triandis et al. (1990) who observed that such in-groups can be conceptualised as concentric circles. In all three communities, group goals take precedence over personal objectives, social behaviour is determined by norms and obligations, and relationships are the most important consideration. Hierarchy and harmony are respected and given due importance in each community. The Sikh community does stress self-reliance, but this is not isolationism and independence, but rather seen in terms of not being a burden on the community, which is perceived to conform with collectivism. The group, rather than the individual, is the basic element of society in all the three communities, and so the collective orientation of each community is enduring (Triandis et al., 1990). This collective orientation then is another significant factor in the Indian management framework.

Bonding is “achieved primarily as the collective matures and strong recursive bonds develop” (Payne, Moore, Griffis, & Autry, 2011, p. 494). The important

aspects of relational embeddedness include interpersonal trust, overlapping identities, and solidarity within the group (Moran, 2005). Strong group identity is believed vital for cooperation and sharing of information, resources and knowledge (Pearson et al., 2008). Identification with the collective is then seen to lead to high levels of cooperation between group members. These issues are therefore explored further in the next section.

6.4.2. Trust and Reputation Effects

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) discuss trust, identification and obligations as important components of relational social capital. Table 11 highlights important community parameters in each group.

Table 11: Community Relational Parameters

Parameter	Jain	Sikh	Christian
Trust	High	Low	Low
Identification	High	High	Low
Obligation	High	Low	Low

Source: Original, from data

The Jain community demonstrate high trust, identification and a feeling of obligation and reciprocity within the community. It is pointed out in the Jain community that trust and honour is backed by the entire network of kinship and relationships in which it is embedded (Westwood, 2000). Trust is a crucial factor in determining how these communities are structured for work and for interaction with outsiders. Jain philosophy underlines collectivism, business is a community activity consistent with spiritual teachings, and common resources such as trust are

extremely valuable in economic settings. The Sikh community appears to promote low intra community trust and low obligation, even though identification remains strong. Trust in the Christian community is severely affected by the fragmented and splintered nature of the community. Trust, predictability and reciprocity are stronger therefore within individual Christian sub groups rather than for the entire community as a whole. Trust falters at the boundaries of these sub-groups and remains limited to the immediate family and close interactive social grouping.

Fukuyama (2001) has discussed how a social group can have a radius of trust where there is a positive spill over effect based on the values and reputation of the group. Reputation is stated to be extremely important in an economic sense as it is used “as a cognitive shorthand by stakeholder groups to make inferences” about the group (Mishina, Block, & Mannor, 2012, p. 460). While the Jain teachings of Aparigraha stress non attachment to material wealth, nevertheless the accumulation of wealth is seen as a sign of spiritual blessing in the community and the honesty of the Jain business community is noted as being world famous over many centuries (Mohandoss, 1996). The Jains are “recognised as a deeply religious community who exercise a powerful hegemony in Gujarat and beyond on the pure and moral life” (Westwood, 2000, p. 862). Such valuable character reputations take considerable time to create and are “subject to both time compression diseconomies and asset mass efficiencies” (Mishina et al., 2012, p. 470).

The Sikh community is similarly perceived as possessing a strong value system and a reputation for honesty and integrity, and respondents appear very conscious that their actions reflect on the community and collective reputation. It is mentioned that “the reservoir of social capital that has been accumulating over time is substantial and able to flow into relations between Sikhs and non-Sikhs especially in the domain of modern economic exchange” (Paxson, 2004, p. 14). The Sikh radius of trust is also seen to be larger than the group (Fukuyama, 2001), with positive spill-over effects. Christian respondents have similarly mentioned how members of the community have a reputation in business of being honest and adhering to the values of Christianity. Such reputational effects, which stem from the unique philosophies, value systems and cultures in each community, can give rise to particularly useful and valuable resources. This is further examined in this study.

6.4.3. *Relational Closure – The Joint Family System*

In social organisation, respondents from all communities state that they traditionally rely on the joint family system, where extended family networks co-exist in a common family home. Closure is possible in this system, since there are strong, dense and multiplex ties connecting all members. However, in more recent times and as the communities relocate around the world, there are significant differences in social organisation. Members of the Jain community retain a collective orientation and the relatively closed, dense joint family structure, but the other two communities re-form their social organisation as a nuclear family structure.

Philosophical traditions and teachings stressed by respondents from the Sikh and Christian communities, particularly individualism and self-reliance, also work against the joint family system, and so significant value is dissipated. The reliance on the nuclear family over the joint family disadvantages the Sikh and the Christian community entrepreneurs, as many of the benefits of the joint family system are lost to them, including the ability to create resource groups through intra-community marriage alliances between joint families. Business ties in India are seen to form along kinship and ethnic lines, and business succession and continuity is ensured not through the individual firm but rather the family structure (Iyer, 1999). Closure can potentially be strong for family firms, but if there is not “sufficient closure in the collective, valuable social capital may not develop” (Pearson et al., 2008, p. 961). This joint family system is recognised in this study as a critically important organisational structure that maximises relational capital, through allowing for high levels of interaction, transparency in relationships and the creation of high quality relational ties (Liu, Ghauri, & Sinkovics, 2010).

Respondents from all the communities consistently demonstrated an orientation and preference to working as family units, rather than in impersonal body corporates. The concepts of business and family therefore seem practically equivalent, and this equivalence is believed to provide for stability and economic benefits (Iyer, 1999). However, this is also seen to lead to a cognitive overlap between the concepts of ownership and management, and the two terms are

observed to be practically synonymous in the Indian context, with respondents making very little differentiation between the business and the personal spheres. There is a strong interplay between economic and non-economic activities in the Indian framework, the “family firm, kindred, caste, and religious group continue to be significant” for all economic activities, and “commercial transactions remain embedded in a complex constellation of non-economic rights, duties and obligations” (Menning, 1997, p. 69). There is a high degree of social and relational embeddedness in each social group, respondents are strongly rooted in family systems and subsequently deeply embedded in community constellations. This embeddedness in family and community is recognised as an important aspect of the Indian management framework.

The next chapter discusses the nature of interaction with mainstream society, bridging ties, the hierarchies and leadership, and the important social institutions which facilitate sociability and dense ties in each community.

Chapter 7. Structure & Organisation

The third global theme that emerges from the analysis of the dataset addresses the way the communities are organised, and issues like bridging ties, leadership and social institutions within each community emerge as being particularly important. This chapter therefore addresses global theme No. 3: structure & organisation. Each of the communities forms a unique network, where members interact in certain ways. The configuration of this network, the overall pattern of interactions, the hierarchies and the densities of ties between members are the themes that are discussed. In terms of Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) framework, this global theme is observed to corresponded to the structural domain of social capital.

The structural domain is about social interactions, density and connectivity of social ties (Pearson et al., 2008). "Organisations structurally reflect socially constructed reality", define and direct ways of coordination, and are embedded in the context of social institutions in each group (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 346). The institutions that facilitate interaction and networking in the communities that lead to the creation of dense ties are therefore evaluated. An important theme that emerges coalesces around the theoretical construct of leadership. The global theme in this section is then observed to be comprised of three organising themes, as portrayed in Figure 7.

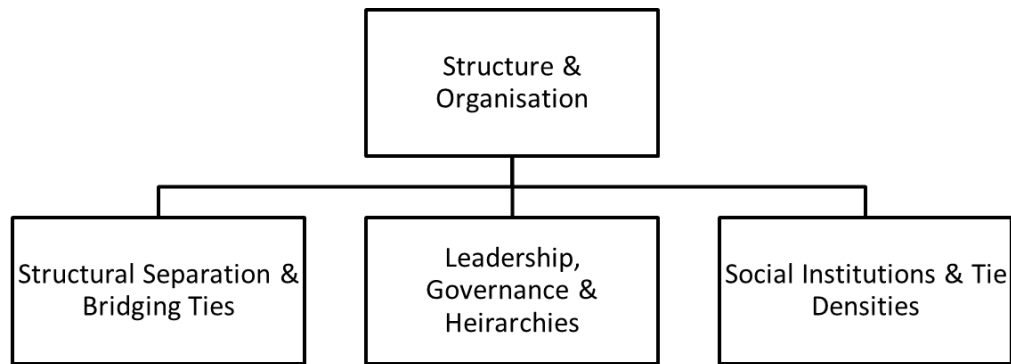


Figure 6: Global Theme No.3 - Structure & Organisation

7.1. Structural Separation & Bridging Ties

This section has its focus on how the ethnic communities interact with general society, and the bridging ties that they develop with other communities. Shared teachings, traditions and beliefs may provide internal coherence, but also have an impact on external ties, networks and relationships. Structural embeddedness has been discussed in terms of the “relative proportion of internal and external ties” and it is also stated that “structural embeddedness increases when the number of external ties decreases or the number of internal ties increases” (Simsek, Lubatkin, & Floyd, 2003, p. 431). Internal bonding ties have been examined in connection with the relational domain, this section discusses external bridging ties.

7.1.1. *Jains and Hindu Society*

Mahavira's teachings that every living being was equally important had very important implications for the order and structure in society, as it led to a direct challenge to the existing hierarchy, authority and control systems in Hindu India.

Mahavira challenged the existing social structure of society. In that time, society was divided into four rigid strata with the Brahmins at the very top. The Brahmins kept all the rights and all the literature was only in their preserve. 97% of the population were illiterate and if they had any problems, had any desires they wanted fulfilled, they looked for solutions from God, who would grant all wishes. Access to God was however only through the Brahmins, who alone had the power of intercession and appeasement. We do not believe in this social system, there is nothing like the four wings of society. All of us are equal and there is nothing called God (J-5).

The prime teaching of Mahavira has to do with the removal of restrictions on thought and on controlling forces within society. Free access to knowledge was a key philosophy of Mahavira. These teachings continue to have deep relevance in the motivating forces, value systems and attitudes of the Jains, and this affects economic activity, social and work organisation, and the types of work done. These teachings of Mahavira, however, put him in direct conflict with the power brokers of society, and such opposition to the Brahmins still serves to underline a demarcation between the Jains and Hindu society. This is evaluated further in this study.

You have to understand what society was like in the times of Parshvanath and Mahavira. Now Mahavira's message is accepted, but at that time it was revolutionary. Remove the Brahmins from the centre of personal existence (J-4).

The Brahmins naturally have strong reactions to this teaching, and this can create conflict between the Jains and the authority figures in the larger mainstream society, affecting external social networks. The philosophy taught by the Jain teachers is therefore held to be entirely different to, and in many cases directly opposing, the dominant philosophy in society.

Mahavira's philosophy was therefore known as Atman Philosophy, the Shravan philosophy. Jain and Buddhism have this philosophy, where everyone has the capacity and ability to gain knowledge. The other side, which they opposed, was the Brahmin philosophy. So we had the Shravan and the Brahman philosophies (J-2).

This, along with the strong opposition to the Brahmin priestly and controlling caste, can have important implications for the ability to create bridging ties within society, and therefore to the accessibility to external resources and opportunities. However, there is another major teaching of Jainism, which is about acceptance of all points of view or Anikantvada, which mitigated this isolating effects to some extent. This powerful teaching on acceptance of all viewpoints as equally valid has a strong influence on the relationship and consequently on the bridging ties of Jainism within society, and is explained by respondents as follows.

We believe in “Anikantvada”, which means plurality. Whatever you say may be true; whatever I say may be true. There is no absolute truth, 100% truth is difficult. Today’s truth may not be the truth tomorrow. The human mind is incapable of understanding all aspects, all facets of anything. The brain comprehends in only one way, sees things from one particular angle or direction. It depends on what part, or perspective or focus you understand or are exposed to. That part which you see, you understand, you comprehend. We appreciate this (J-1).

This has important implications for the creation, development and continuance of bridging ties between the Jains and other communities and societies. The concept of Anikantvada means that Jains have a high degree of acceptance of other people's views, and that they are prepared to "put themselves into the other person's shoes" to see things from their perspective.

We do consider the view of other religions and philosophies. That is Anikantvada. It is a mistake to be too wedded to your own religion and way of thinking, others may be correct. There are infinite attributes and properties of every object and every view, how can I understand them all? I accept that I am limited in my thinking and can see things only from my narrow perspective. Anikantvada means seeing reality, what is truth, from many prisms, from many viewpoints. All are correct, who can say which is wrong? (J-6)

This leads therefore to a high degree of acceptance within Jains of other people, their views and their beliefs. This is exemplified by the respondents, who mention how they participate in other organised religious traditions in India.

I am a devout Jain, but I have been reading the Bible for many years, from a young age. (J-6) I am a strict Jain but I go to the Hindu Sai-baba Temple every week, because I believe in it. I meet my Hindu friends there, and we pray together (J-3) ... we have a statue of Lakshmi, the Hindu Goddess of wealth, in our office because we are businessmen, she is important to us (J-11).

There is no active efforts at conversion of other people to the Jain religion. Consequently this limits conflict with established religion in society, and with the leaders of other religions, who do not see Jainism as a threat.

In the Jains there is no concept of conversion, of preaching and converting to the religion. By carrying out conversion of people from other faiths, you cause hurt to family members, hurt community members and this is against Ahimsa. This is not good. That action which amounts to "Himsa", to injury, you should not do it. But if someone wants to join, let them join. So the Jain scriptures have not be publicised, mass printed and given out in the streets. There are no prayer meetings, evangelisation, that concept does not exist in Jains (J-6).

Ahimsa therefore also flows into the way the Jain religion is taught, and this attitude has very important implications for the relationships and ties that the

religion develop with other parts of society. There are some other issues however, that are seen to influence bridging ties between the Jains and general Indian society. There has an on-going interaction between Jains and Hinduism over centuries, which may result in a certain fuzziness in the boundaries of the community, and a certain lack of exclusivity in membership. This critical issue around identity and exclusiveness has been mentioned by respondents in the interviews.

According to the last census in Goa, there are shown to be 800 Jains. But the actual numbers of Jains in Goa runs into many thousands. There are at least 100 Jain families in Madgaon, 50-60 in Ponda, and many more in each of the villages and towns. In the 2001 census, while actually there are more than 5000 to 7000 Jains in Goa, the Gujarati and Rajasthani Jains stated that they were Hindus, not Jains (J-1).

There is therefore a group within the community that identifies itself as Hindus, and there is also pressure from external forces in society for Jain to identify themselves with Hinduism.

We may register ourselves in the census forms as Jains, but the Census staff write this as Hindu-Jains; anyone not Christian, Sikh or Muslim is considered to be a Hindu. It is diluting the Jain identity, it is a bad thing. Every generation forgets some more of the religion and practices and traditions. Every year the number will be less and then in some generations the entire religion and its traditions will be lost (J-2).

So it is clearly seen that there is some sort of merger or assimilation with Hinduism. Respondents do point out that this blurring of borders with Hinduism may however lead to dilution of the Jain identity. This lack of closure of the community and diffusion of boundaries with mainstream society can have very important

repercussions on the creation of social capital, on levels of enforceable trust and shared norms or values. Clearly, the Jain community is not entirely exclusive, there are relatively porous boundaries, and this may impact solidarity and cohesiveness to some extent. How this lack of exclusivity and closure of the community impacts opportunism or undermines trust is explored. Why some Jains want to be classified as Hindus, as explained by respondents, has to do with the creation of bridging ties, which then allows the Jain entrepreneurs access to external resources, opportunities and markets. Clearly, there are sections of the Jain business community that are seeking to improve the quality of ties, and to strengthen them so that additional opportunities and resources can be accessed.

