

A Microfinance Success Story of Tibetan Refugees in India

TRLSP
2017



A Microfinance Success Story of
Tibetan Refugees in India



Institute of Livelihood Research and Training

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|--|
| CCTV | Close Circuit Television |
| CTA | Central Tibetan Administration |
| FD | Fixed Deposit |
| GST | Goods & Services Tax |
| HP | Himachal Pradesh |
| IIBF | Indian Institute of Banking & Finance |
| MFI, FI | Micro Finance Institution, Finance Institution |
| MTA | Market Traders Association |
| NBFC | Non-Banking Financial Company |
| NOC | No Objection Certificate |
| RBI | Reserve Bank of India |
| RoI | Rate of Interest |
| SARD | Social and Resource Development Fund |
| SO | Settlement Officer |
| TMPCS | Tibetan Multi Purpose Cooperative Society |
| TR | Tibetan Refugee |
| TRLSP | Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program |
| TTF | The Tibet Fund |
| UP | Uttar Pradesh |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| WSS | Winter Sweater Seller/Selling |

Executive Summary

The Social and Resource Development Fund (SARD) has been granted with a limited fund from USAID for setting up a financial institution to pioneer a lending business to the most vulnerable Tibetan Refugees (TR) in exile. To pilot a lending undertaking, the programme named Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program (TRLSP) was conceived and implemented under the SARD meant for segmented seasonal winter woollens selling communities all over India. The 'winter sweater selling' (WSS) business is the mainstay of TR livelihoods in India affecting over 70% of the exile population. WSS is the main livelihood and income source for 45% of TR households in India. It is a tedious seasonal business, which provides quick returns with little investment or capital requirements. Tibetans have mastered this business like none other over fifty years of trial and error processes, but they do face challenges some of which are unique to them.

Like other unorganised seasonal businesses, this community is faced with many challenges which include rising costs of products, lack of start-up capital, shifting market spaces, taxation, competition from large scale manufactured goods, etc. Being refugees, they are rarely covered under national programmes and are out of the ambit of regular commercial banks for their businesses. Within the value chain, they are still dependent on the owners of small-scale manufacturing units called Ludhiana *Lalas* from where they purchase their stocks on credit for up to 70% of their businesses.

To provide an immediate relief to this community, SARD launched the TRLSP in 2017, which aims not only to resolve their capital needs by providing soft loans for their businesses but to foster economic development and mainstream financial inclusion within the Indian economy at large. After a series of surveys, the soft loan product was developed with the upper limit of Rs. 1 lakh at 3% rate of interest for a period of 6 months with no hidden charges. A total of 913 WSS businesses across India covering over 90 different locations availed the loan. For the Central Tibetan Administration, this is the most extensive lending financial service ever provided during the last fifty years in exile.

To understand and record the experiences, outcomes, and key lessons learnt from TRLSP, this study was undertaken between December 2017 to January 2018. The study also attempts to provide a comprehensive picture of the existing status of the WSS trade and its corresponding livelihoods structure so that such programmes leave lasting impacts on Tibetan refugees.

The key findings of the study are summarised here.

1. Mosaic of WSS trade: Almost 45% of the approximately over 120,000 Tibetan Refugees (TRs), living in rural settlements, cities and towns across several Indian states, carry on the WSS trade. The trade primarily involves procuring the most fashionable/durable winter hosiery products directly from the centres of manufacturers and retail them across II and III tier urban centres for its lower middle and poorer sections of the populations at most competitive prices. Both

products and pricing are unique which is usually not available at the localities or out of reach for many. It is a tedious process but a lucrative undertaking relative to the size of capital and period involved. The WSS trade has earned a well known household name of its kind when it comes to winter wear retailing in India. Today, there are over 120 Tibetan Hosiery Markets across India and many more markets are set up every passing year.

2. Wholesale Deal: WSS traders procure all hosiery items directly from the producers bypassing all intermediaries, which not only help selection of the items but production as well. Direct contacts with manufacturing units provide critical information about their products and changing pattern of demands that help design products. *Lalas* take their ground level feedback seriously giving them the most competitive prices that increases their margins over other traders. TR traders travel out from their Settlements to arrive in end-June/July to Ludhiana and to some extent NCR region. Ludhiana is the largest hosiery and knitwear manufacturing hub and wholesale market in India. The TR traders come in groups of 5-6 and negotiate with dozens of small manufacturer-wholesalers called *Lalas*. They order, help design and procure various products ranging from Jackets, Sweaters, Shawls, Cardigans, sweatshirts to Leggings. They stay for around 7-10 days commonly, renting rooms within premises and also in hotels nearby. There are 400-500 TR traders everyday in the wholesale market in the peak purchase months. They buy large volumes of hosiery and knitwear items on credit, based on transactions and trust continuing across 3 generations on either side. Women are involved in equal numbers, if not more in the entire trading processes. 10-20% of the total sale is on cash basis, the rest is on credit for which the collection is done market wise during and immediately after the WSS season concludes.

3. Markets, Customers and sales: The WSS seasonal markets are strategically located where population movements are the biggest such as old business districts, railway stations and bus terminals. Their customers are lower middle class and seasonal commuters from smaller towns and villages. Markets are made up of make shift materials good enough to operate and last for 3-5 months usually between September to February. In order to set up the stalls in their market station, the market leaders go a few days earlier. The WSS arrive from their respective Settlements (with family and hired helpers) once the market is installed. They stay in rented rooms/houses in the city and go to the Market ground everyday to sit in their stalls and retail to the local customers. Typically, the WSS market comprises a number of stalls (10-200) installed in an open ground hired from the city local administration. The ground is usually in a busy market area in the main city and the market is installed bearing a distinct Tibetan identity and decor. The market is dismantled at the end of the season, after which the WSS traders depart back to their homes in their respective settlements. In most cases, there is a system of the *lalas* travelling to different markets for payment collection towards the end of the season (Dec-Jan). For the large number of smaller manufacturing units of Ludhiana, the Tibetan refugee WSS markets continue to be the main channel for retail sale of their goods. All the *lalas*, the TR traders and the MTA leaders have expressed that they had no problems dealing with each other. With the Government's overnight demonetisation announcement in November 2016 followed by introduction of GST in 2017, WSS business has seen overnight changes towards digital payments

and formalization. Earlier, 15-20% of the credit is repaid by cheque and the rest is done in cash. Now, following demonetisation and the Indian government's push for digital banking, over 25% of the credit repayment is done by bank cash transfers. This reflects the growth of the market but at the same time a change in the pattern and system of the WSS trade.

4. Livelihood profile and significance of WSS: The Tibetan refugee households are mostly nuclear by structure, belonging to lower middle class with medical and children's education being the main expenses. The children usually study in Tibetan Residential and day schools. Expenses for school/hostel going children can be around Rs. 50,000 pa and for college/vocational courses around Rs. 2 lakhs pa. The Department of Education, CTA, has subsidised education costs by sponsoring children at various stages. Besides cultivating small patches of farmlands during monsoon, the main income comes from WSS businesses. The average family has the standard assets comprising of a mixer, refrigerator, television, motor bike and bicycle. Some families have only a single, elderly earning member in the WSS running one stall in the market and have no other major income source or livelihood. Such households tend to be poorer, have no savings or investment and lead a hand to mouth existence. Their net earnings of Rs. 60,000-70,000 from WSS business in a season, is mainly used for children's education. The total sale in a season by an average WSS family ranges from Rs. 7 to 10 lakhs. Bigger families with more active members in the WSS trade and having more stalls, having a working son/daughter in a salaried or a big company job, or a family with a member in the Tibetan Government service, working abroad, or in the Indian Army (SFF) - this helps the household to improve their livelihood. For most families, the WSS business is the most significant livelihood component in terms of number of family members involved, lifestyle (staying out of settlement and setting up home at market station for 3-4 months, travelling to and staying at Ludhiana/Delhi during purchase season (1-3 weeks), and the income earned from this trade. One borrower said "If a family has one or two children working abroad, they will end up soon with a big "pucca" house in a few years even if they do no other business. In comparison, for those who have been doing this business for past 30-40 years their condition is almost the same".

Half the families have farmland holdings in their Settlement ranging from 1-5 acres. Some cultivate their own land with food grains for household consumption and good portion for the markets (in settlements of Karnataka, Odisha, HP). Those who do not have the human labour to carry agricultural activities rent out the farm land for some additional income or lay fallow to be rotated. Most families settled in and around towns such as in HP/UP have a summer business of a readymade garments selling in the Tibetan market for 6 months (April to September) in Shimla, Dharamsala or Dalhousie. Few families run a small general/grocery store in the settlement. The WSS business of 3-4 months gives more income than a seasonal summer shop. Some families have older children with a job in Tibetan Community/Govt., army, or a private job in food/hotel enterprise. Few families have one or more children migrated and working abroad (e.g. Switzerland).

There are some young-adults who worked or do temporary work for a few years in WSS until

such time as they qualify for or find a more secure job. Many tried to get into skill jobs or did study in colleges have eventually opted for the family WSS business as a better option. Generally, as a rule, parents want their children to study well and go to colleges and find a job rather than continue in the WSS work.

Financial Services product development by SARD and the Management Team:

After exploring options to initiate and develop financial services for the TR communities, SARD decided that a FI registered as an NBFC will be the best placed to address the financial needs of TR population. It is the most suitable institutional form in the current scenario: the NBFC as legal entity is a low risk model due to minimal regulatory compliance requirements. On the other hand it has the ability to address credit needs using flexible collateral, it can build “Tibetan branded” interface for savings, investments and insurance, provide services in remote areas and finally, promote financial literacy to all Tibetan communities. As precursor to NBFC the company named “Gang-Jong Development Finance Private Limited (GDF) was registered and incorporated on 27th November 2017. **Along with this, a pilot lending program, the TRLSP, was conceived and implemented from April 2017-March 2018.**

A SARD team of six qualified Tibetan professionals was freshly recruited and trained to manage the projects. A well-structured training programme was executed with the help of IIBF-a renowned financial development institute rooted in from British India. VNC & IKW - which are also a well known Delhi-based CA and IT solution firms, have been hired to provide technical services, train and handhold the team for the entire process of initiating and establishing TRLSP and the NBFC. The TRLSP successfully laid the ground for financial service delivery on the one hand, and initiated the WSS community into financial literacy and formal financial transactions on the other hand. In a span of 3 months, a customer-oriented product and process was designed and implemented. At every step, the WSS representative groups (MTA and TRTA) operating 90 different WSS Market locations across the country were involved in a participative process. The TRLSP for WSS traders is perhaps one of the most systematically planned programme in this world. It had no model to replicate. It was purely built upon local knowledge of the traders and insightful wisdom of CTA planners who had enough working knowledge of the community while adapting lessons from modern day Micro finance programmes in India.

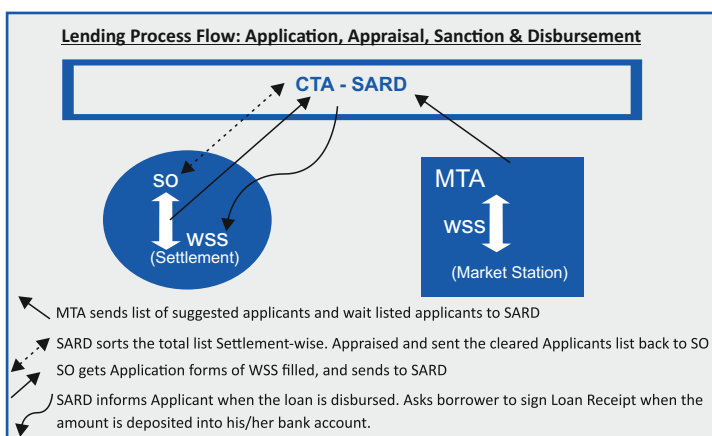
| Table : Activities to prepare and implement TRLSP | Schedule |
|--|----------------------|
| SARD team recruitment, training and shortlisting | Dec16-Jan 2017 |
| WSS Customer and Market Survey | Feb 2017 |
| TRLSP design through communication with WSS Market locations & leaders, discussions & meetings with TRTA | Mar-April 2017 |
| MIS developed and set up in SARD. Staff trained to load MIS | March/April 2017 |
| Design/print of TRLSP PR material: Brochures, Advertisements | End-March/April 2017 |

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Launch in Ludhiana, Distribution of PR material | April 2017 |
| Discussion and Insertion of MTA Clause | April-Sept 2017 |
| Design of Loan Application form and paper work | April 2017 |
| Communication with Market leaders and Settlement Officers to get list of loan applicants | May 2017 |
| Loan Applications received (1229) | End May 2017 |
| Loan Disbursement (913) | Aug-Oct 2017 |
| Loan Repayment 100% | Nov 2017- Mar 2018 |

TRSLP product design, activities and lending process

TR traders purchase their goods in wholesale or direct from manufacturer from the *lalas*, and with up to 70% being on credit. They are mostly used to borrowing from friends and family for their WSS business rather than transacting with formal FIs. Normally, commercial banks do not treat WSS as their client as they do not have any security as per their norms. The product had to be designed in this backdrop how to make it work in the absence of credible collateral or security. One of the purposes of TRSLP pilot was to get the TR traders get into the habit of formal financial transactions and get all associated knowledge to further their businesses. Lack of financial acumen has debarred the business from growing in size and scale as it should have been. The TRSLP product has also been designed keeping this in mind, and took steps in that direction.

The product gives a sum of Rs. 1 lakh at 3% rate of interest for the period 6 months with no hidden charges. The size was purposely chosen to educate and build a system that sustains, and can be scaled up any time with minimum risks. The illustration below shows the process flow of lending - from application, appraisal, sanction and disbursement. TRSLP could make use of the already existing community institutions viz., the Market Trader Association (MTA) and the Settlement Community Office. Due to their existence, TRSLP did not have to freshly form community groups like JLGs, SHGs, Producer Groups etc.



A total of Rs. 10.4 crore was sanctioned in loans: Rs. 8 crores from a USAID program grant, and Rs. 2.4 crore from CTA's own resources as share contribution. Due to some procedural and banking issues, loan disbursements due in June/July was done on 2nd August at one go. The borrowers were from 90 different market locations and are resident of 34 Tibetan Settlements. 40% of the total number of loan accounts is in the name of women.

With good dedication, planning and management, the SARD team was able to communicate and connect with the WSS community participating in such an exercise for the first time to make TRLSP a success. Bulk of the repayments started flowing in from November 2017 after about 3 months of disbursement, much ahead of the 6-month tenure. By 1st March 2018, all 913 borrowers had made 100% repayment. This is a rare case in point Micro finance history.

TRLSP lending-borrowing process, experience and outcome:

SARD had given guidelines to the MTAs for deciding on deserving members to apply on priority. However all MTAs followed their local practices including lottery system to select the members so that everyone gets equal opportunity within the program. In a few cases, deserving poorer WSS were selected. SARD asked all eligible MTAs to insert one new entry in the MTA rules: that if a borrower does not pay the stall they own will be kept as security in case of default. This was a good tactical move which worked as collective pressure and successfully the MTA was also asked to take responsibility in case their market members who borrow do not default on the loan.

At the Settlement, the Bank account of the borrower was verified and then amount was transferred. In some cases, applicants got the money into their Bank account in their Settlement when they already left for purchases. Since the loan receipt had to be signed by the applicant at SO, SARD introduced the flexibility for signing by borrowers' relative or friend present in the Settlement. Those who already reached the market place were advised to sign the document at market place. Being a new pilot program such issues were resolved on the go, as and when feedback was received and by educating the MTA members.

WSS purchase goods from the wholesalers on credit with 10-20% as upfront cash payment. On cash purchases the cost of goods is 7-10% lower. With the loan money they could pay more cash upfront to the *lala* and purchase some extra goods. The loan also helps to go in for more variety in purchase, get better quality of items which are in demand, and increase their bargaining power with the *lalas*. Some borrowers said they always try to buy the maximum on credit and less in cash. They do not find much benefit from the part-cash payment; since the *Lala* gives a big discount on purchase price only on full cash upfront payment.

Some borrowers said if the TRLSP loan is given regularly and of a higher amount (Rs. 3-4 lakhs) they will stop taking loans from their current sources (Bank, TMPCS). There is a practice among some WSS of taking seasonal working capital loan from a bank or the TMPCS in the Settlement. The loan ranges from Rs. 2-4 lakhs, availed for 3-6 months at RoI of 9-12% pa. All borrowers noted that the TRSLP loan bears a very low interest rate. Some borrowers availed the loan in lieu of, or to repay a WSS loan taken from another source bearing a higher RoI.

By 1st March 2018 the loan recovery process was over with 100% repayment, which marks a successful implementation of this pilot program. Borrowers are repaying TRLSP loan on priority so that they can get loan again next year. There is also a strong sense of loyalty to make the program a success since it is their own Government program, and the first of its kind. They feel it impacts their credibility, their community and the future of NBFC.

Challenges faced and lessons learnt:

Being a nascent programme, a lot of things could have gone wrong. TRLSP fortunately did not face any serious challenges as such but the team learnt many credible lessons for the next phase of the programme. Many of the MTAs followed the lottery system to select WSS loan applicants even though guidelines were given for priority to members who were more needy and deserving. At the same time the MTA bears the responsibility to ensure that there are no defaulters among their members. The challenge is to convince and enable the MTA and members to include more of the poorer, deserving WSS. The informal and mobile nature of TR trade and WSS markets makes it unique and gives it competitive advantages. This is now facing challenges from increased formalisation.

Many WSS especially those who can afford it, are choosing to employ young local (Indian) helpers and take care of the sales in the stalls. WSS children are not encouraged and also don't show an inclination to want to continue in this line especially if they are well educated. This will lead to a decline of the knowledge, skills and tricks-of-the trade in the coming generation of TR trader families.

Due to its low RoI, many borrowers availed the TRLSP loan in lieu of, or to repay a WSS loan taken from another source which bears a higher RoI. Some borrowers said if the TRLSP loan is given regularly and of a higher amount (Rs. 3-4 lakhs) they will stop taking loans from their current sources (Bank, TMPCS).

The package offered and successfully recovered has been pitched at lowest interest rate to create maximum social impact. Providing loans at lower rate may be inadequate and unfavourable from a business perspective but TRLSP has supported only weaker sections of the business. There is also a section of TR traders who are wholesalers, having much bigger capital and annual turn over. They too are dependant on lalas where they need to pay many hidden costs. To enhance their bargaining power or to capture metropolitan markets, they need huge liquidity to make dent in the market. This is going to be next frontier that the future Tibetan NBFC has to deal with. It will have to approach more established business community such as TCC -Tibetan Chambers of Commerce for sustaining itself in the markets. There is dozens of institutions asking for high amount of capital for their expansion. These are going to be the potential partners for making itself sustainable in the years to come.

For many borrowers and WSS the current loan amount of Rs. 1,00,000 is too small to make any difference. Financial products and processes will have to be designed by looking not just at WSS but by looking holistically at all other aspects of the TR livelihood (agriculture, summer garment sale stalls and shops, summer general stores). There are few families who cannot invest more in WSS, they would rather invest in the summer business or other activities.

The WSS trade is characterised by its dispersed Market Stations, with most of them having a functioning MTA. Similarly the WSS traders are settled in different communities in Settlements across many states, with its own CTA representative Office and Settlement Officer. The existence of such business groups (Market Station members) and community groups (Settlement) gave the TRLSP the advantage of last mile connectivity across dispersed locations. The MTA and SO could play the role of providing group responsibility and peer support, similar to the role played by JLGs/SHGs in group lending process practised by NBFCs.

As better credit services are available, many of the market leaders are thinking of adopting more cost cutting and remunerative interventions including scaling up their business in terms of expanding markets and increasing volume, and diversifying their items beyond hosiery goods. They want to make their markets more permanent by legally acquiring private lands to built well developed markets in the model of "HONG MARKETS" in many big cities.

Impact: TRLSP has several visible impacts felt throughout the WSS business. Some of them are systemic and may prove to be game changer in the longer term. The impact could be seen in form of financial inclusion where over 913 individuals have directly benefited and some 4000 indirectly. It has also helped enhance bargaining powers against the traditional lenders and manufacturer in terms of getting better products and access to bigger suppliers. One of the most visible impact amongst all WSS is making informed choices and formalization of their business. High surge in GST registrations, no. of meeting held by chapters, increasing number of financing proposals and frequency of banking transactions are clear indications. TRLSP has indirectly strengthened the TRTA where over 16% new units have joined the organisation and over 711 individual members have renewed and sought new memberships by paying their fees.

TRLSP has helped to enhance the bargaining power of the smaller business both at the buying and selling of their product. With the instant payment in cash, the smaller businesses have gained bargaining power to get better quality and more fashionable product for their small stalls. Normally the Lalas with trendy and top quality products do not provide or offer credit for smaller business vendors. This makes their stalls look relatively inferior in the market. In the same market, bigger businesses have more turnover or daily transactions due to the wider variety of products and qualities they offer. TRLSP has helped the smaller businesses to bridge the gaps for a more level playing field.

CTA organised many workshops with the objective of providing ways to improve financial education and literacy standards such as workshops on GST and education on taxation. TRLSP enhanced the overall literacy level on the system of the business, value chain and the key players in the market. With the help of TRLSP, sweater sellers get to know more about Credit market, Banking and Financial sector.

Acknowledgments

I thank the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), Dharamshala for making this study complete while allowing me to go in-depth to understand the processes and record the experiences, outcomes and key lessons learnt from Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program (TRLSP).

The TRLSP team at Social and Resource Development (SARD) headed by Dr. Kunchok Tsundue, Chief Planning Officer, CTA was a supportive guide and coordinator in terms of market visits, conducting interviews and sharing information. The TRLSP team provided valuable information and insights into the unique situation and experience faced by the Tibetan Community in exile at large, and about their experience in the process of designing and implementing the TRLSP in particular. I would like to thank Ms. Gaden Dickyi from SARD for her diligent and kind coordination and accompaniment throughout the Study.

I visited and interviewed Tibetan Refugee Winter Sweater Sellers (TR WSS) and Market Traders Association (MTA) leaders in Market Stations at Delhi, Ahmedabad, Jaipur and Cuttack; and the Lalas and Tibetan Refugee Trader's Association (TRTA) at Ludhiana wholesale hosiery market. I thank all these traders and office bearers who spared the time to share their experiences, information and views with me in the course of detailed interviews and conversation.

Last but not least I thank BASIX-ILRT (Institute of Livelihood Research and Training) for giving me the opportunity to take up this Study. It has been a unique assignment that has enriched my professional endeavors.

Foreword by Dean,

Institute of Livelihood Research and Training (ILRT-Basix)

The Basix SEG has along and diverse association with the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) and has provided technical assistance in some projects undertaken for the development of the Tibetan exile (TiE) community in India. When Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program (TRLSP) was making its footprints in the Microfinance (MFI) sector, it decided to document the knowledge gained in the process for public dissemination. A Consultant was needed to study the TRLSP pilot project implemented by Social and Resource Development (SARD) and Basix SEG asked its former staff – an experienced and senior Consultant of ILRT for this purpose. Ms. Mona Dikshit has singularly taken the task to record all processes and practices particularly relating it to MFI good practices.

The Report has been based on in-depth field surveys and interviews with the implementers of the Project at all levels on one hand, and with the Winter Sweater Selling (WSS) client community of borrowers, association leaders and traders on the other. Apart from a study of the pilot lending project process and experience, the Report contains a detailed study of the WSS Sector trade and livelihoods of the TiE community. It covers the outlook, challenges and opportunities therein.

