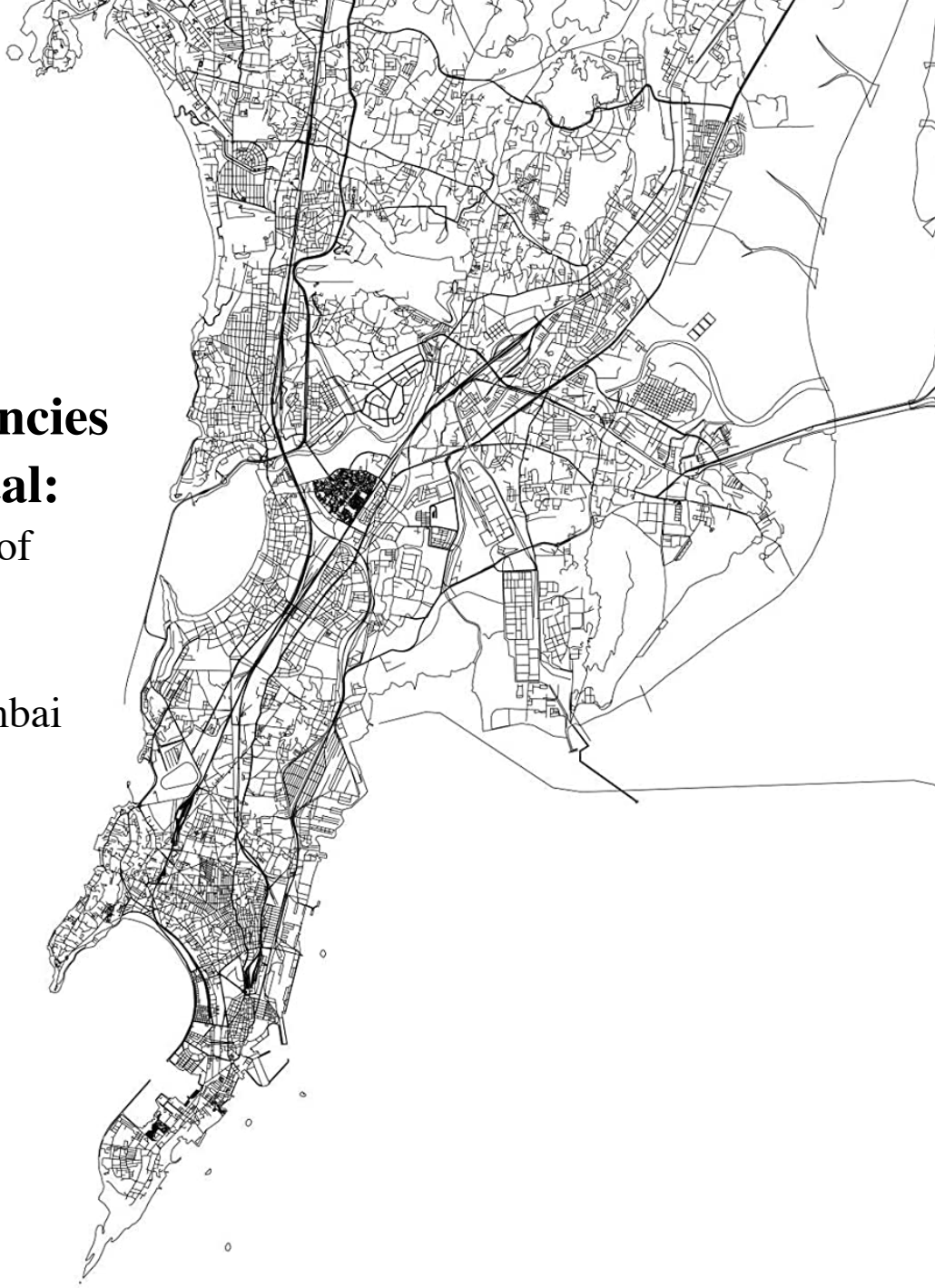

Inherited Competencies and Cultural Capital:

Contextualising the role of family background and upbringing on cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai

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ABSTRACT

Family background and upbringing are extremely important in India. As a crucial form of both social and cultural capital, they have the power to support, uplift and even hold back aspiring entrepreneurs, given the uniquely stratified and hierarchical nature of Indian society. Zooming out, such social and cultural contexts are similarly reflected in the functioning of India's economy. As the economy grew through entrepreneurship, a growing body of literature shows that there are indeed strong correlations between certain aspects of family background and successful entrepreneurship. Research on artists' labour markets showcase similar findings, yet detailed empirical descriptions of how the mechanisms of social background and class demographics aid cultural entrepreneurship is lacking. Using the 'primordial identities' prevalent in Indian society as a basis for understanding entrepreneurship in the Indian context, this study aims to investigate the socioeconomic and cultural factors that facilitate and ease the process of cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai, through the lens of family background and upbringing.

Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with the parents of twelve cultural entrepreneurs who represent a diverse range of cultural and creative activities. Parents were chosen as the prime respondents as they could provide the most detailed information about their family's history, their own upbringing, and their perspectives on how these factors may have influenced their children's entrepreneurial careers. Through a process of thematic content analysis, results show just how critical family background and upbringing are to the facilitation of cultural entrepreneurship in this small sample group. As expected, privilege, in the form of caste and social class are key aspects of family background that propel entrepreneurship forward. Parents' progressive mindsets, accumulated cultural and financial capital, and Mumbai's creative and competitive spirit, come together to form a vital framework of support that serves to activate and facilitate cultural entrepreneurship, and in turn, develop the city's CCI's.

Keywords: *Cultural entrepreneurship, family background, social capital, cultural capital, Mumbai, support systems*

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1. INTRODUCTION

> *Given the obvious elements of financial insecurity, but at the same time the necessity of financial support and start-up funds for such ventures, it is reasonable to assume that those embarking on DIY music careers are often, if not always, from home and family backgrounds that can provide such a level of financial support. Certainly more empirical research into the social backgrounds and class demographics of participants in DIY music-making and other forms of cultural entrepreneurship is critically required in order to gain a better sense of the potential barriers, or not, for those wishing to pursue this sort of career path.*
> (Bennett, 2018, pg.149)

With a population of over 1 billion people, 29 states and 7 Union territories, 122 major languages and 1599 other languages, India is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world (Government of India, 2020). Made up of many social structures, modern Indian society's 'primordial identities' are caste, class, community, gender and religion (Ghosh, 2018). These identities create a framework through which various institutions and cultures are served and upheld. Despite its modernisation, the country's socio-cultural landscape remains predominantly traditional in thought and practice, perpetuated by its various institutions (ibid). One such institution is family, a form of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in which family background is extremely important in reinforcing traditions, mindsets and a sense of belonging (Sinha, 2014). Largely collectivist and hierarchical, Indian society thrives on the value derived from personalised relationships and embeddedness within their groups. Due to the 'dependence proneness' of the Indian individual, family, along with community based on caste, religion and state, are key determinants of one's identity and position in society (ibid.).

The impact of such a uniquely multicultural society is similarly reflected in India's economy. Although historically already very stratified, India's societal and economic divisions have only been further accentuated by the growth of entrepreneurship during its market liberalisation in the early 1990's (Damodaran, 2008). As the economy grew through entrepreneurship and capital accumulation, so has the body of literature attempting to understand the influence of family background on such topics (Jain & Ali, 2012). Many studies have found that there are indeed strong correlations between certain aspects of family background and successful entrepreneurship. Some of these studies focus on the impact of joint family enterprises, many of which dominate various economic and industrial sectors, and currently hold monopoly over key markets (Damodaran, 2008).

As industries such as construction, manufacturing, IT, banking and so on grew, so have India's cultural and creative industries (CCIs) (UNESCO, 2015). Despite this growth, research on India's CCIs remains underdeveloped and is only recently attracting attention by scholars (Balaswaminathan & Levy, 2018; Van Hest & Vermeylen, 2015; Sardana, 2015). Due to low governmental support and a lack of cultural policy (Dhanwani & Shetty, 2019), mapping of the country's CCIs is at a preliminary stage and currently being undertaken by cultural entrepreneurs and cultural foundations, to whom much of the sector's growth is attributed (ArtTactic, 2019). Known to be notoriously informal (Chanda, 2020), one way to study India's CCIs is through Potts et al's (2008) 'new' definition of the creative industries, which considers the industries to be made up of complex social systems, where social networks function like markets.

With the understanding that India's 'primordial identities' (Ghosh, 2018) permeate into almost every institution of social life and economy, this study attempts to contextualise the socio-economic and cultural make-up of Mumbai's cultural and creative entrepreneurs, through the lens of family background and upbringing, with the aim of contributing empirically to the growing study of the Indian CCIs. Therefore, the following research question is raised: how does family background and upbringing facilitate cultural and creative entrepreneurship in the city of Mumbai?

Mumbai is chosen as the study's area of interest due to its vast history of entrepreneurship, growth of multiple creative clusters and exceptional commercial success (Ithurbide, 2014). While family background can be measured for example by caste, class, community, gender and religion as clearly distinguishable factors, the addition of 'upbringing' attempts to unpack the softer attributes of family background through notions such as parents' education and occupation, family orientation, cultural exposure, internationalism, taste formation and 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984). This study involves a qualitative approach where semi-structured interviews have been conducted with parents of cultural entrepreneurs to answer the main research question at hand. By employing a social systems reading of the CCIs (Potts et al, 2008) to describe India's cultural sector, one hopes to contextualise family background and upbringing as a crucial form of social and cultural capital for Mumbai's cultural entrepreneurs.

The research is structured as follows. To situate the question in a theoretical framework, relevant literature on concerning concepts will be reviewed and critically assessed. First, an introduction to India's 'primordial identities' (Ghosh, 2018) is provided, as a way to understand the Indian context. For readers unfamiliar with the realities of Indian society, this section offers a broad overview of the various social, economic and cultural dimensions that make India such a diverse and complex country. Next, literature on Mumbai, India's commercial capital, followed by India's

CCIs, are discussed in order to focus the scope of the study and situate the research question into a particular framework. The following section introduces entrepreneurship, with references to the informal economy and *jugaad* in India. Cultural entrepreneurship is then discussed within the context of artist labour markets, followed by a description of the different forms of social, human and cultural capital, as a way to further contextualise the 'softer' findings that emerge from the research. The research question will be operationalised and elaborated upon in the descriptions of the research design and methodology, in which justification for pursuing a qualitative analysis will be provided. There are a variety of definitions adopted by scholars of cultural entrepreneurship, but a lack of consensus and broad understanding of the concept makes it difficult to apply a single definition on the study's sample set. Rather than employing one definition to identify the cultural entrepreneurs included, in the context of this study, we will zoom in on individuals who have started their own business ventures within the cultural industries. In that sense, their motives are indeed profit driven, however, the output of their work is purely creative and artistic, ranging from graphic design and illustration, to artist management and cultural heritage. The central chapter will follow, in which the main findings of the interviews will be analysed and discussed with references that emerge from the theoretical framework. Finally, the conclusion will present a summary of the main findings, along with the study's limitations and possibilities for future research.

This thesis aims to contribute empirically and theoretically to the nascent study of cultural entrepreneurship in India, specifically in Mumbai, by diving further into the sector's social fabric through the unique lens of family background and upbringing which is seen to be an influential form of social capital in the Indian context. Due to the lack of attention paid to the sector by policymakers and academics alike, there is a clear need for such research, given the fact that the sector is growing despite any concrete cultural policy or fostering of an entrepreneurial ecosystem (Mack & Mayer, 2016) for the CCIs. As Bennett (2018) concluded in the quotation above, a study such as this also allows a better understanding of the potential obstacles, or not, for those wishing to pursue cultural entrepreneurship.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Understanding the Indian Context

Given its immense cultural diversity, vast geography and linguistic diversity, it would be impossible to suggest that there is one 'Indian society' or even one Indian political economy (Ghosh, 2018). Constitutionally, India is a federal state in which power and government legislature is divided on a central and state level. Matters such as external affairs and defence are looked after by the central union government, while regional issues such as health, law and order are coordinated by state governments (Government of India, 2020). This division of power adds an extra layer of multiculturalism to Indian society, as many of the 29 states and 7 Union territories have their own unique language, culture, art forms, cuisine and identity.

However, despite this plurality and diversity, Indian society is largely collectivistic and is tied together by the main 'primordial identities' of caste, class, community, religion and gender, with caste being the most historically important and consequential level in the social structure (Ghosh, 2018). India's caste system is considered to be the world's longest surviving social hierarchy (Human Rights Watch, 2001). An ancient social order, and one of the central tenets of Hinduism, the caste system delineates a complex structuring of social groups on the basis of ritual purity. One's caste is dictated through family lineage and remains so until death, although the particular position of that caste in the hierarchy may differ across regions and over time (Srinivas, 1996). The caste system is segregated into four main principles, or *varnas*, that very much follow an order of precedence. At the top of the hierarchy are *Brahmins* (priests and teachers), followed by *Kshatriyas* (rulers and soldiers), *Vaishyas* (merchants and traders) and finally *Shudras* (labourers and artisans). Falling outside of the four varnas of the caste system is a fifth, specific category known as *Dalits,* those considered too 'impure' to merit inclusion within the traditional structure (ibid.). There are many categories within each of these varnas*,* known as *jati,* which serve to differentiate subcastes from each other based on more specific factors such as occupation, geography or tribe. These finer categorisations are considered particularly relevant in the institution of arranged marriage, where endogamy is highly desired (ibid.). Considered to be more than 2000 years old, this hierarchical and oppressive system has become an intrinsic part of the Indian psyche and society (Ambedkar, 1936). It is therefore imperative to include caste as a determining factor in one's position in society as it cuts across the other stratifications of class, community and gender (ibid.). Although it was removed from the constitution in 1950, caste-based oppression and violence still occurs in Indian society today, having a detrimental effect on the opportunities available to

those of lower castes and Dalits (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Much like African-Americans have been historically and systematically oppressed in the United States, and continue to be, Dalits, and other minority groups, experience similar structural and everyday marginalisation (Yengde, 2020). It is therefore critical to acknowledge the caste one is born into in order to understand the opportunities afforded, or not, to one's family, given that these experiences are passed down over generations. Even with globalisation, caste, regional and linguistic communities have been critical in propelling these groups forward, influencing their behaviours and interactions with each other and global capital (ibid.). Such capital accumulation tends to reflect social forces: for example, most powerful business groups in the North typically come from 'traditional' business communities, such as the Sindhis and *Marwaris*, while in parallel, there are no major Dalit businesses of significance in the country (Ghosh, 2018).