One reason is that many Jains in North India are in business so they do not want to be in the minority. They want to be included in the larger society so they can benefit. So it is more the North Indian Svetambaras, the business people, who want to be seen as Hindu. The rich and powerful people in the community want to be one with the Hindus (J-2).

It is also mentioned by respondents that many prominent politicians and spiritual leaders in India are Jains, but they do not explicitly say so, as they are not averse to be considered as part of Hinduism for their personal purposes. This again creates strong bridging ties with the majority in society, and most importantly improves the quality of such ties, since leadership spans across communities.

The Indian God-man, religious leader Osho, Bhagvan Rajneesh, is actually a Jain - Chandra Mohan Jain. He is from Madhya Pradesh State. Chandraswami is a Jain from Jabalpur in Rajasthan. He is a Digambara Jain (J-1).

The reference here is to two internationally recognised Indian spiritual "Gurus". Another common practice that leads to high quality of bridging ties is inter-marriage between Jains and specific Hindu sects.

I am a Vaishnava Hindu Shah from Goa originally, and I married into a Jain Shah family in Bombay. It was like a culture shock, like I was dropped into a new culture. So much is different, the food allowed, the ways of fasting are different, even the temples are very different. I had to make a lot of adjustments (J-9).

This again leads to the creation of strong and enduring bridging ties of the Jains with the larger Indian society, again leading to an improvement in quality of ties. Such strong, "high quality" bridging ties would certainly then result in access to new information, new ideas and flexibility.

I am a pure Jain from Gujarat, I have married a Goan girl; she was non vegetarian and Hindu. Now she is with us she has adopted our practices, and is careful to observe the principles. She does not eat non vegetarian food. She is well accepted within our community, our members and elders say that this is good; you are bringing more members to our community. There are no rituals, she just adopts our way of life. There is no process to get into or enter the religion, to become Jain; you just have to open your heart and mind (J-3).

Despite this trend, respondents are clear and adamant that, in terms of beliefs and philosophies, Jainism is entirely different from Hinduism. Respondents also point out that worship and ways of worship is different, highlighting the differences between Hinduism and Jainism.

There may be some influence between Jainism and Hinduism, but I will say that the influence or similarities between Jainism and Buddhism are more. In any matter, Jainism is separate. Jainism existed much before Hinduism. Our scriptures and deities are

different. I say to all those people who say we are Hindus, go to the Hindu temples with your idols and ask them to install them in the Hindu temple. See what they say then about our idols being recognised as Hindu God or deities. See the reaction from the Hindus, they will not accept this, and then after that tell me if you can still say we are Hindu (J-6).

There is therefore, a visible tension between Jainism and Hinduism. Despite the differences, and in particular the opposition of the Jains to the influence of the Brahmins, the Jain influence on Hinduism has been considerable, and the two paths have developed side by side in India over centuries. Highly visible pious behaviour in general society also is seen to go a long way in terms of reputational effects.

We follow Jiva-daya, respect for life forms. During the Purusham festival, and our ten day fasting ritual, we even take care to stop other people killing animals. Many Jains give donations to the Muslim Katal-khanas, the butcheries, to stay closed during this time. Another example is our feeding of the Doves. We have a courtyard near our house, and every day we sprinkle grain to feed the birds. Over 10 kgs of grain is used up within four days just by my household (J-3).

These actions are very visible in society and serve to strengthen the Jain reputation for charity and piousness. This also leads to high quality bridging ties of the Jains with mainstream society, which may improve access to resources, and is an important factor which is evaluated further in this study.

7.1.2. Sikhism and Bridging Ties

Sharing some similarities with Jainism and Buddhism, Sikhism also started as a social reform movement that challenged practices in society.

His (Guru Nanak's) basic teaching was about the moral values of the mankind and the reason why he came and taught was to assist us to

break away from ritualism, break away from all the evils prevalent in society at that time, the 1500s. I think that was the main thing that Sikhism was based on - a return to moral values (S-14).

Despite the opposition by the Sikh Gurus to the prevailing religious practices in India at the time, tolerance and understanding of other religions is an integral part of the Sikh faith. The Gurus taught that all religions worship the same God and differ only in form. This acceptance of other faiths goes a long way in assisting the Sikhs in the creation of bridging ties within society, something which is explored in subsequent sections of this thesis.

There are paths to reach God - Hinduism, Christianity, Sikhism. These are all just different paths. I accept all paths (S-1)

It has been mentioned earlier that the strong symbolism of the Sikhs serves to keep them apart from mainstream society. However, it is pointed out by respondents that many Sikhs no longer maintain the turban and other visible symbols of Sikhism, and this is then leading to a blurring of boundaries between Sikhs and Hindu society.

We are three brothers who are absolutely Sikh in appearance, and on the other side we have two of our brothers who are absolutely clean shaven and who do not wear turbans. They are Sikhs in the sense that they follow the religion, but they do not have the physical appearance of the Sikhs (S-8).

Even some of the respondents who wear turbans do not maintain the other symbols of Sikhism, and only wear the turban to conform to what is expected of them by society. Members of the community maintain that the symbols are not necessary, since it is the behaviour and belief that make a Sikh.

It is actually more to identify myself with my community that I wear a turban. I cut my hair short. I do not wear a Kara. I never carry a "Kirpan". I do not become any lesser Sikh if I cut my hair. I do not need these symbols, they are more shackles and I needed to break away from these shackles (S-7).

However, this does lead to a certain merging of Sikhs with general society, and does affect bridging ties. That such attitudes also affects bonding ties is also clear in the responses of other community members.

There is a difference between the true Sikh, the one who is baptised or amritdhari. Some Sikhs drink, do drugs - they are not true Sikhs. The true Sikhs follow all teachings, including maintaining the symbols (S-4).

However, respondents are adamant that this is a minor difference, a Sikh is distinguished by his acceptance and adherence to the values of the religion, not just the symbols.

This is a kind of politicisation which began in our religion with the Tenth Guru. He stated that this is the way a Sikh looks like or "Khalsa" will look like. Now people are actually confused between "Khalsas" and Sikhs. A Khalsa is a guy who is actually literally following what the Tenth Guru said (in terms of symbols) whereas a Sikh is a person who follows the basic values of the Sikh religion. It is ultimately and fundamentally the values that are important (S-5).

In terms of appearances therefore, there is some loss of identity, which may affect both bridging and bonding ties. There is a great deal seen to be common between the Sikhs and the Hindus of the Punjab, and the lines are often blurred between the communities. In a family, one son may be brought up as a Sikh, while the others continue to follow the Hindu faith. Bridging ties are strong as a

consequence, and Sikhs find it easy to develop social ties outside their community in India. This does mean that the community is not entirely exclusive and closed, and there is some degree of shared identity and blurring of boundaries. Marriages across community lines to Hindus are also seen to be accepted in the community.

That is one group in society who follow the tradition that the eldest son in the Hindu family is to be made a Sikh. They have strong ties to both Hindus and Sikhs (S-1) My sister is married to a Hindu gentleman (S-8).... My mother is a Hindu, she is from a traditional Hindu family. Her name is M. Devi, which is a Hindu name and she does not write "Kaur" after her name like Sikh women do. But she has been very particular to bring her sons up as Sikhs. All her six sons had long uncut hair, and all maintained the Sikh symbols (S-8).

Lack of closure within the community may affect reputation and trustworthiness, since both are adversely affected by open community structure, and this may also adversely affect collective sanctions. This is explored further.

7.1.3. Christians and Mainstream Society

Unlike the other religions, Christianity did not evolve from within India but was brought to India over the centuries by various religious leaders and immigrant groups, as discussed in section 4.2.3. It may be seen that there is a kind of imposition of Christianity on India, which may lead to conflict with mainstream society. However, Christianity has also co-existed with other faiths in India over many centuries. In terms of bridging ties, it is seen that there are major issues in the teachings of the church that adversely affect the creation of bridging ties in Indian

society. One of the major teachings of the Church, which some respondents say that they struggle with, is the issue of tolerance and acceptance of other faiths.

Our God is a jealous God – “thou shall have no Gods before Me”. The Priest is also adamant on this and I have had many arguments with him. When we visit Temples or show respect to the Hindu Gods in our friend's houses, are we breaking the main Commandments? We have lived in India all our lives, we see how devout our non-Christian, other religion, neighbours are. We can accept that they are also on the right path even if they follow a different religion, but our religion says no - they are wrong, the only way to salvation is through Jesus. We are intolerant in this, and it is at odds with our Indian culture, which accepts all religions (C-12).

The Christians, and in particular the Anglo Indian Christians, have always maintained a more Western orientation, and are in many ways then a people apart in India. The isolation from mainstream society is most marked for the Anglo-Indians, though the lifestyles and culture of the other Christian groups also led to some isolation. Identifying with Indian society was traditionally unacceptable for the Anglo Indians, and they went to great lengths to keep themselves apart from common society.

To marry an Indian was a step down, you were marrying someone inferior. They always thought of other non-Anglos as "Indians" in a derogatory way. Our people would look down at the other Indian communities (C-19).

This has important implications in terms of achieving acceptance in society, in the ability to create bridging ties. The perception of aloofness of the Anglo Indian certainly affect bridging ties in general Indian society. The migration and increase in

aspatiality of the community adversely affected bonding ties, but lead to the development of strong bridging ties in the western societies where they migrate.

At one time the Anglo-Indians were very high in society, but then what happened was that most of the well-off people immigrated to England, Australia and Canada. Immediately post-independence, the exodus was more because everybody saying that you do not know what is going to happen. Gradually lots of Anglo-Indians went overseas and those that were left sort of integrated. From 1950 onwards, I would say that the community has lost its identity (C-3).

Given the western orientation and affinity, many Christians find it easy to create bridging ties when they migrate outside of India, particularly where the majority society follow Christianity.

We are Christian so it was easier to integrate in NZ. We speak English from birth, dress in a western style, our food habits are more western so we find it easier or natural to integrate here in NZ. My father, if you see in this family group photograph, is very fair. He is often mistaken for a European and when he came to Hamilton, we were at the Lake and he was asked if he was Kiwi. They said they did not realise that he was an Indian. We will keep our community identity to an extent, but more within limited circles, family circles (C-25).

There is definitely a major effect on the identity of the community when they travel to different parts of the world, and it is seen that the bridging ties increased to such an extent that basic identity can be lost.

Now you can be taken sometimes for a Spanish and Italian person. I remember when I was in England, they thought I was Italian. So, you go to Australia, you meet the white people, and you become Australians. So you just integrate with them and your Anglo-Indians are slowly disappearing. You cannot tell anymore, no. That is why I said, they have just merged in where ever they have gone (C-3).

In more recent times however, integration and bridging within India has been facilitated and encouraged by the fact that there is much more social mixing at the residential level, in schools and at the workplace.

The neighbourhood has changed, at one time our area only had families from our own community living there. Now many outsiders have come in, many new different community members, schools are now all mixed community, even at our social gathering we see many different community people attending. Slowly we are getting diluted as a community. We look to integrate rather than segregate. The modern trend is to integrate. Older people were more segregated, stayed aloof, now we have no choice. Our places have developed so much. We have gone from our Bungalows to living in high rise apartments buildings. There are all kinds of people now in this place (C-23).

There was certainly acceptance of the situation at one level and integration with the larger Indian society, and therefore more bridging ties are created between the Christian community and mainstream Indian society. This is a more recent trend however, and in general terms bridging ties remain relatively weak in Indian society though they are stronger outside India, in the Western societies.

In terms of bridging ties in each community, researchers have noted strong and enduring connections between Sikhism and Hinduism, it is observed that a "cloud of devotional Hindus form a penumbra of the Sikh movement" (Smart, 1995, p. 387). It is also observed that "while there is considerable overlap between Jains, Sikhs and Hindus in day to day lives, Christians tend to be outside this circle" (Vanneman, Desai, & Noon, 2006, p. 9). These findings are substantiated in this study, and this does have a strong influence on the creation and nature of bridging ties.

Bridging with the mainstream Indian society is easier for communities which have evolved from within India, such as the Jain and Sikh. Strong bridging ties in the Jain community are also derived from the unique Jain perspective that accepts all viewpoint or Anikantvada. Sikh attitudes of acceptance and tolerance facilitates bridging, is exemplified by the assertion from respondents that they accept that they are different paths to reach God, and that all paths are valid. Bridging ties are stronger for the Christian community outside of India than within, where society shares the same religious beliefs. A reason for weaker bridging ties in India may lie in the essential Christian teachings which stress the denial of false Gods, which respondents say create barriers with mainstream society. This can then adversely affect access to resources, and is explored further.

7.2. Leadership, Governance & Hierarchies

In terms of network structure within the social space, hierarchy is believed to be an important dimension of social structure. It is observed that groups with strong leadership and a top-down, hierarchically organised family are expected to foster greater loyalty, obligation and mutual cooperation. Leadership in each community is therefore addressed in this section.

7.2.1. Jain Collective Leadership

Mahavira challenged the existing order in society and established a new order which recognised equality amongst people. Jain philosophy and traditions hold firmly in the equality of all human beings, and further in the teachings that knowledge should be made available to all.

The concept of equality between all was preached by Parshvanath and Mahavira. All human beings, including women, have a full right to acquire knowledge (J-10).

At the community level, therefore, this leads to the creation of a flat structure, with a very limited hierarchy. While the rest of Indian society remains top down and hierarchically structured, the Jains have a much less vertically structured form of organisation. The Jains rejected the Brahmin oriented hierarchy system in society, and Jain teachings essentially hold that there are only two divisions in any society - man and woman, both equal in status.

He (Mahavira) came to accept and preach Samatha, the concept of equality. There are only two equal divisions in human beings, man and woman; and then there are division into the Sadhus and Shravaks, holy people, both men and women (J-14).

This also removes much of the leadership and authority figures from within Jain organisation. With everyone being considered equal, who provides leadership in the Jains, or where does leadership come from? This is an important consideration as strong central leadership is relevant in the structural domain of social capital.

Leadership comes from the Sanghas, the collective of sages who achieve knowledge and who are accepted for their wisdom. They then form a Sangha and get young ascetics, who join the Sangha and who are trained and tested for many years. Only once the sages are convinced that they have the ability to lead a strict and ascetic life, only then they are accepted. Every religion has its philosophy, doctrine, and set of rules. To help interpret the rules for personal use we have to take the help of the sages (J-5).

There is therefore a tradition of grooming and training leaders amongst the ascetic groups of the community. Leaders are however not appointed, and there is no one "supreme leader" of the Jains. Leadership is more a process of evolution and acceptance, as stated by the respondents

For leaders, we have monks and elders who guide and provide teaching. We do not have a central leader. You can follow any monk, just so that you have trust and faith in that monk. Before they became monk, they were part of somebody's family and community, so those people will naturally follow their leadership. But it does not have to be from your family, you can follow any monk that you believe in (J-3).

So each of the sub groups has its own spiritual leaders, whose wisdom and teachings they believe in and whose leadership they follow. Leadership in the community generally comes from the religious and spiritually aware ascetics. With

the basic structure or building block within the community seen as the family or Grihastha, how does leadership work in this family structure?

