

FAMILY SMALL BUSINESSES OF THE PARSI COMMUNITY IN INDIA

Vedant V. Pandya

Department of Business, M.K. Bhavnagar University, Bhavnagar India.

Abstract

This paper presents an examination of family small businesses within the Parsi (Zoroastrian) community of India, a population of fewer than sixty thousand persons that has nonetheless exercised an economic influence disproportionate to its size for more than two centuries (Mani, 2021). Integrating family business theory, specifically socioemotional wealth (Gómez-Mejía et al., 2007) and familiness (Habbershon & Williams, 1999), with Bonacich's (1973) sociological theory of middleman minorities, the paper reconstructs the historical trajectory of Parsi commercial engagement, from early colonial intermediary trading through the China and opium trade (Palsetia, 2008) and industrial diversification (Bakhru et al., 2018), to the present-day condition of demographic contraction and small-enterprise attrition (Free Press Journal, 2026). The paper identifies the principal types of family businesses Parsis has historically operated, the processual pathways through which Parsi households entered commerce and the antecedent socio-religious, educational and network-based determinants that enabled entrepreneurial success (Bonacich, 1973; Patel, 2022). It examines the multidimensional challenges confronting Parsi family enterprises, including demographic decline, succession difficulties, professionalization away from trade, escalating urban real estate values and regulatory compliance burdens, with particular attention to the closure of iconic small establishments such as Irani cafés and dairies in Mumbai (Dias, 2014; Time Out Mumbai, 2026). A key contribution of the paper is a systematic, parameter-based comparison of Parsi and non-Parsi family businesses in India, in which eight comparison parameters, namely succession mechanism, family and demographic base, marriage practice, socioemotional orientation, capital reinvestment behaviour, occupational mobility, network and trust structure and geographic-sectoral diversification, are derived from established family business and ethnic entrepreneurship scholarship (Berrone et al., 2012; Leonard, 2011; Mani, 2021) and applied comparatively across the Parsi, Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi and Chettiar business communities. The paper concludes that the trajectory of Parsi family small business is best explained not by any single factor but by the interaction of demographic contraction with an inherited socioemotional and communal logic that once constituted the community's principal competitive advantage. Implications for family business theory, minority enterprise policy and heritage preservation are discussed, together with the limitations of a literature-based inquiry and directions for future primary research.

Keywords: *Parsi Family Business, Zoroastrian Entrepreneurship, Ethnic Minority Enterprise, Family Small Business, Business Succession, Socioemotional Wealth, Middleman Minority Theory, Irani Cafés, Mumbai, Comparative Family Business Communities.*

Introduction

The Parsi community of India, numbering fewer than sixty thousand persons according to recent estimates, occupies a position in Indian economic history that is wholly incommensurate with its demographic weight (Free Press Journal, 2026). Descendants of Zoroastrian refugees who fled Persia between the eighth and tenth centuries to escape religious persecution, the Parsis settled first in Sanjan, Navsari and Udvada along the Gujarat coastline before gravitating, from the eighteenth century onward, toward the emerging colonial port city of Bombay (TRT World, 2025). It was in Bombay, under the commercially permissive umbrella of the East India Company, that Parsi merchants transformed themselves from petty traders and colonial intermediaries into brokers, shipbuilders and merchant

princes, a transformation that Palsetia (2008) traces directly to the community's involvement in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China trade. That accumulated mercantile capital would eventually find some of India's largest industrial houses, including Tata, Godrej, Wadia and Shapoorji Pallonji (TRT World, 2025).

Yet the story of Parsi enterprise is not solely, or even primarily, a story of grand industrial conglomerates. Beneath and alongside the well-documented rise of the Tata and Godrej empires lies a far less chronicled universe of small family businesses, including neighbourhood bakeries, Irani cafés, dairies, general stores, pharmacies, printing presses and tailoring establishments, that were, for well over a century, woven into the everyday commercial fabric of Bombay and other Parsi settlements across India. These small enterprises, typically owned and operated by a single family across two, three, or four generations, embody a distinctive combination of religious ethic, communal solidarity and mercantile pragmatism that Luhrmann (1996) identifies as central to the community's postcolonial social identity and that merits sustained scholarly attention in its own right, independent of the more frequently studied large corporations that share the Parsi name.

This paper addresses that comparative neglect by offering a comprehensive, literature-grounded treatment of Parsi family small businesses in India, organized around a set of interlocking research questions. What has been the historical trajectory of Parsi family businesses and more specifically of Parsi family small businesses, in India? What types of family businesses have Parsis engaged in and through what processes did Parsi households enter commerce? What antecedents and determinants account for the disproportionate entrepreneurial success of this small community and what challenges, economic, social, regulatory and locational, have Parsi family businesses faced? In what ways and along what specific parameters, have Parsi-owned businesses differed from those of non-Parsi communities such as the Marwaris, Gujaratis, Sindhis and Chettiars? What is the status of Parsi family small businesses and why have a substantial number of iconic Parsi small businesses in Mumbai and other locations closed in recent decades?

The paper proceeds as follows. The next section develops a theoretical framework integrating familiness and socioemotional wealth theory (Habbershon & Williams, 1999; Gómez-Mejía et al., 2011) with Bonacich's (1973) theory of middleman minorities. A literature review then addresses the historical trajectory, typology, entry processes, determinants and challenges of Parsi family small business, followed by a dedicated, parameter-based comparative analysis of Parsi and non-Parsi family businesses. A methodology section outlines the review's evidentiary approach, after which an integrated analysis and discussion, findings, implications, limitations and conclusion complete the paper.