Closely linked to caste, and associated with the notions of kinship and interdependence, is the idea of 'community'. Within the Indian context, this encapsulates an important identification tool, used by many as a way to differentiate or relate to one another. The term 'community' relates to the group that one is born into, based on subcaste, religion, religious sects, clans, geographic location and even mother tongue (Jacobson, 2004). As Indians are highly dependence prone (Sinha, 2014), family values are an intrinsic part of the Indian psyche, where kinship interdependence and economic activity are deeply embedded within India's social fabric. Religion is the overarching determinant of one's community, however, even within this, there are multiple identities, much like the jati. It is well known that within Islam there are a multitude of Muslim sects, with the same being true of Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism and all major religious faiths. Each community is also known for their particular characteristics and stereotypes. For example, the Sindhi community, who come from Sindh, a region situated across Pakistan and north west India, are considered to be highly enterprising because of their money-lending system known as the *Hundi* business, developed during medieval times. This financial instrument was seen to be highly influential in the Indian economy, and was even leveraged by the British during the colonial era to further their agenda (Reserve Bank of India, 2013). Sindhi merchants capitalised on the trade routes set up between port cities in those years, travelling as far as Kobe in Japan to set up trade businesses, and turning to manufacturing and development in India (Madras Courier, 2018). Thus, understanding the influence of community on a family, and therefore an aspect of the entrepreneur's identity, is crucial to this study.

Similarly, the gender of an individual, or entrepreneurs in question, can dictate how one is treated by their family and community (Korreck, 2019). Historically, in a patriarchal society like

India's, women are expected to be daughters of the household, taking care of domestic duties, while men engage in traditional economic activity, taking on the responsibility of meeting the financial needs of the family. These gender roles are passed down from generations and have unique expectations based on the community one comes from. Particularly in north Indian communities, lines of hierarchy and authority are maintained through 'joint family' structures in which a household consists of several generations living together, sharing professions, meals and worship, answering to the male head of family (Jacobson, 2004). In a modernising India, particularly in urban areas, living arrangements have changed, yet families still rely on and value strong networks of kinship ties. Expectations of women have also changed as families evolve and become less traditional, with more women taking to entrepreneurship and informal employment as a means of providing additional income for the family. This is perhaps more the case in urban areas, even amongst the lower socio-economic groups as rent is much higher than that of rural areas. In regard to cultural entrepreneurship, India's CCI workforce is female-heavy, much like other cultural sectors around the world (UNESCO, 2015). Existing literature on the subject is yet to fully explain this phenomenon, however one could assume that this is because males are expected to be the family's bread-winner and therefore, cannot afford to pursue careers in the arts, a sector known to be notoriously unprofitable (Abbing, 2008).

There are various understandings of 'social class', many of which use Marx's (1848) notion that class is defined by economic criteria and means of production, such as wealth, occupation and income, as a point of departure. Sociologists, MacIver and Page (1959; 1931) introduce a pyramid shaped model of society in which some communities are marked off from the rest based on 'status' and 'privilege'. Those at the top of the pyramid are fewer in number, but higher in position and valuation. Weber (1978; 1921) devised a three-part theory, adding 'status' and 'power' to Marx's notion of 'class' to show that one's social class lies at the intersection of all three. Weber's understanding of 'status' is particularly relevant to the reading of cultural entrepreneurship and artists' labour markets as it corresponds to prestige, or popularity in society. He notes that cultural practitioners such as artists and poets could occupy elevated positions in society, despite possessing low economic power. Both Marx and Weber acknowledge the role of property, rather, the ownership of property, as a major determinant of one's position in the social order.

Due to its vastness and population, India's class structure is complex and subject to many different interpretations. Furthermore, it is difficult to separate it from the implications of the caste system. The two are highly intertwined due to the omnipresence of caste within Indian society.

One's access to opportunity, particularly in the educational and professional realm, are, more often than not, dictated by one's lineage within the caste context. The overlap of these affiliations are perhaps more evident in rural parts of the country, compared to the larger cosmopolitan cities, where large landowners are predominantly upper caste, small scale farmers are mostly middle caste, and landless labourers are typically lower caste or Dalit, indicating that property ownership, as outlined above, is a crucial aspect in this formation. This three-tier structure tends to form the typical class system in rural areas (Jacobson, 2004). In comparison, class divides in urban areas and big cities follow the caste system less obviously as economic opportunity and competition have incentivised crosscutting caste boundaries to a greater degree. However, that is not to say that the divide does not exist (ibid.). Within Mumbai's social structures, the divide is perhaps most starkly visible along class and community lines with rampant and large-scale inequality, discussed in the following section.

A 2018 report by Oxfam found that 10 per cent of the country's 1.3 billion population holds 77.4 per cent of its national wealth, with 1 per cent owning more than half. The number of Indian billionaires has also grown over the last few years, with four out of ten inheriting their wealth (Oxfam India, 2018), indicating the quite literal economic value of family background. This tiny, yet extremely wealthy group of individuals, are made up of property owners, industrialists, former royalty, top executives and prosperous entrepreneurs (Jacobson, 2004). Situated slightly below is the upper-middle class section of society; highly educated, internationally exposed, and some of the main beneficiaries of India's market liberalisation in the early 90's. This group of people leveraged their parents' position in society, predominantly based on caste and community, had access to better education, studying mainly medicine, engineering and law at the country's top institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and the Indian Institute of Management (IIM), allowing them to gain opportunities with international corporations who set up business in India when the economy opened. A combination of these factors ultimately afforded them much sought after upward mobility (Nagaraj, 2003). A bigger development over the last few years is the rapid growth of an enterprising middle class, expected to make up 55% of the India population, one of the largest in the world, by 2025 (Ghani, 2021). India's middle class is distinct from the Western idea of middle class as their earnings are far lower and therefore do not enjoy the same standards of living. Those standards are reserved for the upper-middle and upper classes of society (Bijapurkar, 2013). However, this huge part of society is increasingly influential in directing the country's politics and economy. India's middle class are considered to be highly entrepreneurial, innovative and consumer-oriented, with its expansion largely linked to a gradual shift from "large-scale

informality that characterises much of the services and manufacturing sectors today, to more formal, wage-earning and medium-scale businesses" (ibid.). In comparison, the remaining population of the lower classes still struggle to access basic amenities, services and education, greatly hindering their access to upward mobility. Due to the sheer size of its population, India has the largest number of people living below the international poverty line of the $1.90 measure of the World Bank (Oxfam India, 2018). Most in this section of society populate the estimated 600,000 villages, where agriculture is the main source of income (Jacobson, 2004). Despite the growth of the economy, and the argument that free markets do not discriminate between social classifications, data shows that market liberalisation actually led to increased wealth inequality, with the value of assets following the order of the caste structure and occupational groups. This rise is clearly evident in urban wage inequality, as compared to rural wage inequality which has remained relatively stable over the last few decades (Oxfam India, 2018).

As this study focuses on cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai, India's commercial capital, it is expected that the entrepreneurs included in this study fall under the middle to upper caste and class sections of society, based on the assumption that to pursue a career in the arts, in an expensive city like Mumbai, one has the advantage of a social and economic safety net to fall back on when necessary.

2.1.1. Mumbai: India's Commercial Capital

Mumbai, India's economic hub, still nostalgically called 'Bombay' by its English speaking residents, is the country's wealthiest city and 12th richest in the world, worth a total of $950 billion, surpassing cities like Paris and Toronto (Business Today, 2018). With a population of more than 20 million, it is the 4th most populated city in the world and home to two major commercial institutions: Bollywood and the Bombay Stock Exchange, and as of 2021, 60 Indian billionaires (Hindustan Times, 2021). It is for this reason that it is commonly referred to as the 'City of Dreams' (Culture Trip, 2017).

Although Mumbai has historically been home to myriad communities due to a constant switching of ownership between various sultanates and empires, it's identity as a commercial and entrepreneurial hub has been shaped largely by migration taking place in the 18th century (David, 1973). When the British East India Company established a trade route between the Persian Gulf port of Basra, Baghdad, and Surat, a port town in Gujarat, a small group of Jewish merchants, known as the Baghdadi Jews, arrived in India. As the Company transferred its headquarters from

Surat to Bombay, the city became the Bombay Presidency and experienced huge growth as the economy expanded under industrialisation and textile production. Under British rule, mercantile communities from Gujarat, including the Baghdadi Jews and Parsis (Zoroastrian minorities from Persia), migrated to Bombay, forming the city's 'entrepreneurial elites' (Ithurbide, 2014). These affluent business communities played an important role in building Bombay's cultural infrastructure, investing in the development of some of the city's largest institutions. Sir J.J. School of Art, Prince of Wales Museum, and Jehangir Art Gallery are just a few of Mumbai's iconic cultural institutions still standing today. Situated in South Mumbai, the establishment of such institutions, along with the Bombay Stock Exchange have supported the creation of India's costliest housing market, on par with other world cities such as London and New York (Pandya, 2021). As the close relationship between these groups and the British grew, fuelled by a lucrative cotton and opium trade, the expansion of the city's economy attracted migrant labour from across the country, ranging from goldsmiths, potters, weavers and construction workers (Dwivedi & Mehrotra, 1995). This mixing of communities led to a culture of tolerance, diversity, and an increasingly market oriented mentality (ibid.), vital conditions for the fertilisation of a vibrant creative cluster (Scott, 2006).

The trend of migration continued well into the 20th century, when migrants comprised close to 80 per cent of Mumbai's total population in 1921 (Singh, 2005). These rates have since decreased as census data shows that fewer youths are moving to the city from across the country, possibly due to soaring costs of living (Shaikh, 2020). Following the years after Independence, many of those who did move, were well educated, and came from upper caste and middle-class communities, such as the *Kashmiri Pandits*, South Indian and Gujarati Brahmins, North Indian *Khatris,* as well as high ranking Indian Muslims and Christians, in professional roles such as engineers, doctors and lawyers. Verma (2007, pg.28) found that "education was a common thread that bound together this pan-Indian elite". The liberalisation of the economy further fuelled an influx of migrants, attracted by the foreign investment taking place in the city.

Today, Mumbai is considered the third largest startup hub in the country, after Bengaluru and Delhi-NCR. With an active startup base of more than 9000 firms and supportive state government policy, the city's startup ecosystem is booming, backed up by its healthy financial ecosystem. E-commerce, retail, software and fin-tech are the main sectors currently prospering in the city's entrepreneurial climate, although the high cost of rent is a challenge faced by many young entrepreneurs (Mitter, 2020). Despite the growth of these sectors and decreasing official rates of migration, inequality and income disparity in Mumbai are some of the highest in the world.

Expensive high-rise apartments housing the city's super-rich stand next to sprawling slum areas, which are said to house an estimated 55 per cent of the city's population, as of 2016 (Hindustan Times, 2021).

This literature is provided in order to support the above expectation that the study's respondents and entrepreneurs come from middle to upper class communities, where precarious careers in the arts can be supported by family. By focusing on Mumbai, this study seeks to make visible the influence of the city, as a migratory destination and commercial hub, on cultural entrepreneurship, and describe how the entrepreneurs' own family history may have played a role in shaping Mumbai's cultural vibrancy.

2.1.2. India's Cultural and Creative Industries

UNESCO (2015) defines the CCIs as activities that involve production or reproduction, promotion, distribution or commercialisation of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature. Their definition of the CCIs encompasses a wide range of activities across eleven sectors, namely: advertising; architecture; books; gaming; music; movies; newspapers and magazines; performing arts; radio; television; and visual arts (including design). Such classification helps to identify the various industries in this space, however it does not adequately describe how the sector functions. While there are many interpretations of the CCIs (Throsby, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Caves, 2000), it is Potts et al's (2008) definition of the Creative Industries (CIs) that feels most relevant to the Indian context due to the sector's informal yet innovative nature (Chanda, 2020). Made up of complex social networks that function as formal and informal markets based on individual economic choice theory in a social context, this framework argues that "because of inherent novelty and uncertainty [of producing creative goods], decisions to both produce and to consume are determined by choice of others in a social network" (Potts et al, 2008, p.169). Thus, the CIs, or rather, the creative economy, are considered to be more about the creation of new resources and the evolution of new technologies and markets, rather than the allocation of resources. This evolving definition seeks to differentiate between 'old' and 'new' culture on the basis of embedded value and quality signalling and therefore argues for the exclusion of more traditional culture, related to heritage, museums, classic arts and performance, from this definition. In the Indian context, one could argue that making such distinctions are premature when the country's creative economy still struggles to strike a balance between traditional Indian art forms and more contemporary advancements (PWC, 2018). This is largely due to a lack of the necessary infrastructure to commission, distribute, manage and support the sector, despite having enormous

cultural capital (ibid). Yet, the sector exists and strives hard to maintain itself. Therefore, I would like to apply a less stringent definition of the CCIs and propose a formulation that incorporates both UNESCO's (2015) and Potts et al's for the Indian context since even 'old' forms of culture rely on "word of mouth, taste, cultures, and popularity, such that individual choices are dominated by information feedback over social networks" (2008, p.170). This reading of India's CCIs reflects Indian society's collectivist and communal way of functioning as outlined by Sinha (2004). In this formulation, the complex interrelationship between agents, networks and enterprise is dynamic and effective, and serves to produce a mutually beneficial operation of creating values, both symbolic and economic (Potts et al, 2008).