Thus the Report provides a community and sectoral perspective of the present and future; for TRLSP as well as the Tibetan Refugee Winter Sweater Seller's (TR WSS) livelihoods scenario. This can be of interest and learning for other community and sectoral microfinance initiatives in development programmes in other countries across the world. With this in mind, a wide publication of the Report and bringing it to international platforms like CGAP was thought to be worthwhile.

Dr SS Tabrez Nasar PhD,

Dean,

Institute of Livelihood Research And Training

1. Introduction

1.1 Tibetans in Exile

The story of the Tibetans in exile starts from their arrival of streams of refugees from Tibet to India in 1959, when news of HH the Dalai Lama's exile into India spread all over Tibet. Around 80,000 refugees had crossed Tibet-Nepal and Indo-Tibetan borders by early sixties to seek political asylum as PLA and Chinese onslaught on Tibetans increased. Today there are over 1.2 lakh Tibetans in three South Asian countries, with all public institutions that any national government has.

Arrival and Survival:

Following the forced escape of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in March 1959, thousands of Tibetans also fled Tibet, and these refugees formed the early exile community. His Holiness requested the Indian Government for assistance and two transit camps were set up in Assam and West Bengal. In April 1959 His Holiness established the Tibetan Government-in-Exile as a continuation of the Gaden Phodrang government of independent Tibet. Later in 1959 Tibetans moved to temporary road construction camps in Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, Dehradun and Mussoorie. Around 20,000 Tibetans worked in these road construction sites in the 1960s. The Tibetan road-workers faced numerous hardships compounded by the temporary nature of this livelihood which led the Tibetan Government requesting Prime Minister Nehru for a more permanent rehabilitation.

3,000 acres of uninhabited forest land were offered in Karnataka for the rehabilitation of 3000 Tibetans. In December 1960 the first group of Tibetans moved to the Settlement at Bylakuppe in Karnataka. From 1964 agricultural programs were spearheaded in land use and maize cultivation which is still the dominant crop in the settlements. The first residential schools for Tibetan refugee children started in 1960-62 in Mussoorie, Shimla and Darjeeling.

Leadership of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile:

The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) is based in Dharamshala town in Himachal Pradesh with a Judiciary, Legislature (currently 16th Parliament-in-Exile 2016-2021), and Executive. The Executive is headed by democratically-elected CTA President. There are 7 major Departments of CTA: Religion & Culture, Education, Home, Finance, Security, Health, and Information & International Relations.

The Department of Home is responsible for all the rehabilitation schemes for Tibetans in exile. There are 46 Tibetan Settlement Offices, 71 Settlements and Cluster Units, 12 Major Agricultural Settlements, 21 Small Agricultural Settlements, 20 Co-operative Societies, 20 Handicraft Centres and 20 Cluster Units in India, Nepal and Bhutan. The Department of Finances' main role is to raise revenue for CTA to fulfil its mission and execute its annual budget. The Social and Resource Development Fund (SARD) was registered in 1997 as a non-profit organisation to mobilize resource and support development efforts of Tibetans living in exile. It works in all

development areas including agriculture, arts, and culture, capacity building, democracy and human rights, education, entrepreneurship, health, leadership development, livelihood and skills training, and women empowerment. TRLSP is a major initiative to provide livelihood support for WSS all over India towards improvement of the livelihood of those Tibetans who desperately need help.

Settlement and Livelihood development:

For over half a century, the exile community has taken on the critical responsibility of protecting and preserving Tibetan identity, culture, language and religion. Over a hundred monasteries in exile provide religious learning for more than 10,000 monks and nuns, and more than a hundred schools educate and look after thousands of exile children. The community has also successfully established many cultural, religious and academic institutions of higher learning including libraries, research institutes, performing arts and fine art centres. Tibetans are often referred to as the world's most successful refugee community. As per Refugee Census (2016-17) the population is 1.33 lakhs (includes Settlements and Monasteries). There are 33 Tibetan Refugee Settlements across India (Annexure 1) and the CTA has a local representative Settlement Office in each of them.

1.2 Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program (TRLSP) Study- background and objective

The Social and Resource Development Fund (SARD) established in 1997 by the CTA mobilises resources and supports development efforts of Tibetans living in South Asia. It is located at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh, India. It works in almost all development areas including education, health, livelihood, skills training, environment, culture, arts and crafts, capacity building, gender empowerment, relief & rehabilitation, shelter, governance, institution building and advocacy.

SARD in pursuance of its objectives has been granted with a fund from USAID for setting up a viable financial institution to pioneer a lending business to the most vulnerable Tibetan refugees in exile. To pilot a lending project named TRLSP, SARD segmented seasonal winter woollens selling communities all over India. The winter woollens selling business is the mainstay of Tibetan livelihoods in India affecting over 70% of the exile population. Like any other unorganised seasonal business, this community is faced with many challenges and primarily the lack of capital. Until now they were dependent on the owners of manufacturing units called Ludhiana *Lalas*¹ for their goods-loan which make up to 70% of their business.

To provide an immediate relief to this community, SARD launched the Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program (TRLSP) in 2017, which aims not only to provide soft loans for their business but foster much desired economic development and ensure financial inclusion. By significantly reducing their hard cash dependency, TRLSP hoped that they would get much sought leverage for their seasonal transactions and enhance their net income. The product is a

¹ *Lala: a Hindi word used popularly to refer to a merchant or small manufacturer/trader.*

type of soft loan of Rs. 1 lakh at 3% rate of interest for the period 6 months with no hidden charges.

A total of 913 sweater sellers across India from 90 different market locations have been sanctioned. The system developed for this product is unique, perhaps existing nowhere in the microfinance world. For the Central Tibetan Administration, this is the most extensive lending financial services ever provided during the last fifty years in exile thus becoming a case worth studying, documenting and sharing for the benefit of the world at large.

1.3 Study Scope and Methodology

Scope

- To record the processes and mechanisms for TRLSP – product, applications, systems of lending, disbursement, repayment, recovery processes, etc
- To document the selected beneficiary especially women led households and their socio-economic profile
- To document the nature of sweater selling business and its basic characteristics and its significance for the livelihood of Tibetans in exile
- To document the impact and the outcome of TRLSP to Tibetan families, women and the Community as a whole
- To compare and contrast with similar case studies (one to three) in Microfinance world for its USP

Methodology

- Discussions with TRLSP team and secondary data gathering at SARD Head Office, Dharamshala
- Visit to Ludhiana hosiery market for discussions with Wholesalers (*Lalas*) and Tibetan Refugee Trader Association (TRTA) staff
- Field visit to five Market Stations: Delhi, Ahmedabad, Jaipur, Cuttack for discussions with Winter Sweater Sellers (WSS) and market leaders. Discussions were carried out with about 5 individual WSS in each location and group discussion was done with the market leaders
- Based on a Check List of Questions (Annexure III), documentation of 4 TRLSP borrower Case Study and 3 Focus Group Discussion with Market leaders and borrowers

2. Winter Sweater Selling: Context of the Trade

2.1 Tibetan Refugee Livelihoods: An overview

In India, Tibetan Refugees (TR) are settled in villages and towns in Settlement Camps across several states. About half the families own small farmland in their Settlement village, ranging from 1 to 5 acres. Some cultivate food grains for home consumption with a bit of market surplus (especially in Settlements in the south in Karnataka and Odisha). Many families do not engage in farming and rent out their land to other Tibetans in the Settlement (in the south) or local Indians

(in the north). However as many as 70% of all families are engaged in winter sweater selling (WSS). WSS is the main livelihood and income source for 45% TR households in India.

This informal sector trade is a significant livelihood and lifestyle component in terms of number of family members involved, travelling and living out of the Settlement and setting up home at the market station during the selling season (3 months in southern states and 4 months in northern states) and staying at Ludhiana/Delhi during the purchase season (1-3 weeks). Apart from this many households may have a member (boys and girls) employed in Indian Army (Special Frontier Force). For those having completed 15 years in the service and getting a pension, this income adds significantly to improve their family livelihood. 90% families settled in HP/UP have summer business of running a clothe shop/stall usually in the local Tibetan Market for 6 months (April to September) at Shimla, Dharamshala, Dalhousie and Dehradun.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Tibetan Refugee Population in India (Refugee Census 2016-17) including Settlements and Monasteries | 1,33,000 |
| Tibetan Refugee Settlements across India | 33 |
| Families involved in WSS | 70% |
| Families where WSS is the main livelihood/income source | 45% |
| Tibetan Refugee Traders Association (TRTA) registered members (2016-17). | 3500 |
| WSS Market Stations registered with TRTA | 183 |
| Market Stations formed into Market Traders Association (MTA) | 80 |
| No. of Locations (Market Stations) covered by TRLSP Borrowers | 90 |
| No. of TRLSP Borrowers | 913 |

2.2 Overview of the Tibetan Refugee WSS trade

2.2.1 Nature of businesses

WSS by Tibetan refugees started in the early 1960s when they would travel to different towns, carrying their goods and selling on pavements in groups of two/three. “The core of the Tibetan exile economy is by all accounts its informal sector, namely the sweater-selling business. This business takes place in the winter season roughly between October – February. It started with the sale of hand-knitted colourful sweaters of the type which can still be seen in handicraft

centres in India & Nepal or in so-called One-World shops in the West. The fact that people from the cold peaks of the Himalayas marketed those sweaters lent them great credibility. Soon the demand for handknitted woollens outgrew the supply. TR traders started buying machine-made sweaters in bulk from factories at Ludhiana (Punjab), and spread all over India, targeting especially small towns and industrial cities. The relations between the producers and the Tibetans are most cordial and based on mutual trust. Majority, after the winter season, resume their settlement routine such as agricultural work².

TR traders first start going from their respective Settlements to arrive in end-June/July to Ludhiana for purchases (preferably after the celebrations of HH the Dalai Lama's Birthday on 6th July. WSS from far off locations (Asansol, Ranchi, Tatanagar, Rourkela) tend to come earlier, because the goods take more time to transport to destination. The peak arrival and purchase time is between July-September. They come in groups of 5-6 and do business with the *lalas* in groups. People from nearby places usually come individually. They come and stay for around 7-10 days commonly. Some even stay longer for upto a month. They stay in rented rooms and hotels and with the rush of Tibetans in August-September it sometimes gets difficult to get a room. There would be 400-500 TR traders everyday in the market in peak season. The TRTA has a rented office in Ludhiana.

Many women involve equally if not more in the entire trading process. Few days are spent in surveying markets, seeing items of the new season, meeting up with various sellers, deciding on samples and placing orders with the *lalas*. About 50% items bought are old standard items. 50% tend to be new items, new designs, styles etc. They stay on till the order is ready, and get it packed and transported by road or rail. 80% transport happens by road (trucks) and rest by train. For the train, they wait till it is loaded before they depart from Ludhiana. Many traders go from Ludhiana to Delhi for other wholesale purchases and then go back to their respective Settlement. The *lalas'* sale is on cash payment basis for 10-20% of the total value of items sold. The remaining amount for the goods purchased is on credit. The amount due collected after the WSS have sold the goods in the markets.

The WSS seasonal market is installed in different Market Stations (big and small cities) to operate for 3-4 months between end-October to mid-February. To prepare and set up the stalls in their respective market station, the TR market leaders go a few days earlier. All the WSS of each market station arrive (with family and hired helpers) at the start of the season once the market is installed. They stay in rented rooms/houses in the city and go to the Market ground everyday to sit in their stalls and retail to the local customers who come to the market. The market is dismantled and wound up at the end of the season, after which the WSS depart back home to their respective Settlement. In most cases there is a system of the *lalas* travelling to the different markets for payment collection. They travel for a market survey towards the end of the season (20/25 Dec. to mid-Jan) and to collect their payment. During this trip they also check how what the market offtake is, market trends, what is selling more/less, ideas for next season, etc. Sometimes WSS who are close to Ludhiana also come back to Ludhiana to pay.

² Dr. Dawa T Norbu, from the book titled "Exile As challenge – The Tibetan Diaspora"(2004). Dr. Norbu was a Professor at the Centre for Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He passed away in May 2006.

What is the change in the trade over time? Production and sale of new designs and variety of items almost every year is one major change. Markets are more demanding of new fashions – ladies hosiery leggings/pants, a wide variety of shawls of different material and style, ponchos, etc. New trends keep coming and changing very fast. Men and women's Jackets assembled/stitched together with almost all parts imported from neighbouring Asian countries (zips, buttons, material, lining, trimmings etc) are in increasing demand. The raw material for sweaters is all Indian. The younger generation TR traders tend to purchase new styles and items more and also take a larger stock from the wholesalers, as compared to their parents who used to be more conservative and buy only as much as they felt would be sold. The use of smart mobile phones and social media (WhatsApp/WeChat, to a smaller extent Facebook) for communication in groups, and for sharing sample pictures between buyer-seller to place orders is common with everyone now.

With the Government's overnight demonetisation announcement in November 2016 followed by introduction of GST in 2017, there is a push towards digital payments and formalization which is expected to be widespread in the coming year or two. Introduction of GST in 2017 has affected the process of payments for many TR traders since they don't have GST number and operate in informal markets. Earlier 15-20% of repayment used to be by cheque and rest in cash. Now there is 25% by bank cash transfer. This year with the early onset of winter business looks favourable. The overall Indian market including retail channel through TR markets has been good especially with the expansion due to variety of items increasing. The market is growing but its shape and items are changing. Those who change with time will survive.

2.2.2 Role of hosiery industry of Ludhiana

Ludhiana is the biggest manufacturing centre for Hosiery in India (combining yarn of wool + Acrylic), and other blended fibres and cotton, to produce a wide range of fabrics, hosiery, knitwear and ready-made garments. Consisting of both registered and unregistered units, almost 99% of the ready-made garments, textiles and hosiery industry in Ludhiana are small scale. The Yarn manufacturing factories are also largely based here. The industry produces wide range of winter and summer wear: T-Shirts, Pullovers, Cardigans in all blends, Jogging suits, Socks, Jersey, Gloves, Shawls, Sweat Shirts, other inner wear, grey fabric, etc. Past few years there has been an increase in Chinese hosiery goods into the country giving a tough competition to local produce. There are campaigns for discouraging buying or selling dumped Chinese product but nobody knows how long this will hold the water in a free market.



Fig1: Ludhiana Wholesale Hosiery & Woolens Market

Within the city markets areas there are about 20,000 of Small to Medium size Units for stitching samples, putting on the accessories etc. housed in 3-4 storey buildings. First floor would be the

home and 3-4 floors above are the stitching units. The owners of these manufacturing and



Fig2: Ludhiana: Jacket Accessory Stitching Unit

wholesaling units are popularly referred to as Ludhiana *lalas*. Tibetan refugee WSS would be buying wholesale goods at the most from 500 such units. They buy large volumes of hosiery and knitwear items on credit from the former, based on transactions and trust built up across 3 generations on either side.

Thus, the history of the Ludhiana Hosiery & Woollens sector established by Punjabi

partition refugees from Pakistan, and that of the Tibetan refugee WSS who started buying from them and retailing their products across the country through informal seasonal markets is closely intertwined. The factory production between April-June is at 50% utilization and goes up to 100% utilization and production from July-December. For the large number of smaller producing units, the Tibetan refugee WSS continue to be the main channel for retail sale of their goods.

Many *Lala* families' third generation now continues the business and carry on the dealing with the same Tibetan traders that their grandparents started with, and similarly the TR traders have passed on the business and dealing to the 2nd or 3rd generation in their family. In these cases, 60-90% of the *lalas* sale and outreach to ultimate customer is through the TR market stations. For the rest, they sell to Indian wholesale buyers and small wholesale shopkeepers from Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. They usually have one item which is their specialisation: shawls, cardigans, pullovers, blankets, leggings, sweaters, sweatshirts, or jackets, or winter accessories (gloves, caps, socks, inners, mufflers, etc). One of them even makes customised and standard items on order from different monasteries.

The WSS buy medium-value items from the *lalas*. The range of value of items sold by *lalas* to the TR traders is from Rs. 85-1000 with the maximum items in the value range between Rs. 200-500 each. Each *lala* deals with between 200-600 TR traders each season. A few big ones like Sahib Traders who has 5 factories making jackets and sweatshirts, sells almost entirely only to TR traders and deals with over a 1000 of them each season who in turn sell at over 200 market stations. The *lalas* said they sell mostly around Rs. 50,000-100,000 to each TR trader. At the higher end there are a few who buy goods of a total value more than Rs. 2.5 lakhs. Most *lalas* go for cash collection to the Market station between end-December to mid-January. They cover a route of 10-12 markets over a period of around two weeks and get a first hand idea of the market trends and customer base.

Given the size and importance of the trade in Ludhiana, *lalas* have organised into two separate trade associations:

1) Indo-Tibet Hosiery Association

2) Lala Tibet Hosiery Association

The long association of selling through Tibetan refugee traders is seen in a few cases in the names/brands adopted by few *lalas* – for example one *lala* has his Shawls pasted with the branding "Tibet Lhasa Shawl. Yak Wool". A *lala* in Delhi has kept a Tibetan name for his shop "Tashi Delek".

All the *lalas*, the TR traders and the MTA leaders expressed that they had no problems dealing with each other. *Lalas* said all due payments are made, sometimes late but never unpaid and they have had very few bad experiences. The TR traders and MTAs were all unanimous in their opinion that all *lalas* are very helpful. Often one sees a family-like old relationship built on the trust and dealing of their forefathers that still continues.



Fig3: Ludhiana Wholesale Unit – Tibetan Branding



Fig4: Ludhiana Lala Unit-purchasing Jackets in Wholesale

The *lalas* and their Associations often donate money for special events, emergencies, losses faced by WSS community and market, directly or indirectly related with the trade. For e.g., one *lala* donated Rs. 1 lakh for the Special TRTA General Meeting, *lalas* contributed for the losses incurred in a big fire that ravaged the Delhi TR market in October 2016, etc.

In just one case, a *lala* said he is not happy dealing with TR traders because their mode of payment and commitment to business is not reliable. He informed that with the introduction of the new GST system, the practice of selling goods on credit and of Goods Return of unsold items will reduce since TR traders do not have a GST number. The new generation trader is buying less because *lalas* are more. Competition in the retail market station is more in cities like Gorakhpur and Benares. He suggested that the WSS should get insurance for fire/theft. Last year in Delhi many stalls and goods got burnt and the Lala Association had to bear 60% cost of the loss. In another instance, the Sales Tax authority caught TR traders in UP (Greater Noida) and charged a penalty of Rs. 5 lakhs and they had to help out.

In Ludhiana, one can find young, old, male and female traders very much at home in the *lalas'* shops where they come between July-September to make their purchases. TRs buy items for

their own use also from them. Many of the lalas have a portrait of HH the Dalai Lama hanging on the wall along with pictures of their own Gods, and refer to him as “guruji”. Some have even been to Dharamshala and attended “Guruji’s” functions. Lalas have attended a few Tibetan marriages in the Settlements, and can understand their Tibetan language.



Fig5: Ludhiana Wholesale Unit: *Lala* and Tibetan Traders, a long association.

2.3 Tibetan Refugee WSSMarkets and Associations (MTA and TRTA)

The TR traders set up winter woollen selling markets seasonally in cities and towns across India especially northern part of India and 183 Market Stations are registered with TRTA (Annexure 3). Of these, over 80 have formed into a registered union called Market Traders Association (MTA). The MTA have their representatives in the TRTA. The TRTA charter allows families to operate in more than one market and some have set up shop in more than one market.

The Tibetan sweater seller's fraternity was formally registered in Ludhiana in the name of Tibetan Refugee Traders' Association (TRTA) under the Societies Registration Act (XXI of 1860) on 22 August 2006. It has an office here with 1 permanent staff member and 14-18 elected executive members. It has 3500 registered members (2016-17). TRTA is set up to initiate works to promote sweater selling, relief assistance in cases of unforeseen calamities, enhance the collective bargaining clout of Tibetans, educate on taxation, and above all, link the unions of sweater sellers with the exile Tibetan administration.

“We feel that it is a good beginning for the Tibetan business community who are mainly in unorganized sectors. This association will provide strength and bargaining-power to all out there; who have been in their businesses for over three decades in India. The time has, indeed, come to consolidate and make it an organized sector by complying with the law of nation to greatest extent”, said former Joint Secretary of the Finance Department. The association of Tibetan sweater sellers will help them to provide updated services on business opportunities, taxation laws and various other issues. It will also serve as a platform to share their views and concerns.

3. Financial Services Development by SARD:

3.1 Microfinance sector in India and NBFC/MFI role models

Microfinance institutions (MFIs) came into being in 1990. Banks' reluctance to lend to those without credit history provided an opportunity to those willing to take risk and organise rural communities. Later in 1999 a Task Force was constituted on Supportive Policy and Regulatory Framework for Micro Finance in India. The RBI issued a circular in January 2000 based on the recommendations of this Task Force, which permitted banks to lend to MFIs and freed the

interest rates as well as the channels. It also said RBI will treat this as part of priority sector lending. This opened the door of bank loans to MFIs in India. This was one of the many policy reforms which laid the road for others. The establishment and evolution of some pioneering and reputed MFIs give an idea of the MFI sector development in India (refer Table below).

Table : Pioneering and reputed MFIs in India -some role models

| Name | Bhartiya Samruddhi Finance Ltd (BSFL) | Bandhan Financial Services Private Limited(BFSL) | Equitas Microfinance |
|------------------|--|---|--|
| Founding Mission | BSFL is flagship company of BASIX Group - India's first "new generation livelihood promotion institution". BASIX mission is to promote large number of sustainable livelihoods, including for the rural poor and women through the provision of financial services and technical assistance in an integrated manner | To empower poor women through microfinance. Rural and semi-urban areas, particularly SMEs (small and medium enterprises) | Financing low-income people underserved by banks, and those at the bottom of the pyramid, (slum dwellers,homeless) |
| Started | 1997 | 2006 | 2007 |
| Legal form | First NBFC MFI in India till 2005. Pioneer and the Leader till 2007. | NBFC | NBFC |
| Lending model | Adopted a "Livelihood Triad" strategy providing Services to clients (JLGs, SHGs, producers groups, cooperatives): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Financial Inclusion Services (FINS) Agricultural & Business Development Services Institutional Development Services. | Individual lending through group formation. Followed typical Grammeen Bank model in which credit is purveyed through joint liability groups. Product range: loans, pension and insurance. | Lending to women organised into joint-liability groups. |

| Milestones | 2001 | 2009 | 2010 |
|----------------------|---|--|---|
| | Krishna Bhima Samruddhi Local Area Bank India's only 100% Priority Sector Bank for the Poor In 1996-98, Basix became largest lender to SHGs in India | 1000 branches, 2 million clients | diversified into housing (Equitas Housing Finance) and vehicle (Equitas Finance). Diversified to survive the deluge that swept the MFI industry |
| | 2010 | 2014 | 2013 |
| Spread of Operations | BSFL: 1.8 million low-income customers in 30,000+ villages with Rs 18.08 billion of loans and 235 Unit offices. Basix Sub-K iTransactions started. Sub-K operates through Business Correspondent agents who serve as the last mile of connectivity between the Bank and the end consumer, through mobile/kiosk based technology. | 5.5 million clients, Rs. 57 billion loan outstanding, 2000 branches, | 1.6 million borrowers Rs.11.3 billion portfolio outstanding, 313 branches. |
| | 2017 | 2014 | 2016 |
| | BASIX SEG has 13 Group entities. The Financial Services are provided by BSFL and Basix Sub-K network strength is of 4500+ BC outlets and 3500+ CSCs providing micro- Banking, Microcredit, Pensions, Micro-insurance and Remittances. | Bandhan received its banking licence from the Reserve Bank of India and becomes a Commercial Bank. | Equitas SFB Ltd. formed –a Small Finance Bank (SFB) licensed by RBI with merger of Equitas Micro Finance, Equitas Housing Finance and Equitas Finance |

The Table gives an overview of how different NBFC/MFIs were set up with a focus to serve unbanked and lower income communities with financial services, in order to promote their livelihoods. They adopted different “group lending” models, in order to promote community-based responsibility and diligence for better borrower selection and repayment.