Theoretical Framework

An account of Parsi family small business requires a theoretical apparatus capable of explaining two apparently contradictory phenomena simultaneously: the extraordinary historical success of a tiny community in establishing enduring family enterprises and the contemporary attrition of precisely that class of enterprise. This paper integrates three complementary traditions: family business theory, the sociological theory of middleman minorities and the comparative literature on Indian business communities.

Familiness and the Resource-Based View of Family Firms

Habbershon and Williams (1999) introduced the concept of familiness to describe the idiosyncratic bundle of resources and capabilities that arise from the interaction between a family system and a business system, including reputational capital, tacit knowledge transferred across generations, patient

long-horizon capital and dense trust-based networks. For the Parsi community, familiness manifested in the transmission of trade knowledge and supplier and client relationships from one generation to the next within tightly bounded family units, particularly in sectors such as baking, dairying and printing that depended heavily on tacit, apprenticeship-based skills. Complementing familiness, the socioemotional wealth perspective advanced by Gómez-Mejía et al. (2007) holds that family firms are oriented not solely toward financial maximization but toward the preservation of non-financial, affective endowments, including family control, identity and the continuity of the family legacy within the enterprise. Family owners, according to this view, are willing to accept lower or riskier financial returns in order to protect this socioemotional endowment and Gómez-Mejía et al. (2011) note that family firms experience the prospective loss of family control as a salient reference point around which strategic decisions are organized. Berrone et al. (2012) further elaborated socioemotional wealth into five dimensions, comprising family control and influence, family members' identification with the firm, binding social ties, emotional attachment and the intention to continue the dynasty across generations. Applied to the Parsi context, this framework illuminates why many small Parsi family enterprises resisted admitting non-family partners or professional managers even when doing so might have improved commercial viability; contemporary accounts of the Irani café trade record proprietors describing the introduction of an outside partner as functionally equivalent to relinquishing the enterprise altogether (Zoroastrians.net, 2017).

Middleman Minority Theory and Ethnic Entrepreneurship

Bonacich (1973) formulated the theory of middleman minorities to explain the recurrent historical pattern whereby small, culturally distinct migrant or minority communities occupy intermediary commercial positions between an elite producing class and a subordinate consuming population, a pattern typically marked by a sojourner orientation, high internal solidarity, concentration in trade rather than primary production and reliance on co-ethnic labour and capital. The Parsi trajectory in colonial India maps closely onto this model, since Parsis initially functioned as hawkers, interpreters, contractors and intermediaries for European mercantile houses before graduating into brokerage, shipbuilding and the China trade in their own right (World Financial Review, 2026). Their endogamous marriage practices, concentration in Bombay and strong internal communal institutions correspond closely to the solidarity and boundary-maintenance features that Bonacich (1973) identifies as central to middleman minority formation. This theoretical lens also clarifies a structural vulnerability that becomes salient in the contemporary period: a middleman minority's commercial success depends on remaining a bounded, cohesive, numerically viable community, so that once the demographic and social conditions sustaining that boundedness change, the same solidarity mechanisms that once constituted a competitive advantage can become a source of fragility.

An Integrated Framework

This paper integrates the foregoing perspectives into a single explanatory scaffold. Familiness and socioemotional wealth theory explain the internal logic of the Parsi family firm, namely why control, legacy and identity were prioritized within the enterprise (Berrone et al., 2012). Middleman minority theory explains the external, structural positioning of the community within the colonial and postcolonial Indian economy (Bonacich, 1973). The comparative literature on Indian business communities, most notably Bakhru et al. (2018) and Mani (2021), supplies the third leg of the framework by situating Parsi enterprise relative to other trading communities whose divergent demographic and adaptive trajectories throw the Parsi case into sharper relief. Together, these three lenses permit the paper to move beyond a descriptive historical narrative toward a theoretically grounded explanation of both the rise and the contemporary contraction of Parsi family small business in India.

Literature Review

The following subsections synthesize the extant literature, historical, sociological and management-oriented, bearing on Parsi family small business, moving from historical origins through typology, entry processes, determinants and challenges, before a dedicated comparative section addresses Parsi and non-Parsi family businesses directly.

Historical Trajectory of Parsi Business Engagement in India

The Parsi commercial trajectory cannot be understood apart from the community's migratory origins. Having fled Persia to escape persecution, the earliest Zoroastrian settlers established themselves in Gujarat, where TRT World (2025) reports that they initially pursued agriculture and small trade, gradually acculturating to Gujarati language and dress while retaining their distinctive religion. The decisive commercial transformation began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Parsi merchants and shipwrights migrated toward Surat and subsequently Bombay, drawn by the commercial opportunities the East India Company's growing presence created. Patel (2017) traces how prominent Parsi trading families, including the Banaji family, moved outward from Bombay to establish satellite mercantile communities in Calcutta from the late eighteenth century, illustrating the geographically dispersed, network-based character of early Parsi commerce even as Bombay remained the community's demographic and institutional center.

By the early nineteenth century, Parsi merchants had established a lucrative trade with China, exporting principally cotton and opium and importing tea, silk and porcelain, a trade that Palsetia (2008) identifies as pivotal to the community's transformation into substantial merchant capitalists. The opium trade, though ethically fraught and now understood within a more critical historiographical frame, functioned as a vehicle for capital formation that Parsi families subsequently redeployed into shipbuilding, banking and industrial manufacturing (World Financial Review, 2026). The Wadia family's dominance of the Bombay Dockyard from 1736 onward exemplifies this trajectory, as does the mercantile house of Jamshedji Jejeebhoy, founded in 1818, which brought together Parsi, Gujarati Jain, Konkani Muslim and Goan Catholic partners in a manner emblematic of Bombay's cosmopolitan commercial culture (World Financial Review, 2026).