India's cultural landscape is dotted with arts initiatives and organisations attempting to fill the gaps that have been created by low government support, the absence of a central cultural policy and distinct lack of recruitment structures (Chanda, 2020). To address this knowledge gap, Indian cultural entrepreneurs and cultural foundations have recently begun mapping the country's CCIs. In a recent survey conducted on the impact of COVID-19 on the country's creative economy, a dataset of 368 respondents showed that the sector consists of mainly Micro, Small to Mid-size Enterprises (MSMEs) and the self-employed, making up 88 per cent of the sector, with self-employed organisations of 2 to 10 employees making up 74 per cent (British Council, 2020). While this is but a small snapshot of a large sector, it is one of the only existing studies that showcases such information and corroborates the assumption that much of the sector's development can be attributed to cultural entrepreneurs. This corresponds with Potts et al's (2008, p.177) social network market definition as it "links directly into analysis of the entrepreneurial process and the formation of new markets and organisations, and in general with the process of innovation as an experimental endeavour of what Joseph Schumpeter called 'creative destruction'". The report also identifies Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata and Chennai (the four main metropolitan centres) as major city-hubs of cultural significance to the creative economy, further supporting the relevance of this study, despite its small sample size. As India's creative economy lacks comprehensive data, a study such as this attempts to provide unique insights into Mumbai's understudied, yet active cultural and creative sector.

2.2. Entrepreneurship: A Brief Introduction

Entrepreneurship, and the role of the entrepreneur as a key economic agent, was first introduced by economist Joseph Schumpeter in 1911 (Fontana et al, 2012). Said to be a "man of action" (Schumpeter, [1911] 2003, p.177) the entrepreneur is an individual who sets the economy in motion by disrupting existing processes endogenously. This is done by identifying new market opportunities and exploiting them through innovation and resourcefulness. Entrepreneurs are considered to be bold risk-takers, and through processes of recombining existing elements, are able to drive change in the economy, conscious of the inherent uncertainty in the pursuit of their goals (ibid.). As entrepreneurship grew across the world's free market economies, so did scientific research on what drives this phenomenon. In 1985, psychologists Ryan and Deci, distinguished various forms of motivation in their Self-Determination Theory (SDT), challenging psychology's dominating Behaviourist School (Kreimer, 2020). SDT posits that there are two basic types of motivations, intrinsic and extrinsic, underscoring the actions of an individual, or in modern economic theory, of an entrepreneur (Carsrud & Brannback, 2011). Intrinsic motivation refers to doing something because it is inherently interesting or enjoyable, while extrinsic motivation refers to doing something because it leads to separable, and mostly external outcomes (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Building on this seminal theorisation, Entrepreneurship theory has expanded to incorporate studies of motivation due to the unique nature of being one's own boss. While the pursuit of profit or external rewards such as recognition and prestige are considered extrinsic motivations, intrinsic motivation of entrepreneurs is a more complex subject. In an organisation, one's intrinsic motivation, such as self-confidence, can be fostered or diminished through the use of 'signals' from colleagues and superiors (Benabou & Tirole, 2000). For an entrepreneur, this relationship of co-dependency must be internalised if they are to be successful, as the entrepreneur is both principal and agent (Frey & Jegen, 2001). Studies by Kristiansen et al (2003; 2004) measured the relationship between self-efficacy (entrepreneurial readiness) and entrepreneurial intention and found there to be a significant relationship between the two, which was later shown to be significantly linked to business success. Intrinsic motivation is thus seen to be a vital aspect of entrepreneurship, driven by: high risk-taking propensity, competence, autonomy, self-efficacy, a strong internal locus of control and inner satisfaction derived from activities undertaken (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

In their study of personal and psychological characteristics of Indian Small to Medium-sized Enterprise (SME) entrepreneurs, Jain & Ali (2012, p.305), found that those entrepreneurs who belong to a business family background, as opposed to farming and service (in the private sector

and public/government organisation), showed significant variations with regard to characteristics i.e. intrinsic motivations, like “achievement orientation, innovativeness, internal locus of control and risk-taking propensity”. The same study also demonstrated a significant relationship between entrepreneurs with postgraduate degrees and ‘achievement orientation’, as well as ‘risk-taking propensity’, as compared to those who were graduates and non-graduates. These findings indicate that family background and education are important elements for entrepreneurial motivation, and provide an introductory entry point into the cultural and social contexts that facilitate Indian entrepreneurship. The attainment of post-graduate degrees could also hint at the presence of affluence and privilege within the family, as supporting mechanisms.

As wealth inequality widens across the different social stratifications as a consequence of increasing entrepreneurship and ineffective political infrastructure (Ghosh, 2018; Sinha, 2014), the economy has also seen a rise in social entrepreneurship attempting to fix such market and government failures (Yamini & Peng, 2020). As a result, research on social entrepreneurship, particularly in developing economies like India, is also gaining steady attention (Chakraborty & Loots, Forth.). Within the Indian context, research shows that much of current social entrepreneurship exists specifically to address the negative consequences of the country’s highly stratified and hierarchical social structure. In some cases, social entrepreneurs come from India’s marginalised communities, turning to entrepreneurship out of necessity and the desire to uplift their community and those around them (ibid.). In many other cases, some of the country’s most successful social entrepreneurs come from more privileged social groups and have chosen social entrepreneurship as a way to foster positive change, leveraging their higher status in society to access certain resources (Yamini & Peng, 2020).

It is well known that in India, especially in rural parts of the country, women are greatly ostracised and oppressed, even from their own families (Korreck, 2019). With less favourable conditions, the participation rate of women in the economy is low due to societal biases (World Economic Forum, 2018). Consequently, studies show that for many women entrepreneurs, family support plays a crucial role in facilitating their entrepreneurial endeavours (Bala Subramanian & Kumar, 2016; Meenakshi, 2016). It is interesting to note the socio-economic backgrounds of women entrepreneurs and whether they turn to entrepreneurship out of necessity or opportunity. Unsurprisingly, those that ‘needed’ to become entrepreneurs came from lower socio-economic backgrounds, while those who were motivated by opportunity came from higher socio-economic backgrounds, stating that family support, in the form of financial or emotional support was a key factor (Bala Subramanian & Kumar, 2016; Reynolds et al, 2002). Thus, one can see how class and

gender are closely interlinked, against the ever-present implications of caste and class, within the context of entrepreneurship.

It is clear that India's social structures have a great influence on the country's entrepreneurial spirit and the different types of entrepreneurship that are emerging across the economy. A domain that seems to be neglected from policy and academic research is cultural entrepreneurship within the Indian context, despite there being exceptional growth in the sector over the last few decades (UNESCO, 2015). This therefore begs the question: in what way do these social structures lend themselves to the facilitation of **cultural** entrepreneurship?

2.2.1. *Jugaad* and the Informal Economy

As mentioned, much of India's economy is considered to be informal. The term 'informal sector' was first coined by British anthropologist Keith Hart (1973) in his study of Ghana. The International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2016), has adopted two definitions of informality; 'informal sector' and 'informal employment'. The former pertains to firm or enterprise characteristics, while the latter focuses on the employment conditions of the worker. In developing countries, where much of the labour workforce functions outside the bounds of legislation and largely excluded from social security benefits, there is increasing interest in the causes of informality, from a policy and academic perspective (Sheikh & Gaurav, 2020). In fast-growing emerging economies such as India's, studies have shown that despite formal sector growth, labour market dynamics are such that there is also growing informality, coexisting alongside (ibid.) In 2011-2012, the informal sector accounted for 82% of the total workforce (ILO, 2016). Firms in this sector are characterised as unincorporated and small in size (in terms of number of employees) and often house-hold run. Higher tax burdens, GST (Goods and Service Tax; a multi-stage, destination-based indirect tax in India), regulatory costs and bureaucratic inconveniences, have been identified as major deterrents of transitioning to more formal functioning (Sheikh & Gaurav, 2020). Education, age, gender and place of residence have been shown to be significant determinants of one's participation in the informal sector, with low education being one of the main factors (Bairagya, 2012). Similarly, those belonging to lower castes are also more likely to take part in the informal economy, even in public enterprises (ibid.).

The perseverance of India's informal sector is also largely attributed to necessity entrepreneurs, and in some cases, opportunity entrepreneurs. Mechanics, small-time dealers, domestic workers and drivers, are some of the many self-employed professions that make up the large informal sector (Sharma & Kumar, 2018). Additionally, 'grassroots' innovation, exemplified

by farmers rebuilding existing machinery to do something new (Gupta, 2016), is also a central aspect of the informal economy. Such innovations and entrepreneurial processes are defined by exceedingly practical solutions to problem solving, through a bottom-up approach (Rao, 2006). Informal sector innovations are resource-constrained and created under conditions of scarcity. These innovations consist mainly of improvisations and adaptation of existing technology, much like the characteristics of Schumpeter's innovator-entrepreneur (Bhaduri & Kumar, 2011). Even within the formal sector, Indian innovation tends to be highly frugal and cost effective, by making "ingenious use of existing resources and technologies" (Prabhu & Jain, 2015, p.845). This low-cost, flexible and inclusive approach to innovation is also known as *jugaad,* a colloquial Hindi term, used by Indians to describe the process of "making things happen" (ibid.). As the term gains academic recognition, it has come to denote a type of creative improvisation, associated with entrepreneurial activity. The term also has negative connotations, as it originates from a mentality, and reality, of scarcity and is often seen to produce cheap, short-term solutions, rather than solid, long-term solutions. There is also a current debate about whether the jugaad mindset actually benefits or stifles innovation (Mishra, 2020). Many researchers have recognised the linkages between jugaad and 'bricolage', which translates into "making do with what is at hand," a term commonly seen in research on resource-constrained entrepreneurship in informal environments (Jain, 2020, p.2). This style of working has permeated into a kind of mindset, ingrained in people who have grown up in such conditions. High levels of uncertainty and risk typify such environments, and thus a connection can be made with the cultural industries and artists' labour markets, as they are characterised similarly by scholars of cultural economics, due to the novelty aspect and inherent uncertainty of producing cultural and creative goods (Potts et al, 2008; Abbing, 2008).

Within India's CCIs, there is a substantial mix of formality, by those who are registered and part of the GST system, and informality, comprising the more practical support jobs such as carpenters and electricians. Given the lack of overall industry structure, what are the kinds of resources available to Mumbai's cultural entrepreneurs that ease their pursuits, against this environment of uncertainty? The following sections are accordingly provided in order to contextualise the innate ambiguity of cultural entrepreneurship and the possible resources i.e. types of capital, perhaps used to mitigate this tension.

2.3. Artist Labour Markets and Cultural Entrepreneurship

As individual tastes are subjective and vastly heterogeneous, the supply of cultural goods and services must be highly differentiated and innovative in order to capture demand (Throsby, 2004).

In order to achieve such levels of supply, there must be a high supply of artists to produce these goods. Large parts of society; individuals, institutions and governments, are willing to spend enormous amounts of money on artworks, performances and building prestigious cultural spaces, yet despite the elevated status of the arts and the attractiveness of artistic occupations, artists remain poor and earnings distributions are extremely skewed (Abbing, 2008). Uncertainty and risk are thus part and parcel of pursuing a career in the arts, where "uncertainty acts not only as a substantive condition of innovation and self-achievement, but also as a lure" (Menger, 2006, p.541) due to the winner-takes-all nature of the art market. This inherent paradox between the high symbolic value of art and low incomes is seen to be structural, and in-built into the system. A handful of mechanisms have been outlined by scholars to show the ways in which artists try to improve their economic situations: they can be assisted by private sources (family, working spouse or friends) or public programs; by working in cooperative-like organisations by pooling resources; or by holding multiple jobs (Baumol & Bowen, 1966). Nonetheless, studies have shown that even with support in the form of government subsidies, artists continue to stay poor and have, in fact, resulted in an oversupply of yet more low earning artists (Abbing, 2008).

Regardless, the arts remain attractive for a variety of reasons; fame and attention, even if only for a few; recognition from peers and critics; and more intrinsically, pleasure derived from creative work; and self-autonomy to engage in work that is authentic to their being i.e. freedom to express themselves without restriction (ibid.). Weber's (1921) notion of 'status', particularly of the artistic and cultural kind, is therefore still highly relevant today. What drives artists are thus not too different from what is said to drive entrepreneurs i.e. high levels of intrinsic motivation and risk taking (Ryan & Deci, 2000). By recognising the fundamental conditions of uncertainty and risk with both artistic careers and entrepreneurship, it can be extrapolated and applied to the theorisation of cultural entrepreneurship, as a domain that straddles both concepts, particularly since 'disruption' is an integral part of the two processes (Klamer, 2011; Schumpeter, 1942)

Cultural entrepreneurship is a domain of cultural economics that has only recently gained academic and policy recognition. Despite its prevalence in the growth of the cultural industries, there is "a conspicuous gap in the theorisation and application of entrepreneurship to the creative industry sector" (de Bruin, 2005, p.149) and a lack of definitional consensus across its scholarship (Schulte-Holthaus, 2018). However, some attempts have been made to define it, building on the work of Joseph Schumpeter (1911; 1942), as previously outlined. Cultural entrepreneurship involves a constant dialogue between business logics and artistic logics. In Schumpeterian terms, a cultural entrepreneur upsets the cultural sector's economic equilibrium to set the economy in

motion through the realisation of cultural and artistic values (Klamer, 2011; Kolb, 2015). Swedberg (2006) also references Schumpeter's notion of disrupting economic equilibrium to create space and profit for entrepreneurial activities in the creative industries. He appreciates Schumpeter's "man of action" (p.247) and further enriches this understanding by combining Weber's sociological notion of the "charismatic" leader (p. 251) and Durkheim's conception of "collective effervescence" i.e creating spaces and events that bring people to together (p.255), to his definition of a cultural entrepreneur. Ultimately, Swedberg's cultural entrepreneur is someone who creates "something new and appreciated" in the cultural sphere (p.261).