Leadership comes from the elders in the family. It is more like dictatorship maybe. The family head has started something and created a structure and economic base for the family, so he has the upper hand. Others have joined the family - uncles, cousins, nephews, other relations. Elders always have respect within the family and retain control. Parents are the roles models for their children. Everything is learnt within the family. Not even the Guru is the role model, the parents are the main teachers and role models. Leadership is only from these role models and in turn, we are conscious that we are the role models for our children and youngsters (J-6).

Leadership is then sought from the more senior members in the joint family. Such leadership is not just from the single family head, but from all the elders in the family and community, and is seen as being vital for success. This collective form of leadership, though with a central controlling authority, ensures that leadership is always available and consistent, with high communication and dialogue.

Of course, there has to be leadership. Those families where there was leadership and authority, those have gone very far and done very well. The leadership and binding force must be there. Every generation, the thinking is different. Elders have to get the respect and will maintain control. We may not agree on every aspect, but we will definitely listen and always respect each other. Frequently we will disagree, but we can explain and understand how things change (J-11).

Within the family, there can be multiple leaders and people of authority, who can serve to guide the younger members. Generally however, and as expressed above, there is a central person or family head who has control, and without this, the family structure can break up.

Academic education, school learning is a different thing. What is lasting is the learning from the family. Somebody has to be there who is the leader and the person who is respected. Who takes care of everyone else, the mentor is always there in the family. "Sabka koi Bap hota hai" - everyone has some father, as we say in Hindi. Everyone has a mentor. Learning is to be caught, not taught. You have to find your mentor in the family, your ideal, and catch your knowledge from them. Doesn't have to be your father, can be your uncle or some other relative (J-6).

It is seen that, while Jain teachers reject the hierarchical nature of general society and the traditional authority figures in it, within the families or Grihastha there continues to be a strong authority structure. The structure remains flat, but with an overlay of authority which ensures access to leadership and mentors easily. This organised structure should lead to the creation of social capital and the productive use of available resources, something which is further explored. The Jain community has strong leadership figures and an acceptance of leadership from elders within the family and community. Leadership in this community appears more oriented toward stewardship, where leaders perceive “greater long-term utility in other-focused pro-social behavior than in self-serving, short-term opportunistic behavior” (Hernandez, 2012, p. 172).

7.2.2. Sikh Governance – Who made you Guru?

Sikhism rejects the highly hierarchical, Brahmin led traditional structure of Hindu society and created a community where all members are equal. This emphatic rejection of the Hindu social order leads to a situation where the authority of the Brahmin priestly ruling class is rejected, but there is actually nothing put in its place.

This results in a flat non-hierarchical structure, where there is at times a vehement refusal to acknowledge any higher authority within the social group. This diffused organisation structure and lack of clear lines of authority may adversely impact issues like obligations and loyalty to the group, which may then impact the creation of social capital.

If you look at the way our community is formed, there is no pyramid as you would expect, with high level leaders and middle leaders and then the masses. Rather we have a "level ground" kind of structure. Everyone is equal, there is no leadership role imposed by anyone, not the Gurus not the scriptures not the traditions, no one. We take our leadership from the Holy Book. Everyone is equal. There is no one who is going to come between you and Guru Granth Sahib (S-8).

Leadership is a significant factor with many of the respondents pointing to this as an important factor that is missing within the Sikh community.

There are no recognised leaders and spiritual leadership is also very lacking. Social leadership is also not a structured thing. There is a leadership crisis in the Sikh community. I really do not know what is the problem(S-19).

Respondents state that they have very little faith in civic leadership within the community, and that the community institutions do not fill the void or provide decisive leadership in the community

There are leaders in the Golden Temple, but also politics. If you are poor, there is no room for you. If you are rich and powerful, everything is open for you. Is this leadership? You cannot get leadership even from the local Gurdwara. They have no time for Sikhism, only politics. Even these leaders have no respect. I saw the Pradhan (Priest) from the Hamilton Gurdwara in the city. I was shocked, no turban, short hair, not bathed, wearing shorts and

roaming around. If the Pradhan has no self-respect, how can we then give him respect?(S-2)

Respondents point to the fact that there is no central religious leadership cadre, priests or pundits as in other religions, and anyone can set themselves up as religious teachers. This, they point out, creates schisms and divisions.

We have very bad leadership, there is no unity. There are so many divisions - the Namdharis, the Nirankaris, the Radha Soamis. These self-leaders make little changes and make the religion in their name, these people have divided Sikhism. You see what has been happening with Baba Ram Rahim Singh. He called himself a leader and he dressed up like Guru Gobind Singh, and over 300,000 people joined him, when the true Sikhs objected there were only 20,000 of us. This is our leadership, everyone doing his own thing (S-4).

The lack of leadership is therefore seen to be a structural issue; in the Sikh religion everyone is equal, there are no priests or spiritual leaders, and everyone is expected to take a leadership position in society. There is a very limited hierarchy, and the community is more a horizontal or flat structure, where there are very few recognised leaders. This has to do in part with the highly independent nature of the community, where it is taught that everyone is equal. The independent nature of the Sikh is a also legacy of the lessons from history and conflict, where Sikhs are taught to be self-reliant. However, this independence may lead to situations where individual interests can be placed before group interests, or individuality is not subordinate to the requirements of the greater social group, thereby affecting the ability to work towards common purpose or goals.

Leadership is one of the major-major factors with our people. History of course is a reason, the way we have involved ourselves fully,

always in danger, and always uncertain and always self-reliant. When you are totally self-reliant then do not really "chill" as a group. So everybody is a leader and everybody is upholding certain principles (S-3).

Even the spiritual leaders are more the people who lead the singing and worship in the Gurdwara, as there are no priests as such in the Sikh religion.

Leaders are people who spread the faith - Bhai Tirlochan Singh, Sants, Keertans. They are spiritual leaders. Anyone can be a priest, we have no priestly caste like the Brahmins with the Hindus. I can be a priest, anyone. It is not by birth or inherited, but of interest. But the priests do not lead us as such, they just lead the prayers (S-2).

Sikhs see themselves - each one of them - as leaders in general society, who are at the forefront of any war, conflict or struggle.

Sikhs always fight for freedom, 85% of the people of Punjab fought for India; defenders of all people. They have always been leaders in the fighting, it is a matter of pride to us (S-12).

The ego is another issue that is seen to prevent them from accepting anyone else's leadership, as there is a certain amount of inherent arrogance and pride. But with everyone as a leader, who is the follower?

You will find that they are individualists and they are leaders in their own way, but once you get them together then you will find that they will never agree on something. The ego does not allow us to accept someone else as a leader. I am the leader, why is he pushing himself as a leader. Who made him the Guru? Even within the community, that is the case. So if someone else takes a leadership position, we will deliberately go in the other direction, sabotage him. You will not accept being pushed down or being lessened in status (S-3).

Equality is an important teaching in the Sikh community, Everyone is to be treated equal and there are to be no distinction, according to the teaching of the

Gurus. This equality has important repercussions for leadership because, if everyone is equal, how can anyone be accepted as a leader? Leaders need followers, but if everyone is a leader, who is there to follow?

For me as a person, the value of treating all human beings equal is very important. The only reason why I would create a distinction between human beings is a good human being and a bad human being, not the economic status or anything else (S-7).

Sikhs however do not see themselves as needing to look for leadership, they are supremely confident and self-reliant and have a strong sense of self belief.

Every Sikh is a leader, is confident in his ability to lead. That is his nature. Singh, my friend, is King (S-1).

In the Sikh community, leadership seems to be an issue and this community is seen to be structured as a limited hierarchy, with all members at essentially an equal level and with equal authority. In cases of families, where there is a patriarch, a strong leadership and authority figure, social capital and work effectiveness is maximised but in general terms, there is no central authority figure that is acknowledged and respected across the community. With diffused leadership, the problem that arises is that there is no central decision making and authority figures, and community wide strategic focus tends to be lost.

7.2.3. Christian Leadership Crisis

In Christianity, everyone is equal in the eyes of God. There are no privileged classes and everyone has his place in heaven. However the community in India remains fragmented and largely unstructured.

The Christian community remains unstructured. In the absence of any real attempt to involve the congregation in the decision making process, in spite of varied pathetic attempts to come together, nothing substantive has been achieved. The problem is compounded by the fact that the general Christian population is not homogenous as it encompasses both extremities of the social spectrum. There is very little effort made to bridge this gap and, apart from a few feeble localised attempts, no structured Christian society exists (C-4).

There is seen to be a leadership crisis within the Christian community. One factor for this leadership crisis is that many of the people who could have taken a leadership position have migrated overseas.

But today, because of the exodus to Europe, to America, and to Australia; now everyone feels - who do we turn, there is no one to help. Even the good Priests do not last long in our community. They spend a few years here, and then get taken to the Vatican and once they go overseas, they are lost to us as a community. Some get sent to the US or elsewhere, but we lose out (C-10).

Leadership seems to be restricted to within family and individual social groups, and there is a limited leadership structure in the wide Christian community.

There is no leadership outside the family. There is some kind of direction from the Church and Church groups, but fundamentally there is no leadership. We personally had a joint family leadership kind of thing, where we lived all together in a joint family. The eldest brother was highly respected, we cannot say anything against him, had to accept and follow his decisions. That was the only leadership. Now there is no joint family, just everyone for himself (C-22).

However the community does have its role models, and people that can be looked up to and who they can seek to emulate. Such people are looked to for guidance and direction, and this is an important theme.

Leadership is through dominant family members, my grandfather was a great leader of the community since he was doing well. In the business context, for many years it was Mr F. of Pune Drugs. Now in our church everyone wants to emulate R.F., who did his bachelor's degree in Engineering in Pune and who is now in Holland doing his PhD at the age of 25. He is a role model for all the mothers and fathers who point to him for their children to copy. This is role model more than leadership (C-12).

Leadership in the Christian community is seen at a more practical level, and is seen to come from those people who are in a position to help the community, to provide jobs and to subsidise community activities.

You find the people from the more educated class automatically takes over the leadership. Normally the people who go to the top are the people of the higher strata and have position and have more value, in a position to subsidise and things like that. But many of the educated and successful people have now migrated overseas (C-16).

Christians do look to help other community members in whatever way they can, especially once they have established themselves financially and socially. The social network of each sub group in the community is strong, and it provides a vital service in a country where there is no systemic social support or government assistance.

I am quite sure in this part of the world, we do not have one Anglo-Indian who is destitute or suffering. I am proud to say that (C-2).

The religious influences on the leadership traditions within the community are also marked. The dominant families send their children to the religious orders, and they then take up leadership positions in society.

The Christian influence in Kerala is very strong. In my area alone, at least 150 boys from the present generation have become Priests. I know of three of my own classmates who joined the Seminary and who

became Priests. Kerala produces the largest number of Priests and Religious every year. In the Goan community, until about two generations back, every family used to send their children to the Seminary or to the Nunnery. The second and third sons and daughters would become Priests and Nuns. Now this is no longer there, but even today there are many Goan Priests and Nuns in the Church (C-5).

However, many respondents believe is a fall in the quality of leadership that used to be provided by the Priests of the Church.

In Latin America there has been decisive leadership as exemplified by Liberation theology. We cannot hope for such initiatives in India, the Priests are too suppressed, too much under Rome's thumb. They seem to have no voice, no initiative. Who speaks for the Christians in India? No one. The Priests no longer are visible or effective in the community. The second and third sons of the richer families used to go into the Priesthood. This tradition has now stopped. Now we see many Priests who may not have a vocation but who seem to be in the church only for economic reasons. Earlier, it was more Jesuit influenced, they had more power and were the ruling class, rich and influential oriented. They were more flamboyant, were from a higher class, they were paid to come out and manage the religion in India. So there was power and influence behind them. Now we no longer have that force, that drive, in the church (C-12).

However, there continue to be some sub groups where the Priests do have a strong leadership and controlling influence. In these sub groups, where there is strong and decisive leadership, the group cohesion and relational ties are seen to be stronger than in other Christian sub groups, which lack this leadership.

Our Priests are always appointed for three years, though sometimes it can be more. Our local Priest has been there for 10 years. He is responsible for local administration. My Parish Priest manages three different schools and he is managing the recruitments of teachers and staff and also admission of the students. So he has a big role to play in the school and the community because he controls all this (C-26).

That general leadership in the overall Christian community is lacking is strongly emphasised by respondents. This is also seen to be due to the fragmentation, and therefore lack of common identification with the larger community.

I admit that there is absolutely no leadership amongst the lay people. Look, I am considered a business leader, I head a major Company. But I cannot identify with the people I see around me in Church. Leadership of which people? Now our Churches are full of those people who are at the servant level, why are they Christians? Only because they want admission to Church schools, orphanages, colleges, boarding houses. For jobs - only for economic reasons. Where can we lead these people and how can we identify with them?(C-27)

The Christian community is fragmented with weak central leadership, though there is leadership with traditional sub groups. Leadership within these sub groups then provides direction and exerts authority where needed, but crucially there is no central authority or leadership for the community as a whole. Role models are very important within the community, as are mentors. Direction and strategic focus is provided by these role models, who are shaping the way the community develops.

7.3. Social Institutions & Ties Densities

Social institutions are important in the encouragement of social interactions, relationship building and networking. Institutions that promote interaction between community members lead to the creation of dense ties, and strong relational bonds between group members. In structural terms, high levels of interaction are relevant for the development and maintenance of dense social capital. The important institutions in each community are therefore examined in this section.

7.3.1. The Jain Institutions

One of the important institutions of the Jains are the temples, which many of them visit on pilgrimages.

I have a chart at home with 108 Jain temples to visit. But it is your wish or luck to visit all the temples, there is no compulsion to go on pilgrimage. I go every year because it is very nice to go to the temple and feel detached from the world. You feel good, it is a totally different kind of a place (J-3).

But if there is no God, why are there then temples and who are the Jain worshipping in these temples? Respondents explain that these temples evolved because the common people wanted something real, some physical representation that they could connect with. But these temples are not to any Gods, since Gods do not exist to the Jains, but to their holy men, to those who have attained enlightenment and liberation.

We call it “Siddhasthan”, the place of wisdom – we believe that one who has attained moksha should be worshipped. That is why they are worship-able, not because they are Gods, there are no Gods, but because they have attained that status. But we do not worship to gain

anything, to give anything or to influence, we are not asking for anything. Just showing respect. Idols have come in so that the people can see something concrete, something they can focus on, worship. So then we also have Temples to house these idols (J-7).

The temples then become monuments to the faith and a legacy that generations can connect with. It is clear also that such temples serve multiple purposes, one of which is the facilitation of interaction between community members, but also in terms of creating cognitive and social anchors or touch points for the community members, which help in the creation of cohesiveness, identity and unity.

Jains have so many temples. But that really is one reason for the religion lasting till today. These are monuments, something real in front of the people (J-5).

However, within the community, sect based temples may actually also have an opposite effect, in terms of separation of gatherings and reduced cohesiveness rather than encouraging bonding.

At the moment each of the three Sects have constructed their own temples. So long as there was no temple, we were together as a community, now everyone goes to their own temple. But there still is some coming together of all Jain sects for Mahavira Jayanti (J-2).

Other social institutions in the community are the Jain religious and social organisations, many of which are of recent origin, and which are working to bring the Jains together, and to create more bonding between them. These strong social organisations lead also to social embeddedness, where economic and non-economic activities are highly intermixed and integrated. Such interaction also assists the community in creation of social capital through an increased density of ties.