The Encyclopedia Iranica (2026) further documents how Parsi shipbuilders and merchant families extended their commercial reach into Calcutta, Canton, Hong Kong and Singapore, establishing a transregional trading network anchored by family firms and reinforced by religious and communal institutions.

The accumulated capital of this China-trade generation financed the great industrial ventures of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata founded what would become the Tata Group, moving the family's commercial base from trading into textiles, steel and hydroelectric power, while Ardeshir Godrej, after an initial legal education, turned to the manufacture of surgical instruments and subsequently locks and safes, founding in 1897 the enterprise that became the Godrej Group (TRT World, 2025). Pallonji Shapoorji Mistry's construction ventures similarly laid the foundation of the Shapoorji Pallonji Group (TRT World, 2025).

These large industrial houses, while central to popular understanding of Parsi economic achievement, represent only the most visible apex of a far broader base of small and medium-sized family enterprises that proliferated in Bombay's neighbourhoods throughout the same period, a base that constitutes this paper's primary object of analysis.

The Trajectory of Parsi Family Small Businesses Specifically

The small-business dimension of Parsi enterprise followed a related but distinct historical arc. Between approximately 1890 and 1940, hundreds of Zoroastrian immigrants, many of them Iranian Zoroastrians rather than India-settled Parsis proper, opened restaurants and cafés across Bombay, frequently with small loans extended by more established Parsi patrons, giving rise to the institution now popularly known as the Irani café (Zoroastrians.net, 2017). These establishments, characterized by high ceilings, marble-topped tables and a simple menu of bun-maskar and sweet milky chai, became cross-class and cross-community social institutions, serving diplomats, labourers, students and artists alike (Dias, 2014). Alongside the cafés, Parsi families established dairies, such as the Parsi Dairy Farm founded by Nariman Ardeshir in 1916, general stores, pharmacies, tailoring establishments and small printing houses (Time Out Mumbai, 2026).

Unlike the large industrial houses, which professionalized and, in several cases, became publicly listed multinational conglomerates over the twentieth century, small Parsi enterprises overwhelmingly remained sole proprietorships or informal family partnerships, rarely incorporated, seldom externally financed and almost always physically embedded in a single leased or owned premises in a particular Bombay neighborhood (Zoroastrians.net, 2017). This structural simplicity, well suited to the family-centered socioemotional logic described by Gómez-Mejía et al. (2007), would later prove a source of acute vulnerability once urban real estate values began their dramatic escalation and once the multigenerational family labour pool underpinning these enterprises began to contract.

Types of Family Businesses Parsis Have Engaged In

The literature suggests a typology of Parsi family business spanning at least five broad categories. The first comprises trade and mercantile intermediation, including the historical China trade and cotton and opium brokerage, which constituted the community's foundational occupation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Palsetia, 2008). The second comprises maritime and industrial manufacturing, exemplified by Wadia shipbuilding and subsequently by heavy industrial ventures in steel, textiles and engineering associated with the Tata, Godrej and Wadia business houses (TRT World, 2025). The third and the category of central interest to this paper, comprises small retail and hospitality enterprises, including Irani cafés, bakeries, dairies and general stores, typically family-owned across two to four generations within a single Mumbai locality (Zoroastrians.net, 2017). The fourth comprises professional and craft-based small enterprises, including printing presses, pharmacies and tailoring establishments, sectors in which Parsi technical education and precision craftsmanship found commercial expression, as evident already in Ardeshir Godrej's early apprenticeship in a chemist's shop that led to his interest in manufacturing surgical instruments (Johbawa, 2022). The fifth comprises philanthropic and trust-based institutions, including educational institutions and dispensaries funded by Parsi business families as an extension of communal and religious obligation, a category inseparable from the community's broader entrepreneurial ethos (Patel, 2022).

The Process Through Which Parsis Engaged in Family Business

The literature indicates that Parsi entry into family business followed a recognizable, if informal, process. Historically, this process began with an individual founder, frequently a young man who had received a Western-style education but who, disillusioned with or excluded from professional careers in law, turned instead to commerce; Ardeshir Godrej's trajectory, from an aborted legal education to an apprenticeship in a pharmacy and thence to manufacturing, is emblematic of this pattern (Johbawa, 2022). Once a founder had established a viable enterprise, the business was typically extended through the recruitment of brothers, sons and other close male kin into partnership or employment, generating a

joint-family firm structure that Leonard (2011) documents as characteristic of Indian mercantile communities more broadly, including comparable Gujarati and Marwari firms in Hyderabad.

Intergenerational succession within the small Parsi enterprise typically proceeded through direct apprenticeship rather than formal management training, with children learning the trade informally from childhood alongside parents in the family shop, bakery, or café. Sarosh Irani's account of the Irani café business, reported by Zoroastrians.net (2017), captures this dynamic precisely: when disputes arise within a family-run establishment, the family resolves them internally, whereas the introduction of a non-family partner is experienced as tantamount to the dissolution of the enterprise itself. This apprenticeship-based, endogenous succession process reinforced familiness in the sense described by Habbershon and Williams (1999) but simultaneously rendered the enterprise acutely dependent on the willingness of the next generation to remain within the trade, a willingness that, as later sections discuss, has markedly diminished in the contemporary period.