Schumpeter also differentiated between the inventor and entrepreneur, which de Bruin (2005) references in her conception of a cultural entrepreneur. The inventor label is assigned to artistic and creative people who produce ideas, while the entrepreneur label is given to those who identify, engender and exploit business opportunities. This is congruent with Varbanova (2013) who sees cultural entrepreneurship as an economic and socio-cultural activity, based on vision, strategy, innovation and seizing opportunities. Burton (2003) argues that the lack of government support and funding is a key challenge faced by leaders in the CCIs and much like in the case of India, it is the cultural entrepreneur who comes in to fix the shortage of cultural supply caused by low policy support. Sardana's (2015) study of Indian cultural entrepreneurs showcases an interesting formation of facilitating factors that leverage both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations: innovation and an eye for creativity; passion for the art form; joy from engaging in authentic work; external recognition; and pride from offering unique cultural products.

Evidently, what underscores these various formulations of cultural entrepreneurship, is an important balancing of intrinsic motivation from an artistic standpoint and achieving necessary extrinsic rewards, in order to assuage the pervasive uncertainty and risk in pursuing such a career. As mentioned above, some artists rely on external sources of finance to improve their economic situations so that they can continue their artistic careers. The following section aims to highlight similar sources of support i.e. forms of capital, that may also reinforce cultural entrepreneurship.

2.4. Forms of Capital

Entrepreneurship literature that focuses on the types of resources that are drawn upon by entrepreneurs make references to three key types of capital: human, social, and more recently, cultural.

Human capital refers to attributes such as education, experience, knowledge and skills (Unger et al, 2011), and are said to be critical elements for entrepreneurial success (Sexton &

Bowman Upton, 1985). Much like physical capital is built from the combination of materials to create means for production, human capital is produced "by the changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities which enable them to act in new ways" (Zelekha & Dana, 2019, p.255). Research shows that human capital is a necessary component of successful business venturing and can be divided into general and specific human capital. Socio-demographic characteristics such as age and gender relate to general human capital, while 'softer' qualities, like investment in formal education and prior work experience are considered more specific (Mcgowan et al, 2015). Education is highlighted as a particularly vital component for young entrepreneurs and professionals, as it can form the foundation for the knowledge, behaviour, orientation and respect required for successful entrepreneurship (ibid.).

Social capital is defined as access to resources based on complex interdependent relationships, by virtue of personal and professional interactions, connections and goodwill that exist in one's network (Zelekha & Dana, 2015). An important combination of "trust, reciprocity, information and cooperation generated between the focal person and actors in the social group" (Mcgowan et al, 2015, p.647) form the basis of this resource pool. Investments in social capital are seen to be crucial to successful business leadership as it administers access to valuable support systems, both human and financial. Informal, personal networks are also commonly leveraged resources, particularly for women entrepreneurs, with family and/or partners providing important reinforcement, particularly if said relations have an entrepreneurial or business background themselves. Similarly, a mentor, someone with advanced knowledge and experience in the field, is also a vital source of social capital as they can function as role models, boosting one's personal and professional development. Agents in these networks provide access to key forms of support: financial; emotional; strategic; and even unpaid labour as a family member (ibid.).

Cultural capital as a concept was first pioneered by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and refers to the set of social assets available to a person, namely: education; intellect; attire; speaking styles; and cultural and artistic knowledge. It is said that these assets function as types of resources that can encourage social mobility in a stratified society. In particular, advanced cultural knowledge is read as a symbol of social status and power, and in societies where the exchange of material and symbolic goods are common, that which is considered rare, or out of reach, is idealised and worth seeking. Cultural capital was further operationalised as the knowledge of high culture (DiMaggio & Useem, 1978), referring to the levels of socialisation into highbrow activities, such as museum and theatre attendance, curiosity for art and classical music, and reading literature. At the core of this theory is the hypothesis that children who do not have access to this kind of

socialisation (from their parents and families) will have unfavourable schooling experiences as they lack the necessary skills, habits and styles that would usually be rewarded in higher education, and later, the job market (ibid.).

Linked closely to socialisation is Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus', which refers to the inculcated habits, skills and dispositions, by social forces such as family and the familial environment (Wacquant, 2005). Changes in education, social class, and interactions with others in daily life can also influence one's habitus and social and cultural capital. It is said that these learned dispositions are shared by those in similar social positions and backgrounds, so much so that those in dominant social groups of high status use their power to create and uphold structural conditions to protect their interests. Invariably, this serves as a framework for social and cultural exclusion (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Friedman and Laurison (2019) term this phenomenon 'the class ceiling', a reality in which those with advantaged backgrounds enjoy the propulsive power of privilege, which affords them entry into elite circles. Two resources were identified as significant helping hands: "the bank of mum and dad"; and sponsor relationships in the work setting. The first is a kind of financial patronage that has proved to be a critical safety net for careers in precarious fields like the cultural industries. This financial support is an early career lubricant that allows the privileged to circumvent exploitative employment, notorious in the arts, and offers those lucky few a chance to take bigger risks earlier in life. The latter relates to unofficial mentor-protege professional relationships that largely rests on a shared sense of class-cultural affinity, such as humour, taste or lifestyle, linking back to Bourdieu's 'habitus' (1986). Ultimately, whether it is in business, or the arts, elite careers rest on the support of others.

Many sociological studies document that Bourdieu's theory holds true, even today, wherein cultural lifestyle elements are indeed transmitted from one generation to the next, proving that parental involvement and knowledge of the classical arts can augment a child's cultural disposition and tastes (Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Interestingly, De Graaf et al's (2000) study on parental cultural capital and education attainment in the Netherlands shows that along with parental participation in highbrow cultural activities, it was strong parental reading habits that played a more pronounced role in enhancing their child's educational success. The fostering of reading habits and a home environment conducive to learning has a greater positive impact on a child's cognitive skills, rather than mastery of highbrow cultural codes.

Thus, when read through the different lenses of capital, family background and upbringing are taken to be vital facilitating factors in this study of Mumbai's cultural entrepreneurs. Attributes such as education, cultural exposure and professional lineage, of both parent and entrepreneur, form

the central points of enquiry in the following analysis. The current study therefore attempts to contextualise the inextricable nexus of human, social and cultural capital as pools of resources, drawn upon by the entrepreneurs in the dataset.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Design

The purpose of this study is to understand the role that families play in facilitating the growing phenomenon of cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai. In particular, this study seeks to explore the social and cultural factors, through the family context, that influence and support the pursuit of cultural entrepreneurship across Mumbai's cultural sectors.

Using a qualitative methodology, data was collected via semi-structured interviews conducted with the parents of identified cultural entrepreneurs. This involves an inductive approach, in which new theory is generated based on specific data, forming the outcome of the research (Bryman, 2012). This method enables the researcher a deeper understanding of the various perspectives being studied, providing greater access to the underlying complexities inherent in the research question. By utilising an explorative, inductive approach, a more thorough comprehension of the concepts under study are realised. While an inductive approach indeed makes use of a theoretical framework, the concepts discussed in the framework serve as an initial design upon which to formulate the interview guide. These concepts are a starting point, from which new theories about cultural entrepreneurship within the context of Mumbai will emerge.

Semi-structured interviews permit respondents the freedom to introduce and focus on certain topics they may consider to be more relevant to their experience, whilst also allowing for a degree of standardisation due to the incorporation of predetermined topics into the interview guide. This standardisation authorises validity through the aggregation of answers (Babbie, 2016). This is critical in a study that looks to uncover the subjective influence the respondents have had on their children through parenting and upbringing. In doing so, the establishment of new or supporting social and cultural factors may arise. Although statistical causality is difficult to assume through such methods, with a dataset of this size, it authorises one to delve deeper into subjective reasonings on an individual level. This may, as a result, lead to the manifestation of new theoretical concepts within the understudied phenomenon of cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai. Despite qualitative methods being rigorous and offering better depictions of participants' experiences, they indeed present some limitations. Due to its explorative and subjective nature, participants' responses are

challenging to corroborate objectively against one another. Correlation is also difficult to glean through qualitative methods as data cannot be analysed mathematically. As a result, responses cannot be measured as a way to produce statistically representative data (Bryman, 2012). Nonetheless, due to the nascent level at which current research is being undertaken, a qualitative approach is most suitable in order to uncover and advance knowledge of the field.

3.1.1. Sampling Design

For a more in-depth understanding of the social and cultural factors at play, a variety of cultural entrepreneurs' parents have been asked to participate in the study. Departing from Potts' (2008) 'complex systems' framework of the CCIs, the chosen participants are parents of entrepreneurs who have established new creative ventures in Mumbai. Building on the cultural enterprises and sectors defined by UNESCO (2015), the entrepreneurs have been identified as initiators of new and appreciable activities (Swedberg, 2006), functioning across the spectrum of Mumbai's CCIs. In order to determine the study's unit of analysis, a generic purposive sampling approach, a form of non-probability sampling (Bryman, 2012) has been utilised. First, different entrepreneurs across various cultural sectors were identified on the basis of having started their own creative venture in the city of Mumbai in order to ground the study to one locational boundary and creative economy. Second, the entrepreneurs were approached and asked whether their parents are also based in Mumbai, or were living in Mumbai at the time of the entrepreneur's birth. This is to incorporate the parents' subjectivities into the research question, with the two-fold aim of understanding if and why they migrated to Mumbai, and how this influenced the upbringing of their child. Third, each entrepreneur is chosen as a representative of a particular cultural sector or art form as a way of providing the most inclusive and encompassing description of the city's CCIs and activities being pursued. Through this method, one expects to uncover different forms of social and cultural capital that serve to support cultural entrepreneurship and perhaps even identify sociological patterns taking place in the city's complex and socially oriented creative industry (Potts et al, 2008). In order to present the most representative sample set, an equal distribution of male and female entrepreneurs were approached. Finally, twelve cultural entrepreneurs are included in this study (six male and six female), with ten parents interviewed (three fathers and seven mothers) as two sets of entrepreneurs are siblings. All the entrepreneurs are between the ages of 25 and 35.

The following table showcases an overview of the participating entrepreneurs, their parents and the sector in which they function. It is important to note that although this is a study of cultural entrepreneurship, it is the entrepreneurs' parents who were interviewed and are therefore also

included in the table. For anonymity, both entrepreneur and parent will be referred to the given titles seen in the 'Entrepreneur' and 'Respondent' columns of the overview provided below in *Table 1*.

Entrepreneur	**Profession/ Sector**	**Gender**	**Respondent**	**Community**	**Parents and Grandparents' profession**	**Cultural forms in the family**
E1a	Visual Art	Male	R1 Father	Gujarati (Mumbai)	Father: Entrepreneur - Diamond business	Both parents are passionate singers
E1b	Graphic Design, Visual Art	Male			Mother: Homemaker/ Artist Grandparents: Doctors/Accounting	Mother is a painter, trained singer
E2	Artist Management, Music	Male	R2 Mother	UP Khatri (Uttar Pradesh)	Father: Marketing & Sales Mother: Software sales, now NGO Grandparents: Doctors/Scientists	Father writes poetry Mother loves fashion, started a fashion blog Family of voracious readers
E3a	Filmmaker	Female	R3 Mother	Gujarati/ Maharashtian (Mumbai)	Father: Engineer/ Businessman, now Entrepreneur with E5	Grandmother was very artistic, tried many different art forms
E3b	Interior Design	Female			Mother: Business management Grandparents: Law/ Manufacturing	Mother went to art classes growing up Family of voracious readers
E4	Publishing/ Literature	Female	R4 Father	Malayalm (Kerala)	Father: Entrepreneur - Banking/Finance Mother: Writer/ Educator/Social Entrepreneur Grandparents: Government service	Father plays guitar, sitar Aunts learnt classical dance, music Grandfather was poet Family of voracious readers
E5	Illustration	Female	R5 Mother	Sindhi (now Pakistan)	Father: Family business - Jewellery Mother: Family business - Textiles, now Jewellery Grandparents: Textiles/Exports family business	Mother grew up in Japan, exposed to Japanese art and design. Studied fashion design and art history. Father is a jewellery designer
E6	Music/Tech startup	Male	R6 Father	Tamilian Brahmin (Tamil Nadu)	Father: Advertising/ Marketing Mother: Trainer/ Educator Grandparents: Banking/Music	Family of classical singers and musicians (flute and violin). Grandfather ran a music school in Tamil Nadu

E7	Digital media	Male	R7 Mother	Sindhi (now Pakistan)	Father: Tax consultant Mother: Diamonds/ Export Grandparents: Construction/Money-lending/Hundi business	Not many, exposure mainly through celebration of festivals at home via grandmother. Plays piano, sister sings
E8	Fashion	Female	R8 Mother	Parsi (Mumbai)	Father: Engineering/ Business then Entrepreneur Mother: Homemaker Grandparents: Construction/ Engineering	Grandmother and aunt were artists
E9	Heritage, Visual Art	Female	R9 Mother	Bohri Muslim (now Pakistan)	Father: Doctor Mother: Doctor Grandparents: Lawyer/ Academics	Surrounded by a family of famous modern and contemporary visual artists: grandaunt, uncle, cousins
E10	Dance, Wellness, Lifestyle	Male	R10 Mother	Gujarati (Mumbai)	Father: Arts Director Mother: Entrepreneur Grandparents: Printing press entrepreneurs	Strong spiritual ties and exposure to Indian philosophy, uncle was a portrait painter, theatre and drama big growing up

Table 1: Overview of respondents

3.1.2. Research Strategy

The interviews were conducted online using *Zoom* and recorded with the interviewee's consent. An open-ended and discursive approach was employed to allow for an unrestrained and organic conversation to take place, whilst still following the structure of the interview guide in order to uphold order and validity across the interviews (Bryman, 2012). Due to the flexible nature of interviews, ample time is provided to the interviewee to reflect on their answers. This method also enables the interviewer to pose additional questions on the topics that were considered most relevant by the respondents. In doing so, one was able to extrapolate the most important explanations and generate new theory on the subject. Once the interviews were conducted, they were transcribed using the software O*tter.ai*. Upon completion, the content of the transcriptions were manually coded and placed into a thematic analysis framework, involving constant comparison of texts (Bryman, 2012). Based on the *Table 2: Operationalisation Table* below, the interview guide [Appendix 1] was formulated concurrently with the main concepts that arose from

the theoretical framework provided above. Four core concepts have been identified and operationalised through questions in the interview guide, with the corresponding literature presented in the 'description' column as a way to underscore the theory being questioned or supported.