Prudential norms of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI):

Guidelines and general norms are issued by the central bank of the country (RBI) for the proper and accountable functioning of banks, NBFCs and bank-like financial institutions. These are Uniform policy guidelines that are expected to be followed, so that the balance sheet reflects a true picture. During the designing of TRLSP, the RBI norms (circular RBI/2015-16/20 DNBR (PD) CC.No.047/03.10.119/2015-16) were taken as basis developing TRLSP lending system.

The pillars of Prudential Norms followed are:

CAR means all new NBFC-MFIs shall maintain a capital adequacy ratio consisting of Tier I and Tier II Capital which shall not be less than 15 percent of its aggregate risk weighted assets. The total of Tier II Capital at any point of time shall not exceed 100 percent of Tier I Capital. The risk weights for on-balance sheet assets and the credit conversion factor for off-balance sheet items will be as provided in para 16 of the Systemically Important Non-Banking Financial (Non-Deposit Accepting or Holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2015 or Non-Systemically 5 Inserted vide DNBS (PD) CC.No.300 /03.10.038/2012-13 dated August 03 , 2012 Important Non-Banking Financial (Non-Deposit Accepting or Holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2015.

Note: a. Among the existing NBFCs to be classified as NBFC-MFIs, those with asset size less than Rs. 100 crore were required to comply with this norm w.e.f April 01, 2012. Those with asset size of Rs. 100 crore and above were already required to maintain minimum CRAR of 15%. b. The CRAR for NBFC-MFIs which have more than 25% loan portfolio in the state of Andhra Pradesh will be at 12% for the year 2011-2012 only. Thereafter they have to maintain CRAR at 15%. 6 c. For the calculation of CRAR, the provisioning made towards AP portfolio shall be notionally reckoned as part of NOF and there shall be progressive reduction in such recognition of the provisions for AP portfolio equally over a period of 5 years.

Accordingly 100 per cent of the provision made for the AP portfolio as on March 31, 2013 would be added back notionally to NOF for CRAR purposes as on that date. This add-back would be progressively reduced by 20 per cent each year i.e. up to March 2017. An illustration of this has been provided in Annex-3. No write-back or phased provisioning is permissible. d. Capital adequacy on non-AP portfolio and the notional AP portfolio (outstanding as on the balance sheet date less the provision on this portfolio not notionally added back) will have to be maintained at 15 per cent of the risk weighted assets]

Asset Classification and Provisioning Norms: With effect from 7 April 01, 2013, all NBFC-MFIs shall adopt the following norms (till then they were allowed to follow the asset classification and provisioning norms as given in the Non-Banking Financial (Non-Deposit

accepting or holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2007).a. Asset Classification Norms: i. Standard asset means the asset in respect of which, no default in repayment of principal or payment of interest is perceived and which does not disclose any problem nor carry more than normal risk attached to the business; ii. Nonperforming asset means an asset for which, interest/principal payment has remained overdue for a period of 90 days or more. b. Provisioning Norms: 8 In view of the problems being faced by MFIs in Andhra Pradesh many of them have had to provide sizeable amounts towards the non-performing assets in the state.

To reflect the true and fair picture of the financials of the NBFC-MFI in the Balance Sheet, the provisioning made towards the AP portfolio were to be as per the current provisioning norms i.e. Systemically Important Non-Banking Financial (Non-Deposit Accepting or Holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2015 or Non-Systemically Important Non-Banking Financial (Non-Deposit Accepting or Holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2015. Provisioning for the non-AP portfolio would be as per the December 02, 2011 Directions with effect from April 1, 2013 which is as given below: 'The aggregate loan provision to be maintained by NBFC-MFIs at any point of time shall not be less than the higher of a) 1% of the outstanding loan portfolio or b) 50% of the aggregate loan instalments which are overdue for more than 90 days and less than 180 days and 100% of the aggregate loan instalments which are overdue for 180 days or more'. All other provisions of the Systemically Important Non-Banking Financial (Non Deposit Accepting or Holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2015 or Non-Systemically Important Non-Banking Financial (Non-Deposit Accepting or Holding) Companies Prudential Norms (Reserve Bank) Directions, 2015 will be applicable to NBFC-MFIs except as indicated therein.

Pricing of Credit Norms: i. 9 The margin cap for all NBFCs irrespective of their size was 12 per cent till March 31, 2014. However, with effect from 1st April, 2014 margin caps as defined by Malegam Committee may not exceed 10 per cent for large MFIs (loans portfolios exceeding Rs.100 crore) and 12 per cent for the others. 10ii. With effect from the quarter beginning April 01, 2014, the interest rates charged by an NBFC-MFI to its borrowers will be the lower of the following: a) The cost of funds plus margin as indicated in para (i) above; or b) The average base rate of the five largest commercial banks by assets multiplied by 2.75. The average of the base rates of the five largest commercial banks shall be advised by the Reserve Bank on the last working day of the previous quarter, which shall determine interest rates for the ensuing quarter. iii. 11NBFC-MFIs will ensure that the average interest rate on loans during a financial year does not exceed the average borrowing cost during that financial year plus the margin, within the prescribed cap.

Moreover, while the rate of interest on individual loans may exceed 26%, the maximum variance permitted for individual loans between the minimum and maximum interest rate cannot exceed 4 per cent. The average interest paid on borrowings and charged by the MFI are to be calculated on average monthly balances of outstanding borrowings and loan portfolio respectively. The figures may be certified annually by Statutory Auditors and also disclosed in the Balance Sheet.

12However, the condition relating to the maximum variance permitted shall not be applicable to loans extended by NBFC-MFIs against funding by National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation (NSFDC).

Pricing of lending/credit: The on-lending to individuals by NBFC-MFIs out of funds of NSFDC shall only be through direct credit to their accounts with banks. Further, NBFCMFIs shall exclude borrowing from NSFDC in arriving at the average cost of funds of the company for the purpose of pricing of credit, other than to the beneficiaries targeted by NSFDC. For this, NBFC-MFIs shall maintain proper record of funds received from NSFDC and the lending out of those funds. Appropriate disclosures in this regard shall be made in the balance sheet of such NBFC-MFIs. The minimum disclosures should include quantum of funds received from NSFDC, cost of such funds, loans disbursed therefrom, rate of interest on such loans and the number of beneficiaries. Further, NBFC-MFIs shall inform the concerned Regional Office of the Reserve Bank of India of their appointment as a channelising agent by NSFDC within one month from the date of such appointment. iv. Processing charges shall not be more than 1 % of gross loan amount. Processing charges need not be included in the margin cap or the interest cap. v. NBFC-MFIs shall recover only the actual cost of insurance for group, or livestock, life, health for borrower and spouse. Administrative charges where recovered, shall be as per IRDA guidelines.

Fair Practices in Lending i) Transparency in Interest Rates a. There shall be only three components in the pricing of the loan viz. the interest charge, the processing charge and the insurance premium (which includes the administrative charges in respect thereof). b. There will be no penalty charged on delayed payment. c. NBFC-MFIs shall not collect any Security Deposit/Margin from the borrower. d. There should be a standard form of loan agreement. e. Every NBFC-MFI should provide to the borrower a loan card reflecting (i) the effective rate of interest charged; (ii) all other terms and conditions attached to the loan; (iii) information which adequately identifies the borrower; and (iv) acknowledgements by the NBFC-MFI of all repayments including instalments received and the final discharge; (v) All entries in the Loan Card should be in the vernacular language. f. The effective rate of interest charged by the NBFC-MFI should be prominently displayed in all its offices and in the literature issued by it and on its website.

3.2 The proposed NBFC: Gang-Jong Development Finance Private Limited

SARD has been granted with a fund from USAID for setting up a viable financial institution (FI) to pioneer a lending business to the most vulnerable Tibetan refugees in exile. In the process exploring options to initiate and develop financial services for the TR communities, SARD looked at the various policies, regulations, institutional forms and role models. After exploring various options, SARD decided that a FI registered as an NBFC will be the best placed to address the financial needs of TR population on the one hand. On the other hand it is the most suitable institutional form in the current scenario: the NBFC legal entity is a low risk model due to minimal regulatory compliance requirements. On the other hand it has the ability to address credit needs using flexible collateral, it can build “Tibetan branded” interface for savings, investments and insurance, provide services in remote areas and finally, promote financial

literacy to all Tibetan communities. The Small Finance Bank (SFB) option was explored as it would have had the ability to leverage savings of the Tibetan community. However it was not found to be viable at this stage because it has greater compliance requirements that make SFB a riskier proposition than NBFC.

3.3 Management and Capacity Building

3.3.1 SARD team and capacity building

This program is headed by the Chief Planning Officer (CPO) of CTA Planning Commission based at the Department of Finance at CTA Dharamshala. A qualified team of 6 young Tibetan professionals was recruited exclusively for this program. Applications for the project posts were invited through open advertisement in December 2016. Sixteen applicants with finance, auditing and management degrees were shortlisted. They underwent comprehensive 2-month training in financial services at Dharamshala. It was conducted by the Indian Institute of Banking and Finance (IIBF) Delhi. After the training, 6 were finally selected and recruited.

The IIBF is supported by major Indian public and private sector banks and has an excellent record of training and building many banking and financial institutions in the Indian sub-continent. The training programme was exclusively designed for Tibetan situations to provide professional skills and competence to meet both regulatory and managerial compliances for running an intermediary registered under the Companies Act 1956 with RBI Non-Banking Financial Company license. Various experts in the banking, the financial services and MFIs visited and took various sessions for positioning, developing financial products and services for the Tibetans. This included resource persons from State Bank of India, Kangra Cooperative Bank, BASIX and Bandhan Bank.

While delivering the inaugural address of the Training Program, Hon. Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay said, “This is going to be one of the most strategic and novel venture of Central Tibetan Administration so far and has high expectations from all corners but there are risks too. Risk of not meeting the compliances, business targets, level of fund raising and most of all, the risk of maintaining excellent recovery rates must all be thoroughly dealt with and planned from upfront.” The CPO outlined the progressive growth and development stages envisaged for the Tibetan Financial Institution from the initial non-banking to NBFC-FI to the Small Banking services and ultimately Tibetan brand full-fledged Banking institution. He elaborated further on the motto of this training- *‘Financial literacy for financial inclusion’*.

3.3.2 Technical services sourced: V Nagarajan & Co and Indus Knowledge Private Ltd SARD has sourced the technical services of V Nagarajan & Co. (VNC) to advise and handhold in the process of setting up its MFI. VNC is an experienced Chartered Accountant (CA) Firm specialised in the microfinance sector in India. **A company named “Gang-Jong Development Finance Private Limited (GDF) was registered and incorporated on 27 November 2017.** Its motto is “Financial services for financial inclusion”. VNC will help to apply to the RBI to obtain the NBFC licence and for the NBFC's capital structuring. Gang-Jong DFPL has a three-member Board of Directors. The process of searching for its CEO has started. VNC has designed the

accounting, audit and financial structuring system. VNC's partner entity -Indus Knowledgeware Private Ltd. (IKW) developed the computer based software system for MIS and financial accounting.

4. Tibetan Refugee Livelihood Support Program (TRLSP)- a Pilot lending project

To pilot an inclusive lending product the **TRLSP was conceived and implemented from April 2017-March 2018**. SARD segmented seasonal winter sweater seller (WSS) communities of Tibetan refugees all over India. To provide an immediate relief to this community, TRLSP aims not only to provide soft loans for their business but foster much desired economic development and ensure financial inclusion. It has successfully laid the ground for financial service delivery on the one hand, and initiated the WSS community into financial literacy and formal financial transactions on the other hand.

4.1 Preparatory work for TRLSP and role of VNC/IKW

In December 2016 VNC/IKW carried out a survey by visiting WSS markets in Gurgaon, Faridabad, Delhi and Jaipur. The survey was carried out based on a detailed Questionnaire. The objective was to understand the nature of the business and get information to design the loan product. With the technical support of VNC, the team surveyed a sample of 200 WSS of Jaipur and Gurgaon market in the first week of February 2017. Focus Group Discussions with traders and discussions with TRTA were held on the proposed pilot lending program in order to arrive at the product features. The team had discussions with MTA representatives also.

The Loan Application Form was designed by IKW/VNC and dovetailed to the software. The Loan Management System (LMS) is designed to contain the database of all loans disbursed with all KYC details of the borrowers. In March/April 2017 when the MIS was developed and set up in SARD, IKW trained the staff on how to load the data. A team of 3 TRLSP project members visited the service providers' office in Gurgaon, Haryana two times for training.

On the advice of VNC, TRLSP is carried out through the SARD legal entity, maintaining a separate book of accounts so that the portfolio can be transferred to the NBFC when it obtains the license to operate. VNC and IKW together have designated 2 software personnel and 1 CA to supervise loading of all loan data by SARD. Based on this, VNC writes their books of accounts and by March 2018, VNC will provide the complete Balance Sheet which can be added to the SARD accounting system.

VNC/IKW will continue to provide supervisory and handholding support on an ongoing basis, training from time to time, and support in managing the transition from TRLSP pilot project mode to establishing the NBFC.

4.2 Design and Launch of the soft loan product

The winter sweater selling business is the mainstay of Tibetan Livelihoods in India affecting over 70% of the exile population. Like any other unorganised seasonal business, this community is faced with many challenges and primarily the lack of capital. TR traders purchase their goods in wholesale from the *lalas*, and with up to 70% being on credit.

The TR traders are mostly used to borrowing from friends and family for their WSS business rather than transacting with formal FIs. One of the purposes of TRLSP pilot was to get the TR traders get into the habit of formal financial transactions. The TRLSP product has also been designed keeping this in mind and taking a step in that direction. **The product gives a sum of Rs. 1 lakh at 3% rate of interest for the period 6 months with no hidden charges.** By significantly reducing their hard cash dependency, TRLSP hoped that they would get much sought leverage for their seasonal transactions and enhance their net income.

The loan product was formally launched at the Annual Board Meeting of the TRTA on 11th April 2017 in Ludhiana. The launch was highly publicized. The Tibetan President addressed a Press Conference; full-page advertisement was given in local Tibetan newspapers, and publicized also in the CTA website. The Tibetan President attended the Tibetan sweater sellers and suppliers' meet in Ludhiana in April 2017. It was organized jointly by Tibetan Refugee Traders' Association and the two Ludhiana *Lala* associations.

4.3 TRLSP implementation –activities and lending process

In a short time of 3 months, a customer-oriented product and process was designed and implemented by the SARD TRLSP team (see Table below). At every step, the WSS representative groups (MTA) were involved in a participative process. These groups operate in 98 different WSS Market locations across the country. Meetings and discussions were held with their federal representative body – the TRTA in Ludhiana.

| Table : Activity | Time |
|---|---|
| SARD team recruitment, training and shortlisting | Dec16-Jan 2017 |
| Customer and Market Survey | Feb 2017 |
| TRLSP design through communication with WSS Market locations & leaders, discussions & meetings with TRTA | Mar-April 2017 |
| MIS was developed and set up in SARD and staff trained to load MIS data. | March/April 2017 |
| Design/print of TRLSP PR material: Brochures, Advertisements | End-March/April 2017 |
| Launch in Ludhiana, Distribution of PR material Discussion and Insertion of MTA Clause Design of Loan Application form and paper work | April 2017 April-Sept 2017 April 2017 |
| Communication with Market leaders and Settlement Officers to get list of loan applicants | May 2017 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Loan Applications received (1229) | End May 2017 |
| Loan Disbursement (913) | Aug-Oct 2017 |
| Loan Repayment 100% | Nov 2017- Mar 2018 |

SARD detailed the TRLSPP appraisal procedure and activity/process guidelines in April 2017:

A. Qualifications of market

- i) Established market with functional organisational rules
- ii) Member of TRTA Ludhiana

B. Qualification of the Applicants

- i) New entrants/comers
- ii) Less or no own funds
- iii) Women headed stalls
- iv) Other needy members

C. Roles & responsibility of SOs

- i) Bona Fide Certification
- ii) Application form Verifications
- iii) Endorsement all rules prescribed
- iv) Active communication with SARD

D) Roles & responsibility of TRTA, Ludhiana

- i) Identification of Markets with functional local rules
- ii) Quick IDs issuing services
- iii) Updating and coordination with market leaders
- iv) Coordination with SARD-TRTA executives

E) Roles & responsibility of MTA

- i) Selection of beneficiary as per procedure B
- ii) Provision of all information to SARD as per instructions
- iii) Amendment in market rules as per the undertaking

F) Execution and Amendments in MTA rules

- i) Procedure is effective from the date of signing
- ii) SARD, DoF only has the onus to update and amend the rules

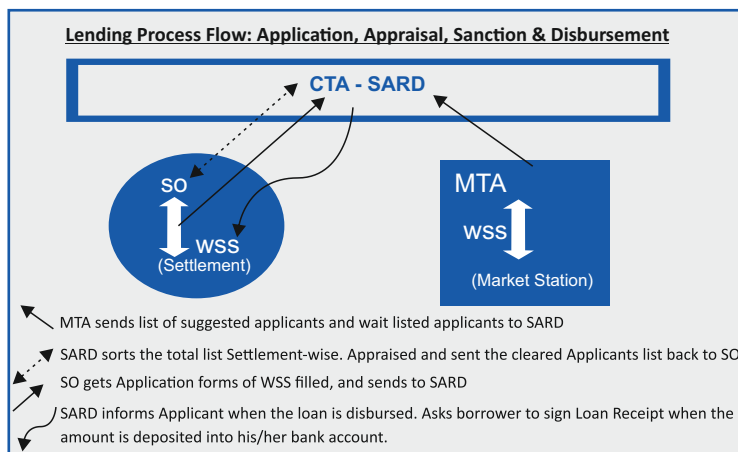
G) Recovery Processes (in case of non-repayment of loan)

- i) Borrower/TRTA/MTA/SO will be formally notified by SARD
- ii) MTA/TRTA meets to execute the market local rules
- iii) DoH/SOs will be notified for necessary actions as CTA rule
- iv) Payment or recovery-support amount + Interest + penalty + recovery expenses.

The criteria for who could apply were given to the MTA leaders and to the Settlement Officer (SO). Only 1 loan could be given per household (even if they have stalls in more than one Market Station). Of the 1229 applications, 1000 were confirmed and rest was put on Waitlist. Confirmed applications were allocated in proportion to the number of WSS registered with a MTA. The Application Form data was sorted and based on the time (month/date) stated for withdrawal of loan amount by the applicant (varied from June to August). There were 47

Rejections due to reasons such as:

- No TRTA ID (enough time was given to make IDs for applicants who had not got it),
- Not doing business this year
- 4/5 rejections due to duplication of a household operating in more than 1 market station



The illustration above shows the process flow lending, from application, appraisal, sanction and disbursement. TRLSP could make use of the already existing community institutions viz., the Market Trader Association (MTA) and the Settlement Community Office. Due to their existence, TRLSP did not have to freshly form community groups like JLGs, SHGs, Producer Groups, etc. The process of clearing of names by SARD, sending to SO and getting filled applications of WSS back from SO took 1 month. A scanned copy of the filled WSS Application form was sent by the SO to SARD and a hard copy was sent by Post, and a photocopy kept in local SO.

The 6-person SARD team distributed shortlisted applicants list equally among themselves, to follow up with them. They called each person in the list directly asking them to apply as they had been shortlisted. From this time to disbursement till up to mid-November, each one of them has made at least 3 calls to each applicant in list:

- telling to apply because they are shortlisted
- informing when the loan was disbursed
- Asking borrower to fill the Loan Receipt when the amount was deposited into his/her bank account.

Apart from this the team has been in direct personal touch with borrowers via mobile phone. The SARD office phone got 5/6 calls daily from the borrowers. Since mid-November fewer calls are coming in because the borrowers were encouraged to be in direct touch with their MTA leaders instead. Most enquiries were about how much interest to pay. Many MTA leaders are also borrowers. 70% of the borrowers are connected on WhatsApp. Each MTA has created WhatsApp group of borrowers (16-17 member groups). The TRTA Ludhiana has its MTA leaders' WhatsApp group of 174 members and the SARD project team is also included in this group.

Due to some procedural issues, all disbursements due during June/July was done on 2nd August at one go. Finally 913 loans were disbursed. The borrowers were from 90 different market locations (and resident of 34 Tibetan Settlements). 40% of the total number of loan accounts is in the name of women. With dedication and intense work the young team was able to communicate and connect with the WSS community participating in such an exercise for the first time to make TRLSP a success. Bulk of the repayments started flowing in from November 2017 after about 3 months of disbursement, much ahead of the 6-month tenure. By 1st March 2018, all 913 borrowers had made full repayment.

4.4 Funds & Banks

4.4.1 USAID and TTF

SARD acts as a nodal agency for development assistance provided by bilateral, multilateral and other institutional funding agencies such as EU, USAID, DANIDA, The Tibet Fund etc. It is permitted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India to receive any amount of donations and foreign contribution for relief and development purposes and they are exempted from Tax. Funding for TRLSP was sourced under a Grant Agreement March 2017 between USAID (India Office) and TTF for a "Program to Strengthen Self Reliance and Resilience of Tibetan Communities in South Asia"(TSRR). TSRR objectives are linked to USAID/India's Country Development Cooperation Strategy.

TTF is responsible for overall program management, monitoring, evaluation, and learning, and works closely with the CTA through sub grants to SARD. Program activities are planned, implemented, and monitored using a collaborative approach that draws on extensive TTF experience managing U.S. federal grants in cooperation with the CTA and adopts financial management and operating mechanisms used to implement the USAID funded Tibet Education Project and Tibetan Health System Capacity Strengthening Project. This approach aims to ensure the program meets high standards of implementation quality and compliance with USAID rules and regulations, while at the same time building CTA capacity to sustain program investments and outcomes. TTF works closely with its key local implementing partner SARD, to build SARD capacity to take increasing responsibility for monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) over the program period.

MEL data will be presented in three types of reports: i) quarterly and annual reports to USAID including standard indicator performance data and updates on activity progress, problems

faced, and lessons learned; ii) internal reports to inform management about ongoing and planned activity implementation; and iii) periodic reports disseminating key lessons, good practices, and successful models to advocate for future continuity, scaling up, or wider adoption. Other reports will include diagnostic assessment and baseline study reports, organizational development and strategic planning reports, success story and case study reports, a mid-term review report, and a final program completion report. Reports on successful models will be prepared for CTA decision makers to disseminate important lessons and advocate for sustained institutional commitment beyond the life of the program.

Under TRLSP, a total of Rs. 10 crore was sanctioned in loans. Rs. 8 crore is funded from USAID program grant, and Rs. 2 crore provided by CTA from its own resources. Funds were transferred to applicants' bank account by SARD.