In 1971, we set up the Goa Jain Mandal and brought all Jains under one banner. All Jains came along, willingly or unwillingly. We have a Jain social group; we meet every month for get together and prayer meeting. There is a Jain registration unit in Kholarpur that registers all the Jain social groups in each area. They maintain a register of Jain households and a directory is available (J-1).

Such social clubs allow for the integration of social and economic activities, which can lead to such things and increased trust through interaction and heightened awareness. Recent years have also seen the increased use of the internet to bring the Jains together, something very important in the aspatial context where they are scattered in small groups around the world.

Internet has also introduced new options of networking and there are some e-newsletters and websites which are offering to mediate introductions and to network within the business community. Recently an organisation has been formed which is providing a platform to the community to network in business activities, which is JITO - the Jain International Trade Organisation (J-6).

Clearly therefore, there are many institutions in the Jain community which assist in the formation of dense ties between community members.

7.3.2. The Sikh Gurdwara & Institutions

The Gurdwara or Sikh Temple is an important social institution for the Sikh community, it offers a place for religious instruction, and also has a community dining area or "langar" where everyone is enjoined to participate in a meal, to get together and to be part of the community. It therefore brings people together, provides a sanctuary in times of need, and is a home, both spiritual and physical.

We are told to go to the Gurdwara, read the Guru Granth Sahib, go to Langar, eat together and be together. Gurdwara is the place where you can get instruction on, how to live your life. The Langar is an important institution which stress equality and sharing, two very important aspects of Sikhism. Anyone can go to the Langar and will be given food, it is like community eating, everyone together, and all are equal there (S-15).

In terms of cultural institutions, the Gurdwara is a very important religious institution for the Sikhs, and going to the Gurdwara is an important part of the regular routine. The Gurdwara can be seen as the temple of the Sikhs. It is a welcoming place, where everyone can come and be a part of the common feeling and community. It is not exclusive to just the Sikhs but is open to all; not just to the rich but to people from all classes and walks of life who are welcomed and are treated equally in this institution.

Anybody can go to any Gurdwara, anywhere and is treated absolutely equal - whether you are a Sikh or not. Anywhere in the world, you just need to go to the Gurdwara and you will find a place to stay, you will get food, some work to do (S-17).

However, in the context of community interaction at the Gurdwara, some respondents have pointed to certain shortcomings

It is not a networking place. I cannot read the Guru Granth Sahib, none of us can read the language. If the Gurdwara conducts the service in English or a language which I can understand, it would make so much more sense to me. If we had something like as the Christians have in the Church, that one area where everybody gets together, I would be able to interact and know so many people in this colony. That is not happening at all. Everybody is totally on their own individually. I go to the Gurdwara, touch my forehead to the ground but meet nobody (S-7).

There are observations that the Gurdwara, in some ways, does not foster community feeling and does not facilitate interaction as well as might be possible. The respondents make reference to the Christian Church for example, where there are fixed times for worship where people get together and meet and greet each other. Since there are no fixed times for going to the Gurdwara, it becomes more individual worship rather than communal. However, as other respondents have pointed out, it may actually not be right to expect the Gurdwara to function for social reasons within the community.

It is absolutely wrong to go to a Gurdwara to socialise or for any other reasons. This is a place of prayer, of meditation, of inner contemplation. It is for solitude with God, a way to God – "Guru Dwara" – via the Guru. You are supposed to be pure and focused on God. You are not there to meet any girls or see any likely marriage prospects or to meet people (S-1).

However, outside of India and in an aspatial context, the Gurdwaras do become a place for maintaining relationships and strengthening bonding ties.

In Hamilton I find that it is very different. Here I go to the Gurdwara on every Sunday. I go in the morning and we have prayers, and then there is a lunch, where I help to serve the people. I can meet all the people I need to meet there, and meet people who can help me. This is different from Chandigarh, here in Hamilton everyone comes to Gurdwara at the same time and there is socialising. In India there are many resources and so the Gurdwara functions every day. But someone has to pay for, to sponsor, the lunch and arrangements. We have a small community in Hamilton, so we can have this only once a week. But yes, it is different, and the Gurdwara is a networking, a meeting place, on Sundays (S-9).

One of the other important Sikh social institutions, one of the rituals which allow Sikhs to get together and interact as a close community is that of marriage. A Sikh marriage is a big community event, and draws Sikhs from the extended kinship family and clan together from all corners of the world to be part of the traditions.

Every member of the family plays an important role. The Uncles have their ceremony to perform, the Aunts have their ceremony. Everybody plays an important part in these marriages. The fact that I am in Chandigarh is good in that I get to attend marriages – Sikh marriages. And you get to meet their relatives and that is how you get to meet people within the community I think we have been attending three to four marriages every year. It becomes a very important thing because when my children get married, the same people whose family weddings we are attending are going to come and bless my children (S-7).

These institutions play an important role in bringing Sikh community members together and facilitate in the creation of dense relational ties.

7.3.3. Christian Churches & Clubs

The Church is seen in the Christian community to serve to bring people together, and is an important and central institution. Members engage with each other through church, which is definitely also seen to provide an opportunity to socialise and to network with other Christians.

We centre ourselves and our week around the church, it helps to bring us together, binds us. I go to Church for peace of mind and to pray and to thank God. I go to church to socialise as well, definitely also for social reasons. The function of the church is to help people to pray and also to help people when they are in need. When you ask the priest to pray for you, and it is mentioned in Church, after mass many

people come to you to ask if you need help, how they can help. It could be spiritual or other need, but people do come forward to help (C-20).

The influence on the Church on the community is therefore strong. However, many respondents express dissatisfaction that knowledge and learning seems to be restricted, and is the prerogative of only priests and theologians. There is a general feeling that there is no active forum within the organised religion that allows for discussion and debate on these issues, thereby leading to deeper understanding and connection at a more basic level.

I personally feel that our faith is very limited. If we read the Bible and Catechism the way the Muslims read the Koran or the Sikhs read the Guru Granth Sahib, deeply, looking for daily meaning and guidance, then we would know more. If we were actually taught the theologies of the church, not to the extent of the priest, but much more than we are now, then we would better understand what it means to be Christian. The Bible is in every Christian house but is actually read by very few (C-12).

Respondents are of the opinion that Christianity in India has been diluted to such an extent that it has lost much of its meaning and relevance. This is seen as a result of an attempt to broaden the appeal of Christianity amongst the lesser educated and lower strata of society, but that is seen to have important consequences for the relevance of the religion at other social levels, and this lessens the importance of this social institution.

We follow the popular version of the religion. Our Masses have moved from Latin to English and now to umpteen regional languages in an attempt to connect with the multitudes. In doing so it has lost all majesty and ceremony. We have a very strong religion which is very diluted in its implementation. Too many of our own people want so-

called freedom, and so we are staunch Christians who know nothing about our religion. I will stand up in any forum and affirm that I am a staunch Christian, but at the same time I struggle to tell you what being a Christian means. My learning of Christianity is at a Sunday School level, what I learned as a Child in Sunday School, I have not been able to progress beyond that (C-20).

It is also pointed out by respondents that the Church is controlled from outside India, and may not therefore address specific Indian issues adequately. Such external leadership adversely impact the ability of the Christians to connect with the larger Indian society and affects bridging ties.

The Church creates more problems for us Christians through its stand on such issues as abortion. These edicts come from Rome, where they have no understanding of ground realities in India. These edicts have no relevance, seldom address the grass roots problems and create more problems than they solve. The end result is that we Christians are further marginalised in Indian society (C-27).

The Church however remains a very important institution for the Christians, and does serve to bring the people together. Christian respondents do point out that the role of the Church as a central guiding force varies across communities, and is particularly strong in some of the sub groups. Where there is leadership as in the Kerala community, there seems to be much greater relevance of the Church as a social institution for the community.

The Kerala community seems to actually live their religion, they have a deeper understanding and feel for their history, the connection with St Thomas and the early Indian church. They have a stronger community, more prayer meetings, retreats - their religion is influential and controlling, defining of their lives (C-12).

Other Christian or Church run organisations are seen to provide support and increased relational ties between members.

St Vincent De Paul is an example of the small Christian groups that serve to socially network, more than prayer. There is also the Alcoholics Anonymous, other support groups, Legion of Mary, Old Age Home. There is prayer when we get together but also the social aspect in these assistance groups is very important (C-6).

Of the other important Christian social institutions, social clubs are traditionally extremely important in the community. These institutions are still important, but have lost some of their identity and exclusivity and are now open to everyone. While the clubs exist, they are no longer exclusive clubs for the Christians.

Other social institutions are the clubs, which are very strong. Every month there is a get together in the PGI, the Pune Goan Institute. Maybe everyone does not come for every function but Christmas, Easter, 15th August or the Assumption Day, the Feast of St Francis Xavier, there are dances at the PGI. They are not only for Christians and everyone comes (C-12).

Other Christian associations are also active in keeping the community together, but these groups are also badly affected by migration.

In Chandigarh, there is an Anglo-Indian community and they all get together for various functions. It used to be practically every month but not nowadays since most Anglo-Indians have migrated. In Agra there just one or two families left. In India because they are so few left we hardly get together and meet anymore (C-3).

While the associations are losing relevance in India as a consequence of a fall in the community numbers, these institutions are gaining strength overseas, in an aspatial context, as the community reforms and redefines itself.

In England the community is now very strong. They have their Anglo-Indian shows, their Anglo-Indian “do’s” and they have their anniversaries. Also in Melbourne, in Sydney we still have our dances, it is publicised all over the world and they have it on a regular basis. In Australia, America, Canada and England; they are celebrating Anglo-Indian day on 2nd of August, world Anglo-Indian day (C-2).

The extended family of the Christian community, however, has maintained close bonding ties. One of the most important of Christian institutions, as highlighted by many respondents, is the family home as the nucleus at the heart of the social group. All family gathering are held at this institution, where not only the immediate family but the entire community gets together to meet and network.

Family get-togethers at the family home are a major way to connect, not just for family but also the extended family and friends circle. This happens every five to ten years when the entire clan gets together – 50th birthdays, weddings in the family –but Christmas is generally the one time that everyone is on vacation and everyone gets together. Everyone gets leave at this time no matter where they are in the world and so many weddings get scheduled during this time (C-15).

No matter how big the family or how remote the locations where they have migrated, the family home remains at the heart of the family. One questions that is asked is as to what will happen once this institution is lost?

We always meet at the Bazaar Road house. This will be the place that the family gets together till the grandparents are alive - till the last old person is standing. Once that person goes, the house will also go and so also the family group and get-togethers (C-12).

Clearly there are significant differences in ties densities in each ethnic community. The Jain community has rich and dense ties and there is a high level of social interaction through family and kinship relationships, though religion and

participation in religious rituals, and in the integration of economic and non-economic activities. The Sikh community has rich but not as dense ties, partly because of the influence of cultural traditions and partly because of the nature of the social institutions. The high independence of the Sikh reduces the ties, as does the instructions to worship individually. Sikhs have relatively weak interactions in institutions within India, where it is seen that social interaction increases outside of India. Strong individualism also does not lead to much economic interaction and consequently tie density tends to be low. The fragmentation and degrees of separation between the Christian communities and the lack of a clear identity greatly reduce the density of ties within members, and the loss - or reduced relevance- of critical social institutions has reduced tie density. Christians have high non-economic interaction, but low economic interaction. Social ties are high, but this does not effectively translate into productive, economically useful outcomes. Table 12 contrasts the patterns in interaction in each community, in the economic and non-economic areas.

Table 12: The Pattern of Community Interactions

Area	Jain	Sikh	Christian
Economic	High	Low	Low
Non-Economic	High	Low	High

Source: Original, from data

The integration of relationships within community social structures can be valuable, because such intermixing creates a rich, multi-dimensional relationship which draws on complex social interactions, on culture and history based ties.

However, it is seen that social institutions can facilitate bonding and also bridging, depending on levels of closure within the social institution, or how they work to facilitate interactions between community members, as well as non-members. Of the three communities, the Jain community has achieved this balance and has an optimal balance of ties and relational strengths. The powerful influence on social institutions in creating high quality balanced ties is diagrammed in Figure 8.

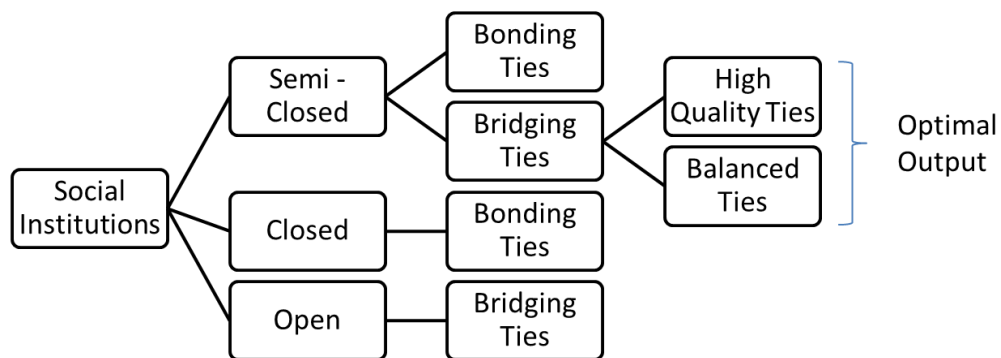


Figure 7: The Importance of Social Institutions

The previous sections have explored organisation forms, leadership issues and social institutions in each of these communities. The nature of embeddedness of respondents in each community is explored in the next section.

7.4. Discussion: Structure & Organisation

Important structural issues highlighted by the respondents are in Table 13.

Table 13: Community Structural Attributes

Attribute	Jain	Sikh	Christian
Community Hierarchy	Horizontal - Flat	Horizontal - Flat	Vertical - Top Down
Leadership	Collective	Individual	Individual
Social Structure	Joint Family; Aspatial - Joint Family	Joint Family; Aspatial - Nuclear Family	Joint Family; Aspatial - Nuclear Family
Social Institutions	Dense Economic Ties	Low Economic Ties	Low Economic Ties
Bridging Ties (In India)	Strong	Strong	Weak
Work Organisation	Joint Family	Proprietorship / Partnership	Proprietorship
Ethnic Identity	Strong	Strong	Weak, Fragmented
Community Orientation	Powerfully Collective	Collective with Individual Entrepreneurship	Collective but Sub-Groupism
Group Size	5 million	21 Million	24 million
Network Size	Small	Small, in the Indian Context	Large; includes all world Christians
Community Boundaries	Closed, with minor diffusion	Closed, strong Symbolism	Open
Group Membership	Homogeneous	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous

Source: Original, from data

The Jain community has strong authority figures, and has a definite structure, much of which is based around the joint family system. The Sikh community demonstrates a flat community structure, with a horizontal form. The Christian

community has a hierarchical structure, with central authority figures and a top down, vertical form. Implications of the structural attributes are discussed below.

7.4.1. Balance & Quality of Ties

Martinez & Aldrich (2011, p. 7) state that “entrepreneurs must strike a balance between weak (market based) and stronger (embedded) ties to gain preferential access to resources”. Entrepreneurs should therefore “maintain a dual network, consisting of both weak and strong ties” (Lowik, van Rossum, Kraaijenbrink, & Groen, 2012, p. 245). Balance of ties is an important consideration, excessive cohesion can have a potential cost, but so can excessive diversity in ties (Martinez & Aldrich, 2011). The bonding ties in each community have been explored in Section 6.1 and the bridging ties in section 7.1 of this thesis, and are contrasted in Table 14.