This approach was deemed the most productive way to understand the social and cultural factors involved in the facilitation of cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai. By interviewing parents of entrepreneurs from different cultural sectors, one is able to assemble a diversified range of perspectives, whilst also probing the demographic implications unique to each entrepreneur.

Concept	**Description**	**Question**
Role of family ties	Family, along with community based on caste, religion and state, are key determinants of one's identity and position in society (Sinha, 2014)	Can you briefly tell me about your background? - The community you come from, state/city, caste, education, profession, social class, religion
	Habitus and Taste Formation (Bourdieu, 1984) Parental Cultural Capital (De Graaf, De Graaf & Kraykaamp, 2000)	What was your upbringing like? Were you exposed to arts and culture growing up? - Which types of art and culture?
Role of the creative city	Mumbai is considered the country's commercial capital and a source of cultural attraction, especially for those of the entrepreneurial mindset (Dwivedi & Mehrotra, 1995)	When did you move to Mumbai and why?
Facilitators of entrepreneurship: social and cultural factors	Family background and level of education and training are generally perceived as a critical success factors for entrepreneurs (Jain & Ali, 2013)	Can you tell me about the education you gave _____? What kind of schools/university did they go to?
	Forms of Capital (Bourdieu, 1986)	When did you realise _____ was artistically/culturally inclined?

		What kind of exposure to the arts did you give them growing up? - Did you put them in any after school activities? Museums/ concerts? Travel?
	Habitus and Taste Formation (Bourdieu, 1984)	How do you think this influenced them?
Cultural entrepreneurship	Uncertainty and artists' labour markets (Throsby, 1994; Abbing, 2008) Domination of business and manufacturing entrepreneurship (Ghosh, 2018; Sinha, 2014), versus the rise in social entrepreneurship in India (Yamini & Peng, 2020; Chakraborty & Loots, Forth.).	What was your first reaction when they told you they wanted to pursue a career/ entrepreneurship in the arts? - Did your husband/wife react differently? Why/why not?
	From parental care till art college the relative importance of recognition by peers and the unimportance of money have been implanted in artists (Abbing, 2002) Forms of Capital (Bourdieu, 1986)	In what ways did/do you support _____ in pursuing their dreams? - Monetary support/networks/ emotional support/education
	Uncertainty and artists' labour markets (Throsby, 1994; Abbing, 2008) Intrinsic motivations, external recognition and the importance of value creation, contextual understanding (Sardana, 2018).	How do you feel about their profession/career now?

Table 2: Operationalisation Table

3.2. Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is the method used to analyse the raw and complex data retrieved from the interviews, in order to answer the study's research question. As an exploratory, cost effective and flexible method, it is the most suitable approach for an inductive qualitative research such as this (Herzog et al, 2019).

Data analysis was conducted over three main stages. The first stage involved outlining key themes and categories that emerged from the theoretical framework as a way of presenting a broad overview of the referenced theories and the study's core concepts. As *Table 2: Operationalisation Table* presents, the initial set of identified core and sub-concepts formed the basis of the interview guide and aided in translating the information into theory-driven codes. The following stage of analysis involved coding of the texts, i.e. the transcriptions of the interviews, using the software *Atlas.ai.* This requires a systematic and objective process of extracting finer details such as quotations, subtleties and compelling implications, which are then placed into an index of central themes and sub-themes. Themes act as categories that can be segregated based on, for example, repetitions, similarities or relevancy (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). A variety of data-driven codes, corresponding to the emergent themes, were assigned to particular phrases and sections of text in order to assign meaningful labels for further synthesising. Data-driven codes are generated using information from the interview transcriptions as a way to further support or question the theories under investigation (Bryman, 2012). This coding process makes use of both inductive and deductive thinking. Finally, both sets of codes were synthesised and analysed in tandem to generate a final set of codes, which have been placed into a code forest [Appendix 2]. The code forest visually depicts the systematic way in which the study's core and sub-themes interact with each other, further enriching the current findings of the study.

3.3. Reliability and Validity

Contrary to modes of quantitative research, it is difficult to ensure measurability as a basis of reliability due the qualitative nature of this study (Bryman, 2012). Nonetheless, reliability is sustained based on consistency and researcher neutrality, particularly during data collection and analysis. External reliability has also been achieved by maintaining a comprehensive and systematic overview of theoretical frameworks, methodology and analysis, presented within the paper. This permits replication of the study to a certain degree, and thus may further enhance the study's reliability for future research.

With regards to validity, internal validity can be achieved through strong congruences between findings and theoretical concepts (Bryman, 2012). Results show that such congruences indeed exist and are showcased in the interpretations and analysis of the study's main findings, presented in the following sections. Finally, validity is also upheld by way of ensuring credibility. Through sharing key findings with respondents during the interview process, validation and confirmation of insights served to bolster the framework of codes and themes that emerged.

4. RESULTS

Initial Impressions

Upon an initial reading of the findings that emerged from the interviews, it is clear that education, of the respondents and entrepreneurs, is a critical tie that binds the individuals in the sample set together. Internationally oriented schooling and curricula is a common theme across all the entrepreneurs. Whether it was the International Baccalaureate (IB) or Cambridge IGCSE curriculum in high school, or the pursuit of a foreign university degree, internationalism through education is shared by all twelve entrepreneurs. Their parents, the respondents, are also highly educated and financially successful in their respective careers. Seven out of ten respondents hold a Master's degree or higher, and those who do not, have spouses who do, with medicine, law and engineering being the primary educational streams pursued. This indicates that each entrepreneur has at least one parent who has gone on to achieve a postgraduate level of education. Language i.e. comfort with English, is also a common denominator amongst the respondents and entrepreneurs, most likely facilitated by English language schooling. Six out of ten respondents are or have been successful entrepreneurs themselves, while the remaining four have either carried forward their family's business or rose up to executive level positions at large corporations. From an artistic standpoint, levels of cultural exposure during childhood differed across the entrepreneurs, as some had family members who were artists and cultural practitioners themselves, whilst others were influenced more by their schooling systems and extracurricular activities. Finally, despite representing a variety of religious communities in the sample set, each entrepreneur comes from an upper-middle caste and class social group, and indeed have strong ties to Mumbai through their family's history, particularly via their grandparents. For a more detailed profile of each entrepreneur and their family, please refer to *Appendix 3*.

4.1. Main Findings

The main findings of this study are structured into seven interconnected sections. Each section illustrates key results that correspond to the themes described above in *Table 1: Operationalisation Table,* as well as new concepts that emerged through interpreting the collected data. The following analyses are presented in order to answer the study's research question. First, the emergence of a progressive mindset, commonly shared by the respondents, is inferred and brought forth through discussions about family affluence and education. Closely linked, in the following section, are the notions of upward mobility and unrealised dreams, against the backdrop of Mumbai's economic opportunity. Next, Mumbai's role as a competitive city is further unpacked and described in relation to the entrepreneurs' educations. Culture's subliminal influence through artistic exposure in the family is then discussed, followed by sections describing the more tangible forms of family support and business acumen passed down to the entrepreneurs, which serve to aid the management of risk and uncertainty. Lastly, the role of parents, as a bridge between the past and the future, emerged as a unique finding and presented in the final section.

4.2. Moneyed and Well Educated: Origins of a Progressive Mindset

As noted in Section 4's initial impressions and *Appendix 3*, what is clear for each entrepreneur is a family background of high education, particularly of the parents, and professional acumen, passed down from the grandparents. Each entrepreneur also comes from a community with distinct characteristics, clearly passed down to them on the basis of caste, class and religion. This diverse group of individuals, or "pan-Indian elites", showcases the multicultural and cosmopolitan aspect of Mumbai, indeed "bound together by the common thread" of education, as Verma (2007, p28) would say.

For the mothers in particular, having their grandfathers and fathers allow them to pursue graduate and postgraduate degrees was seen to be a key driver of the family's liberal culture and progressive thinking. The word "allowed" was used multiple times, in relation to this subject, pointing to the well-known effects of growing up in a traditional, patriarchal joint family where most major decisions were made by the male head of the family. E7's mother, R7, who grew up in a large conservative Sindhi family, was the oldest of her siblings, but closer in age to her youngest aunt, who was one of twelve siblings, and therefore treated like a ninth daughter. Even though daughters were expected to get married by the age of 18 or 19, she shared:

"Something about my grandfather was that he saw to it that he had all eight daughters finish graduation. He calls it his biggest mistake, I call it the best thing he ever did. I told him that when you allow number one to finish it, automatically, daughter number eight must finish too… That way he was very forward, he allowed everybody to finish their graduation." - R7

For E9's mother, R9, who is one of three sisters, each highly educated and working in academic professions, the family's culture of liberal and progressive thinking was attributed to her grandfather realising that a family's education was as important as their financial position:

"My grandfather was moneyed, initially. And then of course, as all moneyed sons do, he lost all his money. They went through very hard times, financially at one point, and I think that's when he realised that he had to educate all his children, and all meaning my father and his siblings, younger ones as well were all educated." - R9

This realisation, that without an education, one's affluence does not mean very much, led to her father instilling the importance of "being able to stand on our own feet", in each of the daughters. So much so, that when it came to R9's marriage, her father told her soon-to-be husband that there would be no dowry; the dowry was her education.

However, despite the grandparents' progressive mentality, eight out of ten respondents spoke of being limited in their choices and were pushed towards more traditional streams of education, as that was considered the norm in those days. R3, who always had an affinity for the arts, couldn't pursue a career in architecture because "J.J. School of Art only had a diploma programme and not a degree". Her parents did not allow her to go there, "because in those days a degree was so important for a girl, probably to get a good husband", and instead persuaded her to do Economics and Statistics, as it was "rare for children to resist the wishes of their parents" back then. Even as a male, E4's father, R4, had a similar experience, driven by his father's "vision for his sons". As his older brother was an engineer, a medical profession was what his father wanted for him. When that didn't work out, the only other option, based on what were the idealised professions at the time, was chartered accountancy and banking. Much like R9's father wanting his three daughters to be able to stand on their own feet, this mentality of only pursuing careers that were seen to be financially viable was a key element in most respondents' upbringing. That is not to say that interests in arts and culture were not encouraged. In fact, for six of the ten parents interviewed, exposure to arts and

culture was facilitated by their parents mainly through family traditions and for some, after school tutoring, however much of this was based on the kinds of communities they came from.

Interestingly, the two respondents who recalled having more freedom to pursue their dreams, had extremely close connections to iconic figures from India's independence movement. As a lawyer, R9's father, was a part of the Quit India Movement and was interning as a solicitor in Mohammed Ali Jinnah's firm in Karachi. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a barrister, and politician serving as the leader of the All-India Muslim League, and later became the 'founder of Pakistan' (Ahmed, 2005). R10's mother, was a disciple of Vinoba Bhave, one of India's greatest saints and philosophers, known for leading multiple nonviolent resistances against the British (Mehta et al, 2011). He was one of M.K Gandhi's closest followers. R10 attributes much of her cultural upbringing to his teachings and his influence on her mother.

Based on these findings, it is plausible to assume that a confluence of high education, elevated positions in society based on caste and occupation, and external cultural influences, are key ingredients of cultural entrepreneurship amongst the study's sample set. However, such factors do not explain how or why cultural entrepreneurship is pursued, but simply show the common thread that runs through each entrepreneur's story.

4.3. Mumbai, a City of Upward Mobility and (Unfulfilled) Dreams: Development of a Progressive Mindset

Given the timeline, it is unsurprising that some of the respondents' upbringings are rooted around a specific moment in history; India's independence in 1947. Just as E10's grandfather set up the family's printing press in Mumbai to cater to the advertising needs of an "emerging India", E6's grandfather moved to Mumbai from Tamil Nadu in 1950 in search of better opportunities as the country and economy was finding its feet. Likewise, with E9's grandmother who moved to Mumbai from Karachi, E5 and E7's grandparents came to Mumbai as child refugees from Sindh, a region now in Pakistan, following India's partition. What ties these journeys of migration together is the city of Mumbai. For the grandparents of the study's entrepreneurs, the city represented opportunity, and the chance to start a new life. It was indeed a melting pot, with its culture of tolerance and diversity, backed by a favourable economic environment (Dwivedi & Mehrotra, 1995). However, even in this atmosphere of openness, one's background and community played an important role in providing access to opportunity.

As mentioned, Sindhis are considered to be one of the most enterprising and entrepreneurial communities in India, owing to their history of being traders and money-lenders.