4.4.2 Internal resource mobilisation

The primary objective of any FI is to mobilize internal resources and put them into profitable mode. To leverage the funds provided by the donor, it was thought that commercial banks could give as many as five times capital on a credit guarantee mode. After consultations and negotiations with banks, they were ready to provide at least three times against the FD but it was not availed because SARD as an entity has never done such transactions where all concern persons were not ready to take up this new incidental activity. It was finally decided to bring in some funds from SARD to increase the coverage and impact of the programme. As mentioned elsewhere it has pumped Rs. 2.4 crores in to TRLSP covering 240 more beneficiaries into the list.

4.4.3 Bankers: ICICI banks and its services

SARD tied up with the ICICI Bank for a customised Cash Management Service (CMS) for TRLSP to efficiently process the receivables, payables and all cash management requirements to optimise the cash flow position and facilitate effective management of TRLSP. ICICI CMS leverages the vast network of ICICI Bank locations within India, with efficient logistics support and advanced technology support. This is to ensure timely deposit of collections and timely execution of disbursement requests.

5. Findings from the TRLSP Borrowers

5.1 Livelihood profile and significance of WSS

The Tibetan refugee households are mostly “normal middle class with children tuition and education being the main expense” as one of the TR traders said. Almost all families have one to three younger children studying in Tibetan schools and staying in the hostel and/or older children pursuing college studies for degree or vocational courses. The main expense is tuition and hostel charges. For families with older children studying in colleges or technical courses, the expense on education is much higher. Expense for school/hostel going children can be around Rs. 50,000 pa and for college/vocational courses around Rs. 2 lakhs pa. The standard assets in these household would comprise a mixer, refrigerator, Television, motor bike and bicycle.

Some families have only a single, elderly earning member in the WSS running one stall in the market and have no other major income source or livelihood. Such households tend to be poorer and have no savings or investment and lead a hand to mouth existence. Their season's net earning of Rs. 60,000-70,000 from WSS business is used for children school/hostel. Some families save their WSS trading income over time in a Fixed Deposit and liquidate the FD to pay for their children's college/higher studies. Poorer households may also occur due to extra /careless expenditure. School fees have to be paid up to 50% of the cost, or it is free if the Welfare Office so determines based on family condition. Families in South have fixed property (land) so it is easier to avail bank loan.

Bigger families with more active members in the WSS trade and having more stalls, and/or having working son/daughter in a salaried job or a big company can afford more assets like washing machine, 2 bikes, a better TV and few own a car. A few families with WSS business in the Jaipur Market and living in Shimla, have bought their own home with a bank loan. If a family has a member in the Tibetan Government service, or working abroad, or a member working in the Indian Army (SFF) with 15 years of service and pension, this helps the household to improve their livelihood.

It was informed that in the Odisha Chandragiri Settlement of 700-800 households, for 25% agriculture is main livelihood and they are not involved in WSS business. Of the 75% families in WSS, some rent out their farmland to the other such farming families. A few from Bylakuppe, Karnataka are rich. Those from the south who suffered a loss in agriculture in the past few years and the WSS trade also was bad, could not even pay back the *Lalas*. In the south there are few families with old people and none from their family has gone abroad. They are doing WSS business the same old way and not able to keep up to the market trend.

In the southern settlements (Odisha, Karnataka) most families earn an average income Rs. 3 lakhs from WSS trade which the family uses for daily household running expenses and school fees. They have no other source of income except some extra money from the harvest and sale of maize since most own agricultural land. All their houses have roof of aluminium sheet with cement walls. Since the past 10-12 years, a few have got cemented roof also. As one borrower said "If a family has one or 2 children working abroad, they will end up soon with a big "pucca" house in a few years even if they do no other business. In comparison, for those who have been doing this business for past 30-40 years their condition is almost the same".

For most families, the WSS business is the most significant livelihood component in terms of number of family members involved, lifestyle: staying out of settlement and setting up home at market station (3 months in southern states and 4 months in northern states where winter is longer), travelling to and staying at Ludhiana/Delhi during purchase season (1-3 weeks), and the income earned from this trade. Other livelihood activities include:

- Half the families have farmland holding in their Settlement ranging from 2-3 big has to 4/5 acres.

- Some cultivate their own land with foodgrain for home consumption and some market sales (in settlements Karnataka, Odisha, Paonta -HP). Some own farmland but are not involved in agriculture and rent it out to locals (Indians) who cultivate, and get some wheat/rice for home consumption. (Paonta, HP). In the South (Eg. Chandragiri, Odisha) some rent out their farmland to other Tibetan families in their settlement.
- 90% families settled in HP/UP have summer business of running a clothes shop/stall usually in the Tibetan market for 6 months (April to September) at Shimla, Dharamshala, Dalhousie. Items sold are jeans, t-shirts, ladies inner wear etc and these are sourced from wholesale traders in Delhi markets. Some of these shops have been running for two-three decades, some started this business 10-12 years ago.
- In most cases, the shop is closed in winter when they shift base to the market station for WSS. (eg. the stalls at Chamunda Mandir Tibetan Market near Dharamshala). Here the Tibetan market with 32 Shops is 7/8 hrs from settlement. Some families again stay for 6 months in rented places near the market for this business. They live in the Settlement only in February-March and leave after Losar (New Year).
- The WSS business of 3-4 months gives more income than 6 months seasonal summer shop.
- Where the shop is in a fixed market (eg. Shimla Tibetan Market) it is run round the year. When the family shifts to the Market Station for WSS trade, it is run by an extended family member or relative. In some cases, this business is equally important as WSS.
- A few families run a small general/grocery store in the settlement, either seasonal or round the year. The income helps to meet the daily small expenses of the household during summer.
- Some families have older sons having a job connected with Tibetan Community/Govt., army, or a private job in a food/hotel enterprise.
- Few families have one or more children migrated and working abroad (eg. Switzerland) and contributing income to the family in India.

The various livelihood profiles occurring is shown in this Table:

| WSSS | Agriculture on Own Farmland | Own Farmland given out on rent | Summer Clothes Shop 6-month | Summer Clothes shop All-year | Small General/ Provision Store | Sibling/ adult-child in job/army | Child/ sibling Work Abroad |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ✓ | | ✓ | | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| ✓ | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | ✓ |
| ✓ | | | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
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| ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ |
| ✓ | | | | | | | ✓ |
| ✓ | | ✓ | | | | | ✓ |

There are some WSS who have worked 5-10 years in the army (Tibetan Regiment) and joining the trade after leaving/finishing that stint. Few families have an adult son working in the army (SFF) and they are able to provide some financial support for the family WSS from their earnings. There are some young-adults who worked or are working for a few years in WSS until such time as they qualify for or find a secure job. Some youngsters tried other jobs or aspired to study in college and find a job, but eventually opted for the family WSS business as a better option.

All parents want their children (male and female) to study well and go to college/higher studies (Business Studies, Physical Training Instructor Course, Tibetan Studies, Hotel Management, Nursing, etc) and find a job. They don't want them to continue in the WSS work. If marks are low then they have to think about what to do if the children cannot get into a college or job. Many of the elders and MTA members say that “even otherwise, our children can't do this business.”

5.2 Characteristics of the WSS market and enterprise

5.2.1 The Market set-up

Typically the TR traders' WSS market comprises a number of stalls (30-200) installed by the MTA in an open ground hired from the city local administration or in few cases from a private party (eg. private college ground by Ahmedabad MTA). The ground is usually in a market/crowded public area in the main city and it carries a distinct Tibetan identity, name and decor. In Bhubaneshwar the market is installed in a



Fig 6: Winter Woolens Market-Delhi

large market ground. In the same ground there are other markets stalls set up by local traders. Here the distinctiveness of the TR market is highly diluted or lost.

The TR WSS market runs for 3-4 months between October and February. In warmer cities the market period is 2-3 weeks shorter than in colder cities.

WSS Market Dates 2017-18

Delhi: mid. October - 1st week February

Ahmedabad: October-January end

Jaipur: October 11th to February 10th

Cuttack: October 23rd (Nov 3rd) to January 30th

It was in the 1980's that TR traders came together to sell in a common space under the banner of



Fig 7: Winter Woolens Market, Cuttack

Tibetan Refugee Market, and organised as a market union (MTA). Prior to that traders would sell in small groups on the footpath in different parts of the city. MTAs usually try to book the same venue year after year if it is good for business. Ahmedabad MTA has hired a second ground past 3 years in addition to the main one. They are trying this out because business has not been very good past 2-3 years due to various external and local factors, and they wanted to try out if the second

ground has better potential. Cuttack MTA puts up in Cuttack city as well as a smaller market in the nearby city of Bhubaneswar.

Every 4-5 years a ground available in the previous year becomes unavailable due to take over by local government for some other purpose, ground coming under some litigation, etc. The MTA leaders then have to spend time and money scouting and applying for a new venue. This leads to the uncertainty of attracting customers since the city folk start associating the TR market with the older venue. Some Market venues are in locations

that attract medium and even higher income customers who look for and can pay for higher quality items and latest fashions. The visiting clientele includes families, college students, young men and women etc (Eg. Jaipur, Ahmedabad). Some venues such as Delhi Market station due to its location, has more of lower income and labor/working class mostly male customers.



Fig 8: Winter Woolens Market Jaipur – entrance.

5.2.2 Market Membership and Leadership:

The number of members (families) in a MTA ranges from 10 to 219. Many members have more

than one stall in the venue, usually 2-3 stalls. Total numbers of stalls in a Market range from 10-250. Jaipur is the largest MTA with 219 members and 250 stalls. Large market stations in big cities in the north with colder/longer winters have members from Settlements across different parts of the country in the north and south of India. Smaller Market stations in the south/east tend to have members from the same state e.g. Cuttack MTA members are all from one Settlement (Chandragiri, Odisha) and only one member is from outside (Kollegal – Karnataka). Families with several members in the WSS business operate in and are members of more than one MTA.

The MTA membership is closed in most of these Market Stations since the market cannot absorb more sellers. For eg. in Jaipur Market, Rajasthan Govt. asked the MTA for a written commitment not to increase beyond 250 stalls. At the same time, newer market stations have emerged over time such as Gurgaon (120 stalls), Mathura, Sriganaganagar, Aligarh, etc. A few years ago 40 members from Delhi MTA moved out and set up market in Mathura city. They are no longer members of Delhi MTA and cannot join back. If a member does not want a stall the MTA will allot to another Tibetan WSS.

Each MTA has elected leaders (called Pradan), usually comprising 5 members holding different posts: President, Vice-president, Secretary, Treasurer/Cashier and Accountant. For some posts, especially that of the President, the same person often gets re-elected many terms. There are some variations – for example in Ahmedabad MTA the posts can be held for 1 year only and the same person cannot stand for election for the next 3 years. Jaipur MTA has 2 committees: a 5-member EC and a larger 20-member Committee. Well organised MTAs have written rules and regulations.

5.2.3 Market installation and running

Organising the installation of the market is a major task and responsibility that MTA leaders give time and attention to. They arrive in the city earlier to finalise with the service providers, organize and oversee the ground preparation, set up of market stalls and services. Once the venue is hired, permissions, clearances and No Objection Certificate (NoC) has to be obtained from the local authorities: fire, electricity and police departments. Stalls, notices and banners, electricity & lighting, water and toilet arrangements, MTA office cabin, loud-speaker announcement system for instructions to the members in the stall from time to time, CCTV system, security guards and publicity, all have to be put up or arranged. The stall location of each trader in the market is allocated by lottery. The MTA also gets the price tags (with distinctive Tibetan Logos) collectively printed and distributed to the WSS to tag on to each item.

The Cuttack MTA has a unique system of market stall installation. In 2010 they designed collapsible stalls made of aluminium and iron at a cost of Rs. 16-17 lakhs. The Ludhiana *lalas* had donated Rs. 4.5 lakhs toward this. The members set up the stalls themselves in the market ground over 8-10 days. Each stall can be locked at night. When the market winds up at the end of the season, stalls are dismantled and all the material is stored in a hired godown in Cuttack. Jaipur MTA hires its own people (Tibetan ex-armymen) as market security guards. Other MTAs hire security guards from a local professional agency.

All the Tibetan markets maintain and display distinct Tibetan culture and identity seen in the fluttering Tibetan prayer flags, motifs, decorations, banners and posters that are put up. Tibetan prayer and celebration is done when they start the market. All MTAs have a rule for their women to wear the traditional Tibetan dress and men to wear formal (pant/shirt) clothes. Wearing shorts, smoking, drinking etc. is forbidden. The MTA leaders and members are very supportive of and helpful towards each other. In Delhi MTA for example, on December 5th, members pooled cash donation for celebrations of HH the Dalai Lama's Nobel Prize Commemoration Day. This would include purchase of birds and fish to be freed and feeding the poor. The MTAs encourage their sellers to maintain an attitude of respect and no anger towards the customer. If there is any problem by or with a customer, the trader has to bring it to the MTA for resolution rather than deal with it individually. The MTA pays attention to locate and return customers' belongings if lost in the market. Sometimes local authorities like police, petty Government officers or politicians etc. ask for a Jacket or Sweater free of cost and the market association tries to accommodate without controversy.

It costs a minimum of Rs. 5 lakhs for the basics of such market set up and running for the season and can go all the way up to Rs. 70 lakhs for a large city market as in Jaipur. Members are charged a fee per stall to cover these expenses, ranging from Rs. 5000–Rs. 25000 per Stall for the season, varying from one station to another. The MTA also facilitates tax compliance and financial transactions of its members with various service providers. This includes hiring of Chartered Accountant for handling Income Tax and GST (earlier Sales Tax), dealing with Banks, *Lalas*, Transport Agency, Tibetan Govt. etc. For example, the Jaipur MTA Pradans visited Jaipur in July to meet their CA for GST registration. Each member paid the CARs. 1000 one-time fee for individual GST registration and Rs. 1300 pa for filing tax return. Alternatively the Cuttack and some other MTAs have got GST registration collectively for the MTA legal entity, rather than for its individual members. They hired a legal advisor since 2007 who helps with financial and tax matters. Each stall owner does the billing in name of Tibetan Refugee Welfare Association (the MTA is registered as a Society named TRWA). The taxes are paid collectively by the Society, rather than by each individual.

5.2.4 Wholesale Purchases

Items sold in the stalls are ladies and gents Sweaters, Cardigans, Jackets, Shawls, children's woollens, and accessories such as mufflers, caps and gloves. Sweatshirts and Jackets have become very popular in recent years. Other newer items are Nehru Jackets, Leggings, Blankets, Jeans and T-shirts. 2-3 stalls in a market have come up selling bags, shoes and ladies inner-wear. TR traders purchase these items in wholesale from small manufacturers and wholesalers (*Lalas*) in Ludhiana and Delhi.

A few months or weeks before the start of the Market (between July to September), all TR traders travel to Ludhiana/Delhi from their respective Settlement to purchase and transport their goods to the market station. Overall, larger volumes and value of purchases is from Ludhiana compared to Delhi. There are traders who only purchase from Ludhiana, most purchase from both Ludhiana and Delhi, and there are some who purchase only from Delhi.

Delhi is better for purchase of winter Jackets and Sweatshirts apart from Jeans, Shirts, T-Shirts, and Bags/Backpacks. In fact some traders who deal mainly in Jackets don't need to visit Ludhiana at all. Ludhiana is the better purchasing centre for all woollens and knitwear since the manufacturer-traders are based there.

TR traders from southern settlements and markets tend to go to Ludhiana and Delhi earlier since it takes longer for the goods to be transported to the market station. If they go earlier the crowd of seasonal buyers is less and price are lower. Nowadays it is common to place follow-up orders by sending pictures of items via Smart mobile phone and computer through Whatsapp and Facebook. Some WSS who are in market stations closer to Ludhiana and Delhi, go 2-3 times for purchases. Buyers get a cash discount of 5% on cash payment upfront for the value of goods purchased as compared to the value of goods taken on credit. 5% is cash discount when they go to buy a second time amid season and 3% at the end of season. This is a rule made by *Lala* Hosiery Association. Purchasing work is done by men in 95% cases; women look after sales in 90% cases.

5.2.5 Market Sales

All MTAs have moved to a Fixed price/No Bargaining system since past 5-10 years, some even earlier. The MTA makes and circulates the list of items with selling price fixed at 15-40% over the Cost Price at which it was purchased from the wholesaler. Sweaters and Jackets are the major items of trade and the Sale Price commonly ranges from Rs. 250-1300 (Sweaters) and Rs. 300-2000, mostly 1200 (Jackets). The MTA gets locally printed price tags (printed with Tibetan Motif) and in case of Cuttack MTA they have even got carry bags (non-plastic) made in 3-4 sizes made. Members take as many as they need and pay for it. If Customers come to exchange purchased goods, the price tag helps to identify the stall it was bought from.

The total sales by a trader-member/family ranges from Rs. 3 to 10 lakhs, the most common being to the tune of Rs. 6-7 lakhs. If winters set in early and it is colder, it can add Rs. 50,000-1 lakh to the sales. The poorer smaller family with only one stall would sell upto Rs.3-4 lakhs and more resourceful families/traders with 3-4 stalls can usually notch up sales of Rs. 10 lakhs. These were the figures commonly reported in the interviews. However, sales may be a little higher than actually reported. The Department of Finance, CTA conducted two workshops on GST and hired several young men and women to help the traders and MTA file the necessary returns and to encourage and formalise recording of business transaction and filing returns every season.

Sales are more over the weekend. Jaipur market does an end-of-season discount sale. In Bhubaneshwar in the last 15-20 days of the market, WSS also travel to smaller towns (maximum 60 kms away like Dhenkanal, Paradip, Keonjhar) on day trips to sell off remaining stocks by selling there on the roadside at bargain prices. This is an old prevailing system. Unsold stocks are stored in the city for 8 months till next season by taking a room/basement on rent. Groups of 5-6 WSS share the space and rent expense. In Cuttack since most WSS each have a small home rented round the year, they store their unsold stock here.

In all market stations, almost every WSS has one or more hired helper as salesman/woman in the stall. In Jaipur market it is a common sight to see Tibetan stall owners and family members sitting to oversee or just and relaxing in chairs set in lines opposite their stalls. Tibetan family members also spend time relaxing in benches at the market entrance. The WSS and family members seem to be free of the routine work in the stall which is taken care of mostly by salesman-helpers. Helpers are Nepali youngsters, some Tibetan female helpers from Arunachal, and Bihar (gents only), as also from near the Settlements in Karnataka. All the helpers in Cuttack MTA were males from Odisha. In Delhi Market, most stalls were run by the WSS themselves, only 30-40 WSS of the total 138 stalls were found to employ 1 person (usually Nepali) to work for 3-4 months of the season. Here those who are old and can't work have hired helpers. The helpers are paid a salary ranging from Rs.3000-6000 pm. They stay with the WSS in the house rented for the market season. Many WSS families that travel from far settlements to their market station bring the helpers with them.

5.2.6 Characteristics of WSS and the enterprise

One segment of WSS (male and female) is in their 50s-60s and active in the market. They got into this work 3-4 decades ago when they as youngsters, joined their parents who used to move out of the Settlements in the winter season to sell woollens in small group (of 2-3) itinerant footpath sellers, carrying their wares on their backs in different cities of India (mostly North) where it gets cold in winter. They have been part of the transition from individual itinerant selling to large number of WSS organising to sell together at a fixed venue and developing as a formal MTA. In this generation all or most of the siblings are in this trade and has his/her own separate enterprise/stalls in the same or different markets which they run for their respective households.

Each family with 2-4 children will usually have the eldest male child carrying on the business and taking over from the parents as the most active family member in the business. The children, who are now between 20-40 years of age, joined the trade leaving school studies in the middle or later years. This depended on how good or interested they were in school studies and if the parents needed an extra hand in the trade. In case of sons, their wives also join actively. In case of the daughter, she joins the business in her husband/in-laws family. In such families, the parent having handed over the active role in the WSS to the next generation now uses his experience and time in taking on a leadership role in the MTA.

In some cases, they study college and technical courses and tried other vocation/job for a while. However they choose to come back to join the robust family enterprise and take over/add to the effort of their retiring or ageing parents rather than continue in jobs which do not seem promising. Some came back after serving a few years in the Army (Tibetan Regiment). They expanded their parents' ongoing business by adding one to three more stalls in the same or expanding market stations. They continue to buy their stock from Ludhiana from the *lalas* that their fathers started and built up a business relationship with. Those who don't join this trade opt for other jobs/service like army, Tibetan Govt related job (e.g. teaching), private job in the food/hotel business etc. In case they are married and the son works alone in a different part of

the country, the wife and young children move with the rest of the family 4-5 members to the market station and involve in the woollen market trade, setting up house and housekeeping, taking care of the infant children, etc.

In some cases there are elderly males/couples in their 60's who continue to be the main actors of the business. Their working children are in other professions and the younger ones are pursuing higher studies with a plan to get a job. In such cases, the family's WSS enterprise does not expand in a big way and gets limited to 1-2 stalls. The school-going children help the ageing parents actively during the winter vacation. In few cases middle-aged males are the main and only family person active in the trade where the wife does not get involved, because they have young school-going children who may not be going to the school hostel but staying home as day scholars.

In all cases, children who are of school going age are away in hostel. The school winter vacation falls in December-January and children go to the village in some cases. In many cases they come to the temporary family home in the market station. Here they spend time doing school studies and often a local tutor is hired for daily tuition. They may visit the market station but are not interested in or encouraged to involve in the business. In some cases like Cuttack, the market station and village settlement are not very far, and the children spend one month at each place. Grandchildren who are not of school-going age go with the family to the market station and are looked after by the grandparents or relatives while their parents are busy in the market stall. It often happens that youngsters from different settlements meet their life-partners at the market station. For example, Chungdak from Dalhousie who is a WSS in Jaipur, met Rinzin there where she used to come with her family from Karnataka.

5.2.7 Women involvement and leadership

Women-headed households/Women-headed WSS enterprises from different settlements/market station were interviewed. They were in the age bracket between late-forties to late-fifty years. They take on the role of heading the household which included parents/in-laws and children after the expiry of their husband. In one case her husband was suffering from a fractured leg so she had become the main actor in the WSS enterprise.

They start involving in the trade with their parents/husbands when they were in their 20s, and have experience of being involved in the trade for over 20 years including both before and after marriage. Their formal school education is limited but they are, like all WSS, are keen that their daughters and sons pursue formal school and college education and get a good job. In most cases, their children don't visit the market even if the school/college winter vacation is on and they go home to the settlement. In some cases they get support in the trade from a brother or uncle. In a few cases, older daughters play active role in the WSS supporting the parent(s) as needed after completion of studies and/or during the winter vacation from school/college, when they go stay in the market station and help in the market and sales.

The TRLSP loan has been sanctioned on priority to such applicants, especially for lower income segment. They travel with fellow-trader friends to Ludhiana and/or Delhi for stock purchases.

Like most WSS they hire 1-3 helpers as salesperson for their stalls and more so for support after husband's expiry. Back in the Settlement, they manage the household and family. Where the family owns farmland they involve in farming. In the Settlements in HP like many other families, they run a shop during remaining months in the Tibetan Market, selling summer/ladies' wear. These are purchased from wholesale markets in Delhi. One lady said she goes to Bodhgaya for a month for meditation/prayer with 2-3 friends and they stay in temporary shelters there. As for women in leadership roles, the Jaipur MTA head (Chairwoman) is a 63 year old lady – and she heads the largest and a very dynamic MTA. It is not compulsory in any MTA to have a female office bearer.