Table 14: Bonding and Bridging Ties for Each Community

Type of Tie	Area	Jain	Sikh	Christian
Bonding Ties	Within India	Strong	Weak	Weak
	Outside India	Strong	Weak	Weak
Bridging Ties	Within India	Strong	Strong	Weak
	Outside India	Strong	Weak	Strong

Source: Original, from data

A balance in ties has been achieved by the Jains, social through bonding and societal through bridging ties. The Sikh’s strong individualism hampers bonding ties, they create strong bridging ties in India, but strong symbolism and independence results in weaker bridging ties outside India, in a more aspatial context. The Christian community is seen to struggle to achieve suitable societal or bridging ties

particularly within India. This is seen to then drive community members to migrate to more conducive regions, where they can achieve bridging in Christian societies. However, this then adversely impacts the bonding ties in the community.

Groups with high quality bridging relationships are believed to have higher access to social capital resources (Oh et al., 2006), and this is explored further. Moran (2005, p. 1135) states that while ties between parties may provide the potential to access resources, “relational closeness shapes the willingness of either party to actually provide those resources”. Relational closeness is defined in terms of familiarity, which arises from lasting and durable social relations. Granovetter (1973) states that the strength of ties is linked to investment of time, emotional involvement, intimacy and reciprocity. It has been explained by respondents in this study how high quality, strong and enduring bridging ties are strategically developed and maintained in these Indian communities - through marriage alliances, but also through philosophy and value system overflows, mainstream leadership positions, reputational effects, and attitudinal tolerance and mutual acceptance developed over centuries of co-existence.

7.4.2. Resources Availability & Accessibility

The emphasis on non-possessiveness, sharing and restriction of personal needs leads to situations where excess wealth, defined as respondents as those resources that are in excess of what is needed for immediate family requirements, is available as an important pooled resource for community purposes (see section 5.2).

Knowledge is similarly pooled, and access to human capital acquired attributes, such as education and work experience, are also achieved through community membership. Mentoring and business advice is also available, and potential entrepreneurs are encouraged to innovate and diversify into new areas, with the assurance that the joint family and community support structure will support and absorb them if they fail (see section 6.2). Availability of valuable resources is therefore observed in this study to be at the community level.

There is an important role for community and religious identities, as well as historical family lineages, in providing cohesiveness and coherence to the management framework in each Indian community. Such community and other ties then work to form a resource group in society (Iyer, 1999). It is observed that, while resources may be available within the communities, high quality ties are required to actually access and mobilise these resources.

The Jain community exploits their ability to create dense networks in accessing and exploiting resource rich members effectively. The collective leadership form as described by respondents allows multiple connections to the head of the joint family, who controls assets and resources (see section 7.2). Such collective leadership within the joint family also ensures that there are multiple links to other joint family systems within the community, thereby ensuring high resource availability and information flow. While the Sikhs have high resource members within the network networks, the degree of connectivity or accessibility to them is

poor, due to the independent nature of the community and lower tie densities. The Christian community lacks resource rich members, since many of the more economically successful members have migrated and are inaccessible. Table 15 highlights resource availability and accessibility in each community.

Table 15: Resource Availability & Accessibility

Available & Access	Jain	Sikh	Christian
Availability of Appropriable Resources	High	High	Low
Accessibility of Resource Rich Members	High	Low	Low

Source: Original, from data

Community support for entrepreneurship goes a long way in actually determining the availability of resources for entrepreneurial activities. In situations where the community encourages collective entrepreneurship, such as with the Jain community, resource availability is high. However if the community either discourages entrepreneurship or encourages a more individual form of entrepreneurship, such as in the Christian and Sikh communities respectively, then availability of resources is poor (see section 6.2). The impact of these factors on the inimitability of resources, entrepreneurship in these Indian communities and the creation of social capital is discussed in the next chapter. The cognitive, relational and structural domains of social capital have been explored through an analysis of the data in these three chapters, and the analysis will be relied upon to explore how social capital manifests itself in these ethnic community.

Chapter 8. Findings

This chapter develops and presents the theoretical framework of this study through an integration of the three theoretical constructs explored in the three previous data chapters. It addresses the creation of valuable and inimitable resources in these ethnic communities. The nature of entrepreneurship as it manifests itself in these communities is discussed. A social capital model is developed, which presents a coherent and comprehensive framework for understanding social capital within the Indian ethnic communities. The unique aspects of the Indian management framework are brought together in a conceptual model, the Chakra.

An important theoretical contribution of this study is the identification of the levels of social capital in these communities, the separation of the effects of these levels, and an explanation of how the three dimensions of social capital are ordered, with the relational dimension antecedent to the cognitive and structural dimensions. This research makes an important theoretical contribution by highlighting the central importance of the relational dimension in the creation of social capital, and by then identifying the organisation form that maximises relational social capital.

The three research questions which are addressed in this chapter are:

1. How are rare, valuable and inimitable collective resources created within Indian ethnic communities?
2. How do existing and historical organisation forms, religious teachings and traditions, and ethnic relational ties influence entrepreneurship in these aspatial ethnic communities?
3. What is the influence of philosophical, cultural and religious traditions on the structural, relational and cognitive aspects of social capital within Indian ethnic communities, and how does social capital manifest itself in these communities?

This chapter directly addresses these three research questions, shows how the theoretical framework is developed, and demonstrates how the key components and elements engage and interact with each other.

8.1. Resources and Entrepreneurship

This section has its focus on the creation of resources with these Indian ethnic communities. Such resources need to be valuable, rare, inimitable and also the organisation forms adopted should be able to exploit available resources effectively (Barney, 1995). How inimitable resources are valuable in the Indian context is explored, and appropriable organisation forms that mobilise available social capital are identified. Findings around entrepreneurship in the three ethnic communities are also addressed. It is observed in this study that collectivism and individualism both contribute to entrepreneurial activities, but in different ways in each community. Reasons for, and implication of, this are explored.

8.1.1. The Creation of Inimitable Resources

How are inimitable and valuable resources created within these Indian ethnic communities? The RBV states that resources need to be valuable but also inimitable, and religious practices which have been developed over centuries are undoubtedly unique and inimitable (Finke, 2003). It is believed that “religion and economics are intertwined”, the religious dimension cannot be separated from the economic and social domains (Tracey, 2012, p. 90), and this is discovered to be true in the Indian context. Many of the religious practices in the ethnic communities examined in this study are then observed to be valuable in an economic context. Chapter 5 in general, and section 5.5.1 in particular, examine the intertwining of religion and

economic activities in the Indian context, and demonstrate how religious beliefs, traditions and teachings are valuable in an economic context.

Section 6.4 shows how strong group identity leads to high trust and relational stability within the social group. Reputation flows from this trust, since behaviour is predictable as it is based on deep seated value systems, and this reputation also results in economic benefits. Religious involvement is therefore an important source of social capital (Wuthnow, 2002). Religion and religious based values however need to facilitate economic activity to lead to advantage (Berger & Hefner, 2005), and it has been demonstrated in chapter 5 and 6 how religious traditions and teachings promote economic activity in each community. Religion provides a set of principles, value systems and directions (Dodd & Seaman, 1998), and social capital becomes available based on shared norms and values (Paldam & Svendsen, 2000). Section 7.4.2 shows how resources become available and accessible in the communities.

Organisation capital is concerned with how these available resources are mobilised for advantage, or the appropriability of the resources in each community. This corresponds to “Barney's 'O' from 'VRIO', organised to capitalise on the resource” (Black & Boal, 1994, p. 138). Organisation capital reflects the character of social relations, and is realised through the maintenance of high levels of collective goal orientation and trust (Leana & van Buren III, 1999). Section 6.4.1 discusses the collective orientation in the ethnic communities, something which is essential for cooperative action. Organisation capital is “the combination of explicit and implicit,

formal and informal knowledge which in an effective and efficient way structure and develop the organizational activity”, and key elements are identified as culture, structure and combinative learning capabilities (Martín-de-Castro, Navas-Lopez, Lopez-Saez, & Alama-Salazar, 2006, p. 328). The joint family systems in the Indian communities provides a structure and coherence to the social group, serves as the basic stable building block of the community and society, allows for closure and the creation of strong trust, and promotes a collective orientation. Sections 6.2 and 6.4.3 highlight the family systems in each community, and discuss how closure, interaction and interdependence develops in these social groups.

Soda & Zaheer (2012) point out that organisation values are reinforced when the formal and informal social networks overlap and are synchronised, there is lower role conflict for members, structural costs are lower, and multiplex ties carrying multiple content are stronger thereby resulting in strong trust and related benefits (Soda & Zaheer, 2012). The joint family structure is therefore identified in this study as an appropriable organisation where “family and organisational social capital merge and create the potential for abundant social capital unique to the family firm” (Pearson et al., 2008, p. 957). Social capital and organisation capital are understood in terms of system resource which are socially created, difficult to identify, imitate, substitute or trade (Black & Boal, 1994). This study therefore identifies social capital and organisation capital as the two important socially created inimitable and valuable resources in each community.

8.1.2. *Work and Entrepreneurship*

The impact of traditions and teachings on work and entrepreneurship is explored in section 5.4 in this study. The traditional organisation forms are explored in section 6.2, and the nature of embeddedness within each ethnic group is addressed in section 7.4. The subsequent impact on resource accessibility and entrepreneurship is discussed in section 7.4.2. One of the interesting findings is that, even though all the communities are collective in orientation, entrepreneurship in two of the communities is strongly individualism oriented, where there is little community resource support, but for strikingly different reasons. Tiessen (1997) identifies two key entrepreneurial functions, that of new venture initiation and that of resource leverage. Individualism is associated with seeking new opportunities, and collectivism with the leveraging of resources through clan-like affiliations and close relational ties. It is believed that extremely collectivistic or individualistic societies reduce entrepreneurship, with a balance between individualism and collectivism conducive for entrepreneurial activity (Earley & Gibson, 1998). However, rather than being at opposite ends of a continuum, both individualism and collectivism contribute to entrepreneurial activity, based on contingent factors and in different ways (Pinillos & Reyes, 2011). This is found true for the Indian ethnic communities explored in this thesis.

The Jain community is extremely collective (see section 6.4.1), yet entrepreneurship activity is maintained at a high level. Entrepreneurship is communitarian, where entrepreneurs “view their firms as social objects that support

and are supported by a particular community because of mutually beneficial relationships” (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011, p. 936). The Sikh community is collective, yet fosters entrepreneurship through individual effort without community resources. In the Sikh case, there is moral support but no resource assistance, instead Sikh entrepreneurs are taught to strike out on their own, and blaze new paths (see section 6.2.2). The two entrepreneurial functions are clearly observed, the Jain community seeks to leverage resources through a collective orientation, whereas the Sikh community seeks new opportunities through individual effort, without regard to resources which may already be available (Tiessen, 1997). Entrepreneurial members of the Christian community mention opposition from families (see section 6.2.3) to entrepreneurship, highlighting the lack of community support, either moral or resource based. Significantly high levels of family bonding ties in this community are not conducive to economic activity, and the consequent “claustrophobia may be asphyxiating to the individual spirit” (Portes & Landolt, 1996, p. 21). There is also a striking issue in this community with the “free rider” problem, where moral obligations over sharing economic success appear to constrain entrepreneurial activities (see section 6.2.3), and where there are expectations and norms around a “family or community tax” for successful entrepreneurs (di Falco & Bulte, 2011; Morris et al., 1994). This is a significant constraint on entrepreneurial activities, entrepreneurship is then forced to be more individualist in orientation to evade the family tax, and this adversely affects resource mobilisation.

8.2. The Manifestation of Social Capital

It is observed in these three Indian communities that social capital accumulates most efficiently in certain structures and at different levels. The first order capture the maximum value, with the joint family system most efficient in this function. The second order provides access to resources, which are primarily made available through the ethnic community. Closure at the first order level does assist social capital formation, but at high orders what is more important than closure is cognitive anchoring (Burt, 2000), and this anchoring is seen to be achieved by a reliance on differentiated and unique religion, philosophies and value systems in each community. An important finding of this study is that the family and ethnic community group are the two critical levels at which social capital accumulates, with the relational and cognitive domain of social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998) vital for such accumulation. Appropriability and mobilisation of available social capital is however then seen as a function of the structural domain in each host society, which largely determines how the community members engage with general society. This is explored in the following sections.

8.2.1. At the Individual Level

It is observed in the Indian context that the family and community are the two basic levels at which social capital tends to accumulate, and this consistent with the observation by researchers that the creation and mobilisation of social capital is enhanced by these two social structures (Iisakka & Alanen, 2006). It is discovered in

this study that the joint family system is the structure that most effectively mobilises social capital in the communities that have been explored in this thesis (see section 6.2), and this organisation form is uniquely important in the Indian economic system. Multiplexity, or “the extent to which multiple types of relations exist”, is the key mechanism that underlies relational capabilities (Lowik et al., 2012, p. 249), and the joint family system facilitates and maintains multiple relationships. The joint family structure also pools resources effectively since it avoids division of assets, results in greater accumulation of wealth and a higher capacity for community investment (Mohandoss, 1996).

It has been held that organisational identity can be an inimitable resource (Fiol, 2001), and strong identification of individual with the organisation can lead to the creation of a larger whole, that can then provide impetus and a driving force for high performance (Rousseau, 1998). It creates a sense of unity and cohesiveness, binds individuals together, provides a coherence of the past and a direction for the future. Identification refers to a sense of belonging, and represents “the extent to which organisational members are emotionally and cognitively tied to their organisation” (Fiol, 2001, p. 694). However, what is also needed is deep structure identification, and this refers to “the cognitive schema formed in work settings across roles, over time, and across situations that leads to congruence between self-at work and one's broader self-concept” (Rousseau, 1998, p. 218). Deep structure identification results in better coordination of action, better resource commitment by individuals, more

efficient resource exchange, and also higher level of commitment and cognitive understanding (Rousseau, 1998). It is found in this research that such deep structural identification, and synchronisation of the formal and informal networks, does take place in the joint family systems, and this important for the creation of social capital resources in the Indian ethnic communities examined in this thesis.

8.2.2. *At the Community Level*

The ethnic community group is the second of the organisation forms which assists in accumulation and mobilisation of social capital resources. Kinship systems are characterised by the creation of alliances between families through strategic marriages, which then creates a distinctive resource and economic group in society, and kinship is therefore a major factor in social capital creation (di Falco & Bulte, 2011). This is an organisation form consistent with Ouchi & Price's (1978, p.25) hierarchical clan organisation, seen as an alternative to the bureaucratic organisation form. When the traditional Indian organisation structures based on the joint family system are linked by ties of marriage to other such joint families, then a constellation or a strategic group is formed. Such a kinship or clan based organisation is a culturally homogeneous organisation, with a common set of values, and coordinated effort towards common objectives. There are high levels of socialising in the groups, individual and organisation goals are merged, leading to high motivation (di Falco & Bulte, 2011; Ouchi & Price, 1978). It is then noted that

“entrepreneurial leverage in clan-type organizations comes from the intimate ties and shared values and goals of its members” (Tiessen, 1997, p. 378).