The *hundi* business, the Sindhi money-lending system, is what R7's family leveraged when they moved to India, despite only coming "with two outfits and the dresses on their back". The Sindhi community have since gone on to establish many of Mumbai's prestigious education institutes, such as Jai Hind College, Hassaram Rijhumal College of Commerce and Economics, and Kishinchand Chellaram College. Clearly, the city provided fertile soil for the Sindhi community to leverage their business acumen. An integral part of their economic survival, and now success, is the mentality instilled in them from a young age:

"There's this thing called the 'Sindhworkie', as a community all over the world, where the Sindhis will get some other young kid from the community and teach them the ropes, the ways, and then eventually knowing that this guy is going to leave me and start his own business. So it's an understood thing and they have no qualms about it. So my dad did that." - R5.

Although she continued to help her father run his garment business, R5's heart was elsewhere, in the arts, and wished that she went to art school instead. According to her, the lack of guidance in the Indian education system and specialised interest in one's personal development was seen to be a crucial limitation in her upbringing. This sentiment was also felt by R2 and R3, who shared that their own (higher) educations felt restricted, particularly with regards to art and culture. All three respondents spoke of vibrant exposure to art as children, in the form of extracurricular activities and tutoring. Their parents placed great emphasis on reading and invested in primary school educations that valued cultural activities, which were said to be influential factors in fostering their love of art.

For R3, it was her mother's passion for trying out different media, like Batik, appliqué and even cooking, that sparked her enthusiasm for art. Though, in spite of Mumbai's cosmopolitanism and cultural effervescence, when it came to nurturing this love of art into a career, the respondent's parents, backed by an "old school" education system that propagated traditional teaching methods, pushed her into the usual pathways. Commerce, engineering, medicine, and law, were seen to be the only professions that would ensure success, and economic safety, in an expensive city like Mumbai. This was perhaps due to the older generation's own experiences of coming from a pre-Independence period of great scarcity, to seeing what was possible, post-Independence, and wanting to maintain their family's economic growth. Commenting on her own experience, R3 says, "the economy plays a big role. Upward mobility has changed our lifestyle, thinking, everything". Mumbai's cosmopolitanism, and the opportunity it represented, was also a huge draw for some of the respondents who did not grow up there. Having moved across the country many times, "Bombay

sounded like a dream in those days" says R4, even though he didn't know, at the time, "how difficult it was for a single person with no connections in Bombay to make a life there".

It becomes apparent that while most respondents were able to enjoy upward mobility, afforded to them by their parent's positions in society and attainment of high education, it came at the cost of their own personal development and interests. While they acknowledged the benefits of having attained such educations, and being able to build on the groundwork already laid by their parents, there was a sense of disappointment, in their own educational experiences, that they wanted to remedy for their children. This feeling was expressed by eight out of the ten respondents, while the remaining two felt that they already had the freedom to pursue their interests.

"There was no exposure, or nobody to mentor you, or nobody to see what your talents were and where you should be going. Sometimes I look back and think maybe I could have combined my interest in fashion with some course in writing and make a career, but we did not have those options at the time. It was my unfulfilled dream… so it becomes imperative that we encourage our children to do the things they feel passionate about." - R2

So, if high education and affluence are founding ingredients, then the limitation of choice and lack of personalised education could perhaps be considered the next most vital elements needed for the fostering of a progressive parental mindset. The following sections take a closer look at the tangible and intangible ways that the entrepreneurs in the study have been supported and socialised by their families, moving closer towards an answer to the research question at hand.

4.4. The Educational Rat Race: How Mumbai Maintains its Competitive Edge

While the previous sections focus on the respondents' backgrounds, the following sections delve deeper into their children's, the entrepreneurs', upbringings. Departing from the previous finding that eight out of ten respondents felt let down by their own educations, in terms of personal development and exploration of interests, it came as no surprise that each parent, with their newly accumulated capital, invested in harnessing and supporting their children's personal interests and talents. This came in the form of enrolling the child in certain schools, signing them up for various extracurricular activities, or spending time with the children themselves and teaching them specific crafts. In most cases, it was a combination of the first two. Ten out of the twelve entrepreneurs were enrolled into institutions in Mumbai that were either convent schools, wherein the main language of teaching was English and even though Christianity formed the basis of the school's ethos, lessons

and morals were largely secular, or international schools, where the curricula were either International Baccalaureate (IB) or Cambridge IGCSE. Such schools were chosen because of their international orientation, and teaching methods which saw that each individual student was valued for his or her interests. Allowing their children to feel empowered by their passions and flourish in holistic learning environments was identified as a vital stimulus for the respondents.

For R7, whose two children went to an elite international school in South Mumbai, the greatest benefit were the opportunities it gave the school's students, "whether you were good at it or not". Both children, E7 and his sister, also went to after school Speech and Drama classes, certified by Trinity College of London. It wasn't just E7 who engaged in such extracurricular activities, on top of already demanding schooling and tutoring. Whether it was sports, art classes, elocution or debating, each respondent spoke of putting their children into after-school activities.

"We had to put them through the cultural lessons. The same that every kid in Bombay goes through, the ballet classes, dance, music classes. My wife would shuttle the kids from one tuition to the other… It was a very big change from Calcutta to Bombay. Frankly, we put them in the rat race that all bank executive's children were in. It's very tragic that you're putting the kids through that kind of thing, but that's how it was in the 90's. And even if you're with a big company, it wasn't guaranteed that your kids would get in. You have to stand in line, get in, and do well. And even you as parents had to do well. The principal had a bad reputation of grilling parents to see how involved you were in your child's life… It was like a member's club." - R4

While other respondents weren't as explicit about the "rat race", it was clear that their children were as much a part of it as E4, since they also went to similarly elite schools in exclusive parts of the city, such as South Mumbai and Juhu, and also took part in a wide array of extracurricular activities that the parents felt were necessary.

Although E1a and E1b also went to IB schools, they were sent to IB boarding schools in Bengaluru. Their father, R1, wanted to provide them with an international education because he felt that the "local education system in India was not very effective, and that an international system might actually develop a personality in a much better way". The brothers were sent to boarding school by their parents so as to avoid the overbearing "competitive routine" of schooling in Mumbai "because it was too much of a burden on them" and instead wanted them to spend their after-school hours pursuing whatever they wanted to without any competition. He attributes his sons' creative careers to those years in international school:

"I think, you know, those four years literally changed their vision, their mindset, having received this international education. I think this had a big impact on them. And then we always encouraged whatever they wanted to do in life, we let them pursue it." - R1

When read through the lens of Bourdieu's 'habitus' (1986), it becomes clear that there is an important, and almost symbiotic, relationship between Mumbai's 'entrepreneurial elites' (Ithurbide, 2014) and its schooling system that perpetuates Mumbai's status as a competitive and fast-paced city. By encouraging parents to compete for the same schools, and enrol their children into the same after-school activities, a shared upper class-cultural affinity, or 'class-ceiling' (Friedman and Laurison, 2019) is preserved and idealised in the city. The findings also shine a light on how creativity is nurtured in the city; through a variety of after-school activities, found to be a vital aspect of educational and career success. These findings make visible the much mythologised competitive spirit of Mumbai and showcase a unique mechanism that maintains it. Just as the respondents were bound together by their educations, the same is true for their children. However, the difference now, are the investments made into nurturing their interests and identifying their talents. As their children have gone on to become entrepreneurs in the cultural industries, the following section dives deeper into their cultural make-up and exposure provided to them.

4.5. Culture's Subliminal Influence: Inherited Cultural Capital

As the literature states, cultural entrepreneurship involves a constant straddling, and negotiation, of two main logics: business and artistic (Klamer, 2011). Therefore, the essence of the current study is twofold: understanding the factors that prompted entrepreneurship, and the factors that influenced their cultural and artistic interests. The findings in this section correspond to the latter and illustrate how each entrepreneur's affinity for their sector's art form can be traced back to specific moments and influences in their upbringings.

As stated, extra-curricular activities were extremely important parts of each entrepreneur's childhood. Sports such as badminton, basketball, football and hockey were popular amongst ten of the twelve entrepreneurs. Along with nurturing physical fitness and friendship, it is plausible to make a link between encouraging an active and sporting mentality from a young age and maintaining the city's competitive spirit. Likewise, exposure to arts and culture were similarly stimulated for each entrepreneur early on in life. For some, this came in the form of extra-curricular

activities, like drawing classes for E5 and E8, while for others, it was exposure to their community's cultural traditions from a young age.

E6, who will soon be launching a music sharing and discovery app, is an avid guitar player who grew up surrounded by musical influences. His grandmother, according to R6, was a "hardcore musician". She was a trained *Carnatic* (South Indian classical) music singer, who inherited her love for music from her father who used to run a music school in their family's native town. Her father and uncle were renowned musicians, playing and teaching the flute and violin. Such cultural engagement is typical of South Indian communities like the *Tam-Brahms* (Tamilian Brahmins). Although R6 and his siblings were taught a little music, they "never deep dived into it", but were often taken to South Indian music events where their mother would perform on stage. E6 and his sister were also taught Carnatic music but it was only when E6 asked for an acoustic guitar, age 12, did R6 realise that the family's musical talents were still alive, and had been passed down to his son. Through lessons and self-training, E6 developed his passion for music, and later went on to manage his university's recording studio.

E9 had a similar cultural upbringing, with much exposure occurring through the artistic careers of her family members. Her mother, R9, grew up surrounded by artists, some of whom were India's most famous contemporaries at the time. Her aunt, E9's grandaunt, was one of India's best known modern artists, and a close friend of India's leading painters during the 1960s and 1970s. R9's uncle was also an artist, who exposed her to Mumbai's art scene:

"He was just 12 years older than me. He, at an age when we were 15 and 16, had just come back from England. And he needed a girl on his arm to go and visit all the galleries and because he didn't know anybody, he would take us, his three nieces, and go to lots of gallery showings and films." - R9

Although she was studying to be a doctor, she attributes the family's affinity for art to her aunt and the milieu in which they grew up, which was later passed down to her children. For E9 who is passionate about history and museums, a guiding influence was her grandmother who lived next door. "There was always talk at the dinner table, there was an awareness of history and awareness of what had gone down in the past", R9 says, alluding to the family's emigration from Karachi to Mumbai following the partition. Many of E9's extended family have gone on to pursue artistic careers, demonstrating the enduring influence of cultural exposure and artistic dialogue.

Visits to museums, concerts, theatres and libraries were also identified as playing an important role in facilitating cultural interests. Family holidays, domestic and international, with visits to cultural and heritage sites were highly encouraged by the respondents, however, a number of them recalled only being able to afford international travel once the entrepreneurs were older, pointing to the incremental (financial) capital accumulation taking place during the early 90's. As DiMaggio and Useem (1978) rightly observed, much cultural capital accumulation was taking place through the socialisation into highbrow activities, facilitated by their parents.

A familial appetite for reading was also frequently mentioned by seven of the ten respondents. The term "voracious readers" came up multiple times in conversation when exposure to culture and a fostering of curiosity was discussed.

"I would always encourage them to go into sports, and into reading books, because books open up a plethora of cultural influences. And, you know, you can pick and choose what gels with your personality, and grow in that particular direction. So, we always had a lot of books, we always went to the British Council library when we were based in Delhi. So books were a big part of my boys growing up, as it was a big part of me." - R2

Reading was also seen to be a key reason for some grandparents having progressive and cultured mindsets, which was then passed down to their children, the respondents:

"My father was a doctor, so he was very well educated, and my mother was a very open-minded lady who used to read a lot. She knew that, you know, let the children pursue what they want to, and so there was really no pressure from our parents on them to join the family's business." - R1

These findings thus corroborate the above outlined theorisations on cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977), and how parental involvement in the classical arts can promote a child's cultural disposition (Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta, 2000). It also further supports De Graaf et al's (2000) research on parental reading habits and showcases how a combination of highbrow cultural exposure and an inculcated reading culture can facilitate a young cultural entrepreneur's ventures.

4.6. Navigating Uncertainty

As literature on artists' labour markets and cultural entrepreneurship demonstrate, there is an underlying reality of risk and uncertainty that pervades careers in these fields (Menger, 2006; Abbing, 2008). It was well acknowledged by all of the respondents that there was an initial fear in letting their children pursue creative professions, for the very fact that they did not know if their child would be able to make a living out of it in India. This apprehension also came up during conversations around higher education with regards to which degrees to pursue, sometimes leading to disagreements between the two parents:

"I could see that she had an affinity for art and art was how she could express herself, it was her form of communication. My husband was not keen for her to go to art school, because he didn't think that it would get her anywhere but I said no. I want her to follow her heart and do whatever she wants to." - R5

For R5, who was one of the respondents who spoke of having 'unfulfilled dreams', because she could not go to art school herself, fighting for her daughter to realise hers was an obvious decision. In contrast, both R2 and R3's parents felt that their children should first have the backing of either strong work experience "for at least two or three years", or reliable degrees.

"He always had a leaning towards music, but the only place where we tried to influence him was not to go in for music as a career too early in life. Get some kind of solid education behind you, before you pursue your passion so that you will always have something to fall back on. That was something both of us were very clear about." - R2

For E2, who studied Engineering and then Marketing, balancing multiple jobs is his way of sustaining his creative entrepreneurial career, as Baumol & Bowen (1966) correctly observed of artist labour markets. Particularly since he is based in France, where his visa is contingent on his employment, E2 can no longer lean on his parents for financial support, as was the case when he was living in Mumbai.

The lack of sectoral knowledge and relevant contacts in Mumbai's CCIs were also highlighted as initial deterrents to supporting cultural entrepreneurship. As much of Indian society and economy is based on close networks and interdependent relationships (Sinha, 2014), not being able to introduce their children to important players in the cultural field was a cause for concern for

six of the ten respondents, in spite of their positions in society. Such apprehension also points to the socially networked nature of India's CCIs (Potts et al, 2008). Regardless, backed by their advantageous economic situations, accumulated cultural capital and progressive mindsets, each respondent proceeded to support their child's cultural and entrepreneurial aspirations as they felt it was important for their children to follow their passions and forge careers in activities they were good at.