5.2.8 Market Outlook

In the last 2-3 years from 2015-17, the market demand went down due to late onset of and mild winters, demonetisation and rolling in of the GST system. The MTAs have requested CTA to seek tax exemption for Tibetan WSS since it is a seasonal business. Some MTAs are unclear about the Tax implications and changeover to GST regime so they have asked the IT department to provide relief while they work out moving to the GST system. The Cuttack MTA said they find GST simpler and cheaper with only a single 5% tax to be paid on purchases. Earlier they had to tax at different levels and rate to Punjab Government on purchase and Odisha Government on entry of goods into the state and Sales Tax to Central Government. Customers ask for new/latest items. Now some customers ask for a bill- they feel that with the Government reforms, they need a bill.

All the traders said that business improved after the fixed selling price system was implemented in their MTA. Earlier woollens were popular, then Jackets overtook woollens in popularity and the latest popular and growing demand is for sweatshirts since they are soft and warm. Customers ask for what is the latest item or style. Most customers are fine and respectful. The relationship with the *lalas* is very good. The outlook for winter 2017-2018 is normal – winter has started early and that is a good start.

Many WSS especially those who can afford it, are choosing to employ young local (Indian) helpers and take care of the sales in the stalls. Their children are not encouraged and also don't show an inclination to want to continue in this line especially if they are well educated. This will also lead to a decline of the knowledge, skills and tricks-of-the trade in the TR trader families as much of it passes on to the employed young Indian helpers from poorer families. The unanimous view is that “If their children study well getting a job is possible, but otherwise there is no alternative to WSS. For the next generation, a job with fixed salary is better. There is too much hard work in the WSS business”.

5.3 TRLSP borrowing process and experience

MTA leaders' experience:

MTA representatives on the TRTA(MTA secretary + 1 member) went to Ludhiana April 11th-14th, 2017 where 300-400 MTA leaders came from all over India and the loan program was informed

first time. They were informed that if the pilot lending is a success CTA may continue this program with more financial investment.

MTA has followed their local practices including lottery system to select the beneficiaries and the waiting list so that everyone gets equal opportunity within the program. SARD asked all eligible MTAs to insert one new entry in the MTA rules: that if a borrower does not pay. The stall they own will be kept as security in case of default. MTA had to ensure that their market has no defaulters. In the Settlement, the Loan Application Form was given by Settlement Office to the individual applicant.

At the Settlement, the Bank account of the loanee was verified and then amount was transferred. In some cases, applicants got the money into their Bank account in their Settlement when they already left for purchases. Since the loan receipt had to be signed by the applicant at SO, SARD introduced the flexibility for signing by borrowers' relative or friend present in the Settlement. Changes in the process were made so that those who already reached the market place were advised to sign the document at market place. Being a new pilot program such issues were resolved on the go, as and when feedback was received and by educating the MTA members.

Jaipur MTA said that when traders go back to the settlement it sometimes get difficult to contact them on their cell phone. The phone they use in the Market Station may not be the same when they go back home to their Settlement. Here they had a suggestion that if applicants/borrowers name can be declared for the next season by Jan 20th before they leave the Jaipur for their respective Settlements it would make communication easy.

For Cuttack MTA, lottery draw was done at Settlement and names sent to CTA. CTA put the money in account of applicants at Chandragiri SBI Branch. They wanted the money in July but got in August-end, by this time most had already purchased. As mentioned earlier, this issue arose because of procedural issues and delays due to external fund raising, rather than internal process problems.

Borrowers withdrew the loan as per their convenience in the 8th/9th/10th month. When the borrower makes a repayment, the MTA immediately informs the concerned SARD executive. By the end of February 2018 the loan recovery process is over with 100% repayment!

Borrower experience:

Most borrowers got the loan going through the application process laid out by SARD. They applied from their Settlement and got the money in their bank a/c. To apply, they filled a Form along with Green Book, TRTA ID Card (both Compulsory) and optional copy of Registration Certificate (RC) and PAN card, and the Bank account details. The Settlement Officer helped in this. They even got a phone call from the CTA office in Dharamshala, asking when they wanted the loan. Their MTA did a draw of lots to select the allotted number of applicants. In a few deserving cases of poor or women a headed enterprise, a selection was done outside of the lottery.

All applicants informed that he got a phone call from the CTA that money had been put into their bank account.

All borrowers gave a priority to repaying the TRLSP loan ahead of time in November/December 2017 (in 3-4 months) because it is a first-time scheme of the CTA and it is for a good purpose. Some say “Our tendency will always be to repay TRLSP loan before any other”. Another reason they repaid early is to minimise the interest. Borrowers are repaying TRLSP loan on priority over the *lala* loan and as early as possible, so that they can get loan again next year and more people can get.

Only one elderly borrower with a small WSS enterprise and from a lower income segment said he will repay the loan in April after the full 6 months tenure. He can take loan upto Rs. 2 lakhs if it comes on time and invest in his WSS as well as for the family's small general shop in their village in Gajapathy, Odisha.

5.4 TRLSP outcomes

5.4.1 Benefit from WSS:

Business has taken a hit last 3 years due to warmer /shorter winters, Demonetisation and introduction of the GST system. Cash in hand from the TRLSP loan has given far more bargaining power than it used to be specially last year when demonetization reduced the cash flow – even more so for poorer borrowers. The loan amount is withdrawn as cash or made into Demand Drafts of small denominations and carried to Ludhiana. Some borrowers said that they purchase goods from the wholesalers on credit and with the loan money; they could pay more cash up front to the *lala*. On cash purchases the cost is 7-10% lower. This also helped to purchase some extra goods.

Some borrowers said they buy the maximum on credit and less in cash. They do not find much benefit from the part-cash payment; since the *lala* gives a big discount on purchase price only on full cash/upfront payment. On the other hand, some of the WSS who applied but did not get the loan said that if they do get it next year, they would use the amount to pay cash up front and avail cash discount rather than go for increase in quantity of purchase. It will help to go in for more variety in purchase, get better quality of items which are in demand, and increase their bargaining power with the *lalas*.

One of the lady borrowers from Kollegal said that this time because she availed the TRLSP loan, she did not take institutional since it has more interest and taking both loans will become too much credit. Last year she had borrowed Rs. 1 lakh from the Monastery Trust for 5 months, paying a total interest of Rs. 3000. The Cuttack MTA president said that the benefit of TRLSP loan has been to cover for other loans because interest much lower than the interest on borrowing from other sources.

Some Jaipur MTA leaders said that a loan of Rs. 1-2 lakh does not make much difference because *lalas* are already giving “interest-free loan”. This is a misunderstanding that most WSS have that *lalas* give the goods on loan at cost price. The “cost price” bears an inbuilt interest amount and

most of the Tibetan traders are not aware of this. Lalas themselves finance their business through bank loans. The loan makes difference for those who do summer business. Jaipur MTA has 219 members, 110 had applied and over 100 applicants took the loan.

If the TRLSP loan is given next year, Cuttack MTA will not repeat the applicants and they will give to different persons since it is difficult to judge who is more/less poor. TRLSP loan can increase as much – the more the better and there will be full repayment. Even if 50 people get Rs. 2 lakhs each (Rs. 1 crore) MTA will take responsibility for repayment and guarantee because president and members know and trust each other well.

By 1st March 2018 the loan recovery process is over with 100% repayment, which marks a successful implementation of this pilot program. The repayment has happened before time because all borrowers gave a priority to repaying the TRLSP loan ahead of time. Borrowers are repaying TRLSP loan on priority so that they can get loan again next year. There is also a strong sense of loyalty to make the program a success since it is their own Government program and a first of its kind. It impacts their credibility, their community and the future NBFC. They have also got the message that CTA will expand the Scheme if repayments are done on time.

5.4.2 Other Sources of finance availed by WSS:

Apart from the TRLSP loan piloted this year, taking a seasonal working capital loan from a bank in the Settlement for this trade is prevalent, but only a small proportion of all TR traders are able to access and get bank loans. Among Ahmedabad MTA traders 70 members had applied for the TRLSP loan, (60% of the 120 members) and the 50 sanctioned were selected by lottery. The MTA leader in Ahmedabad said few of their members take a bank loan every year. A WSS from HP, selling in Ahmedabad Market had applied for the TRLSP loan but did not get it. He has been taking a loan from the SBI in his settlement since past 5-6 yrs. At that time many members took the loan since the Manager was familiar. Now the new manager has given the loan only for 3 months.

In Karnataka-Kollegal, 5-6 WSS of Ahmedabad MTA go to their local Syndicate Bank in April and inform/apply for the loan needed in August/September when they depart for purchases. At the time of taking the loan it gets cleared on the same day with a witness and underwriter. This practice is on since past 15-20 yrs. One trader said she also borrows another Rs. 1 lakh from Private Trust for 5 month bearing an interest of Rs. 3000. This totals Rs. 5 lakh loan taken for WSS. This year she did not take the Monastery loan since it has more interest and replaced it with the TRLSP loan of the same amount.

| Bank Loans availed for WSS business by some TR Traders | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| Settlement/State | Name of Bank | Loan Amount (Rs.) | Period | Rol pa |
| Himachal Pradesh | SBI | 2 lakhs | 3 months | 9% |
| Kollegal, Karnataka | Syndicate Bank | 4 lakhs | 3 months | 12% |
| Chandragiri, Odisha | TMPCS | 3 lakhs | 6 months | 1% less than Rol of local bank (6%) |
| | SBI (upto 2014) | 3-4 lakhs | | 12% |
| Dalhousie, HP | PNB (3 yrs ago) | 1 lakh against FD | | 1% > than FD interest |
| Paonta, HP | ICICI (3 yrs ago) | 2 lakh | 12 months | 10% |
| Chauntra, HP | TMPCS Agri loan | 1.5-3 lakhs | 2-3 mths | 12% |

In the Cuttack MTA, almost all members are from the Settlements in Odisha (Chandragiri). They have all borrowed from their Tibetan Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society (TMPCS). 80-85% have taken the loan for WSS and rest for some other purpose. These are repaid as and when the sale is done. From 1965-66 all households are members in it. The Behrampur Cooperative Bank gives a Rs. 2 crore loan to TMPCS @ 4% Rol for 6 months, which is lent to its members. Since they are shareholders in the TMPCS it is easier to get a loan within 1-2 days rather than from the Bank which requires more formalities of witness, photo etc. Upto 2014 these traders used to take the SBI loan but stopped when TMPCS started giving WSS loan. Some traders say that if they can all get TRLSP loan of Rs. 3-4 lakhs for WSS, they will stop taking the TMPCS loan.

All members have a Fixed Deposit (FD) in the Society. They can get a loan of 75% of FD amount with no witness needed. If they don't have an FD the applicant has to furnish 2 witness/guarantors and the Rol increases to 9% pa. The Cuttack MTA President - Karma (since beginning) is also president of TMPCS and is quite experienced in running the lending activities of the TMPCS. 14 Board members are elected every 4 yrs. Those having farmland and undertaking cultivation take agriculture loan of Rs. 90,000 from their Society which is repaid in kind by selling the harvested Maize to the Society.

A WSS from Delhi MTA said his brother is in the army so he could provide some financial help for the WSS. About 3 years ago he had taken a loan from the ICICI bank at Paonta. He did not know about any Cooperative Society in his Settlement but he recalled that during his father's time they could get Rs. 20,000-30,000 loan from the Society. In Dharamshala decades earlier parents used to pledge their land with a friend and borrow against this for WSS. Over the years many families had a member joining the Army and with that earning they had some money to invest in business.

Other Financial Services:

One family had Savings in a FD which they used for their son's education. Many families put their winter earning in a FD for 6 months. Before the purchase trip they liquidate the FD, and carry the amount partly in cash, some as DDs, and some is withdrawn from the ATM in Ludhiana.

6. Challenges, Lessons & Impacts

6.1 Challenges faced

6.1.1 The most common issue faced was delay in getting the loan amount – it was received about a month later than the time they had asked for it. The reason behind this is due to the delay in the receipt of external funding by SARD for TRLSP due to unforeseen processes occurring as this program is being undertaken for the first time. This was an external factor and not because of any process delays within SARD/TRLSP. Hence it is expected that such loan disbursement delay to the WSS will not happen in future.

6.1.2 All the MTAs followed the lottery system to select WSS applicants for the loan. This is a common community practice. In a few cases they selected a needy family or woman WSS on priority. The Guidelines given by SARD for priority in selecting applicants was as follows:

Qualification of the Applicants

- New entrants/comers
- Less or no own funds
- Women headed stalls
- Other needy members

It was in the roles & responsibility of MTA 'to see that selection of beneficiary was on the lines above'. The MTA usually responded that the lottery system followed because it is difficult to choose who is poor and who is well off among the members. Some MTA also informed that for future loans, they will not repeat the same WSS so that everyone gets a turn to borrow CTA loan. The challenge for future is to convince MTA and members to include the poorer borrowers rather than go by a lottery system. It will have to be ensured that more of the poorer, deserving WSS are included rather than those who are financially better and therefore less risky to lend to. Financial service design and process that fosters inclusiveness may need to be thought of. Smaller JLGs under a MTA can be thought of for increasing outreach to marginalised and remote markets and poorer groups.

6.1.3 The informal and mobile nature of TR trade and WSS markets makes it unique and gives it competitive advantages. This is facing challenges from increased formalisation through online purchases and payments, demonetisation and introduction of the new tax regime (GST). The challenge here is for TR traders and institutions to keep abreast of the changes and threats, and look for opportunities to benefit from these.

6.1.4 Given the nature of the WSS trade, most TR parents and youngsters do not aspire for the younger generation to do this business. The unanimous view of TRs is "If their children study

well getting a job is possible, but otherwise there is no alternative to WSS. There is too much hard work in the WSS business". Many WSS especially those who can afford it, are choosing to employ young local (Indian) helpers and take care of the sales in the stalls. Their children are not encouraged and also don't show an inclination to want to continue in this line especially if they are well educated. This will lead to a decline of the knowledge, skills and tricks-of-the trade in the TR trader families as much of it passes on to the employed young Indian helpers from poorer families.

6.1.5 The package offered and successfully recovered has been pitched at lowest interest rate to create maximum social impact. Providing loans at lower rate may be inadequate and unfavourable from a business perspective but TRLSP has supported only weaker sections of the business. There is also a section of TR traders who are wholesalers, having much bigger capital and annual turn over. They too are dependant on lalas where they need to pay many hidden costs. To enhance their bargaining power or to capture metropolitan markets, they need huge liquidity to make dent in the market. This is going to be next frontier that the future Tibetan NBFC has to deal with. It will have to approach more established business community such as TCC -Tibetan Chambers of Commerce for sustaining itself in the markets. There is dozens of institutions asking for high amount of capital for their expansion. These are going to be the potential partners for making itself sustainable in the years to come.

6.1.6 As better credit services are available, many of the market leaders are thinking of adopting more cost cutting and remunerative interventions including scaling up their business in terms of expanding markets and increasing volume, and diversifying their items beyond hosiery goods. They want to make their markets more permanent by legally acquiring private lands to built well developed markets in the model of "HONG MARKETS" in many big cities. The market leader from Ahmedabad came with land acquisition proposal running into several dozen crores. But it requires far more capital, efforts and capacity which they naturally do not have. They are not sure about what dividends it would bring and to what extent it would impact their socio-cultural status quo. This would mean that they will have to devote far more time to their business than they are doing now. Hiring the experts and advisers or getting such services by hiring well-paid professionals is beyond their imaginations. But they know that they will not survive long as it is becoming competitive. They are aware that Lalas themselves are trying hard to adapt to new situations by buying more capital goods and technology to remain abreast with the market. There are several exposures and meetings planned by CTA, to dig deeper into their scale up issues.

6.2 Lessons learnt

6.2.1 Ludhiana is not the only purchasing centre; Delhi is also a significant purchasing centre.

6.2.2 Due to its low RoI, many borrowers availed the TRLSP loan in lieu of, or to repay a WSS loan taken from another source which bear a higher RoI. Some borrowers said if the TRLSP loan is given regularly and of a higher amount (Rs. 3-4 lakhs) they will stop taking loans from their current sources (Bank, TMPCS). This needs to be kept in mind when TRLSP is expanded and the NBFC is set up.

6.2.3 For many borrowers and WSS the current loan amount of Rs. 100,000 is too small to make any difference. Most WSS and MTA borrowers and non-borrowers can utilise a loan in the range of Rs. 2-4 lakhs, benefit from it and repay properly. Many of them are already borrowing such amounts at higher interest rates from banks/cooperatives for WSS business and repaying on time.

6.2.4 In a large and thriving market station like Jaipur with many WSS who are in the higher income segment, some of the well-off traders said it would be better for CTA to help to invest in making the trade more stable and formal. (Eg, investment in permanent (“pacca”) market, infrastructure, facilitate moving to formal systems). However this may not help the individual poorer WSS in the same market.

6.2.5 Financial products and processes will have to be designed by looking not just at WSS but by looking holistically at all other aspects of the TR livelihood (agriculture, summer garment sale stalls and shops, summer general stores). 90% families settled in HP/UP have summer business of running a clothes shop/stall usually in the Tibetan market for 6 months (April to September) at Shimla, Dharamshala, Dalhousie. There are few families who cannot invest more in WSS, they need in the summer business or other activities. This needs to be kept in mind for NBFC.

6.2.6 The WSS trade is characterised by its dispersed Market Stations, with most of them having a functioning MTA. Similarly the WSS traders are settled in different communities in Settlements across many states. Each Settlement has its own CTA representative Office and Settlement Officer. The existence of such business groups (Market Station members) and community groups (Settlement) give the TRLSP the advantage of last mile connectivity across dispersed locations. The MTA and SO could play the role of providing group responsibility and peer support similar to the role played by JLGs/SHGs in group lending process practised by NBFCs. This is an advantage and strength for TRLSP.

6.3 Impacts

6.3.1 Financial inclusion service

Financial inclusion would mean that individuals/businesses have access to useful and affordable financial products and services that meet their needs – transactions, payments, savings, credit and insurance – delivered in a responsible and sustainable way. TRLSP has brought over 913 individuals in non-formal unorganised businesses under the programme, which otherwise remained outside the radar of mainstream financing institutions like commercial banks for so long. They remain excluded mainly because they do not have normative securities and collaterals demanded by many of these FIs. Indirectly it helped over 4000 direct and indirect members who are dependant on WSS earnings. The programme has seemingly encouraged many more new businesses units set up and especially those who work as employees due to lack of own capital have begun asking for loan to new start up business of their own.

6.3.2 Enhanced bargaining powers

Though Lalas have judiciously given credits to WSS clients over decades of trust building efforts, their credit never came without costs. Often, they had to share same capital cost incurred by Lala's themselves if not more. Those who get credit have to buy goods from the dealers without much choice. Often they had to help in clearing old stocks and rejected products from the past years. Many buy back products returned from previous year after a quick remaking or washing. TRLSPP has helped to enhance the bargaining power of the smaller business both at the buying and selling of their product. With cash in upfront, WSS are far more empowered to bargain, and open to fresh goods and quality products. This was especially true last season when demonetisation hit the hosiery business in equal measure and cash crunch was felt everywhere. In fact, many Lalas have shown their visible displeasure against the programme, fearing their status quo would be challenged and their profit margins would be dented when hard cash flows in. There are strong indications that it has equally helped provide a strong competitive alternative to the traditional sources and players. Normally the Lalas with trendy and top quality products do not provide or offer credit for smaller business vendors. This makes their stalls look relatively inferior in the market. In the same market, bigger businesses have more turnover or daily transactions due to the wider variety of products and qualities they offer. TRLSPP has helped the smaller businesses to bridge the gaps for a more level playing field.

6.3.3 Improved financial literacy

TRLSPP conducted several meetings and launched many awareness campaigns during its one year stint in Tibetan community, with the objective of providing ways to improve financial education and literacy standards. Based on RBI's prudential norms, SOs and MTA have framed internal rules for its smooth functioning. Workshops were held on GST and entrepreneurial development, and the learning has flowed down into their experiences. Department of Finance and TRLSPP have received several projects to scale up and strengthen their markets. The TRTA meets clearly show that they are interested in capturing their value chain, trade mark registration and minimizing risks faced by the business community. Almost all TRTA chapters have obtained the GST registration numbers and legally complaint. TRLSPP enhanced the overall literacy level on the system of the business, value chain and the key players in the market. With the help of TRLSPP, sweater sellers get to know more about Credit market, Banking and Financial sector.

6.3.4 Institutional building and strengthening

TRLSPP has directly helped TRTA membership registrations surge to a new high. After the programme, over 711 TRTA IDs have been issued and renewed. Over 16% new markets have joined the TRTA as its members mainly to get the benefits. It has also empowered the executive members to have more meetings and take bolder decisions. MTA leaders have far more space to organise their local members. Meetings have far more attendance as compared to last year.

Caselets



Caselet - 1

Tsering Yangkyi, F-46, Market station:

Ahmedabad, Settlement:
Kollegal- Karnataka.

Tsering Yangkyi has been doing this business for the past 20 years. She has 1 stall in the Market, and sells jackets and blankets. The Ahmedabad Market Station has 168 stalls owned by 120 families. She employs one helper ever since her husband expired 4 years ago. He was in the same trade. When he was alive they also sold sweaters. Selling of blanket started only 8 years ago.



Tsering Yangkyi studied till Class V. She started this work in 1991, joining her maternal uncle. He still has a separate shop in this same market. Her family of 8 members include 4 daughters, her parents and her father-in-law. She says "Since I'm the only earner, I took the CTA loan because of its low interest rate." She applied for getting loan in August 2017 and received the amount in September 2017. On December 13th (in 3 months) she "repaid the loan on priority, because it is a first-time scheme." She is one of the 50 loanees out of the 70 who applied from this Market

Tsering Yangkyi arrived at Ahmedabad on October 10th 2017 to set up shop in the seasonal market, from her settlement at Kollegal, along with 6 other fellow-traders

from there. Her work for this seasonal business begins in August – when she went to Ludhiana and Delhi with another lady trader who is her neighbour in Kollegal. They took the train from Bengaluru to Delhi and then travelled to Ludhiana. After 5 days of work for purchase of items from Ludhiana hosiery markets, they went to Delhi for 3-4 days specifically for purchasing Jackets. The manufacturer/traders (*Lalas*) she buys her stock from are in the Azad Market at Delhi (namely Happy, Angeltem, and Roshan *Lala*). In Ludhiana she purchases Blankets from Jagdamba Traders. She stays in a rented room while at Ludhiana and Delhi at a cost of Rs. 700 per day.

She purchased Rs. 3 lakhs worth blankets from Ludhiana for which 2 lakhs was paid up, and

Rs. 6 lakhs worth Jackets from Delhi fully paid. She is to get 3% cash-back for the cash purchase made in Ludhiana (Rs. 2 lakhs), which the *lala* has not yet given. The TRTA has worked out this discount system with the Ludhiana *lalas*. There is a plan to speak to Delhi *lalas* also for same. Tsering Yangkyi will repay the balance Rs. 1 lakh by bank transfer at the end of season.