The Jain community is seen to adroitly utilise the joint family structure, and to create alliances through marriages with other family systems, creating a community constellation or strategic group. While the Sikh and Christian communities also demonstrate some of the facets of this structure, their reliance on the nuclear family rather than the traditional joint family structure negates some of the potential benefits that they can aspire towards in strategic group formation and therefore in access to group resources. However even in the Sikh and Christian communities, sub-groups members are observed to seek marriage alliances with other sub-group members, and this does create valuable resource groups within the communities (see sections 6.1 and 6.2).

The high importance of the joint family has been highlighted, but equally important is the community constellation in the Indian social space, and both structures greatly facilitate the appropriability of social capital resources. Social, shared and reciprocal ties of family, kinship, caste and religious social groups, which were central to economic activities over the centuries, continue to retain their importance and central relevance in the Indian context (Menning, 1997). The traditional social systems that predominate in India - caste groups, extended family and kinship networks - then provide economic and social capital to group members (Kothari & Kothari, 2011). There is then a social contract that is in place between

members of the extended kinship group, and this determines obligations, norms and resource pooling (di Falco & Bulte, 2011).

Ouchi and Price (1978) highlight the value of the clan organisation form, pointing out that the traditional society maintained harmony between family, as well as society and work, and that this harmony was basically maintained by the relationship of each individual to a clan or close community group. The clan then maintained its own relationships with society and high forms of organisation. The primary ties are therefore to the clan or community, and not to the largely impersonal state or society. An organisational philosophy is primarily a mechanism for integrating an individual into an organisation, and an organisation into the society (Ouchi & Price, 1978). The joint family and ethnic community organisation forms are observed in this study to achieve a higher level of such integration. Degree of embeddedness increases significantly through these two structures, and also creation of resources and capturing of value is greatly facilitated in all three ethnic communities, with the Jain respondents maximising benefits through optimum utilisation of the structures. This is contrasted with the more formal and structured Western organisation forms, which do not actively seek to achieve such integration within society and which therefore remain alien in the Indian context due to a lack of socialisation and integration into existing social structures (Virmani, 2001). Structures reflect relational networks and understanding of social reality, and are a constantly changing social construct (Linstead, 2002; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Tsoukas

& Chia, 2002). “Institutional isomorphism promotes the success and survival” of organisations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 349), and the joint family system and loosely coupled ethnic community groups or constellations explored in this study achieve this by incorporating or adopting socially legitimised structures for the accomplishment of work.

8.2.3. *The Applied Social Capital Model*

In the early discussion of social capital initiated by Bourdieu (1980), the focus was on how individuals benefited from social capital. However, this concept was later extended to the group and community level of analysis by Putnam (1993), Coleman (1988) and other researchers (Oh et al., 2006; Portes & Landolt, 2000). Social capital can be seen to be available at multiple levels – at the individual, group and high levels of organisation (Oh, Chung, & LaBianca, 2004). “Social capital is fundamentally a multilevel theoretical perspective”(Payne et al., 2011, p. 492). Three levels at which social capital accumulates have been suggested by Ruuskanen (2001), the individual, community and social levels, which correspond to Halpern’s (2005) micro, meso and macro levels of social capital respectively (Iisakka & Alanen, 2006). These levels are similar in conceptual terms to Burt’s (2000) notion of first and second order social capital, first order social capital focuses on individual personal networks while second order social capital focus on the social capital of the organisation within which the individual is embedded. This research extends this discussion by separating and identifying the levels and orders of social capital, and

by then conducting an detailed examination of the social capital effects at each level. This is an important theoretical contribution of this study.

It is seen in these three ethnic communities that social capital accumulates most efficiently in certain structures and at different levels. First order levels captures the maximum value, and the joint family system, as effectively utilised by the Jain community, is most efficient in this function. Closure is possible at the first order level since this involves the family, which is circumscribed and where dense ties are possible. This level of social capital is seen to correspond to the relational domain (see Chapter 6), and ensures high levels of interaction, transparency in relationships and high quality of ties, which are paramount for the maintenance of social capital (Figure 14). Relational social capital addresses relationships developed through time dependent histories and traditions of interaction, it addresses trust, norms and obligations, in addition to conceptions of identity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Trust, norms and obligations are also seen in this study to be strongest at the family level (see section 6.4.2). The relational domain is therefore the first source of social capital and this is an important and significant finding in this study. The interaction of the various facets in the relational domain of social capital are shown in Figure 8.

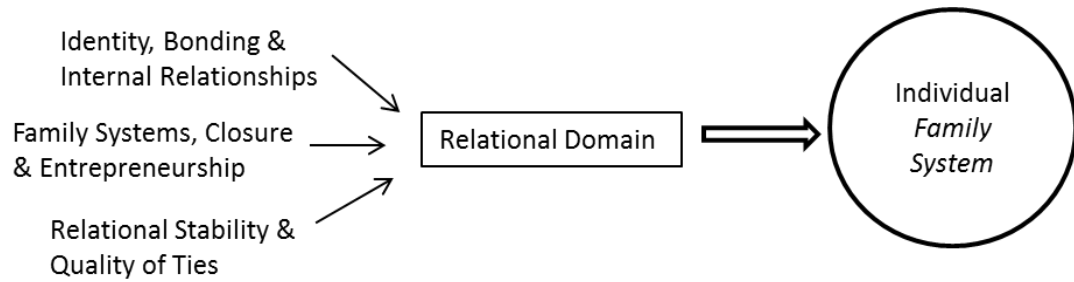


Figure 8: The Relational Domain & Family Systems

The second order of social capital is a function of the cognitive domain and this is perceived in this study to correspond to the ethnic community level (see Chapter 5). The cognitive domain addresses shared systems of meaning, cultures, values and beliefs (Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2001; Uphoff, 2000). Unique philosophies, deep seated value systems and inimitable cultures ensure cognitive levels of social capital are maximised in each community. While closure of the social system (Coleman, 1988) is achieved in the family system (see section 6.4.3), it is difficult if not impossible to achieve at the community level given the size of each ethnic community. This research concludes that what is actually needed and more important than closure is cognitive anchoring (Burt, 2000) at this level. The network is anchored by a reliance on community philosophical teachings and value systems, which guide and legitimise actions. Such cognitive anchoring serves to enforce trust, reputation and norms in the ethnic community, even in the absence of closure. Strategic groups or constellations created within the ethnic community then lead to the pooling and sharing of valuable resources, which become available to

community members. The factors that form the cognitive domain are shown in Figure 9.

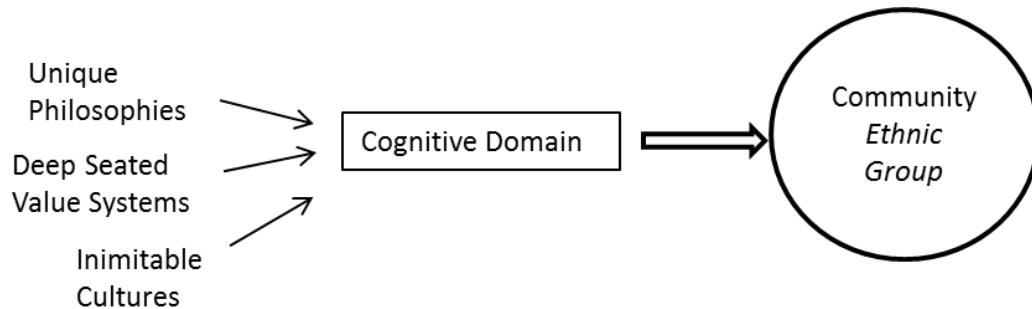


Figure 9: The Cognitive Domain & Community

How available resources are deployed is then observed to be a function of the third order of social capital, which are seen in this thesis to be concerned with the structural domain (see chapter 7). Structural social capital addresses the patterns of social organisation, which determines how members are networked, who is connected and how they are accessed (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). How social institutions facilitate interaction and the quality of ties, as well as leadership and governance for effective mobilisation of resources, is seen to be vital and this is addressed in section 7.3. Further, appropriability, or the ability to draw on available resources and capabilities, is seen to be a critical factor. Appropriability is seen as a function of both the joint family structure and the bridging ties in the group. The concept of appropriability addresses culture, value systems, trust, social resources, embeddedness, and network organisation forms, and brings them together in a coherent manner (Adler & Kwon, 2002). These factors that are relevant in the structural domain are grouped in Figure 10.

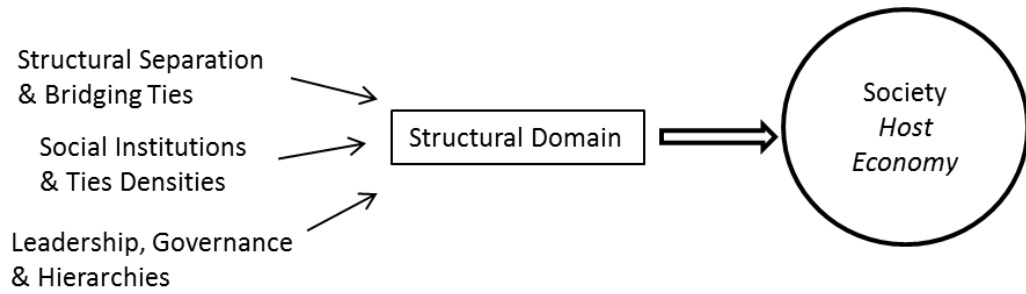


Figure 10: The Structural Domain & Society

The applied social capital model that evolves from an examination of these three ethnic communities, and which results from the interaction and intertwining of these three domains, is shown in Figure 11.

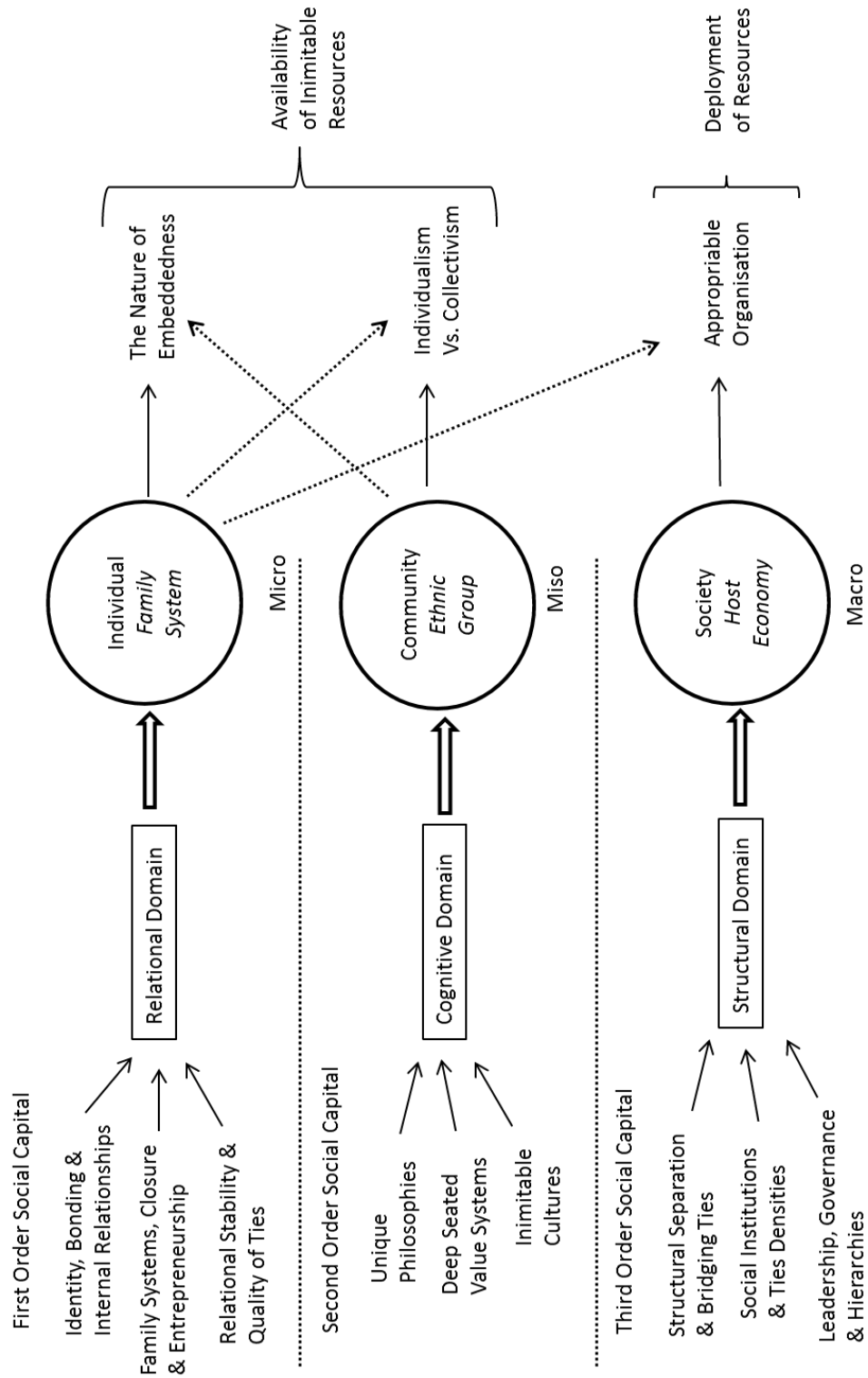


Figure 11: The Social Capital Model

The model developed in this study places the relational dimension of social capital as an antecedent to the development of the cognitive and structural dimensions. This is consistent with the observations of Long (2011, pp.1230-1231), who points out that “social exchange theory would suggest that relations are ontologically prior to structure and shared cognition”. The recognition of the relational domain as the first source of social capital is an important finding and contribution of this study. By addressing the community level of analysis in the model, this model then demonstrates that the cognitive domain is second, and the structural dimension is third in order. However, it is also clear that emergence of social capital is not a single loop event but is ontologically recursive and a continuous process (Long, 2011).

Carr, Cole, Ring, & Blettner (2011) rely on the conceptualisation developed by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) to assess social capital within family firms, by evaluating the structural, relational and cognitive dimensions. These researchers state that this social capital model “provides a useful framework to begin to examine empirically how the antecedents and outcomes of internal social capital in family firms unfold” (Carr, Cole, Ring, & Blettner, 2011, p. 1211). Their study concludes that collective social capital is essentially relationally driven, based on the quality of internal relationships, and “represents unique and inimitable resources derived from the socially defined unit known as the family” (Carr et al., 2011, p. 1223). Areas for future research suggested include the role of bridging ties, and also

the ways and means by which each individual dimension affects each other. The model developed in this study expands on this work, addresses these issues, places the relational domain at the heart of social capital development, shows the relevance and role of bridging ties, explains the interactions between the three dimensions, and sheds light on the deployment of social capital resources.

Gupta and Levenburg (2012) discuss the three inter-related systems of family, business and ownership, and their intersection with the three structural, relational and cognitive social elements. Cultural, ideological and religious factors are found to be important influencers of the forms and formats that such family businesses adopt (Gupta & Levenburg, 2012). This study extends this and confirms the importance of these factors in ethnic family businesses.