4.7. Entrepreneurial Mindset and Business Acumen: Inherited Support Systems

With a greater understanding of how the entrepreneurs' artistic logics have been shaped, and appreciated by their parents, we can now turn to the management of business logics and unpack the various factors that uphold them.

R8 was one of the few respondents who spoke of leveraging her network for E8's fashion aspirations. Despite being able to organise an internship for their daughter with one of India's top fashion designers, both E8's parents pushed her to start her own label:

"We always felt that you should be your own boss. Don't be someone else's slave [in the fashion industry], you'll be working for peanuts all your life. My husband always discouraged her from ever having a partner, based on his own experience. Especially when you're creative, for minds to meet on everything, that would be tough." - R8

This sentiment, of working by yourself and being in charge of all your decisions was similarly discussed by R4 and R5, who also came from strong entrepreneurial experiences, with R4 sharing that he wished he told his daughter, E4, to be more careful about who she had worked with in the past. An entrepreneurial mindset, along with access to guidance and entrepreneurial knowledge, can thus be seen as an important resource and social capital (Zelekha & Dana, 2015) inherited by some of the entrepreneurs.

Closely linked, as another inherited form of support, is business acumen and professional know-how. For R10, who straddles both 'cultural entrepreneur' and 'parent of cultural entrepreneur' as they work together, there was a strong community influence in her entrepreneurial education. After moving back to India, aged 33, she realised that her father's printing press "was in a lot of trouble". Her father was not able to manage things, and so, she had to "jump in and save the company":

"I remember telling my mother that I don't know how I'm going to do this and she said, 'Well, you know, you got it in your genes. You are a bania's (merchant's) daughter. And I said I really don't know if I've got it in my genes. But she was right… somewhere the programming is there. Whether it's in your blood or it's around you, people are talking about crisis and labour trouble and finances, taking loans and all of that. As a child growing up, I must have heard all of these things." - R10

Evidently, subliminal messages were also being sent in the business domain, passed down from one generation and received by the next, whether they were conscious of it or not, experiences shared by R1 and R7 as well. Both respondents expressed supporting their children through administrative means. While their children had more knowledge about their work's creative aspects, "having a business family background, where the administrative part is concerned, is very helpful," shared R7. As R1 did not know anyone in his sons' respective fields, the only inputs he would give them were legal or accounting related. Introducing their children to the family's Chartered Accountant to understand the basics of taxation and compliance, was an action undertaken by every one of the respondents. Providing access to sound financial and legal advice, from a trusted expert, is a critical finding that showcases, tangibly, how the respondents support their children in navigating the sector's uncertainty. The entrepreneur's ventures were thus formalised and when related to 'resources', it becomes clear that this small snapshot of Mumbai's CCIs rely less on *jugaad* than other sectors because resources are not as constrained and informality is avoided.

Other types of tangible support came in the form of small loans to pay for initial office space, materials for artistic production, and most importantly, living at home with the family. When E3a expressed an interest in pursuing photography, her parents bought her a "really good camera" which sparked her exploration of other new media, inspiring her to move into filmmaking. Similarly, expensive purchases like wide-screen computers, art materials and music technology were bought and seen as investments into their children's futures and were very much considered sunk costs. What enabled each respondent to willingly make such purchases was the fact that each entrepreneur was living at home with them, at the start of their entrepreneurial careers. Not having to pay rent and living costs was the single most critical form of tangible support provided to the entrepreneurs. When probed further into why they were all supported in this way, the notion of 'family values', as an important facet of Indian society, was highlighted by each respondent.

Family homes weren't just used as accommodation for some of the entrepreneurs. Some were even opened up as initial office spaces for the entrepreneur and their colleagues. Although R7

and her husband didn't have much expertise in E7's line of work (social media marketing), especially 13 years ago, and thought it would just be temporary pursuit, she shared:

"We thought it was a small thing he was trying, but soon I had 15 people going in and out of the house, and this continued for a few months until they got their first office. We told our friends about what they were doing and introduced them to people who were entrepreneurs themselves". - R7

Currently, six out of the twelve entrepreneurs still live at home with their parents. Those who have moved out have done so on account of pursuing foreign education, getting married or moving in together with their partners. Compared to many countries in the West, living at home with one's parents until marriage, or even after, in the case of joint families, is a common feature in Indian society. For E3a and E9, some financial and administrative support was provided by their spouses, in line with findings from women's entrepreneurship literature (Mcgowan et al, 2015):

"To be honest, I think when she started, she did have financial support from her husband. And he's very supportive of what she does. Often he will inform me of some new article that she'd quoted in or what she's written, rather than [E9] telling me herself. No, definitely, I think she gets support from him as well." - E9.

As Baumol and Bowen (1966) and Friedman and Laurison (2019) recognised, privately sponsored financial resources were indeed 'early career lubricants' that allowed the entrepreneurs to follow their creative pursuits. A combination of these recourses, emotional support from their parents, positive affirmation of their pursuits, and the leveraging of whatever contacts they had, crystallises into a framework of support. Whether one prefers to call them resources or capital, the overarching theme that emerges is a family support system that is vital to the development of cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai.

4.8. Parental Support: A Bridge Between the Past and the Future

A final theme that materialised through the interviews was the bridging of generational gaps. Regardless of whether they understood the entrepreneur's line of work or not, each respondent was hugely supportive of their pursuits and in some scenarios, spoke of receiving cultural exposure and education in return.

"For us, it has opened up a new world. I mean, we were never into this kind of art field or we were not looking at things in such a way. Now, of course, our exposure has definitely gone up, thanks to both the boys." - R1

Seeing their child succeed in their respective fields also plays an important role in developing their own cultural awareness, and a better understanding of what their children are doing.

"We used to complain that [E1b] is always having late nights but one day, one of his friends told us that he has 35,000 followers on Instagram, and then we found out that [E1a] was recommended by Architectural Digest as one of the top 5 art sites on Instagram… So this kind of news makes us interested in what they are doing. Till that day we didn't know the significance of Instagram." - R1

Similarly, R3 attributes much of her and her husband's newfound interest in art to their creative and entrepreneurial daughters. By seeing her daughters capitalise on new market opportunities, R3 felt that she had become more open minded to alternative career pathways. Technology, and growing up in the age of the internet, were seen to be significant elements of each entrepreneur's journeys, allowing them opportunities that would otherwise only be dreamed of by their parents. As such, a theme that emerged was the role of the respondents in bridging the gap between the older generation, their parents, and the younger generation, their children.

"I think our generation is the only generation to have seen the two extreme spectrums of technology that no other generation will ever experience. We saw life without a TV, without a phone, and we also saw the other side. I mean, we are seeing artificial intelligence now, and so I'm saying no other generation will have this, seeing both spectrums… this is the only generation." - R3

When asked how the grandparents felt about their grandchildren's unique careers, almost every respondent described a moment of facilitation, between grandparents and grandchildren, in which they described what the entrepreneur was doing and expressed their resolute support. Even if the grandparents disagreed, they no longer had the final say in the parent's choices, as they were now old and had passed on responsibilities, and had instilled in their children a progressive mindset in a modern world where technology had changed everything.

As Potts et al (2008) describes, the CCIs are much more about entrepreneurial innovation and the creation of resources, based on new technologies, than they are about the allocation of resources. Thus, these findings show how family, specifically supportive parental figures, are central to the creation of new ideas in Mumbai's CCIs, and play a unique role in facilitating cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai.

5. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to unpack and understand with greater detail, the ways in which family background and upbringing have served to facilitate cultural entrepreneurship in the city of Mumbai. The present research aims to contribute to the existing body of literature concerning cultural entrepreneurship, by making use of sociological theories and applying the unique lens of India's 'primordial identities' as a point of departure. As previously stated in the study's theoretical framework, there is ample room for such an inquiry as research within the intersection of these disciplines are lacking, particularly within the Indian context. By employing a social and cultural capital framework (Bourdieu, 1984) to investigate young cultural entrepreneurs and their family backgrounds, one is able to validate the above theorisations that parental support is a highly influential facilitating factor of cultural entrepreneurship (Friedman & Laurison, 2019; Abbing, 2008). Thus, the research question can be answered as follows.

As Verma (2007) correctly coined, the respondents in the study are indeed 'pan-Indian elites', despite coming from distinctly different cultures and communities. While high levels of education and caste certainly plays a role, it is also a life-long affiliation with the city of Mumbai that ties this diverse group together. As a migratory destination that spelled great economic opportunity for previous generations, compared to other cities in India, Mumbai's creative and commercial identity is a central factor in supporting their family's upward mobility, and consequently, the origins of their progressive mindsets, just as Dwivedi and Mehrotra (1995) observed. Indeed a cosmopolitan melting pot, Mumbai's tolerant and diverse outlook is similarly reflected in the mentalities of this small snapshot of its population. However, regardless of their education and privilege, the notion of unfulfilled dreams emerged as a unique and critical development, felt by the majority of the respondents. Despite living in the 'City of Dreams', the lack of personal development and attention paid to their interests by their parents and school systems, further bolstered their progressive attitudes. As Damodaran (2008) found of India's 'new

capitalists', their own upward mobility, on the heels of India's market liberalisation of the early 1990s, provided vital resources to invest in their children's educations, but this time with a clear intention to facilitate the exploration of interests and talents. As such, the groundwork was laid for their children, the entrepreneurs, to follow their dreams.

As the findings demonstrate, cultural and artistic education took place based on the community the entrepreneur comes from, but also through factors such as after-school classes and family holidays. For some, artistic dispositions were also inherited through subliminal messages and growing up surrounded by artistic family members. These findings thus validate the long-held cultural capital hypotheses presented by Bourdieu (1977), and DiMaggio and Useem (1978). Alongside secular and expensive international educations, each entrepreneur engaged in a wide variety of creative and sporting extracurricular activities, which was expected of affluent children in Mumbai whose parents enjoyed successful and competitive professional careers. Cultural exposure was thus facilitated and encouraged from a young age, explicitly by the parents, but also implicitly by the competitive environment around them. This environment of creativity and competition thus forms a central underlying factor that facilitates the journeys of the cultural entrepreneurs in question.

More tangible forms of support came in the shape of inherited competencies and financial resources. Business acumen and entrepreneurial mindsets are key factors passed down to the entrepreneurs. Whether it is their community or parent's profession, almost all the entrepreneurs had access to great sources of knowledge that could help mitigate the high levels of risk and uncertainty inherent in cultural entrepreneurship. Legal and financial advice, access to expert opinion and networks, and even starting capital are some of the ways in which the entrepreneur's families have supported their careers. Most crucially, is support in the form of 'living at home'. In a notoriously expensive city like Mumbai, this demonstrates a key mechanism that aids cultural entrepreneurship. As Friedman and Laurison (2019) noted, such elite careers indeed rest on the support of others. While the notion of family values indeed plays an important role in this situation, particularly so within the Indian context, it is plausible to argue for its inclusion within discussions about creative cities (Scott, 2006) and entrepreneurial ecosystems (Mack & Mayer, 2015), as an important supportive tool.

Finally, backed by their progressive mindsets and economic success, the respondents are also seen to act as a bridge between the past and the future. The advent of the internet and new technology has opened up a plethora of opportunities for their children, and with no obligation to follow the wishes of the previous generations, new resources are being generated in Mumbai's

CCIs, further corroborating Potts' et al (2008) formulation. One can therefore argue that parents have a uniquely vital role in developing India's CCIs, when policy and infrastructure are lacking. Ultimately, family background; based on caste and class, upbringing; in the form of cultural exposure and business acumen, and progressive parenting, are hugely important in the facilitation of cultural entrepreneurship in Mumbai.

It must be stressed that in no way is this study trying to justify or state that only those of higher caste or class can have a progressive mindset. Rather, the current study attempts to explain why it is easier for some, more than others, to pursue careers in the arts, because of the very privileges, i.e. forms of capital, that support them. The label of 'progressive' has been assigned to the above findings, based on the respondents' own opinions and observations of their upbringings, shared during the interviews.

As a qualitative study, there are indeed some limitations to the present research as findings rely on data collection through interviews with a small group of parents of cultural entrepreneurs. With regards to methodology, although a qualitative explorative approach was deemed the most effective method to generate unique and emergent insights in an understudied field, it does not permit objective or generalisable theory. Data is thus statistically unrepresentative, and given the subjective nature of the findings, the final outcomes may contain certain biases that could impede readings of the study. Therefore, future research on the topic could benefit from the application of mixed methods as a way to generate objective, statistical data, along with the nuance of qualitative interviews. For example, surveys could be utilised to conduct a mapping of Mumbai's CCIs as a way to gauge the sector's demographics on a larger scale, supplemented by in-depth interviews. As the study reiterates, India's social hierarchies are very influential and a mixed method mapping could produce a much needed overview of the sector's entrepreneurs, and provide important insight into their social, cultural and economic backgrounds.

The study's sample size presents another limitation. Ten respondents and twelve entrepreneurs cannot be considered representative of India's vast and highly fragmented population. The results are therefore low in generalisability, particularly because the sample group represents a highly privileged group of individuals, situated in the upper-middle to upper class stratums of Indian society. The present study simply scratches the surface of Mumbai's social and entrepreneurial fabric and no doubt, merits further investigation. A larger and more diverse sample size, with wider sampling targeted at entrepreneurs from different social classes and communities would offer a greater understanding of the societal factors that affect cultural entrepreneurship. As

Mumbai is India's commercial capital, situating the study within this framework is also limiting and undermines the development of cultural sectors in other cities. Therefore, a similar study could also be conducted in other locations to further probe the impact of that city and delve deeper into that geography's social and cultural contexts.