She will be in Ahmedabad from October 10-31st January like all other traders and everyone leaves together the day the market winds up. She stays in a small rented house costing about Rs. 8,000 pm and local transport 100 per day. Unsold items will be stored in Ahmedabad by a group of traders in a rented storage space in Ahmedabad itself, to put up for sale in the next season. Storage rent costs Rs. 6000-7000 pm for 8 months and this is shared by the group. This works out to a cost of Rs. 15-20,000 per person for the entire period. Each trader will pay Rs. 12-15000 as rent per stall to the MTA. The MTA charges stall rent on the basis of total investment and expenses of installing and running the market each year, equally divided among the total stalls.

Stalls sell on Fixed Price basis as decided by MTA since 1997, and selling price has been fixed at 15-25% over Cost Price of items as purchased from the *lalas*. There is a mix of customers seen in the market - families, ladies, men, young men and women, from low to middle income classes. For the past 3-4 years business has been at a loss. Last year she made a net profit of Rs. 60,000 after repaying bank loans etc.



Apart from the Rs. 1 lakh CTA loan, she has taken Rs. 4 lakh loan from Sydicate bank, Kollegal. It was taken in September for 3 months at an interest rate of 12% pa (Rs. 12000) for 3 month. The Bank is close to her home and she goes with fellow-villagers (for witness and guarantor) and the loan is given the same day. As early as April, 5-6 traders from the Settlement who are part of the Ahmedabad Market Station go to the bank to discuss and finalise that the loan will be needed in Aug/Sep. This is a usual practice followed since 15-20 yrs. Last year she had taken this Rs. 4 lakh bank loan as well as Rs. 1 lakh financial assistance from the Monastery for a 5 month period with an interest of Rs. 3000. Previously, the entire Bank Loan was availed in the form of a Demand Draft (DD). This year half the amount has been taken in cash, and half as DD (15-20 DDs of small amounts of Rs. 5000, 10,000, 20000). These DDs are paid to different *lalas* for purchases made. This year she did have to avail assistance from the monastery since she got the CTA loan. Tsering Yangkyi also availed agriculture loan from the Tibetan Cooperative (Rs. 90,000) and will repay with the harvested Maize Crop sold to the Society.

Tsering Yangkyi lives in her village for 8 months and manages her household and farm. She owns 5 acre agricultural land jointly with her in-laws and children. Maize farming is the major livelihood activity in this period. In June-July her father-in-law will prepare the land for sowing that takes place around 15th August depending on rainfall. The crop is harvested in December. The produce is sold to the Tibetan Cooperative to offset crop loans and the remaining if any, is sold to the trader who comes to the village. Last year she incurred a loss and owes Rs. 65,000 to the Society. The year before that she had sold a surplus in the market and earned Rs. 25,000. The family used to own 10 cows but sold those 2 yrs ago since she is alone.

Her three girls study at Mussorie Tibetan School (Class 12 & 11), her 4th child is differently-abled and remains home. The children go home to the Village and stay with their grandparents during the December vacation and don't visit Ahmedabad. The eldest child wants to study further in college at Bangalore or Mysore in the Commerce stream and is not interested in this business. Tsering Yangkyi says "We tell them to study and find a job. We don't want them to do this business. If marks are low then we will have to think what to do if no college/job is available."

Caselet - 2

Tenzin Norzom F-58, Market station: Cuttack, Settlement: Chandragiri-Odisha

Tenzin has been in this trade since 20 years with the Cuttack MTA. She has 4 stalls – 3 in Cuttack and 1 in Bhubaneswar. The Cuttack market has 30 families as members. This year they have put up 58 stalls in Cuttack and 35 in Bhubaneswar. There are 11 CTA TRLSP beneficiaries. Tenzin had applied for and would have liked to borrow, but she was not among the names that came up in the draw of lots.



She carries on the trade alone, since her husband expired. She was an only child. Tenzin's eldest daughter actively helped in this trade for 7 years, but is now married and settled in Switzerland.

Her stall sells all variety of knitwear for ladies and gents: jackets, shawls, cardigans, etc. She came to Cuttack from Chandragiri by train from in October 2017 and will remain here till the market winds up January 25/26th.

During the winter woollens selling season, she stays in a rented accommodation like most of the MTA members. These houses are kept on rent all the year round since it is difficult to get a place on rent just for 3-4 months. In the remaining 8 month

when they go back to the Settlement, the place is used to store the unsold stock for use in the next winter season. The rent for the room+godown amounts to Rs. 83,500 pa. The same place is retained for many years.

In July each year Tenzin travels by train with a group of 4-5 other traders to Ludhiana and then to Delhi to purchase stocks from the wholesalers – she spent 20 days at Ludhiana and 2 days at Delhi doing this. 80% and 20% of her purchases are from Ludhiana and Delhi respectively. From Delhi she returns to her village. For stay in these places, she rents a room and eats in a hotel frequented by the Tibetan community. Ludhiana room rent cost her Rs.1500 per day this year. It was cheaper earlier at only Rs. 3-400 but the place she usually rents has been upgraded and air-conditioned recently since July is a very hot month in Ludhiana. In Delhi she stays at *Majnu ka Tila* paying Rs.1500 per day for a 2-room accommodation. The Delhi wholesale market is better for jackets. Ludhiana market also has jackets, but the shawls and woollens are better. She deals

with 15-16 Traders (*lalas*) and the longest association has been with Sahib and Supernet. Dealing with the Delhi *Lalas* is also good: Roshan Lala in Zaffrabad, Uncle Tim, Tashi Delek (an Indian *lala* who has kept a Tibetan name for his shop) in Gandhi Nagar, and at Sadar Bazar.

For Stalls put up in the Tibetan Market, MTA charge is Rs. 5000/stall of size 5*5 feet for the entire season. The Sale Price is fixed by MTA since 2010 at 40% of purchase price. All MTA members buy from 20-30 *lalas*. The MTA makes a list of their items and rates and marking it up 40%, brings out an item-wise sale price list given to each member. Tenzin has purchased stock worth Rs. 15-16 lakhs from Ludhiana for this season. She paid up Rs. 5 lakhs in cash and the rest is on credit. Delhi purchases totalled Rs. 4 lac of which 30-40% is in cash. The *lala* makes a Note (“*parchi*”) of the goods given on credit and gives a copy to the purchaser.



Tenzin has hired and brought along 3 salesmen from Chandragiri to sit in each of her 3 stalls. One of them mans the stall in Bhubaneswar Tibetan Market which is just a half hour drive from the Cuttack Market. She does not visit her stall in Bhubaneswar Market to check or follow-up during the season since the salesman returns for overnight stay to Cuttack. She pays Rs. 7000-9000 pm to each salesman.

Local daily transportation in Cuttack from home to the market station costs Rs 100 pd (Rs. 9000 for the season of 90 days).

There is a SBI and Canara bank branch near the Settlement at Chandragiri. Tenzin purchased goods worth Rs. 16 lacs and Rs. 5 lac has been paid for by cheque, the rest is on credit. The Delhi purchases are worth Rs. 3 lac and 30% has been paid for. She informs that “after GST coming in, we repay the balance amounts to the *lalas* by cheque.” The *lalas* from Ludhiana and Delhi come to Cuttack during December-end/early January. They come for collecting their dues, and visiting the market gives them a first-hand idea of the sales and market. Tenzin has paid off 95% of dues to the *lala* when they come here, the remaining 5% will be paid via bank-transfer later.

Upto the year 2014, Tenzin used to avail a SBI Bank Loan of Rs. 3-4 lac for a 6-month period at 12% pa for this business. This was stopped when their settlement Tibetan Multi-purpose Cooperative Society (TMPCS) started giving Loans. “We are shareholders in the TMPCS so it is easier to get a loan from here than the bank. Getting a loan from the bank require witness, photo etc.” The maximum loan given by the TMPCS is Rs. 3 lac and interest is 1% lower than the prevailing bank interest rate (11%) and Tenzin has availed Rs. 3 lakh loan for 6 month period. “I deposited this amount in the Bank and made DDs to carry with me to pay the *lalas*”.

Tenzin would like to avail a CTA loan due to its low interest rate. “It should be made available in June, because we leave in July for our purchase and the loan money can be used for that. If we

pay more in cash to the lala, then our cost price is less. We also get a choice of better items, items which are in demand. Our bargaining power with the lala increases. If Rs. 3-4 lac of CTA loan is available, I will stop taking the MPCS loan. Our tendency will always be to repay CTA loan before any other”.

Tenzing has 3 daughters who are all in Switzerland and working there. One is married and the other two sisters joined her there. They do visit her and send her money also. The girls had all studied in the Central Tibetan School in Odisha till Class 10th and then for two years in Mussorie. Only one daughter went to college, at Bengaluru.

In the Settlement Tenzin's main livelihood is farming in her 4 acres of farmland. She oversees the farming operation and hires labor. Only a single rainfed crop is cultivated – maize - sown end-June and harvested in Oct-November. It is sold to the TMPCS and yields a small net income of Rs. 70000-80000 per season. Farming also provides fodder for their 3 cows and fuel. In Chandragiri settlement, 75% of the households involve in the Winter Woollens selling business. It provides income for running the household and enabling some savings. About 25% families only are ones who do only agriculture and it is their main livelihood.

Caselet - 3

Tsering Yangchen, F, 52 yrs. Market station: Jaipur, Settlement: Shimla, Himachal Pradesh.

Tsering started working in this business 30 years ago in 1986, after marriage, joining her father-in-law and husband at this work. Her father-in-law is no more. She grew up with her parents doing *coolie* work in Shimla. She and her husband run one stall in Jaipur. Since her husband's leg is fractured, he only handles the sales at the stall and they employ 2 helpers/salesmen every season. They deal in jackets, gloves and mufflers.

Jaipur Market has 250 stalls run by 219 families. The Market started 13th October 2017 and will wind up 11th February 2018 when everyone will depart. Jaipur is the largest market station. It was well crowded with customers compared to other markets. The quality and variety of items are better and of a higher quality. The customers comprise a mixed crowd of men, women, families and much middle to higher income customers also.



Tsering received her CTA loan into her Bank account at Shimla on 19th September. She had applied from her Settlement with the help of the Settlement Officer. She filled a Form and submitted her bank details, Green Book, RC and PAN Card (optional) details. Of the 219 members in Jaipur MTA, 64 had asked for the loan in September and was received in October. 15 persons opted out, and 50 utilized the loan – she is one of them.

She went to Delhi in October with 5 friends to purchase stocks from the wholesalers there. Tsering goes along with a few other women traders from different places – they coordinate over phone. She spent 2-3 days in Delhi making the purchases and comes back to Delhi 2-3 times in the course of the season to top-up the stocks. She does not go to Ludhiana for purchases as most other Tibetan traders do - they used to buy from Ludhiana but stopped 20 yrs ago.



While at Jaipur she and her husband live in a rented house at Choti Chaupat at Rs. 10,000 pm.

Their 2 helpers stay with them. Her husband's leg is fractured so he works mainly at the sales, sitting in the shop. Tsering has purchased stock from 4-5 *Lalas* for values ranging from Rs. 10,000 – 50,000 from each. Tsering's total stock purchase value for the season is Rs. 7 lakhs. She purchased for Rs. 5-6 lakhs initially and went back for top up purchase amounting to Rs. 1 lakh. The cost price of various items range as follows: Jacket Rs. 200-1200, Glove-Rs. 40-50. The Sale price is fixed as per MTA rule at 40% over the Cost Price. The MTA issues an item-wise rate list which all traders follow.

The total 4-month season's major business expense items and income is estimated as below:

| Expenses | Rupees | | Rupees |
|--|--------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Stall Rent 22K * 4 | 88000 | Total Purchases (CP) | 700000 |
| Delhi house Rent 2 days *500 | 1000 | Sale Margin (40%) | 280000 |
| Goods Transport & Packing 10/12 cases @Rs. 1850 | 20000 | Total Expenses | 196000 |
| Helpers (2) *4 months | 40000 | Income of 4 months | 84000 |
| Jaipur House Rent 10000*4 | 40000 | | |
| Leftover Storage Rent | 7000 | | |

The unsold items are stored in Jaipur for 8 months until the next season, in a room rented at Rs. 80,000 jointly by 6-7 traders. For stock purchased from Delhi worth Rs. 2 lakhs, Tsering gives Rs. 50000 cash (25%) – for the rest the *lala* makes a credit note that he keeps and gives her a copy. The *lala* comes to Jaipur every Monday to collect repayments. Earlier they used to return some unsold goods (GR), but with the introduction of GST this has stopped. About the benefit of the loan Tsering says that “if we pay the *lala* for our purchase outright in cash, our cost price would be 7-10% lower”. She files her Income Tax Returns at home in Shimla. She has returned the CTA loan in 3 months so that interest is minimized. She used to have a Fixed Deposit Saving which she liquidated to use for her son's education.

Tsering lives in Shimla and not at the Tibetan Settlement which is 8-9 kms away. The main assets she has invested in her home include TV, Fridge and Washing Machine. They can't keep a car or bike – it is of no use. She runs a shop in the Tibetan market in Shimla from April – September, selling ladies innerwear. Stocks are purchased from Delhi-Gandhinagar Market in March/April. This income helps in meeting daily household running expenses. When the family moves to Jaipur for the Winter Sweater Selling business, she gives the Shimla shop to a relative to run and retain whatever profit is earned from it. She also goes Bodhgaya for one month every year with 2-3 friends for meditation/ prayer etc. when it is cold in Shimla. They stay in Bodhgaya in temporary shelters. Tsering and husband have 3 sons: 2 sons study in Shimla in Class 10 and 12 and the third eldest son (23 yrs) is in Gwalior pursuing a 4-year Physical Training Instructor (PTI) Course. The course expense is Rs. 2 lakhs and he comes home in the holidays. She would not like her children to continue in this business. Her son studying PTI will get a Tibetan Government job after completion.

Caselet - 4

Wangchen, M 62 yrs, Market station: Delhi, Settlement: Gajapati, Odisha



The Delhi Market has 138 stalls run and owned by 111 MTA members, located in the old city area in a Ground rented from the city Government. The market clientele, due to its location is largely poorer and working/labor class males. Items sold are of lower quality compared to market stations such as Jaipur and Ahmedabad.

Wangchen and his wife head a family of 7 members that includes apart from them, their 4



children and his brother. They have 2 stalls which are run by him, his wife and eldest child – their daughter, who joins them for 1 month during November-December, when college is on vacation. Wangchen had applied and asked for the loan in September which he received in October into his bank account at his Settlement in Gajapati. He went through the usual loan application process. There are 27 borrowers in the Delhi MTA.

Wangchen and his daughter (who had come down from College to attend the MTA meeting for the day) made purchases from Delhi on 10th October – after the MTA meeting took place. They sell mainly Jackets in their stall, as well as Bags (nylon attaches). The jackets were purchased from wholesale markets at Gandhinagar, Jaffrabad and bags from Sadar Bazaar. Purchase is done in lots, once a week. Between October 10th and December 6th (the day of this interview) they had made purchases 8 times to the value of Rs. 5000-10000 each time. The entire seasons'

purchases total Rs. 3 lakhs. They don't purchase from Ludhiana. Their Cost Price is around Rs. 800/Jacket, Rs. 300/bag and Sale Price is Rs. 1040 and Rs. 500 per jacket and bag respectively. The Delhi MTA follows fixed price sale since 2013. Sweater Sale Price is fixed ranging from Rs. 250-1300 and Jacket at Rs. 300-2000, most jackets SP is Rs.1200 per piece.

Purchases are made from 6 *lalas* on loan for about 50% of the purchase value. About Rs. 50,000 worth goods were bought with full payment made. Some traders do allow unsold Goods to be Returned (GR).The family lives in a rented flat in Majnu-ka-Tila for 5 months.

The total season's major business expense items and income is estimated as below:

| Expenses | Rupees | | Rupees |
|---|--------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Stall Rent 25000*2 | 50000 | Total Purchases (CP) | 300000 |
| Delhi House Rent 5000*5 | 25000 | Sales Margin(50%) | 150000 |
| Local Auto 160 pd * 120 (4 months) | 19200 | Total Expenses | 95000 |
| Net Seasonal business earning estimate (by Wangchen) | | | 60000-70000 |

Wangchen estimates his net earnings from this seasonal business at Rs 60000-70000 which is used for childrens' education. Their eldest daughter, who helps with the business, has studied upto Class 12 at Dharamsala and has done Tibetan Studies thereafter. She is now looking for a job with the Tibetan Govt. The youngest child (son) is in Class 3 at Paonta. The eldest son (27 yrs) is a cook and supports himself financially. He



was in Ladakh and has now moved to Kerala and visits home once a year. Wangchen informed that he will repay the CTA loan after 6 months in April. He can take a loan upto Rs. 2 lakhs if it comes on time and invest in this business or for the shop they run in their Settlement.

This is a small general (cold drinks etc) store near home and gives income for household running expenses through summer. They close it in winter and will re-open when they go back. He or his wife sits in the shop. There are 300 households in the settlement and the shop earning is Rs. 100-500 pd at an average Rs.300 pd. Assuming a monthly earning of Rs. 9000 pm, this totals Rs. 63000 for seven months that they are away for the winter woollen trade. The CTA loan will help his younger brother meet his expenses as he has stayed back home in Odisha. The main expense of the family is school tuition and Rs. 600 pm given to son's guardian for petty expenses. They have no savings or assets and “live hand to mouth as normal middle class Tibetans do” says Wangchen.

FGD's

FGD 1 : Ahmedabad Market Station MTA

Starting from 1980 for ten years, about 100 Tibetan refugees used to come to Ahmedabad to sell



Fig1: Market Entrance

woollens in the city, sitting here and there on the footpath near Lal Darwaza in a crowded part of the main old city, running away whenever the local police troubled them. In 1989 they decided to group with 120 members – this was the year that HH the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Prize. Members are from different Tibetan Settlements: Chauntra, Bir, Manali, Tashi jong (Himachal Pradesh), and Karnataka (Kollegal , Hunsoor). Dr. PG Jothikar, President of Indian

Buddhist Society and a Professor in Ahmedabad, helped to hire a ground from the AMC at Jamalpur area.



Fig 2: Market Association Office and Leaders

In Ahmedabad city, the market since past 5 yrs is in the Navranpura (Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation - AMC) ground from October to January. This is the 4th location since the MTA started here. The AMC is helpful – they give the ground based on the 1st application letter given in 1989 in HH the Dalai Lama's name. While the market rate is Rs. 17/18 lakhs, they are giving it to MTA for Rs. 5 lakhs. For the coming year, the MTA does the ground booking before leaving the city this season, they make the full hiring rent payment in advance and get a receipt. Past 3 years, the MTA has put up market in a 2nd ground nearby at Helmet circle, Ankur Char Rasta. The past few years the market has not been good due to warmer/shorter winters, demonetisation and introduction of GST. The MTA is trying a 2nd location also to see how it goes. This is a private ground (shown in picture) hired from SK College, with a warning that if needed anytime they will leave. The MTA has 120 members putting up 168 stalls (120 in Navranpura, 48 in SK College ground). No more members can join this station MTA since they have enough sellers. A couple of stalls have changed hands and that too within family. The MTA has a mobile phone WeChat group where 90% members are connected since they have smart phones. Announcements are put on this group when there are any. Members help and support each other a lot.

Today the 5-member MTA has the following office bearers: President (Kargyu-6th time, from Mundgod, Karnataka), Vice-President (J.Gelek-3rd time from Bir, HP), Secretary (Tsering Dawa-1st time, from Chondra near Bir HP), a Cashier and another Member. There is no lady elected this time and there is no compulsory post of a lady member. At the end of each market season in February before the members depart from Ahmedabad for their respective Settlements, all post members are elected for 1 year by vote of all members. Once elected, a member cannot stand for re-election for next 3 years. This year cost for installing the market is as follows:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Ground Rent (Oct - Jan. End) | 11,50,000 |
| AMC Ground (including tax) | 5.00 lakhs |
| SK College Ground | 6.50 lakhs |
| Installation charges to Tent House | 2,60,000 |
| Lighting both grounds(from Nov.) | 20,000 |
| Annual Storage of installations charge by Tent House | 70,000 |
| Security from Nov 15th when more customers (5 guards * Rs 1500 pd * 75 days) | 1,12,5000 |
| Water (Toilets & Grounds)Rs. 450/tanker/pd *75 days | 33,750 |
| 1 person from Settlement full time duty and stay on ground + kitchen (9000pm * 75 days) | 6,75,000 |
| CC TV Rent | 50,000 |
| Total for season (Oct - Jan. End) | 23,71,250 |

The market ground and stalls installation service (tent-house) is the same hired past 5 yrs. All the installation material is property of the MTA which is kept in Tent House storage between seasons. MTA has its own fire extinguishers with 3 extra cylinders. The total invested in installing the market (Rs. 23.71 lakhs) is charged equally across the 168 stalls costing about Rs. 15,000 per stall.

The market clientele is mixed: families, ladies, men, young men and women, of lower and middle income categories. As for items sold in different stalls, 60-70% is sweater and sweatshirt, 25-30% Jackets, 5% T-shirt and Shawls and 8-9 stalls selling blankets. Most MTA members purchase their wares from wholesale markets of Ludhiana and Delhi.

The MTA leaders estimate that 30-40% of their 120 members are economically poor while 50% are well off. For the CTA loan, 70 members had applied and 50 that were sanctioned were selected by lottery. As on 13th Dec 2017 on the day of the FGD, 30 had repaid the loan. Members and MTA decided that those who need it most should apply and get priority,



Fig 3: Stalls in the Market

those who don't need, were encouraged not to apply. Those from the south suffered a loss in agriculture and the WSS also was bad so they could not even pay back the *Lalas*. A few from Bylakuppe, Karnataka are rich. If a family has a member who has gone abroad and earning regularly, they remit money back home which improves their economic condition. In the south there are families with old people, no one from their family has gone abroad, they are doing WSS business the same way and not able to keep up to the market trend.

In 1997 the MTA decided on a fixed price system of selling by all stalls to the customers. The MTA makes an item-wise fixed Sale Price list which is 15-25% over the cost of purchase from the *lalas*. Most stalls are expected to record sales of Rs. 6-7 lakhs for the season, if the winter is colder this may increase by Rs. 50,000-1 lakh. There are 3-4 poor, small families whose sales will be upto Rs. 3-4 lakhs. 2-4 stalls at the entrance to the market (allotted by lottery system) end up with total sales of Rs. 10 lakhs. Most MTA members hire an employee to be in each stall as salesman all day – this is an old practice. They bring the 1 or 2 employees when they come from the settlement, which stay with them. These employees are Tibetans, Nepali - from Himachal, or locals from Karnataka.



Fig 4: Sales boys at lunch break

The Tibetan WSS stay in rented rooms/houses about 3 kms around the market area and rent is Rs. 6000-8000 pm. They keep their unsold goods in rented rooms for 8 months. 5-6 families hire a room/basement which is usually in the residential area and divide the rent cost. Any failed items (1-2%) are returned to the *lala*.

Market Outlook: The past 3-4 years business has been bad due to mild winters, demonetization followed by GST. This year is average – the winter has started early and that is a good start. Most customers are fine and respectful. The trend is to ask for new/latest items. Earlier Woolens were popular, now sweatshirts are very popular being soft and warm. Ahmedabad has a large population so market gets new customers every year. Now some customers are asking for a bill when they purchase, they feel since the Government has taken demonetization, GST etc. they need a bill. The MTA have asked the CTA to seek tax exemption for Tibetan WSS since it is a seasonal business. For now MTA has asked the Income Tax department to excuse them from taxes and discussed what needs to be done to get on board with the GST regime.