Pearson et al. (2008, p. 963) integrated social capital theory and the resource based view to evaluate family firms, concluding that “the structural, cognitive, and relationship dimensions of social capital serve as the behavioral and social resources that constitute familiness”. This familiness, or the unique resources and capabilities developed as a result of the interaction of family and business systems, is inimitable and valuable. However, it is when family and organisation social capital merge that social capital achieves its highest potential as an appropriable and valuable resource (Pearson et al., 2008). This study shows how such merger takes place in the joint family system (see Section 6.4.2), which consequently is most efficient and effective in the development and mobilisation of social capital.

This social capital model then demonstrates:

1. That the creation of social capital is a function of the relational domain, and it shows how social capital is created within a closed family system;
2. That the availability of inimitable resources is a function of the cognitive domain, and it demonstrates how valuable external resources are accessed through community networks; and
3. That the appropriability of social capital is a function of the structural domain, and it shows how available resources are mobilised and deployed through quality bridging ties and social institutions.

This theoretical model explains the influence of philosophical, cultural and religious traditions on the structural, relational and cognitive aspects of social capital in the Indian ethnic communities explored in this study. It discusses how unique organisation forms assist in the mobilisation and deployment of available social capital. Relational ties are highlighted as central to the model, and the relational domain determines how social capital is created and how entrepreneurship is fostered in these aspatial ethnic communities.

8.3. The Indian Management Framework, or Chakra

Researchers have highlighted the fact that there is an “India Way” of management, which relies on different philosophies, traditions and practices than that followed in the West (Cappelli et al., 2010). However, work organising and management processes in Indian organisations are still referred to as a ‘black box’, where there is limited understanding of management in the Indian context (Panda & Gupta, 2007). This study has uncovered significant factors in the Indian context that serve to distinguish and differentiate the Indian management framework from Western practices. These eight components of the Indian management framework that have been identified in this thesis are: Embeddedness in community (see section 6.4.3), cognitive overlaps (see section 6.4.3), the presence of a dividual identity (see section 6.3), the guidance of deep seated value systems (see section 5.5.2), the role of altruistic motivations (see section 5.5.2), the powerful effects of spiritual direction and acceptance of divine guidance (see section 5.5), an acquiescence bias or a tendency to accept given situations and roles (see section 5.5.1), and a strong collective orientation (see section 6.4.1). The entire framework is held together by the joint family system (see section 6.4.3), which is at the heart of the Indian management framework.

These consistent components of the Indian management framework combine to form what is conceptualised in this study as the Chakra, or Indian management philosophy wheel (see Figure 12). Chakra is derived from a Sanskrit word meaning wheel, and the term is rich in meaning in Indian philosophical terms (Williams,

2008). The Chakra system is variously said to represent order and balance, a philosophy with many threads that weave a tapestry of reality, a revelatory mapping of universal principles, patterns of consciousness, gateways between different dimensions, the wheel of life, points of connection and the wheel of law (Judith, 1999; Leadbeater, 2009). “Chakra” is relied upon in this study to capture some of the richness, complexity and depth in the unique Indian management framework.

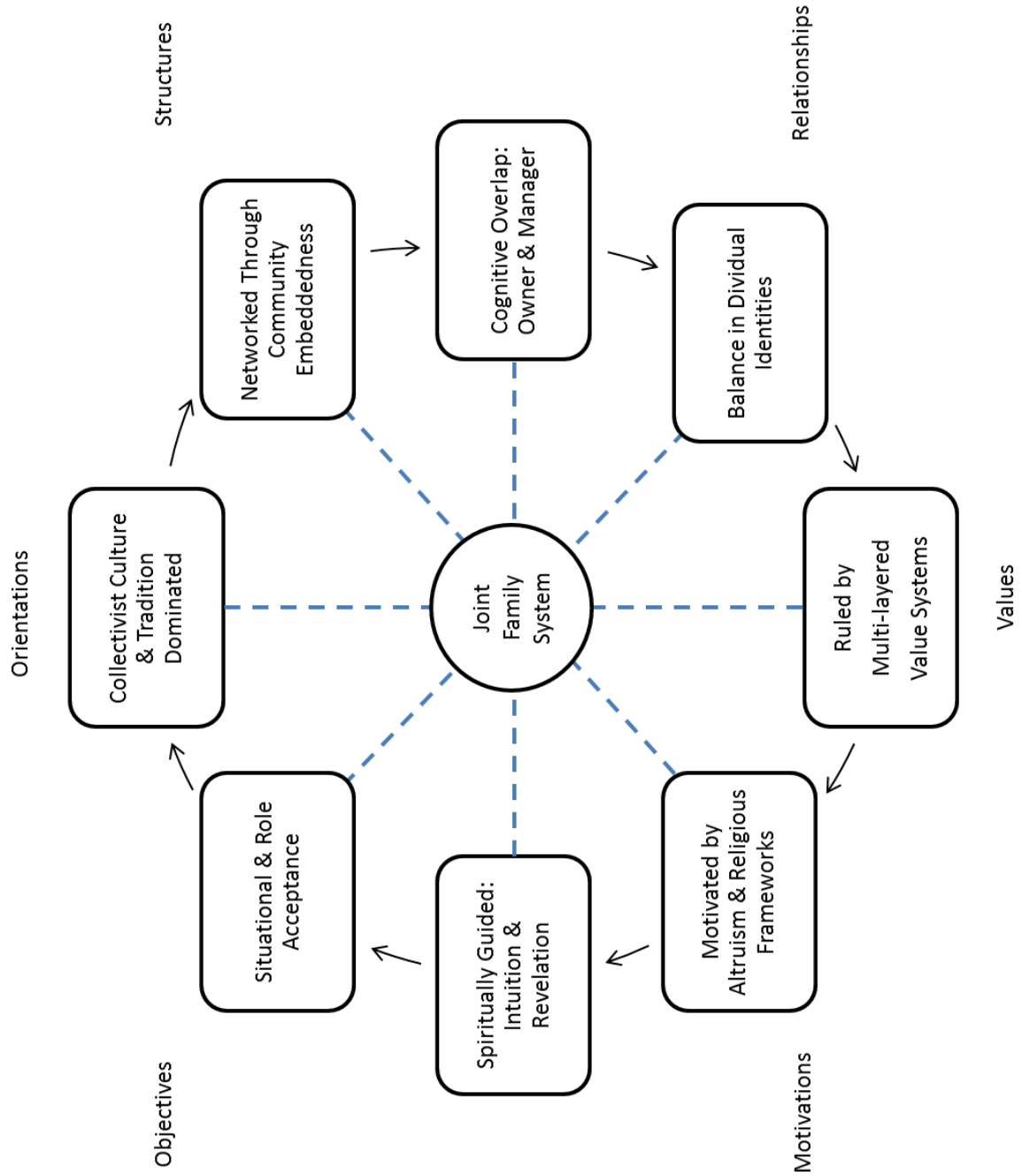


Figure 12: The Chakra, or Indian Management Framework

“Indian management culture is complicated” (Pitroda, 2006, p. viii), and it is dangerous to talk about a single Indian culture or framework given the fact that India has an enormously complex and varied culture (Tayeb, 2006). However, there are several commonalities that can be discerned from an examination of the ethnic communities in this study, and these factors come together to form the unique Indian management chakra. The Chakra serves to frame the Indian management practices, contextualise it within a particular social group or community, and emphasises the overarching importance of context in the India way of management. Chatterjee and Heuer (2006, p.11) point out that the “business and management culture in India has always been a reflection of the complexity and diversity that characterises the country as a whole”, and Pitroda (2006) states that there is therefore a need to understand the drivers of this complexity, the Indian mindset, and the approach to values, culture, ethics and work objectives. For the first time, the chakra or Indian management philosophy wheel developed in this study brings together all the important factors identified as being unique to management in the Indian context, and presents it in a coherent and cohesive framework.

So what is different about the Indian management framework, and why does it matter? There are clear areas that the Indian framework emphasises more than Western models. The primacy of family in economic activities; the receptiveness to religion in terms of direct teachings, divine guidance and spiritual openness; the ability and willingness to balance identities, roles and responsibilities; the

importance of value systems and higher purpose in work; and the relevance of community networks for resource support are some of the critical areas that cannot be ignored in the Indian context, and which differentiates Indian management from that of the West. The chakra or management philosophy wheel that is developed in this study then conceptually captures and presents the management parameters that are important in the Indian context, while maintaining the central importance of embeddedness in the joint family structure.

The three research questions have therefore been addressed in this chapter. It has been explored how rare, valuable and inimitable collective resources are created within these three Indian ethnic communities. Further the impact of existing and historical organisation forms, religious teachings, and ethnic relational ties on entrepreneurship has been discussed, and how social capital manifests itself within these communities has been examined. The exploration of the communities has revealed significant issues that are unique in the Indian context, and an Indian management framework, or Chakra, which identifies and incorporates these unique aspects, has been developed and presented. The contributions made by this research to theory, research and practice are highlighted in the next chapter. Specific policy recommendations are provided that will ensure that the valuable aspects of the Indian framework are recognised.

Chapter 9. Contributions & Conclusion

This research addresses the unique Indian philosophies which influence management frameworks, and contributes to knowledge through an exploration of the influences of culture, religion and traditions on management practices in India. The India way is stated to comprise of specific business practices which, when bundled together, constitute a distinctly different way of management from practices in other countries (Cappelli et al., 2010). The previous chapter developed the theoretical frameworks in this thesis, and presented the Indian social capital model. It identifies the unique components and practices which have emerged from the data analysis, and shows how they are held together in a unique Indian management framework, or chakra. This research accepts the contention that “the critical aspect is the separate components are integrated into a coherent model” (Cappelli et al., 2010, p. 207), and the binding force, as well as the coherence and comprehensiveness of the framework, are important considerations that are addressed in this study.

9.1. Contributions of this Thesis

This study makes important contributions to theory, research and practice, which are presented in this section. Issues around closure, cognitive anchoring and social capital levels are discussed. Important considerations regarding the nature of ties are addressed, and findings in this study regarding the importance of value

systems is highlighted. Contributions to research include an Indian management framework, which highlights the critical areas that are unique and valuable in the Indian context. The importance of these factors is also highlighted in terms of practice and policy recommendations.

9.1.1. Contributions to Theory

This study responds to Burt's (2000) note that research needs to separate the effects of first order and second order social capital. The social capital model developed (see Figure 11) shows that, for these ethnic communities, the first order of social capital, which correspond to the relational domain, is important to develop and capture potential value. Closure is possible at the first order since dense and multiplex ties are maintainable in the family system, and high levels of interaction and transparency leads to high levels of social capital. The second order of social capital is discovered to correspond to the cognitive domain, and this ensures access to pooled resources through community level structures. While closure is not possible given the large size of the communities, cognitive anchoring is important and achieved through reliance on the religious framework, philosophies and value systems. The structural domain, which corresponds to the third order, is then concerned with the actual mobilisation of available social capital.

Serra (1999, p.20) points out that India presents a complex case where "features which supposedly reflect collective structures of co-operation in Indian society and culture are elusive to measurement and meaningless to frame within states as units

of analysis". He further points out that it cannot be concluded that social capital cannot be measured in India, "but rather that it may be better located at a different level" (Serra, 1999, p. 20). This research shows for the first time that the levels at which social capital reside in the Indian context are at the joint family and ethnic community group levels.

Value introjections are strongly influential and directs both actions and objectives in each community, but this study challenges the assertion that they are a "first source of social capital" (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1323). The first source is seen not in the cognitive domain, which is where value systems correspond to, but in the relational domain in this thesis. The second source of social capital is held in the literature to "focus on the dynamics of group affiliation" and reciprocal transactions, and the third source is stated to deal with bounded solidarity and the "emergence of principled group-oriented behavior" (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1324). In this study however and contradicting the literature, the second level is found instead in the cognitive dimension, which fosters principled group behaviour and where bounded solidarity actually emerges.

This study agrees with the literature which states that internal solidarity and identification as separate groups leads to the emergence of mutual support structures, and appropriable resources (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993), but this is identified in this study to be a function of the second order cognitive domain of social capital. The third order of social capital in this study, which looks at group

affiliations, is observed to actually be a function of the structural domain. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993, p.1325) identify “enforceable trust” as a final source of social capital which is in the “realm of embeddedness”, but this study shows that this is not a separate or fourth source of capital but is instead already captured in the relational domain. This research then builds on the work of Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) by clarifying the orders and levels of social capital, and by demonstrating priorities, effects and functions at each level.

The Nature of Ties

This research highlights that it is important and essential to create high quality of ties (Jack et al., 2010), and therefore density of ties (Granovetter, 2005) is not as important as quality. Quality of ties is concerned with issues such as relational content, tie strength and relational trust (Liao & Welsch, 2003). It is therefore not just about the number of ties but also “the social contexts in which networks are forged and the identities shared in these networks matter” (Lin & Putnam, 2010, p. 929). This study finds support for the position that religious beliefs, traditions and practices are a major contributor to quality of ties (Ellison & George, 1994), and that this can lead to a radius of trust that extends beyond the particular ethnic community (Fukuyama, 2001).

It is held that “closure of the social structure is important not only for the existence of effective norms but also for trustworthiness” (Coleman, 1988, p. S107) and closure increases enforceable trust within the community (Portes &

Sensenbrenner, 1993). However, Burt (2000) states that closure is not as important as having the network anchored somewhere, and that this anchoring can be in nuclear families, extended families, community leaders or mentors. While closure is impossible to achieve in such large community groups which number in the millions, this research finds that there is instead cognitive anchoring provided by a reliance on core philosophies and value systems which assists in the maintenance of social capital, norms and trust even in these very large groups. This is what Pio (2010, p.39) refers to as the “deep anchoring force” in Indian entrepreneurs. There is no support for the position that values are particularly powerful in closed and well defined social groupings (Williams Jr., 1967), it is found instead that values are strong even in very large and open communities if there is this crucial anchoring point provided by the cognitive domain through a reliance on community philosophies and religious teachings (see sections 5.2 and 5.5.2).

For Lin (1999a, p. 469) “the hypothesis of “the strength of weak ties” was that weaker ties tend to form bridges that link individuals to other social circles”, whereas strong ties are formed between people who have strong relationships and belong to a role category such as in kinship systems. Bridging is therefore generally associated with weak ties and bonding with strong ties (Dale & Newman, 2010; Lin, 1999a; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). However, it is observed in this study that this general assertion in the literature that bonding ties are strong ties and bridging ties are weak ties can be challenged. It is found that groups can create bridging ties

which are high quality and strong, and this is exemplified by the Jain community. Bonding ties can remain weak despite centuries of interaction, as seen in the Sikh and Christian communities studies in this thesis.

This study finds support for the literature which states that what is needed in a balance in ties (Ozcan & Eisenhardt, 2009). Bonding multiplex ties strengthen group identity and collectiveness. The Jain community achieves a balance in bonding and bridging ties. Excessive bridging is detrimental to the creation and maintenance of social capital, since such bridging then results in a breakdown in bonding ties, as observed with the Christian community explored in this thesis.

Tiessen (1997) highlights that individualism in entrepreneurship is concerned with seeking new opportunities, and collective entrepreneurship is more concerned with the leveraging of group resources through kinship affiliations and relational ties. Similarly, Lin (1999a, p. 34) states that weak bridging ties are more useful in searching for and obtaining resources, while dense, closed, bonding ties are more useful for preserving or maintaining resources already possessed (Lin, 1999a). There is therefore a clear relationship between individualism and bridging ties, and also between collectivism and bonding ties. It is observed in these communities that individualism is associated with bridging, new initiatives and new resources (as in the Sikh community) and collectivism with bonding and existing resources (as with the Jains). Clearly both are needed and balance has to be achieved in both bonding

and bridging ties (Ozcan & Eisenhardt, 2009), and therefore with individualism and collectivism (Earley & Gibson, 1998; Pinillos & Reyes, 2011).