Antecedents, Determinants and Enabling Factors

Several determinants recur across the historical and contemporary literature bearing on Parsi entrepreneurial achievement. Colonial patronage and proximity to British commercial and administrative networks provided the community with privileged access to capital, contracts and legal protections unavailable to many other Indian communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (TRT World, 2025). A strong emphasis on Western-style education and English-language fluency generated a human-capital advantage that translated readily into commercial and managerial competence (TRT World, 2025). The Zoroastrian religious ethic itself functioned as a determinant, since its emphasis on the active creation of material wealth coupled with an obligation to deploy that wealth for communal welfare produced both a work ethic conducive to enterprise and an extensive charitable trust infrastructure that recycled commercial profits into communal institutions, thereby sustaining the human and social capital base from which subsequent generations of entrepreneurs could draw (Patel, 2022). Dense intra-communal trust networks, reinforced by endogamous marriage and residential concentration, lowered transaction costs and facilitated the extension of credit and partnership within the community, a pattern consistent with the trust-based mechanisms that Bonacich (1973) identifies as central to middleman minority commercial success.

The community's early and sustained involvement in shipbuilding and maritime trade provided a technical and logistical competence base that could be redeployed into other industrial sectors as opportunities arose (EncyclopaediaIranica, 2026). At the level of the small family enterprise specifically, the availability of small, informal, community-based loans, of the kind that helped Irani immigrants establish their first cafés, functioned as a critical enabling mechanism in the absence of formal institutional credit (Zoroastrians.net, 2017). Finally, Bakhru et al. (2018) suggest that a broader determinant operating across Indian trading communities, including the Parsis, was the availability of specific ecological or locational niches, such as coastal trade routes and colonial port cities, that a given community could occupy before competitors established themselves.

Challenges Faced by Parsi Family Businesses

The challenges confronting Parsi family businesses are multidimensional, spanning demographic, succession-related, economic, locational and regulatory domains and the literature indicate that these dimensions interact cumulatively rather than operating in isolation. Demographically, census data cited by the World Zoroastrian Organization Trust Funds indicate that the Parsi population in India stood at 89,490 in 1891, peaked at 114,791 in 1941 and has since fallen steadily to 69,601 in 2001 and 57,264 in the 2011 Census, with projections suggesting a possible decline to fewer than 10,000 by the year 2101 if

present trends continue (Free Press Journal, 2026). This decline, attributed to late marriage, small family size, high rates of non-marriage and outmigration, translates directly into a shrinking pool of successors for family enterprises, since an ageing proprietor with no children, or with children who have emigrated or entered other professions, faces a structural impossibility of intergenerational continuity regardless of the enterprise's commercial viability (Free Press Journal, 2026).

Closely related to demographic decline is a succession challenge specifically linked to single-heir and heirless family structures. Mani's (2021) economy-wide study of family and community control in Indian publicly traded firms finds that Parsi firms are disproportionately affected by single-heir succession, to the extent that robustness checks in that study required separate treatment of Parsi firms because a single-heir case, exemplified by the Tata Group under Ratan Tata, complicates standard measures of family control. At the level of the small enterprise, this same phenomenon manifests in the frequently reported reluctance of a proprietor's only child, or of children collectively, to inherit a physically demanding, low-margin trade such as café or bakery ownership, particularly once alternative white-collar career paths become available (Zoroastrians.net, 2017).

Economically, small Parsi enterprises, particularly Irani cafés and bakeries, have faced intensifying competitive pressure from multinational fast-food chains and organized café franchises and Zoroastrians.net (2017) reports that in a city of over eighteen million people, numerous Irani cafés have been displaced from valuable real estate and replaced by international chains, while Dias (2014) documents that the surviving establishments numbered no more than approximately twenty-five by 2014, down from several hundred at the community's mid-twentieth-century peak. The low-margin, high-labour nature of the traditional Irani café or bakery business model, reliant on long hours and thin retail pricing, has become increasingly difficult to sustain against rising input costs and rental rates. This economic pressure is compounded by a locational dimension, since Zoroastrians.net (2017) further observes that Irani café proprietors have increasingly become preoccupied with the financial rewards of selling their premises rather than the cultural rewards of continuing the tradition, a dynamic driven directly by Mumbai's escalating real estate values.

Finally, small, informally managed family enterprises operating from ageing premises have faced growing regulatory scrutiny that larger, professionally managed competitors are often better equipped to satisfy. Time Out Mumbai (2026) reports that the Maharashtra Food and Drug Administration suspended the operating license of the century-old Parsi Dairy Farm in 2026 following an inspection that identified fungal growth in storage areas and discrepancies in raw milk handling, shortly after a comparable suspension affecting another long-established Mumbai eatery, K Rustom & Co. Such episodes illustrate how heritage infrastructure and limited capital for renovation can place small, multi-generational family enterprises at a structural disadvantage in meeting contemporary regulatory standards, independent of the quality or authenticity of the product itself.

Parsi Versus Non-Parsi Family Businesses: A Parameter-Based Comparative Analysis

Existing treatments of Parsi enterprise, including the sections above, gesture toward comparison with other Indian trading communities but typically do so in passing. Because the paper's research questions explicitly require a rigorous comparative treatment, this subsection develops a structured, parameter-based comparison in three stages: first, the identification of comparison parameters; second, the scholarly justification for selecting each parameter; and third, a comprehensive comparative analysis of Parsi and non-Parsi family businesses, principally the Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi and Chettiar communities, along each parameter.