FGD 2 : Jaipur Market Station MTA



Fig 1: Market Entrance

In Jaipur city, the WSS market of the Tibetan refugee traders (TRT) started in 1978 in Ajmeri gate area. About 60 members constituted as a MTA in 1980 as per an instruction by the State Govt with 60 stalls which increased every year. In 1985 the Rajasthan Govt. asked them to not to increase beyond 250 stalls. Jaipur MTA is the largest one with 219 members who have put up 250 stalls.

This winter season the market is put up at the ground called Amrudo Ka Bagh from October



Fig 2: Market Office and Leaders

11th to February 10th, 2017-18. This venue is under dispute between the Government and the local erstwhile Maharaja since 6 years. The previous venue was better as it was inside the city. Here people have to take out time to come to the market. The MTA could not get the previous venue because of a legal case as to why a sports ground was being used for commercial purpose. The MTA also took case to the Supreme Court but lost. For this current venue they requested a local Govt. officer to go to Delhi with them since the disputed land could be decided upon by a retired SC Judge (chairman & receiver). The latter consented with some conditions: got a witness in writing (Globe Transport Corporation) to give guarantee that MTA will leave ground and the MTA's Rajasthan lawyer also gave a supporting letter. The ground rent was decided by the Judge – it was Rs. 30,000 pd now increased to pd Rs. 50, 000. Permission was given for 109 days. The MTA also got No Objection Certificate (NOC) from Commissioner's Office, Fire, Electric and Traffic Department in Jaipur.

The 219 MTA members come from different settlements across India: Shimla 60, Dehradun 60, Chamunda 28, Kulu-Manali 25, Dalhousie 15-20, Dharamshala 15, Hunsur 12, Mundgod 6 and Sikkim-3. Out of elected 25 members, 5 become Executive Committee (EC) office bearers. The rest is a 20 member Committee. The 5-member EC has the following office bearers: Chairwoman Lhamo (65 yrs, from Dehradun), Vice-chairman (Dhondup from Chauntra, HP), Secretary (Passang, Shimla), Treasurer Dorje and Accountant Karma Phunsok, Dehradun. The EC makes MTA rules & regulations and puts up to the Committee to decide upon. For example, the Committee was called by the EC to discuss and give inputs and advice on the Dec. 10th Nobel Prize anniversary celebrations. If a clear decision is not made, it is put to vote.

All members are elected for a 2-year term. The very old members are taken as advisors to keep continuity and mix of old/new and young/old members in the MTA leadership. Earlier for 8 years Jaipur MTA kept the same leaders but then changed to a voting system. EC members are also usually those who are active in their respective Settlement.

The Jaipur MTA is more confident and evolved in its operations and negotiations with the Chairwoman herself negotiating in fluent Hindi with local service providers. Earlier 5 MTA leaders were allowed to select 1 stall of their choice location in the Market and other stalls were assigned by lottery. Two years ago they discontinued this and all came under the lottery system. The MTA faces small issues of officers, local leaders, police, etc. coming to them to ask for items for free or on discount. They try to deal with such issues pragmatically and gently. For example, one young Indian trader was in the office asking to set up shoe stall. The EC negotiated with him to set it up at a side and not to put up the stall facing the road and block the parking space, since many customers come by car. Customers have to park in the ground because the road is encroached by many vendors. The MTA does not complain or try to stop them. This year cost for installing the market is as follows:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Ground Rent (Oct 20th - Feb 11th)109 days @ 50,000 pd | 54,50,000 |
| Installation charge to Tent House | 4,50,000 |
| Electricity & Lighting | 4,00,000 |
| Annual Storage of installation charge by Tent House @ 10,000 pm | 80,000 |
| 5 Security Guards (own people) | 4,00,000 |
| Water (Toilets & Grounds) 3 tankers pd 3 tankers * Rs. 1000 pd * 109 days | 3,27,000 |
| Sweeper Rs. 20,000 pm * 3.5 mth | 75,000 |
| Electrician Rs. 15,000 pm *3.5 mth | 52,500 |
| Total for season(Oct-Feb) | 72,34,500 |

Jaipur MTA gets its own people (Tibetans) for security guards (5 guards). These are people retired from the Army and come from various settlements. The MTA owns and installs its own

CCTV system. All the installation material is property of the MTA which is kept in Tent House storage between seasons. The MTA also prints same price/item tag every year. The MTA has charged each member Rs. 14,000/stall, calculated as total expenses divided by number of stalls. They will take the next year's rent at end of this season at Rs. 24,000 per stall (an increase of Rs. 10000).

| Items Sold | No. of Stalls | Total Stock Value purchased this season for sale (Rs.) | No. of Stalls |
|-----------------------|---------------|--|---------------|
| Jackets | 50-60 | 6-7 Lakhs | 100 |
| Sweater & Accessories | 15 | 5 Lakhs | 70-80 |
| Readymades | 10-15 | 4 Lakhs | 70 |
| Blankets | 2-3 | | |
| Shawls | 2-3 | | |

The TRT items of sale are purchased from Ludhiana - Sweaters (from Sahib, AG Dung, Budhiraja, Barcelona, etc) and Delhi for Jackets (JD Raja, GS Enterprises, Deepajay Collection, Gurukripa enterprises etc). Both Ludhiana and Delhi Lalas take Goods Return of unsold stock and store with them for use in next season so WSS don't have to worry about storing unsold goods. Purchasing work is done by men in 95% cases; women look after sales in 90% cases.

The MTA has fixed price for sale at 40% above the cost of purchase. About 60% stalls have average to good sales. 40% of the stalls would have unsold leftover which is sold on sale at a discounted price in last few days of the market. The new items being sold in this market were: underwear, inners, shoes, Nehru jackets and bags. Jaipur market is most crowded with customers compared to both Ahmedabad and Delhi. The quality and items were better. The crowd was a mixed one of men, women, families, and more middle to higher income customers also.

Out of 219 members, 100 had applied for the CTA loan of which 70 were cleared for sanction. Finally 50 applicants borrowed and utilised the loan. Some MTA leaders said that CTA loan of Rs.1-2 lakhs can be increased to Rs. 5 lakh because the market is good. *They said the lalas give interest-free loan*



Fig 3: Stalls in the Market

by giving goods on credit. (This is however a misunderstanding by the WSS because the *lalas'* sale price to the WSS includes the interest for the goods given on credit)

MTA paid sales tax of Rs. 16 lakhs last year. This year with introduction of GST, each member has a GST number and will pay his/her tax individually. The MTA leaders met their CA in July and got GST made for each member. Each member paid Rs. 1000 one-time for getting GST no. and Rs. 1300 pa for IT filing return. The TR traders file their IT return in Shimla with lawyer/CA help. Regardless of real income, they show no profit/no loss so that IT is filed but no tax needs be paid. The Cuttack and some other MTAs have taken GST registration as a Union rather than for individual members. It seems that other MTAs want to follow Jaipur's example and change to individual GST system and emulate some of its rules.



Fig 4: Tibetan traders sitting amid their Stalls

as at Choti Chaupat which is further away and 20% stay closer near the market venue. Every shop has a helper now because there is more work, it was not so in earlier years. This market also has WSS and family members sitting in chairs in the middle line as well as many elders sitting on benches at the entrance. They seem to be free of routine work in the stall and have enough income to hire 2-3 workers who man the stalls all day and handle sales with customers. The helpers are mostly young males – Nepalis and Biharis and few females from Arunachal (Changma Tribe). The helpers stay with the family. There is a system of selling leftover items on sale in last few days of season. For the unsold stock, 5-6 WSS take a godown/house on rent for 8 months till next season.

The Jaipur MTA is reported to have a very good reputation with the *Lalas*. If they know that a TR trader is from Jaipur MTA, *Lalas* readily give items on credit. In 1996 some Delhi and Ludhiana *lalas* had given a letter that a deceased WSS (lady)'s husband should repay their outstanding dues, and the MTA paid back the *Lalas* on behalf of the deceased. The WSS stall was rented out and the MTA took this rent till they got back the amount paid by MTA to *Lalas*. The MTA also has a rule that the last purchase order from *lalas* is to be done by 10th December. Mostly *Lalas* come to Jaipur market between 25th December and 1st January to collect their dues. They inform the MTA leaders beforehand and usually come in groups of two-three. At the market, an announcement is made about their arrival so that WSS's handin their dues to the MTA office and the *lalas* are paid. There is a good relationship with the *lalas*.

For the CTA loan taken by its members, MTA has taken responsibility to ensure repayment by its members. Lottery system was used for deciding the 70 TR traders who would take the loan and 10 were wait-listed. One MTA leader opined that Rs.1 lakh loan makes no difference, it is better

that CTA use this money to invest in helping to make trade more stable and formal eg. invest in *pacca* market, infrastructure. However such loans do benefits those having a small WSS or summer business. Some WSS got the loan amount on 1st October when they were out of settlement and could not sign the loan receipt. In these cases, SARD adapted to the situation and advised that a relative or friend of the borrower in the Settlement could sign on their behalf.

For 80% WSS this is the main livelihood/income source. If a family has a member in service (eg. teacher with Govt., working abroad) or a member in the army (boys and girls) with 15 years in Army + pension, this helps the household for an improved livelihood. Poorer households may also occur due to extra /careless expenditure.

FGD 3 : Cuttack Market Station MTA



Fig 1: Ground and Stalls

TR traders have been coming to Cuttack town since 35 years from 1982. In the early years, they used to sell in small groups on the footpath in a rough stall made with bamboo poles which they had to pack up every night. In 2007 the MTA was registered with the name Cuttack Tibetan Refugees Welfare Association was registered in Cuttack with 45-50 members, decreased to 30 members now. Since 2009 all TR traders sell in one market ground. Cuttack MTA includes the TR traders market in neighbouring Bhubaneswar city also. The Cuttack city venue has changed 4-5 times. For the last 15 years a ground at Ranihat in the middle of city near the railway station was the venue. Cuttack is a middle class, smaller and poorer town compared to Jaipur and Ahmedabad.

This winter (2017-18) too they set up the market and installed all the stalls at the ground in



Fig 2: Market office and Leaders

Ranihaat to open to public from 14th October. On 18th the CMC cancelled its permission because of a High Court order to hand over the ground to the builder. The MTA spent 7 days spent looking for a new ground, obtain permissions etc. They had to dismantle and move to a ground next to the river in front of Vishwanath Park with permission to run from November 3rd to January 30th 2018. Since the new venue was outside the heart of the city, they were apprehensive that people would be

unaware of the new venue. However this venue is working well since good customers are coming in as part of an outing to the adjacent parks and river view. It is a huge ground with stalls along 3 sides and open space in the centre for bike and car parking. There is a fair-like atmosphere with food vendors selling corn ice-cream, tea etc. There is a good mixed crowd.

The MTA has 4 leaders: President- Karma (who holds this post since the beginning), Secretary -

Chimi Dhondup in his 6th term, Accountant - Tenzing (2nd term) and Cashier Gorsung (1st term). Office bearers are elected by members' vote and can be re-elected. There are 30 members in Cuttack MTA putting up 58 stalls in Cuttack and 35 in Bhubaneswar. All 30 families are from Odisha Chandragiri Settlement, and just 1 from Kollegal. Most members (15) have 3 stalls each, the rest have 2 or one stall each. This year 2 families (members) did not come for WSSS due to an issue at home. The MTA rule allows being absent for 2 yrs after which the family needs to come back for WSS or leave the MTA. MTA has registered with authorities for Tax, transport, TIN no., and Sales Tax payment. MTA has its old running file in its registered name TRWA with the Cuttack Municipal Corporation. The Cuttack market installation cost includes:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Ground fee for 58 stalls of size 5 ft * 5ft each for 3 months | 1,52,000 |
| Publicity and advertisement in Local TV channels, Local Newspapers | |
| Installation material stored in Cuttack every year | 58,000 |
| Stall installation materials Transport from godown to ground | 50,000 |
| Security guard since 2010 (4 guards - 1 day, 3 for nights) Nirankar Security Services (350 * 4 guards * 30 days * 3 mth) | 1,40,000 |
| Electricity by diesel genset (500 pd * 90 days) | 45,000 |

This MTA is unique in that they have pre-fabricated collapsible stalls of aluminium and iron which they designed and got made in 2010 at cost of Rs. 16-17 lakh. Toward this cost, Ludhiana Lalas had donated Rs. 4.5 lakhs. Unlike other MTAs, they don't need to hire professional agencies to set up their stalls. The leaders and members install it themselves in the ground over 8-10 days. The stalls can be locked at night (see photo). At the end of every season, it is dismantled and the sheets are stored in a



Fig 3: Bhubaneswar Market Stalls

godown hired in Cuttack. They don't have a CCTV, but are thinking of it. This ground has no lights because the ground is outside the city. Hence they purchased a new generator for Rs. 84,000 and there is the cost of diesel consumed daily. They also have a loud-speaker system but are not using it this year. This year the fee to be paid by WSS to the MTA is Rs. 5000/stall for the season. The MTA gets locally printed carry bags (non-plastic) of 3-4 sizes (at cost of Rs. 3.5 lakhs) and Tibet price tags (Rs. 15 paise each). Members take as many as they need and pay for it. When customers can come to exchange purchased goods – the tags help to identify stall/owner.

The Bhubaneswar city market venue is at Shahid Nagar, Rupali Traffic chowk) since 2002. There is a problem due to the fact that the market was “thrown out” from front portion of the large

ground and has moved since past 4 years to the rear portion of the ground. Cuttack MTA has reserved it only for 2 months as against 3 months of the market in Cuttack city. There are 35 stalls, mostly looked after by the hired salesmen, with fewer TR traders and no MTA office bearer present locally to be in charge. This market appears to cater to lower income clientele than Cuttack. It is on a smaller ground amidst 3-4 adjacent grounds with local traders running informal market of clothes, toys, costume jewellery etc. The customer expects to bargain in this Tibetan market because the adjacent local traders' clothes market stalls allows bargaining.

The TR traders go for purchase earlier (in July) to Ludhiana and Delhi – when the crowd is less and prices are lower. Value of purchase is 80% from Ludhiana and 20% from Delhi. Delhi purchases started when jackets came into vogue. The MTA fixed 2 goods transport agencies in Ludhiana for all its members after talking to several of them. They try to get a good rate and no goods damage guarantee in return for assuring that all their MTA members will use only their service. The transporter is such that they have a godown in



Fig 4: Bhubaneswar Market

Cuttack so that they will transport the goods and store them in Cuttack (or Jagatpur, 5 kms away). When the WSS family arrives in Cuttack at the start of the market season they go to the godown and take delivery of his /her stocks individually and take to their Cuttack house. Most of the WSS stays in a small rented house which they keep the year round (and not just for the season as is done in other Market stations), since it is difficult to get a place on rent just for 3-4 months. It is kept functionally equipped. In the remaining 8 months when they go back to the Settlement, the home is used to store the unsold stock for use in the next winter season.



Fig 5: MTA Carry Bags & Price Tag

This year since the Cuttack city ground is far away all sellers have to pay for transport from their rented home to ground every day with their goods which costs them Rs. 75 pd. All the helpers (salesboys) are young males from Odisha. The Sale Price is fixed since 2010 at 40% of purchase price. All WSS buy from 20-30 *lalas*. Based on last year sales, WSS have a total sale of Rs. 3-7 lakhs. The average income from 1 stall is about Rs. 3 lakhs. Cuttack WSS sell a mix of various items in a stall. In the past 2 years sweatshirts are very popular.

In Bhubaneswar market, at the time of the visit on December 20th, 10 out of 35 stalls were wound up and closed because business was low and only non-saleable items remaining. WSS and their helpers live in Cuttack and commute to Bhubaneshwar together daily by hiring a bus. Cuttack is a better market and has more sales and customers start coming to the market from

the morning hours. Bhubaneswar is the capital of Odisha state with most of the population in Government and relate services. The customers come to the market later, mostly from 3 pm onward. Tashi is an elder WSS whose son manages the family's stalls in Cuttack. He said their 2 stalls in Bhubaneswar total a sale of Rs. 6-7 lakhs whereas in Cuttack the sales amount would have been double. In Bhubaneswar there is a prevailing system that the WSS sit in their market stalls for 1.5 months and in the latter 15-20 days of the season, they travel to smaller towns (max. 60 kms away like Dhenkanal, Paradip, Keonjhar) on day trips to sell off remaining stocks. In these towns they sell on the roadsides at bargain prices.

The average income from one stall is Rs. 3 lakhs – this money is used by the family daily household running expenses and school fees. They have no other source of income except some from agriculture through maize cultivation. A TR trader said “If a family has 1-2 kids abroad, they will end up soon with a big *pucca* house in a few years even if the family has no other income/business. In comparison, we do WSS since 30-40 years but our condition is almost the same”. None of the MTA members' children are in this business although each one has 3 stalls. Stalls are run by the wife and 2 helpers. All their children are studying. They say “even otherwise, our children can't do this business. It is not suitable for them.”

The TR traders all said they have good relationship with the lalas. They come here to collect repayment and balance if any is transferred through the Bank. Each WSS financial transaction is not done individually, but collectively through MTA because now it is all billed. The rule is that for all billed transactions, individual WSS should pay to the MTA by 30th Dec. The MTA will collectively do an online transfer to the concerned lala. So far till end-December 2017, 6-7 lalashave come to Cuttack and 1-2 more may come hereafter. They come in groups of 2-3 together. They also look around at the market, and collect their dues by cheque from the MTA. Earlier they used to come to the Settlement, but not anymore.

From 1965-66 all families in the Settlement are members of the local Tibetan Multi-purpose



Fig 6: Lala visiting Market office

Cooperative Society (TMPCS). It has 14 Board members elected every 4 years. TMPCS started giving business loan since past 4- 5 years. The Berhampur Cooperative Bank gives Rs. 2 crore in loan to the TMPCS @ 4% RoI for 6 months which lent onward to its members. The TR traders also borrow from their TMPCS. Around 80% of them have taken the loan for WSS trade and rest for some other purpose. The TMPCS gives a loan of maximum Rs. 3 lakhs. There are 2 systems of

lending: If the member wants a loan and without a FD, then she needs to get 2 witness/ guarantors and the RoI is 9% pa. If the member has an FD, she is eligible for a loan of 75% of the FD amt with no witness at 6% RoI. All the families have an FD with the TMPCS. Now only 2-3 families take business loan from the bank also where they got Rs. 1.5 Lakh @12% pa.

For the CTA loan, Cuttack MTA has 11 borrowers from among its 30 members. The 10 borrowers were selected by draw of lots and one was allotted as she is a single woman. The MTA President (Karma) who has been in this post since the very beginning is also the president of the TMPCS in the settlement. He is quite experienced in running the financial services of the TMPCS. He said “we were told by CTA that out of 30 members, 10 can avail the loan. The Lottery draw was done at the Settlement and names sent to CTA. CTA put the money in account of applicants at Chandragiri SBI Branch”. “The benefit of the CTA loan is to cover for other loans because interest is very low. There is no one in Cuttack who won't repay and all have repaid”. This MTA has decided that “next year same 10 won't get the loan, it will be given to different persons and it is difficult to judge who is more/less poor.” The MTA leaders also said that CTA loan can increase the more the better, there will be full repayment. “We can take responsibility for repayment. Even if 50 people get Rs. 2 lakh each (total Rs.1 cr) we can guarantee it because the president and members know and trust each other well. The *lala* pricing of the items he sells us includes his interest – if cost is Rs. 100, he sells to us at Rs 115. If we pay in cash, we can buy at Rs. 100.”

Chandragiri settlement 700-800 households, 75% families have WSS as main livelihood, and for 25% it is only agriculture as the main livelihood. The Settlement has a Central Tibetan school till class 10 teaching English, Hindi and Tibetan. The families of 30 MTA members are most (20) in the medium economic segment: such households would have a TV, Fridge, and Motorbike as main assets. 8-10 families are poorer. All of them have agricultural land in the Settlement. All households have a roof that is of aluminium sheet with cement walls. In the past 10-12 years, few houses have got cement roofs also.