Reliance on Culture and Value Systems

Tracy (2012, p. 112) states that “the management literature does not offer a clear picture of the effects of religious beliefs on individual values, attitudes, or behavior in organizations” and believes that researchers need to explore the influence of culture in management terms, its potential as a resource and the relationship between organisation and social cultures (Tracey, 2012). This study contributes to the management literature through an exploration of the central role of culture in social capital creation within ethnic communities, particularly in the cognitive domain, and an examination of the effects of religious teachings and traditions on work and organisation.

Tracey (2012, p. 121) also points out that for management researchers there exists “significant potential to connect scholarship on entrepreneurship with religion”. He states that the relationships and influences between religious beliefs and entrepreneurship is an underexplored area for management scholars, and that there needs to be more contributions to this “crucial but neglected area of inquiry” (Tracey, 2012, p. 124). This study addresses this issue, and contributes to the literature by demonstrating how religious beliefs and traditions influence entrepreneurship and work done in each ethnic community (see chapter 5 and 6).

There is a covenantal relationship that is observed within each ethnic community, with a strong moral commitment to a set of values, and an obligation and internal pressure to work together for the collective interests of the social group (Hernandez, 2012). As social capital has been conceptualised as the glue that hold society together, so also “core ideology provides the glue that holds an organisation together as it grows, decentralises, diversifies, expands globally” (Collins & Porras, 1996, p. 66). Underlining this, Kanter (2011) emphasises how Indian firms invest in culture, common motivating purpose and values to provide coherence and common identity amongst great diversity.

Core values and core purpose are believed to be what define organisations at the most elemental level - values have been compared to its genetic code, and purpose to the soul of the organisation (Collins & Porras, 1996). Value systems evolve from complex ideologies and unique histories, and therefore need to be considered within the context of a particular culture and society (Banerjee & Linstead, 2004). Purpose, culture and values should be at the core of the organisation (Kanter, 2011), and organisations need to align their goals and philosophies with important value systems in society (Ouchi & Jaeger, 1978). This study shows how entrepreneurs from the ethnic communities can achieve such alignment in the Indian social space by relying on and remaining true to their own century old philosophies, teachings and value systems.

9.1.2. Contributions to Research

This research responds to the call to create an Indian management framework that is rooted in indigenous value systems (Gopinath, 1998). It is also in keeping with the observation that locally developed management frameworks need to be emphasised since they would be more appropriate to Indian conditions than an approach to "management that grew out of a different socio-historical process and which flourishes in a very different kind of a political economy" (Khandwalla, 1980, p. 173). The eight components of the chakra framework extends and builds on the work of researchers such as Chatterjee and Heuer (2006), who point out that "several 'traditional' characteristics of management in India remain in place - notions of authority and hierarchy, the role of familial networks, indigenous ethical-philosophical frameworks and community boundaries; the importance of continuity and stability in institutional and individual norms and practices; and, finally, a general acceptance of ambiguity" (Chatterjee & Heuer, 2006, p. 11).

The 'India way' is stated to comprise of a combination of organisational capabilities, managerial practices and cultural components that when bundled together set Indian management apart (Cappelli et al., 2010). This study expands on this work, develops these components, explains their relevance, and demonstrates how the unique Indian combination is held together by the joint family structure. The Chakra further serves to contextualise management practices and frameworks within a particular social group or community, and highlights the importance of community context and relational embeddedness in the India way.

In a recent study of Indian entrepreneurs, Prashantham (2011) found that cross-border co-ethnic ties were a valuable source of social capital, highlighting that such co-ethnic social capital resided across borders and was accessed and leveraged not only within ethnic communities, but also across spatial boundaries. Further research was called for to provide a “more nuanced account of how different sets of relationships” work within this form of social capital and “cross-border co-ethnic social capital ought to be recognized, valued and utilized as a distinct form of network resource” (Prashantham, 2011, p. 16). The current study develops further on this work, confirms co-ethnic ties as a valuable source of social capital in the aspatial context, and shows how the cognitive domain is critical to the development of social capital resources in each of the three aspatial Indian ethnic communities explored in this study. This study exemplifies a comparative, multi-layered, multi-sited, multi-perspective ethnography, which responds to LeCompte’s (2002) call for the study of multi-sited diaspora cultures.

9.1.3. Contributions to Practice

The importance of the joint family structure in the Indian management framework has been conclusively demonstrated in this study (see sections 6.2 and 6.4.3). The two theoretical models developed in this study both emphasise the high importance of the joint family structure in the Indian context. The social capital model (see Figure 11) demonstrates how the joint family system, which is essential in the relational domain, provides the first source of social capital. The Indian

management chakra (see Figure 12) demonstrates how the joint family system is vital in providing a binding force and coherence to the Indian management framework. The joint family form of organisation is unique to India, legally accepted and based on the concept that all members of a Hindu Undivided Family (HUF) do business jointly under the head of the family, with significant tax and regulatory benefits. The joint family or HUF system is identified in this study to be the basic structural building block in the Indian economy. The joint family system has been described as a “peculiar favour to the majority religious group in a democracy whose constitution guarantees no discrimination on the basis of caste or religion” (Gupta, 2010, p. 903), this favour is found in this study to extend to Jains and Sikhs, communities which evolved from within Hinduism, but not to Christians.

One of the striking findings in this study was that Christian entrepreneurs are advised to adopt their original Hindu names, to recapture their Hindu heritage, in order to legally utilise the joint family business structure, or are advised to marry into Hindu families to foster entrepreneurship (see section 6.2.3). This emphasises the high level of importance that such entrepreneurs place on the joint family structure as a valuable organisation form. The chakra framework shows how many of the community resources and relational benefits are lost or dissipated by the Christian community without the cohesion provided by the joint family system. It is also mentioned by the Sikh respondents that entrepreneurs from the community who relied on the joint family system have been successful, but if the

joint family organisation form is discarded, then it has an adverse effect on the success of entrepreneurship activities (see section 6.2.2). This highlights the importance of the joint family system at the hub or heart of the Indian management chakra, as it serves to provide coherence and cohesion to the entire framework.

Respondents from the Jain community, which relies most on the joint family structure, mention that the other legal, more Western but also more regulated organisation structures, such as the private limited company, are also used but basically as strategic instruments. Behind the more modern, Western organisation form is the robust traditional structure that predominates in the Indian framework. Gopinath (1998) therefore perceives the Indian family firm as a type of hybrid organisation, that draws equally easily on Western and traditional Indian concepts, and which lies in organisation terms between the MNC and the traditional indigenous structural forms. The joint family organisation form is highlighted in this study as a significant aspect of the impact that religion and traditions have on management systems and practices in India.

Family enterprises are an important component of the informal economy in India. Respondents did not differentiate between the formal and informal economies, and appear in this study to operate with equal ease across these sectors. The joint family or HUF structure is a very relevant organisation form for the very large unincorporated, unorganised, informal sector of the Indian economy (Sharma & Chitkara, 2006; Vaidyanathan, 2008). These unincorporated organisations exist in

“a universe in which the economic, political social, cultural and community level relationships operate to make them highly socially embedded” (Kabra, 2003, p. 31), and this embeddedness has been demonstrated in this study. Vaidyanathan (1999) points out that Indian’s growth story is actually the story of “India Unincorporated”, and the joint family organisations may be unincorporated but are highly organised, socially embedded, relevant and structurally robust, as has been shown by the ethnic communities in this study. The informal and unorganised sector, viewed by policy makers as a transient agent, is overwhelmed by the formal and organised corporate sector, treated as the prime agent, in power, policy initiatives, market access and resource availability. Yet this informal sector contributes 60 per cent of India's GDP, 93 per cent of all employment and makes up for “the failure of the richer, better-endowed and resource-guzzling organized, formal sector” (Kabra, 2003, p. 30). Despite underpinning the largest wealth generating sector and the real tigers of the economy (Vaidyanathan, 1999), the joint family organisation form remain largely under-researched, under-funded and under-the-radar. This study highlights that this powerful and relevant organisation form should ideally take center stage in Indian policy planning and resource allocation considerations, rather than a continued focus on western organisation imports.

This importance of the family firm is consistent with the observations of other researchers, where the economic environment in India is found to be dominated by family firms, and there is a prominent role of the family in way businesses are

organised (Gupta, 2010; Gupta & Levenburg, 2012; Iyer, 1999; Ward, 2000). The joint family organisation form is therefore a critically important and unique organisational hybrid that unites families, creates community constellations, divides religious groups, integrates traditional and modern organisations, unites incorporated and unincorporated firms, straddles the formal and informal structures, and bridges the organised and unorganised economies in India. This needs to be recognised in policy terms, and the benefits of the joint family system should therefore be extended to all communities since it potentially provides Indian entrepreneurs with a unique, inimitable and valuable organisation form, that captures social capital and permits the creation of community based strategic resource groups. Indian managers also need to recognise the enduring value of the joint family system in the economic arena, and to continue to build on the established traditions, networks and structures rather than to seek to replace these robust and relevant forms with stand-alone and standardised Western transplants.

9.2. Conclusion

Is there therefore a particular “India Way” of management (Cappelli et al., 2010)? Ramanujan (1989, p.54) asks if there is an Indian way of thinking, points out that “in cultures such as India, context-sensitivity rules and binds”, and therefore concludes that the context is a determinant of all behaviour. It has been observed that Indian cultural, religious, social, economic and particularly value systems are very dissimilar to the more individualist approach prevalent in the west (Mulla, 2007), and this has been confirmed in this study. The uniqueness of the India way is then seen to lie in its context sensitive approach as contrasted with a more context free approach in other cultures and societies (Ramanujan, 1989). Context is in each case is provided by the chakra or Indian management framework, which localises and contextualises management practices within communities, and retains the importance of relational embeddedness. It is held that there is a requirement to “develop relevant and context specific indigenous knowledge, including theories, concepts and frameworks” which can be gainfully used by Indian management practitioners (Panda & Gupta, 2007, p. 209), and this is accomplished in this study.

The overarching research question that is addressed is: How do unique philosophies and traditions influence management systems and practices in India? This question is examined qualitatively through three case studies of Jain, Sikh and Christian communities for the development of an empirical model of Indian based management. Issues around the creation of inimitable resources and entrepreneurship are addressed, and a comprehensive social capital model has been

developed that separates the levels and effects of social capital. The exploration of the three Indian ethnic communities has revealed some interesting commonalities, and these components then combine to form the unique Indian management framework. This research is the first time that all the factors of relevance in the Indian management framework have been brought together in a coherent and comprehensive manner, to develop the chakra or Indian management philosophy wheel. This is an important contribution to addressing and understanding the context specific and unique India way of management.

Clearly the many different schools of philosophy in India "running parallel for about 2,000 years and criticizing one another" have each developed their own philosophical traditions (Datta, 1948, p. 554) , and this study has only explored three unique Indian communities. Consequently conclusions cannot be extended without further evaluation in different communities and research in different social contexts. While the chakra, or management philosophy wheel, remains a useful and valid conceptual instrument within the particular and specific Indian context, the importance and relevance of each facet of the framework may change across communities, social groups and social spaces.

The positionality of the researcher in this study was to adopt a peripheral or associate membership role within the social group being explored, to understand the viewpoints of the participants from an insider's perspective (Kawulich, 2005). While total immersion was not resorted to, and the researcher did not become a full

participant in all the core activities of the groups, the associate membership role did allow the development of sufficient rapport and trust with community members. While deeper participation may have been useful, the fear was that the researcher would lose his objectivity in this study and would discuss important phenomena only in the context of his own interests, beliefs and understandings (Kawulich, 2005). The associate membership role then provided the researcher with “a rich experiential context” without unduly subjecting the data collection and analysis to a personal “distorting lens” (Becker & Geer, 1957, pp. 31-32). However, other ways of “knowing” or seeking knowledge can be usefully explored in the Indian social space, including reflexive and auto ethnography, and reliance on researcher introspection (Denzin, 2010; Eisenhart, 1988).

This study shows that, while there is not a radical departure from Western management frameworks, there are subtle and critical areas that the Indian management framework emphasises more than the West, and these factors are important to understand for both researchers and management practitioners. In particular, traditional organisational forms continue to retain high relevance and therefore need to be emphasised and relied on more by practitioners and policy makers. The extraordinary complexity and diversity of the Indian context is acknowledged, and this thesis contributes in a small way to the vast mosaic that represents Indian management.

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Annexure A: Data Collection Details

Interviews by religion, respondent code, location and date

Jain			Sikh			Christian*		
	Loc.	Date		Loc.	Date		Loc.	Date
J1	Goa	12/08	S1	Chand	01/09	CC1	US/Pune	12/08
		07/10			01/10	CA2	Chand	07/09, 01/10
J2	Goa	01/09	S2	Ham	10/10	CC3	Chand	01/09, 12/09
		06/11			09/11	CC4	Chand	01/09, 11/10
J3	Goa	01/09	S3	Chand	07/09	CC5	Ham	10/09, 11/10
J4	Goa	01/09			01/10	CC6	Pune	12/09, 07/10
J5	Goa	01/09	S4	Chand	12/08	CC7	Goa	07/09, 06/11
		02/10			12/09	CC8	Goa	01/09, 12/09
J6	Pune	07/11	S5	Delhi	07/09	CC9	Goa	12/09, 07/11
J7	US/ Pune	07/11	S6	Delhi	01/09	CC10	Zanz/Goa	12/09
J8	Delhi	01/09			07/09	CC11	Dub/Goa	07/11
J9	Aust/Bang	06/11	S7	Chand	02/09	CC12	Ham	02/09, 08/10
J10	Pune	07/11	S8	Chand	02/09	CS13	Goa	01/10, 06/11
J11	Pune	07/11	S9	Ham	11/10	CS14	Goa	01/10
J12	Pune	07/11	S10	Chand	01/10	CC15	Holl/Pune	12/09
J13	Goa	06/11	S11	Chand	01/10	CC16	Delhi	01/10, 06/11
J14	Delhi	01/10	S12	Ham	09/10	CA17	Delhi	01/10
J15	Goa	07/09	S13	Amrit	12/09	CA18	Delhi	07/09
		02/10	S14	Amrit	12/09	CA19	Delhi	07/09
			S15	Chand	07/09	CC20	Iran/Bare	01/09, 12/09
			S16	Amrit	12/09	CC21	Iran/Bare	01/09, 12/09
			S17	Chand	02/09	CC22	Ham	09/10, 08/11
			S18	Chand	07/09	CC23	Ham	09/10
			S19	Chand	07/09	CC24	Ham	09/10
			S20	Mohali	07/09	CC25	Ham	09/10
						CC26	Ham	08/10
						CC27	Pune	12/09
						CC28	Goa	01/10, 06/11

*Christian respondents are also coded by denomination, ie. CC=Catholic, CS=Syrian Christian , CA=Anglican; Other codes: Chand = Chandigarh, Ham = Hamilton NZ, Bang = Bangalore, Aust = Australia, Zanz = Zanzibar, Holl = Holland, Bar = Bareilly, Dub = Dubai, Amrit = Amritsar

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