Identification and Justification of Comparison Parameters

Eight comparison parameters are identified for this analysis, each grounded in an established stream of family business or ethnic entrepreneurship scholarship rather than selected arbitrarily. The first parameter is the succession and heirship mechanism, justified by Leonard's (2011) comparative study of Gujarati, Goswami and Marwari family firms in Hyderabad, which demonstrates that the specific mechanisms a community uses to secure heirs, including adoption, polygyny, or strict biological descent, materially shape long-run business continuity. The second parameter is family size and demographic base, justified by Mani's (2021) finding that single-heir succession is disproportionately characteristic of the Parsi community and by Free Press Journal (2026) demographic data documenting the scale of Parsi population contraction relative to other communities. The third parameter is marriage practice, specifically the degree of endogamy versus openness to intercommunity or interfaith marriage, justified by Bonacich's (1973) identification of endogamy as a core boundary-maintenance mechanism in middleman minority communities and by Bakhru et al.'s (2018) finding that intercaste and intercommunity marriage has measurably eroded business continuity among several traditional Indian trading communities.

The fourth parameter is socioemotional orientation and control retention, justified by Berrone et al.'s (2012) five-dimensional socioemotional wealth framework, which predicts that communities placing greater weight on family control and identity will more strongly resist non-family ownership or management even at commercial cost. The fifth parameter is capital reinvestment versus philanthropic diversion, justified by Patel's (2022) documentation of the unusually extensive Parsi charitable trust infrastructure relative to community size, which raises the comparative question of how much accumulated commercial capital across different communities is reinvested into business expansion as opposed to communal welfare institutions. The sixth parameter is occupational mobility, or the propensity of successive generations to exit family trade for professional or white-collar careers, justified directly by Bakhru et al.'s (2018) finding that occupational shift away from trade is a principal driver of declining business continuity among Parsis, Sindhis, Chettians and Gujarati Baniyas relative to Marwaris. The seventh parameter is network and trust structure, justified by Bonacich's (1973) account of co-ethnic trust networks as a source of competitive advantage for middleman minorities and by Leonard's (2011) documentation of comparable kinship-based financial networks among Marwari and Gujarati firms. The eighth parameter is geographic and sectoral diversification, justified by Bakhru et al.'s (2018) observation that communities such as the Marwaris diversified across a wider range of sectors and geographic markets than communities such as the Parsis, whose commercial activity has historically remained heavily concentrated in Bombay and a narrow band of sectors.

Comprehensive Comparative Analysis Across Parameters

Table 1 summarizes the comparative position of Parsi family businesses relative to Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi and Chettiar family businesses along each of the eight parameters identified above. The comparison draws primarily on Bakhru et al. (2018), Leonard (2011), Mani (2021) and Bonacich (1973), supplemented by community-specific historical sources cited throughout this paper.

Table 1 Comparative Analysis of Parsi and Non-Parsi Family Businesses in India Across Eight Parameters

Parameter	Parsi Family Businesses	Non-Parsi Family Businesses (Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi, Chettiar)
Succession and	Predominantly biological,	Greater historical use of adoption and

Parameter	Parsi Family Businesses	Non-Parsi Family Businesses (Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi, Chettiar)
heirship mechanism	endogamous succession with minimal recourse to adoption; single-heir or heirless outcomes common (Leonard, 2011; Mani, 2021).	flexible inheritance arrangements, particularly among Gujarati, Jain and Marwari firms, to secure heirs and preserve continuity (Leonard, 2011).
Family size and demographic base	Small and shrinking family units; population fallen from 114,791 in 1941 to 57,264 in 2011, with projected further decline (Free Press Journal, 2026).	Larger average family size and a stable or growing demographic base among most other trading communities, sustaining a wider successor pool (Mani, 2021).
Marriage practice	Strict endogamy historically maintained, narrowing eligible marriage pool as community size contracts, further depressing marriage and fertility rates (Bonacich, 1973).	Endogamy also present, but a larger community base has historically sustained viable marriage markets; Bakhru et al. (2018) note that intercommunity marriage has nonetheless eroded continuity in several communities.
Socioemotional orientation and control retention	Very high; non-family partnership widely viewed as equivalent to loss of the enterprise (Zoroastrians.net, 2017), consistent with strong socioemotional wealth preservation (Berrone et al., 2012).	Present but often balanced against growth ambition; Marwari firms in particular have shown greater willingness to professionalize management while retaining family ownership (Bakhru et al., 2018).
Capital reinvestment versus philanthropic diversion	Substantial share of commercial wealth historically channelled into an extensive communal trust and philanthropic infrastructure (Patel, 2022).	Charitable giving also significant, but a comparatively larger share of capital has historically been reinvested into business expansion and diversification, particularly among Marwari business houses (Bakhru et al., 2018).
Occupational mobility away from trade	High; strong educational investment has channelled successive generations into law, medicine, engineering and corporate careers away from family trade (Bakhru et al., 2018).	Comparatively lower among Marwaris, where Bakhru et al. (2018) find continued cultural valuation of commerce as a preferred career path across generations.
Network and trust structure	Dense but numerically narrow co-ethnic trust networks concentrated in Bombay, consistent with classic middleman minority solidarity (Bonacich, 1973).	Comparable kinship-based trust networks but typically operating across a larger and more geographically dispersed community base, as documented for Marwari and Gujarati firms (Leonard, 2011).

Parameter	Parsi Family Businesses	Non-Parsi Family Businesses (Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi, Chettiar)
Geographic and sectoral diversification	Historically concentrated in Bombay and a narrow band of sectors, including trade, shipbuilding and later industrial manufacturing (TRT World, 2025).	Greater geographic dispersion and sectoral diversification, particularly among Marwari business groups, which expanded across multiple Indian states and industries (Bakhru et al., 2018).

Note. Compiled from Bakhru et al. (2018), Bonacich (1973), Leonard (2011), Mani (2021), Patel (2022), Free Press Journal (2026) and Zoroastrians.net (2017).