Annexure - I

Tibetan Refugee Settlements in India

Types Of Tibetan Settlements In India

| 15 - Agriculture Based | 13 Handicraft Based | 11 Cluster Communities |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| INDIA | INDIA | INDIA |
| Choephelling, Miao | Bir Dege, Bir | Bomdila, A.P. |
| Dhargyeling, Tezu | Bir Chauntra, Bir | Darjeeling, West Bengal |
| Dhondenling, Kollegal | Bir Tibetan Society, Bir | Dharamsala, Kangra Distt. |
| Dickyi Larsoe, Bylakuppe | Phuntsokling, Dalhousie | Dhondupling, Clementtown |
| Doeguyulgyelling, Herbertpur | Gapa Tibetan Society, Kumrao | Gangtok, Sikkim |
| Doeguling, Mundgod | Kham Khatok, Sataun | Kalimpong, West Bengal |
| Kunphenling, Ravangla | Paonta Choelsum, Paonta | Lingsang, Munduwala |
| Lugsung Samdupling, B'kuppe | Sakya Tibetan Society, Puruwala | Palrabling, Kullu & Manali |
| Norgyeling, Bandhara | TashiJong, Bir | Samyeling, Delhi |
| Phendeling, Mainpat | Tashiling, Pandoh | Shilong, Meghalaya |
| Phuntsokling, Odisha | Tashiling, Sonada | Dekyiling, Dehradun |
| Rabgyeling, Hunsur | Tibetan Bonpo Foundation | |
| Sonamling, Ladakh | Yangchen Gatselling, Shimla | |
| Tenzingang, A.P. | | |

Annexure - II

All India Tibetan Refugee Trader's Association Members List And Market Stations

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|---------------|-----------------|---|---------------|------------|--|
| 1 | ANDRA PARDESH | BHIMAVARAM | TIBETAN SWEATER SEELERS WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 1 | 2010 | 7077432164 |
| 2 | ANDRA PARDESH | GUNTUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER ASSOCIATION GUNTUR | 9 | 2016 | 7750052848 |
| 3 | ANDRA PARDESH | HYDERBAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 46 | 2006 | |
| 4 | ANDRA PARDESH | NIZAMABAD | TIBETAN MARKET | 5 | 2009 | 9731027214(LOBSANG GYALTSO) |
| 5 | ANDRA PARDESH | VIJAYAWADA | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER ASSOCIATION | 14 | 2016 | 9556359395, 9556359395 |
| 6 | ANDRA PARDESH | VISAKHAPATNAM | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 11 | 2013 | 9668338484 |
| 7 | ASSAM | JORHAT | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN MARKET | 15 | 2010 | 9459270989, |
| 8 | ASSAM | KARIM GUNJ | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2015 | 9406040672 |
| 9 | ASSAM | SILCHAR | TIBETAN MARKET | 9 | 2011 | 9406040672/ 9907705252/9734070147 |
| 10 | BIHAR | BAGUSARI | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 4 | 2014 | 9973653191(SONAM TOPGYAL) |
| 11 | BIHAR | BHAGALPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 3 | 2011 | |
| 12 | BIHAR | BODH GAYA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 37 | 2012 | 9456500380/969308950 |
| 13 | BIHAR | DEHRI-ON-SONE | LHASA MARKET | 9 | 2015 | 9980398180(TENZIN THAPKAY) |
| 14 | BIHAR | PATNA | TIBETAN REFUGEE ASSOCIATION LHASA MARKET | 50 | 2006 | 9410549988 |
| 15 | BIHAR | SIWAN | TIBETAN MARKET | 4 | 2015 | 9764446069 |
| 16 | CHATTISGARH | BHILAI | TIBETAN WELFARE MARKET ASSOCIATION | 24 | 2006 | 8894097477 PEMA RINZIN (TRTA) |
| 17 | CHATTISGARH | BILASPUR | TIBETAN POTALA MARKET | 18 | 2006 | 9424262608 |
| 18 | CHATTISGARH | JAGDALPUR | TIBETAN MARKET | 2 | 2016 | 9556364478/ 8018945683 |
| 19 | CHATTISGARH | RAIPUR | TIBETAN WOOLEN LHASA MARKET | 18 | 2011 | 9423384297(SONAM DOLMA) 8817271749(LOBSANG) |
| 20 | DELHI | LAL QUALA (G-1) | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN ASSOCIATION | 63 | 2016 | 9911006899(DOLMA |

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|--------|--------------------|--|---------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| 21 | DELHI | LAL QUALA (G-2) | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN ASSOCIATION | 48 | 2016 | 9911006899(DOLMA |
| 22 | GUJRAT | AHMEDABAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER ASSOCIATION | 150 | 2006 | 7043586889 |
| 23 | GUJRAT | ANAND | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 19 | 2011 | 9816169773 |
| 24 | GUJRAT | ANKLESHWAR | 2 INDIVIDUAL | 2 | 2010 | |
| 25 | GUJRAT | BARDOLIE | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET NORPHELLING | 16 | 2011 | 9739510315 KALSANG |
| 26 | GUJRAT | BHAV NAGAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 21 | 2013 | 09437859326/ 09178912061 |
| 27 | GUJRAT | BHUJ | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN MARKET | 9 | 2016 | 8116647007/9436216663 |
| 28 | GUJRAT | BILIMORA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 3 | 2016 | 9882750743/9402042298 |
| 29 | GUJRAT | CHIKLI | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 3 | 2016 | 9882750743/9402042298 |
| 30 | GUJRAT | DAHOD | TIBETAN REFUGEE ASSOCIATION | 1 | 2009 | 8350950081(LOBSANG TENZIN |
| 31 | GUJRAT | GANDIDHAM | TIBETAN MARKET | 3 | 2015 | 9740283166(TENZIN DECHOE) |
| 32 | GUJRAT | GANDINAGAR(SEC-6) | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET (Sec-6) | 45 | 2015 | 8126844572/844917756 |
| 33 | GUJRAT | GANDINAGAR(SEC-16) | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S (sec-16) | 30 | 2016 | 9739386685, 7259863803 |
| 34 | GUJRAT | HIMATNAGAR | TIBETAN MARKET | 1 | 2015 | 9882596315(TSERING JAMYANG) |
| 35 | GUJRAT | JAMNAGAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SEELER'S UNION | 24 | 2007 | 09978757381/789542573 1 |
| 36 | GUJRAT | JUNAGARH | TIBETAN MARKET | 7 | 2015 | 8894272181 |
| 37 | GUJRAT | KADI | TIBETAN REFUGEE POTALA MARKET | 7 | 2015 | 7798603039 |
| 38 | GUJRAT | KALOL | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 6 | 2016 | 7798603039 |
| 39 | GUJRAT | MORBI | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER | 17 | 2014 | 8511647246(TASHI WANGYAL) |
| 40 | GUJRAT | NAVSARI | TIBETAN SWEATER ASSOCIATION | 4 | 2009 | 8350950081 |
| 41 | GUJRAT | RAJKORT | TIBETAN SWEATER SELLER'S WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 19 | 2009 | 9418159788(PHURBU TSERING) |
| 42 | GUJRAT | SURAT | SURAT SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 64 | 2006 | 9537111316, 8892062684 |
| 43 | GUJRAT | THARAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN ASSOCIATION | 6 | 2017 | 9761617910 |
| 44 | GUJRAT | VALSAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 2 | 2016 | 9886024993/9471120173 |
| 45 | GUJRAT | VERA | TIBETAN MARKET | 1 | 2016 | 9972957211 |

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|----------------|-----------------|---|---------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 46 | GUJRAT | VERAVAL | TIBETAN LHASA MARKET | 4 | 2016 | 8006533041 |
| 47 | HARYANA | AMBALA CANT | LHASA TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 17 | 2011 | 8894086547 |
| 48 | HARYANA | AMBALA CITY | POTALA TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 21 | 2011 | 9996639770(dolma) |
| 49 | HARYANA | BHADURGARH | TIBETAN REFEGRR S&R MARKET | 30 | 2015 | 9816514466 TENZIN KHENTSEN |
| 50 | HARYANA | BHIWANI | TIBETAN REFEGRR S&R MARKET | 9 | 2016 | 981651446 |
| 51 | HARYANA | CHANDIGARH(NEW) | POTALA TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 27 | 2011 | 9816525269(NAMGYAL) |
| 52 | HARYANA | FARIDABAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 30 | 2010 | 9459105101 |
| 53 | HARYANA | GURGOAN | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER & READYMADE | 72 | 2006 | 9897885458(TENZIN CHOMPHEL) |
| 54 | HARYANA | HISSAR | TIBETAN SWEATER ASSOCIATION | 16 | 2011 | |
| 55 | HARYANA | KARNAL | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 10 | 2016 | 9034164957 |
| 56 | HARYANA | PANIPAT | TIBETAN REFUGEE LHASA MARKET | 22 | 2011 | 9816296730(KALSANG DORJEE) |
| 57 | HARYANA | REWARI | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 16 | 2012 | 8192960812 |
| 58 | HARYANA | SONIPAT | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET ASSOCIATION | 23 | 2016 | 7807027277/7988730713 |
| 59 | HP | PONTA SAHIB | TIBETAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 9 | 2006 | 8894849992(PASSANG) |
| 60 | J&K | SHRI NAGAR | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2016 | 8753846602 |
| 61 | JHARKHAND | CHAIBASA | TIBET MARKET | 16 | 2015 | 9845319894 |
| 62 | JHARKHAND | CHAKRADARPUR | TIBET MARKET | 7 | 2016 | 9102333550 |
| 63 | JHARKHAND | DHANBAD (A) | TRSSA NEW LHASA MARKET KOHINOOR | 25 | 2010 | 7829376780 |
| 64 | JHARKHAND | DHANBAD(B) | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S MARKET(PURANA BAZAR) | 15 | 2006 | 098058741568(TASHI THUPTEN) |
| 65 | JHARKHAND | DOLTONGANG | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 5 | 2015 | 9886232461(TAKLA TSERING) |
| 66 | JHARKHAND | HAZARIBAGH | TIBETAN NORBULINGA SWEATER MARKET | 17 | 2007 | 9538173942, 9008330311 |
| 67 | JHARKHAND | RAMGARH CANTT | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 6 | 2009 | 8755366478 |
| 68 | JHARKHAND | RANCHI | POTALA TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER MARKET ASSOCIATION | 24 | 2006 | 993418622, 7760457789(TRTA) |
| 69 | JHARKHAND | TATANAGAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 75 | 2006 | 9719546236(TRTA)YESHI PHUNTSOK |
| 70 | KARNATAKA | BANGALORE | TIBETAN PEOPLE WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 36 | 2006 | |
| 71 | MADHYA PARDESH | BALAGHAT | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER ASSOCIATION | 8 | 2016 | 9881112589 |
| 72 | MADHYA PARDESH | BHOPAL | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 72 | 2006 | 9758783768 |

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|----------------|----------------|--|---------------|------------|---|
| 73 | MADHYA PARDESH | CHHINDWARA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 10 | 2016 | 9805657473 |
| 74 | MADHYA PARDESH | GWAILOR | TIBETAN WINTER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 25 | 2006 | 9816534488(tsewang dorjee) |
| 75 | MADHYA PARDESH | INDORE | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S UNION | 54 | 2006 | 9893878305(PHUNTSOK) |
| 76 | MADHYA PARDESH | JABALPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE LHASA MARKET | 41 | 2010 | 9634041833, 9165706690 |
| 77 | MADHYA PARDESH | KATNI | TIBETAN SWEATER SELLER'S OLD ASSOCIATION | 8 | 2006 | 9424262766 |
| 78 | MADHYA PARDESH | NEEMUCH | TIBETAN SWEATER ASSOCIATION | 20 | 2010 | 9981825033(dorjee) |
| 79 | MADHYA PARDESH | SATNA | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN MARKET | 10 | 2011 | 9817090406(TRTA)THUPTE N DORJEE |
| 80 | MADHYA PARDESH | SEONI | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 4 | 2012 | 7325811444, 9938089123 |
| 81 | MADHYA PARDESH | SHANDOL | TIBETAN MARKET | 5 | 2006 | 9736162707 (CHOMPHEL) |
| 82 | MADHYA PARDESH | UJJAIN | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 18 | 2006 | 7803895333(p.tashi) |
| 83 | MAHARASHTRA | AURANGABAD | TIBETAN MARKET | 23 | 2007 | 9900672574(S.CHOMPHEL) |
| 84 | MAHARASHTRA | BARSHI | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2011 | |
| 85 | MAHARASHTRA | CHALISH GAON | TIBETAN REFUGEE ASSO ON | 18 | 2013 | 7500417473(dhondup) |
| 86 | MAHARASHTRA | CHANDRAPUR | TIBETAN SWEATER ASSOCIATION | 23 | 2011 | 9816525269 (NAMGYAL) |
| 87 | MAHARASHTRA | DHULE | TIBETAN REFUGEE ASSOCIATION | 12 | 2012 | 9860686711, 9805654144 |
| 88 | MAHARASHTRA | GONDIA | TIBETAN SWEATER WELFAREASSOCIATION | 5 | 2006 | 9545679454, 9825456795, 9825456795(LOBSANG) |
| 89 | MAHARASHTRA | JALGAON | TIBETAN WELFARA ASSOCIATION | 10 | 2013 | 9663351003 / 9742159916 |
| 90 | MAHARASHTRA | JALNA | TIBETAN SWEATER SELLER | 6 | 2015 | 7895425731, 9997162227 |
| 91 | MAHARASHTRA | LATUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLAN SELLER ASSOCIATION | 12 | 2017 | 9686702571 |
| 92 | MAHARASHTRA | NAGPUR | NAGPUR SWEATER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION | 56 | 2006 | 9423384298, 9527892026 |
| 93 | MAHARASHTRA | NANDED | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER MARKET | 19 | 2015 | 9742039986(TASHI TSERING) |
| 94 | MAHARASHTRA | NASIK | TIBETAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 18 | 2015 | 7875342389(TASHI DOLMA) |
| 95 | MAHARASHTRA | PARADWADA | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2016 | 8806120439 |
| 96 | MAHARASHTRA | PUNE | PUNE TIBETAN ASSOCIATION | 12 | 2006 | 9742039986, 941881465(TRTA)TSERING 7588579823 |
| 97 | MAHARASHTRA | SANGAMNAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 3 | 2015 | 9483068481(PHURBU TSECHE) |

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|-------------|----------------|---|---------------|------------|--|
| 98 | MAHARASHTRA | SILLOD | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 2 | 2016 | 9485207693/9402683245 |
| 99 | MAHARASHTRA | SOLAPUR | TIBETAN WOLLEN MARKET | 8 | 2011 | 9736162707(CHOMPHEL) |
| 100 | MAHARASHTRA | WANI | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2016 | 09611267363, 8884349708 |
| 101 | MAHARASHTRA | WARDA | TIBETAN WOOLLEN MARKET | 8 | 2015 | 9900555673 |
| 102 | MAHARASHTRA | YAVATMAN | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2016 | 9449177121 |
| 103 | ORISSA | BALASORE | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 8 | 2014 | 9805565564, 8894390256 |
| 104 | ORISSA | BARIPADA | TIBETAN REFUGEE HANDLOOM GOODS SELLER ASSOCIATION | 10 | 2012 | 9008165192 |
| 105 | ORISSA | BERHAMPUR | TIBETAN WOOLEN SWEATER MARKET | 14 | 2010 | 9668415977, 9439328523 |
| 106 | ORISSA | BHAWANIPATNA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 3 | 2016 | 9437859326, 9178912061 (DOLKAR) |
| 107 | ORISSA | CUTTAK | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 30 | 2006 | 9437752007, 9937868117, 9937511395 |
| 108 | ORISSA | KORAPUT | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 5 | 2015 | 9178327017, 9437111970 (PEMA TSERING) |
| 109 | ORISSA | ROURKELA | TIBETAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 20 | 2007 | 9805272725, 9777704110 |
| 110 | PUNJAB | JHLLANDHAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET JHLLANDHAR | 11 | 2016 | 9882544583(TEN NGAWANG |
| 111 | PUNJAB | LUDHIANA | INDIVIDUAL | 1 | 2011 | |
| 112 | PUNJAB | MOHALI | POTALA TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 29 | 2012 | 8894338465 TAMDIN 8894338448 TASHI |
| 113 | PUNJAB | PATALIA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 16 | 2014 | 9734302296, 9418977242 |
| 114 | RAJASTHAN | AJMER | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER | 41 | 2006 | 9673030266(t.younden) |
| 115 | RAJASTHAN | ALWAR | TIBETAN HIMALAYA MARKET | 35 | 2011 | 7877887378(tsetan) |
| 116 | RAJASTHAN | BARMER | TIBETAN REFUGEE LHASA MARKET | 15 | 2016 | 9686017151/9901173346 |
| 117 | RAJASTHAN | BHILWARA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 9 | 2010 | 9897033050 |
| 118 | RAJASTHAN | BHINMAL | TARA DIVI TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN ASSOCIATION | 8 | 2017 | 9735602569 |
| 119 | RAJASTHAN | BIKANERE | TIBETAN BIKANERE ASSOCIATION | 25 | 2015 | 08894087090, 09882600723/ 9857837317 |
| 120 | RAJASTHAN | BUNDI | TIBETAN REFUGEE MRKET | 8 | 2016 | 7357441030 |
| 121 | RAJASTHAN | CHURU | TIBETAN LHASA MARKET | 15 | 2013 | 981639925(jimba) |
| 122 | RAJASTHAN | DAUSA | TIBETAN MARKET | 18 | 2014 | 8003375886 |
| 123 | RAJASTHAN | DIDWANA | TIBETAN REFUGEE TRADERS ASSOCIATION | 6 | 2015 | 98622117351(PEMBA) |
| 124 | RAJASTHAN | DUNGAR PUR | TIBETAN MARKET | 2 | 2014 | 9882888645 |
| 125 | RAJASTHAN | HANUMANGARDH | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 14 | 2010 | 9882748188(TASHI WANGYAL) |

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|------------|---------------------|---|---------------|------------|---|
| 126 | RAJASTHAN | HINDAUNCITY | TIBETAN MARKET | 14 | 2015 | 9627638530 |
| 127 | RAJASTHAN | JAIPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SEELER'S UNION | 217 | 2006 | 8894924611(TRTA)DORJEE 8859314179(LHAMO) |
| 128 | RAJASTHAN | JASILMER | TIBETAN MARKET | 30 | 2013 | 9622996944(tanzin) |
| 129 | RAJASTHAN | JHUNJHUNU | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 8 | 2015 | 9882156120 |
| 130 | RAJASTHAN | JODHPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 45 | 2006 | 9760117954(NGAWANG NORBU)/9410900397(YASKA) |
| 131 | RAJASTHAN | KISHAN GARH | TIBETAN MARKET | 8 | 2015 | |
| 132 | RAJASTHAN | KOTA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 6 | 2016 | 8884791638/9459102022 |
| 133 | RAJASTHAN | KUCHAMAN | TIBETAN REFUGEE TRADER'S ASSOCIATION | 6 | 2015 | 98622117351(METOK) |
| 134 | RAJASTHAN | PALI | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 13 | 2011 | 7895768293(dorjee norbu) |
| 135 | RAJASTHAN | PHALODI | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET ASSOCIATION | 7 | 2016 | 9997133444, 7251055716 |
| 136 | RAJASTHAN | SIKAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 29 | 2011 | 9897607492 |
| 137 | RAJASTHAN | SRI GANGANAGAR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 45 | 2011 | 8890532141 |
| 138 | RAJASTHAN | TONK | TIBETAN REFUGEE TONK MARKET | 9 | 2015 | 9756470382 |
| 139 | RAJASTHAN | UDAIPUR | TIBETAN MARKET | 52 | 2006 | 8894280530(nyima) |
| 140 | TAMIL NADU | CHENNAI | TIBETAN WELFARE ASSOCIATIONMARKET | 16 | 2006 | |
| 141 | TILANGANA | GODAVIRI KHANA | POTALA TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 7 | 2015 | 8197813217(GAWA PHUNTSOK) |
| 142 | TILANGANA | MANCHIRYAL | TIBETAN MARKET | 6 | 2015 | 8008327705(KALSANG NGODUP) |
| 143 | UK | DEHRADUN(DEKYILING) | TIBETAN MARKET WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 91 | 2015 | 9411717426, 9897287933, 9897033150 |
| 144 | UK | RESHIKESH | TIBETAN MARKET | 2 | 2011 | 9760253363(WANGYAL) |
| 145 | UK | SELAQUI | TIBETAN REFUGEE TRADERS ASSOCIATION SELAKUI | 11 | 2016 | 8587848824 |
| 146 | UP | AGRA | TIBETAN REFUGEE WINTER SWEATER SELLER'S WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 16 | 2011 | 7018141543 (LOBSANG) |
| 147 | UP | ALIGARH | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 24 | 2010 | 9901677718 (TENZIN NAMGYAL) |
| 148 | UP | ALLAHABAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLERS UNION | 41 | 2006 | 9902399387 |
| 149 | UP | AMROHA | TIBETAN REFUGEE WOOLEN EXHIBITION | 13 | 2015 | 9760079422 (GANGA DOLMAO) |
| 150 | UP | BAREILLY | TIBETAN REFUGEE SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 39 | 2006 | 88945392 (TSE CHODON) |

| SNO. | STATE | BUSINESS PLACE | ASSOCIATION NAME | NO. OF MEMBER | ENROL YEAR | PHONE NUMBER/NAME |
|------|-------------|----------------|---|---------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| 151 | UP | FAIZABAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 7 | 2010 | |
| 152 | UP | GHAZIABAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 27 | 2014 | 9411141151 |
| 153 | UP | GORAKPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 24 | 2006 | 9626061137 |
| 154 | UP | GREATER NOIDA | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 68 | 2014 | 9557485639 |
| 155 | UP | JHANSI | JHANSIO SWEATER SELLERS ASSOCIATION | 20 | 2016 | 9857241174 |
| 156 | UP | KANPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 25 | 2010 | 9805898381(SANGYAL) |
| 157 | UP | LUCKNOW | TIBETAN REFUGEE HANDLOOM SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 42 | 2006 | 9410900382(tsewang dhundup) |
| 158 | UP | MATHURA | TIBETAN REFUGEE OLD MARKET | 37 | 2011 | 8449808442 |
| 159 | UP | MATHURA (B) | TIBETAN LHASA MARKET | 27 | 2016 | 9418079346 |
| 160 | UP | MEERUT CITY | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 13 | 2013 | 9634846440 |
| 161 | UP | MORADABAD | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 17 | 2012 | 9882442442 |
| 162 | UP | NOIDA | INDIVIDUAL(KARMA CHOTTA) | 1 | 2016 | 8126787383 |
| 163 | UP | NOIDA | TIBETAN REFUGEE HIMALAYA EXIBITION | 48 | 2011 | 9622971005(dolma tsering) |
| 164 | UP | PRATAB GHARH | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 6 | 2012 | 1905282135 |
| 165 | UP | SULTANPUR | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 6 | 2009 | 9805643564(phuntsok gyaltzen) |
| 166 | UP | VARANASI | TIBETAN SWEATER SELLER'S ASSOCIATION | 24 | 2006 | 9816880020, 9005408979 |
| 167 | WEST BANGAL | ASANSOL | TIBETAN SWEATER SELLER'S WELFARE ASSOCIATION | 54 | 2007 | 9882411223, 8894339923 |
| 168 | WEST BANGAL | CULCATT | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET | 27 | 2011 | 8302561514 |
| 169 | WEST BANGAL | MALDA TOWN | TIBETAN REFUGEE MARKET HIMALAYA | 8 | 2011 | 7838354437(KUNGA GYALTSEN) |
| | | | | 3477 | | |

Annexure - III

Check List of Questions to a) MTA/FGD b) WSS Borrower/Trader

Questions to Market Trader Association/ Leaders/FGD:

Which year started, with how many stall? How many stalls now...growth of stall, size of stall

No. of sellers from start to growth to now? How many stalls per seller?

Venues – from start up to now, who does it belong to/rented from?

Period for which rented, rent pm/for season? Period from start to end?

Expenses for setting up market : Tent, electricity, lighting, security, fire, insurance, food/tea

Auction/allotment /rent/rules for stall

Market rules and regulation for membership, stall etc., MTA posts and members, election

Total sellers: from which settlements? Can more sellers/stalls be included in coming years?

Were there more who wanted to join you had to say no to?

Total Sellers: Buy from Ludhiana, buy from other places (Delhi, Kashmir, Local....)

Items sold: categorise no. of stalls per item, value of items (Fixed price, base price)

Categorise sellers/stall by TO size

Categorise sellers by economic status – on what basis you put them in this category?

Loan

How many applied / borrowed / did not take / returned

Reasons thereof – what will they do with it? How will it help?

Anyone borrowed from other sources – what? How much?

How many more can take loan – for what? How much? Will more volume/products/Stalls be able to find a market here or elsewhere?

Changes in purchase/selling market/business trend over time – RM, Tibetan traders, market buyers?

What other community/social/economic activities in market?

Questions to Borrower/trader

TRLSP loan taken or not? Which settlement are you from? Detail of family size/members.

How many of family have come to Market and each ones main role

Name/Age of main traders today, and previously

When did you arrive, when will you depart? How? Alone or with others?

Where staying?

Loan

When applied, when received, how? What used for? When repaying?

Terms and process of borrowing and repayment?

Can you take more? How much? For what? Will you be able to sell if for woolens?

Any other financial source present or past for any investment, enterprise or saving? Details.

Market material Purchase Details

From Where all cities? What items?

Who went? When and how long for ?

Mode of travel and stay arrangement. Alone or groups? How many times?

Items purchased - From How many lalas? Total Value and rate per item purchased from each lala/shop.

Purchase on cash or credit? Terms? Repayment process? Did the CTA loan help – how? Any other arrangement for borrowing and investment in business this time? In the past? Details.

Expenses connected with wholesale purchase: intercity Travel, intercity goods transport and taxes, Staying rent,

Trends in purchase market over time you have faced?

Market selling Details

How many Stalls you have? Total Sale value so far and estimated by end of season? Sale price per item (fixed or bargain?

Anyone employed for this business – how many? What work and period? From where? Pay and stay?

Expenses connected with market stall and sale: stall rent, MTA fees, local stay rent, storage of stock, local travel to market, stall fees, salaries, food etc.

What category of stall/sale you fall in the market (s/m/l)? How many of each in the market and what volume makes/defines S/M/L?

Changes in selling market/business/customer/yourself you face over time?

Family Livelihood

Any other banking or financial service by family member – credit, saving, insurance?

Other livelihood activities of family - in settlement, outside the settlement

Will next-gen take up trade or not/ Reasons.

Which is family main livelihood/income/expense/investment/saving?

What is family status/category in economic terms, compared to others in 1) market 2) your settlement? On what basis you categorise?

NOTES