Despite its limitations, the present research still contributes valuable insights to the burgeoning study of cultural entrepreneurship in India. Particularly within the context of Potts et al's (2008) formulation of the CCIs, a study such as this provides empirical data to showcase how the CCIs rely on social networks and the generation of new resources and further validates the important role of family ties as a support system within entrepreneurial frameworks. The present study also offers opportunities for future research, building on its findings. In the absence of strong family support systems, what else can aspiring cultural entrepreneurs rely on to support their careers? As competencies such as a business acumen, and entrepreneurial mindsets are shown to be passed down through family, the study could potentially be leveraged by policymakers and institutions to provide alternative avenues for developing such skills and mentalities. Regulatory stakeholders may see potential in easing the burden of formalisation, which is considered to be a key driver of informality, and subsequently aid in the formalisation of the wider cultural sector. Similarly, funding stakeholders such as incubators and accelerators could draw on ideas to ease access to certain resources and create more equitable avenues for entrepreneurial learning and development. Entrepreneurship courses, educational and mentorship programs are some of the ways sector leaders, cultural foundations and educational institutes could invest in further developing the sector, by way of providing aspiring cultural entrepreneurs access to the sources of knowledge that the study's entrepreneurs have inherited. By investing in the development of such initiatives, India's cultural sector and policymakers may also find a way to circumvent the social hierarchies that afford some entrepreneurs with certain "early career lubricants" (Friedman and Laurison 2019) compared to others. By recognising the social mechanisms that uphold cultural entrepreneurship for the privileged few and finding ways to translate them into attainable tools, the wider sector may be able to facilitate a more sustainable and democratic approach to developing its growth. Future research could look into such inherited mechanisms with greater detail and design tangible knowledge sharing and skills development processes for aspiring cultural entrepreneurs, regardless of family background and upbringing.

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APPENDICES

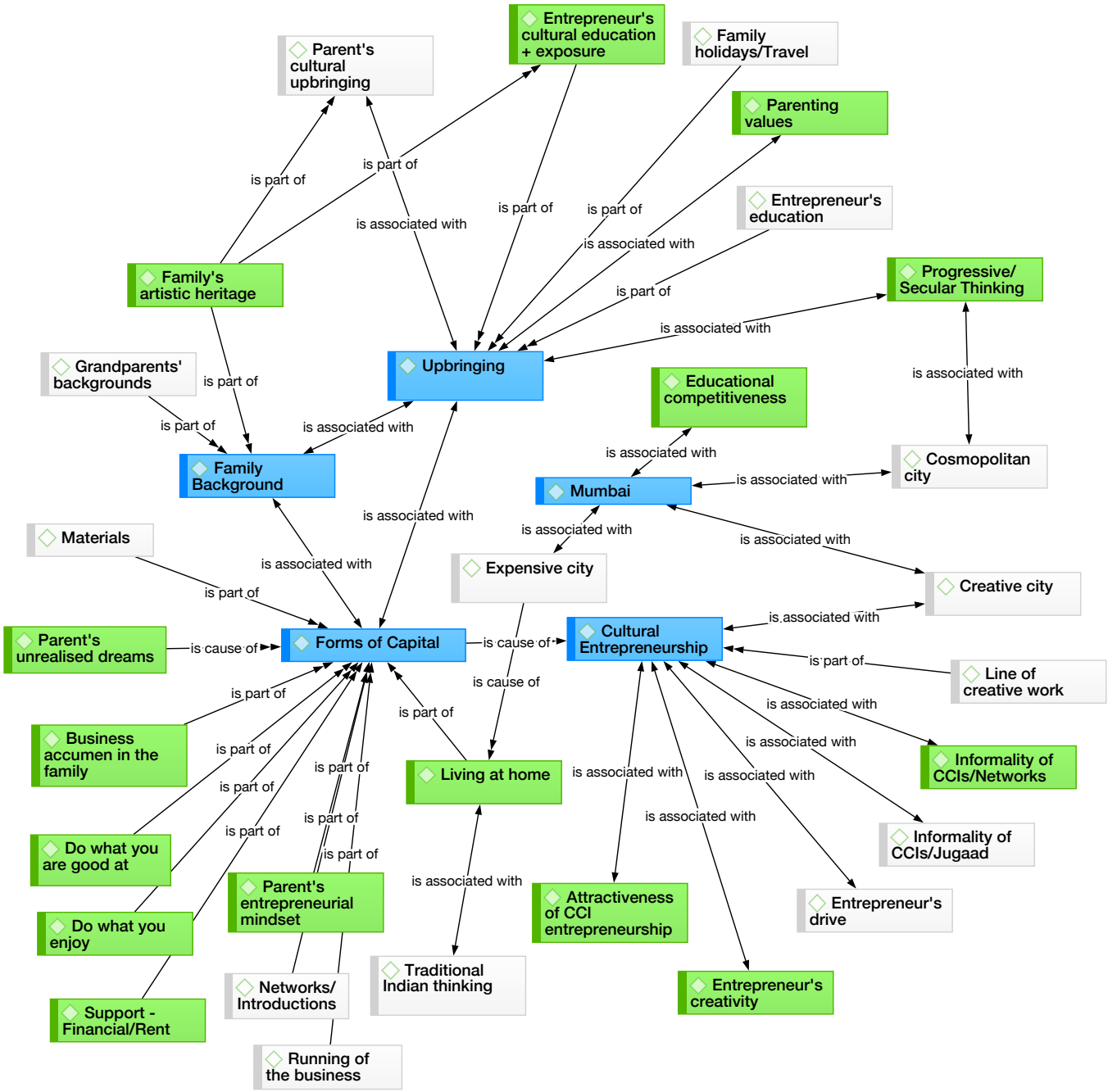
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Can you briefly tell me about your background?
   - The community you come from, state/city, caste, education, profession, social class, religion
2. Would you say that your community is entrepreneurial? How so?
3. What was your upbringing like? Were you exposed to arts and culture growing up?
   - Which types of art and culture?
4. When did you move to Mumbai and why?
5. Can you tell me about the education you gave _____? What kind of schools/university did they go to?
6. When did you realise _____ was artistically/culturally inclined?
7. What kind of exposure to the arts did you give them growing up?
   - Did you put them in any after school activities? Museums/concerts? Travel?
8. How do you think this influenced them?
9. What was your first reaction when they told you they wanted to pursue a career/entrepreneurship in the arts?
   - Did your husband/wife react differently? Why/why not?
10. In what ways did/do you support _____ in pursuing their dreams?
    - Monetary support/networks/emotional support/education
11. Did you introduce _____ to your networks via introductions?
12. How do you feel about their profession/career now?
13. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

APPENDIX B: CODE FOREST

Blue codes: Core concepts

Green codes: Main findings



APPENDIX C: ENTREPRENEUR PROFILES

E1a and E1b

E1a and E1b are brothers, working separately in Mumbai's visual arts space. After working as a senior art director at a leading international advertising agency, E1a launched his own affordable art platform, selling digital prints and artworks, created by Indian artists. His younger brother, E1b is a visual artist, graphic designer and founder of a multidisciplinary design studio. They come from a Gujarati business community that follows the Jain religion and are known as *Jain Vaishnav, Vaishnav* corresponding to the 'merchant and trader' caste group. Their father, R1, was born and brought up in Mumbai, and after graduating with a BA in Psychology, and an MA in Sciences, started his own diamond business with his older brother who used to be a dentist. They come from a "medical family", as his father was a doctor. The brothers' mother is an artist and singer, who graduated with a BA in Music. The family consider themselves to be "Mumbaikars" having lived there their whole lives, although both E1a and E1b were sent to international curriculum boarding schools in Bengaluru, and then abroad for their undergraduate degrees in related fields.

E2

E2 is a brand consultant currently based in France, working for a brand innovation studio. In 2018, he launched an artist management and creative strategy firm, working across Mumbai, Paris and New York, that he manages simultaneously. His mother, R2, is a former software sales executive, now currently working with NGOs across India. She has an MA in English Literature. His father has an engineering background, graduating from IIT Kanpur, and IIM Calcutta, where he attained an MBA. The family shuttled between Mumbai and Delhi during the 90's, following the father's job in marketing and sales for two large multinational companies, later settling in Mumbai in 2000. Both parents come from academic backgrounds, with the mother's family being a family of doctors, and the father's a family of scientists. They are both from the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP) and consider themselves *UP Khatris,* part of the 'ruler and soldier' caste group. E2 studied engineering before moving to France for an MA in Marketing.

E3a and E3b

E3a and E3b are sisters working in different sectors of Mumbai's CCIs. E3a is a filmmaker and director at an advertising production house, and founder of her own independent film company. She majored in Literature during her undergraduate degree in Mumbai. E3b, is a former lawyer, who later started a boutique furniture store and atelier with their father. Their maternal grandfather was a practicing lawyer, and former judge in the Bombay High Court. Coming from a family of lawyers, their mother, R3, also pursued a law degree but went on to become a business management executive. Before starting the furniture store with E5, their father was an engineer and businessman and trader by profession, working with his family's manufacturing company. His father was the CEO of one of India's largest construction companies. Like E1a and E1b, the family's ancestry is Gujarati and follow Jainism, but consider themselves to be culturally from Mumbai.

E4

E4 is a writer, creative director and media entrepreneur. She is the co-founder and former editor-in-chief for a digital youth lifestyle platform, and has recently started three media platforms, two of which focus on children's rights through digital storytelling and dialogue. She studied Economics during her undergraduate degree in Mumbai. Following his chartered accountancy training, E4's father, R4, a former international banking executive, later founded his own micro-finance company. His father was in government service and therefore as a child, R4 moved around the country, following the father's job postings. With an MA in English Literature, E4's mother, who is Bengali, went on to teach English for many years and then founded her own NGO. Originally from Kerala, R4 is part of the South Indian Malayalam speaking community, of *Nair* descent, a unique South Indian upper caste group.

E5

E5 is a visual artist and commercial illustrator, who founded her own illustration company after moving back to Mumbai following her BFA in New York. Her mother, R5, was born in Japan and studied fashion design and merchandising, at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) in New York, after her BA in Commerce. R5's parents are Sindhi, and moved to Mumbai as refugees following the India-Pakistan partition. R5 later worked with her father in their garment trade business between Japan and India, which he set up on his own. Now R5 works with her husband, E5's father, who comes from a Muslim background, running their jewellery company which was

originally his family's business. As a mixed religion house-hold, they consider themselves to be largely unreligious, and secular in upbringing.

E6

E6 is a musician and co-founder of a soon to be launched music sharing and discovery app. He has a BA in Mechanical Engineering from a top Indian university, and a background in data science. His father, R6, is an advertising and marketing professional, working in the advertising and media sector, after having studied Commerce in Mumbai, where he was born and brought up. E6's mother has a postgraduate degree in Computer Science and previously worked as a business trainer in the insurance sector, and is now an English coach for high school students. R6's father was a high ranking officer at an international bank in Mumbai, moving up the ranks after completing his BA in Economics from Pune University. The family are originally from Tamil Nadu, and call themselves '*Tam-Brahms*', a community of Tamil speaking South Indian *Brahmins.*

E7

E7 is the co-founder of a leading digital media agency, specialising in social media marketing, content production, web development and search engine optimisation. Along with this, he also started a video based, digital publisher for creative lifestyle culture, and a podcast with a partner in Pakistan. His mother, R7, studied Psychology and Law, but later went into the diamond and export business. Her parents were also refugees from Sindh, moving to Mumbai after the partition as children, in very different economic positions. Leveraging their trading and money-lending background (*hundi* business), her father continued the family's business in steel and construction. E7's father is a practising property tax consultant, while his father was also in the *hundi* business. Like him, E7 also studied Law as an undergraduate. The family are *Shikarpuri Sindhis*, from Shikarpur, a small town in Pakistan.

E8

E8 is a fashion designer, who started her own label, focusing on Indian bridal wear and embroidery, created in collaboration with local artisans. She studied Business Management, followed by a postgraduate degree in Fashion Design. Her mother, R8, has a business background, having studied Commerce, and then an MBA. She currently helps E8 with small administrative tasks at the label. E8's paternal grandfather was a civilian engineer in the army, and her grandmother was a school teacher. E10's father was an engineer, working with large technical companies, manufacturing

broadcasting equipment. He later started his own printing company, publishing a technical magazine for the cable trade. His father worked as a building contractor. Both grandparents are *Parsi,* Zoroastrians of Persian descent, whose families moved to Mumbai and Pune during the colonial era.

E9

E9 is a museums and heritage professional and art historian, who founded a cultural heritage initiative that bridges urban histories, museums and public spaces with audiences through tailored projects, workshops, and walks. She is also the co-founder of a walks-based project that focuses on visual art in Mumbai. Brought up in Mumbai, she studied History, and later went on to study Art History in Baroda, and Museum Studies in London. Her mother, R9, as well as her father, are practising doctors. E9's grandfather, R9's father, was a leading lawyer during the Quit India Movement during India's independence, and her grandmother was a Professor of Political Science. They moved from Karachi to Baroda, and then Mumbai in 1947, choosing to stay in India, even as Muslims. The family represents multiple Muslims sects, but mainly follow *Dawoodi Bohri* traditions at home.

E10

E10 is an arts based healer, and movement practitioner. Together with his mother, R10, they founded an arts and wellness social enterprise, in the building that used to house the family's printing press. After working as a professional for British companies, R10's father started the printing press, catering to advertising agencies as new businesses started emerging after India's independence. Her mother also came from a business background, with family offices in Cairo and Mumbai. R10 studied Sociology in Mumbai and then moved to the UK, where her son, E10, was born. She continued running the printing press after her return from the UK, while E10 pursued a degree in Creative Writing and Drama. They opened the arts and wellness centre after his return to Mumbai, in 2014. As a Gujarati business family, they also consider themselves *Jain Vaishnavs*.