Read across the eight parameters, the comparative analysis yields a coherent explanatory pattern rather than a set of unrelated differences. Bakhru et al. (2018) report that Marwaris have sustained their historical commercial leadership into the present, continuing to dominate family-business rankings in India, whereas Parsis, Sindhis, Chettiers and Gujarati Banias have been comparatively less able to sustain their earlier prominence, a divergence the authors attribute to occupational shift toward white-collar employment, intercommunity marriage, international migration and the differential impact of government policy. Mani's (2021) firm-level analysis corroborates this pattern at the level of publicly traded companies, finding that Marwari, Gujarati and Parsi firms together exercise disproportionate control over Indian corporate ownership relative to population share, but that this control is skewed toward smaller, younger and lower market-share firms, with significant turnover in which community holds the largest firms over time, a finding consistent with the view that community-based control functions primarily as a resource-raising mechanism for younger and smaller enterprises rather than as an entrenched, self-perpetuating oligarchy.

The parameter of succession and heirship mechanism proves particularly decisive. Leonard (2011) demonstrates that Hindu and Jain trading families in Hyderabad, encompassing Gujarati, Goswami and Marwari lineages, historically employed adoption as a mechanism to secure heirs and ensure business continuity in the face of high child mortality or heirlessness, a strategy embedded within broader Hindu joint-family legal and religious norms. Parsi religious and communal practice, by contrast, has historically placed far greater emphasis on endogamous biological descent and adoption has played a comparatively minor role in ensuring business succession within the community, leaving Parsi family firms more exposed than their Hindu or Jain counterparts to the demographic risk of heirlessness that Mani (2021) documents at the level of large publicly traded firms and that this paper's earlier discussion documents at the level of the small family enterprise.

A final comparative distinction concerns the parameter of capital reinvestment versus philanthropic diversion. While most Indian trading communities maintain charitable traditions, the Parsi community's philanthropic infrastructure, comprising an extensive network of trusts, residential colonies and dispensaries, has historically been unusually extensive relative to community size, reflecting a theological emphasis on wealth as an instrument of communal welfare and self-preservation (Patel, 2022). This distinctive orientation, while a source of considerable social good and communal resilience, also meant that a significant proportion of accumulated commercial wealth was channelled into trust-based communal institutions rather than reinvested directly into the expansion or modernization of small family enterprises, a pattern less pronounced among Marwari business houses, which Bakhru et al. (2018) show more consistently reinvested profits into business expansion and geographic and sectoral

diversification. Taken together, the eight-parameter comparison indicates that the Parsi community's contemporary small-business contraction is not attributable to a single deficient practice but to a distinctive configuration across all eight parameters simultaneously, a configuration that historically produced disproportionate commercial success and that, under changed demographic conditions, now produces disproportionate commercial vulnerability.

Current Status, Trends and the Closure of Parsi Small Businesses

The contemporary status of Parsi family small business in India is one of pronounced and accelerating contraction. Dias's (2014) photographic survey of Mumbai's Irani cafés reported that no more than approximately twenty-five such establishments survived at that time, down from several hundred at the community's mid-twentieth-century peak, with closures attributed to fast-food competition and changing consumer attitudes. Subsequent reporting confirms that this attrition has continued: Time Out Mumbai (2026) documents that Mumbai lost the historic B. Merwan Irani café, in operation for 111 years and the long-standing restaurant The New Yorker in Chowpatty within the same recent period, while the Parsi Dairy Farm, established in 1916 and by 2026 run by fourth-generation family members, was suspended by food-safety regulators alongside another storied establishment, K Rustom & Co.

A partially offsetting trend is also discernible. A small number of contemporary restaurateurs have sought to preserve the Irani café tradition through modernized, chain-based reinterpretations that operate multiple outlets across Indian cities under professionally managed governance structures, explicitly framing their mission as preserving the fading tradition for a new generation of urban consumers. This development suggests that while the specific organizational form of the small, single-family Irani café is in decline, the cultural and culinary heritage associated with Parsi small enterprise retains sufficient market appeal to sustain reinvention under different ownership structures. At the same time, the demographic projection of a possible decline of the Parsi population to fewer than ten thousand persons within the present century implies that, absent significant reversal, the pool of families capable of sustaining even a residual number of traditional, family-owned small enterprises will continue to narrow substantially over coming decades (Free Press Journal, 2026).

Methodology

This paper adopts a qualitative, integrative literature review methodology appropriate to a comprehensive, theory-building inquiry into a historically and sociologically complex phenomenon for which primary survey or archival access was not available within the scope of the present study. The review draws upon three categories of source material. The first comprises peer-reviewed academic literature in family business studies, economic sociology and South Asian history, published in journals including *Family Business Review*, *Academy of Management Annals*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Contemporary Drug Problems*, *Iranian Studies*, the *Asia Pacific Journal of Management* and the *Journal of Enterprising Communities*. The second comprises scholarly monographs addressing Parsi social and economic history specifically, notably Luhrmann's (1996) sociological study of the Parsi community's postcolonial condition. The third comprises credible contemporary journalistic, institutional and encyclopaedic sources, employed specifically to document current-status information, closure events and demographic statistics for which academic publication lags contemporary developments.

Sources were identified through a structured search process targeting the historical trajectory, typology, entry processes, determinants, challenges, comparative positioning and contemporary status of Parsi family enterprise. Material was triangulated across sources wherever possible and only sources bearing a clear publication date were retained in the final synthesis, in order to maintain citation traceability and

scholarly rigour throughout. The analytical approach applies to the integrated theoretical framework outlined above, namely familiness, socioemotional wealth theory and middleman minority theory, together with the eight-parameter comparative framework developed specifically for this paper, as the interpretive lens through which the assembled literature is synthesized. Given the qualitative, literature-based nature of the inquiry, the paper does not claim statistical generalizability but rather aims at analytical and theoretical generalizability, in the sense of offering a coherent, evidence-grounded explanatory account capable of informing subsequent primary empirical research.

Analysis and Discussion

Synthesis Against Research Questions

Read together, the literature reviewed above permits a synthesized answer to the paper's guiding research questions. The historical trajectory of Parsi family business in India moved from agrarian settlement in Gujarat, through colonial commercial intermediation and the China trade documented by Palsetia (2008), to industrial diversification into shipbuilding, textiles and manufacturing, producing both the great industrial houses and a parallel universe of small family enterprises that flourished particularly between roughly 1890 and 1970. The trajectory of Parsi family small business specifically followed a distinct arc characterized by informal, single-premises, single-family operation and apprenticeship-based intergenerational transmission, before entering, from approximately the 1970s onward, a period of sustained and accelerating attrition documented by Dias (2014) and Time Out Mumbai (2026). The types of family businesses Parsis engaged in span mercantile trade, maritime and industrial manufacturing, small retail and hospitality enterprise, craft and professional services and philanthropic trust-based institutions, with small enterprise activity concentrated overwhelmingly in the retail, hospitality, dairy and craft categories.

The process through which Parsis engaged in family business typically began with an individual founder, extended through the recruitment of close male kin and was perpetuated through informal apprenticeship rather than formal management succession planning, a pattern that Leonard (2011) shows to be broadly shared with other Indian mercantile communities but that, in the Parsi case, was not accompanied by the flexible adoption-based heirship mechanisms Leonard documents among Gujarati and Marwari firms. The determinants underlying Parsi entrepreneurial success are best understood as a convergence of colonial positional advantage, educational investment, a religiously grounded work and charity ethic, dense intra-communal trust networks of the kind theorized by Bonacich (1973) and technical competence accumulated through maritime trade. The challenges Parsi family businesses have faced are genuinely multidimensional, encompassing demographic contraction of the available successor pool, the single-heir and heirless succession structures documented by Mani (2021), intensifying market competition, real estate pressures and regulatory compliance burdens that disproportionately affect ageing, undercapitalized establishments.

Regarding the comparative question addressed in the dedicated parameter-based analysis above, the evidence indicates that Parsi family businesses are distinguished from non-Parsi family businesses along all eight identified parameters: a narrower, largely biological succession mechanism; a smaller and more rapidly contracting demographic base; a stricter and increasingly self-limiting endogamy; a comparatively stronger socioemotional orientation toward family control; a comparatively greater diversion of capital toward communal philanthropy rather than business reinvestment; a higher propensity toward occupational exit from trade; a numerically narrower though still dense trust network; and a comparatively lower degree of geographic and sectoral diversification. The status of Parsi family small business is one of marked contraction, evidenced by the reduction of Mumbai's Irani cafés from

several hundred at their historical peak to a small remaining fraction, even as a small number of professionally managed ventures attempt to preserve the associated culinary and cultural heritage under different organizational forms. The closures of specific Parsi small businesses in Mumbai and other locations are attributable to a convergent combination of succession failure due to demographic decline, competitive displacement, the financial attractiveness of urban real estate monetization relative to continued low-margin operation and, in specific documented instances, regulatory non-compliance associated with ageing physical infrastructure.

The Paradox of Prosperity and Decline

A central analytical insight emerging from this review is what might be termed the paradox of Parsi prosperity, namely that the very factors that produced the community's extraordinary commercial and social success are substantially the same factors now driving the decline of its family small businesses. High investment in education produced professionals who left family trades for law, medicine, engineering and corporate careers, a shift Bakhrui et al. (2018) identify as a principal driver of declining business continuity. Late marriage and small family size, adopted partly to preserve household economic stability and partly reflecting rising educational and career aspirations, produced a demographic profile incompatible with sustained multigenerational business succession, as Mani (2021) demonstrates at the level of firm ownership structure. Urban concentration in Bombay, which once provided proximity to colonial commercial opportunity, later exposed the community's small enterprises to the full force of metropolitan real estate inflation, a dynamic documented by Zoroastrians.net (2017). Endogamous marriage and strict communal boundaries, which once generated the trust networks underpinning credit and partnership in the manner theorized by Bonacich (1973), have, combined with demographic contraction, narrowed the pool of eligible marriage partners to a degree that further depresses marriage and fertility rates, compounding the original demographic challenge.

Economic, Social and Cultural Determinants Interwoven

The evidence assembled in this paper resists any purely economic explanation of Parsi family small-business decline. Economic factors, including rising rents, wage costs and competitive pressure from organized retail and hospitality chains, are undeniably significant and are extensively documented by Dias (2014) and Zoroastrians.net (2017). Yet these economic pressures operate upon and are substantially amplified by, social and cultural conditions specific to the Parsi community: a socioemotional wealth logic that renders the introduction of non-family capital or management culturally and emotionally costly, as Gómez-Mejía et al. (2011) demonstrate more generally for family firms; a demographic structure that, independent of market conditions, frequently leaves no family successor available at all, as Free Press Journal (2026) data confirm; and a cultural valuation of professional, white-collar achievement, itself a product of the community's own historical investment in education, that renders continuation of a physically demanding small trade a comparatively unattractive life choice for the rising generation. A satisfactory explanation of Parsi family small-business decline must therefore treat economic, social and cultural determinants as mutually constitutive rather than as separable, competing causal factors, a conclusion consistent with the integrated theoretical framework advanced earlier in this paper.

Findings

This review yields several core findings. First, Parsi family small business in India represents a historically distinct and analytically separable phenomenon from the large Parsi-founded industrial conglomerates with which the community's economic reputation is most commonly associated, and it merits independent scholarly treatment. Second, the historical success of Parsi enterprise, at both the

small and large scale, is best explained by a convergence of colonial positional advantage, educational investment, religiously grounded work and philanthropic ethics documented by Patel (2022) and dense intra-communal trust networks operating in the manner theorized by Bonacich (1973). Third, the contemporary decline of Parsi family small business is driven primarily by demographic contraction and succession failure, as quantified by Mani (2021) and Free Press Journal (2026), rather than by any general deficiency in commercial viability, with economic, regulatory and locational pressures functioning as compounding rather than primary causal factors.

Fourth, the eight-parameter comparative analysis indicates that communities such as the Marwaris, which retained flexible succession mechanisms including adoption (Leonard, 2011) and a stronger cultural countervailing pressure against professionalization away from trade (Bakhru et al., 2018), have sustained family business continuity more effectively than has the Parsi community. Fifth, the closure of iconic Parsi small enterprises in Mumbai and elsewhere reflects a convergence of succession failure, competitive displacement, real estate monetization incentives and, in documented instances, regulatory compliance failure linked to ageing infrastructure (Time Out Mumbai, 2026). Sixth, nascent efforts to preserve Parsi culinary and commercial heritage through professionally managed, multi-outlet reinterpretations suggest that while the traditional single-family small-enterprise form is contracting, the underlying cultural and commercial heritage retains market and social value capable of sustaining adapted organizational forms.

Implications for Theory, Policy and Practice

Theoretical Implications

For family business theory, the Parsi case offers a valuable extension of socioemotional wealth and familiness frameworks by illustrating how demographic structure, rather than firm-level strategic choice alone, can determine the ultimate fate of a family firm's socioemotional-preserving intentions. Existing scholarship following Gómez-Mejía et al. (2007, 2011) has focused predominantly on how family firms make strategic trade-offs between financial and socioemotional objectives; the Parsi case, read alongside Mani's (2021) firm-level findings, suggests a further, prior condition, namely the demographic availability of family successors, that determines whether socioemotional wealth preservation is even a viable strategic option in the first instance. This suggests a productive avenue for extending family business theory to incorporate demographic antecedents more explicitly alongside the more commonly examined strategic and governance variables and the eight-parameter comparative framework developed in this paper offers one such extension applicable to other ethnic minority business communities beyond the Indian context.

Policy Implications

For policymakers concerned with minority heritage preservation and urban commercial diversity, the Parsi small-business case suggests that conventional small and medium enterprise support instruments, such as credit access or regulatory simplification, while valuable, are unlikely by themselves to reverse a decline rooted substantially in demographic and succession dynamics. Policy measures more directly responsive to the determinants identified in this paper might include heritage-designation and adaptive-reuse frameworks that permit ageing family-run establishments to modernize physical infrastructure without triggering prohibitive real estate pressure to sell outright, together with support for succession mechanisms, including facilitated transfer to trusted employees or community members where biological family succession is unavailable, an arrangement broadly consistent with the trust-based, communally embedded character of Parsi philanthropic institutions documented by Patel (2022).

Practical and Managerial Implications

For Parsi family business owners themselves, the analysis suggests that succession planning cannot safely be left to informal, apprenticeship-based transmission in a demographic environment where biological family succession is increasingly uncertain, as Mani's (2021) findings on single-heir and heirless firms illustrate. Structured consideration of alternative succession pathways, including transfer to trusted non-family employees, community-based ownership transfer mechanisms, or the kind of professionally managed multi-outlet reinterpretation discussed above, may offer viable means of preserving both the commercial enterprise and its associated cultural heritage even where direct biological succession is not available.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This paper is subject to several limitations that should inform the interpretation of its conclusions and that point toward productive directions for future research. As a literature-based, qualitative-integrative review, the paper does not incorporate primary survey, interview, or archival data specific to Parsi family small-business owners and its conclusions should accordingly be understood as a theoretically grounded synthesis of existing secondary evidence rather than as new empirical findings; future research employing structured interviews or surveys with surviving Parsi family business proprietors across multiple Indian cities would substantially strengthen the empirical foundation for the patterns identified here. The paper relies in part on contemporary journalistic and institutional reportage, such as Time Out Mumbai (2026) and Dias (2014), for current-status and closure information, given the inherent lag between real-time commercial developments and peer-reviewed academic publication; while such sources were selected for their credibility and corroborated where possible, future scholarship should seek to validate these accounts against primary business registration, taxation and licensing records.

The paper's geographic focus is weighted toward Mumbai, reflecting the concentration of both the historical literature and the Parsi population itself in that city; comparative research examining Parsi family small business in Gujarat, Karnataka and other regions with historically significant Parsi settlements would extend the generalizability of the present findings. Quantitative research modelling the relative contribution of demographic, economic, regulatory and locational factors to small-business closure rates within the Parsi community, ideally employing survival analysis or comparable econometric techniques and building on the firm-level methodology of Mani (2021), would allow the qualitative determinants identified in this paper to be tested and weighted with greater precision. Finally, the eight-parameter comparative framework developed in this paper, while grounded in established scholarship, has not been empirically tested through primary data collection across the compared communities and future research applying structured survey instruments to Parsi, Marwari, Gujarati, Sindhi and Chettiar family business owners along each of the eight parameters would substantially strengthen the comparative claims advanced here.

Conclusion

The family small businesses of the Parsi community occupy a distinctive and increasingly precarious position within the wider narrative of Indian entrepreneurship. Emerging from a history of migration, colonial commercial intermediation and disciplined religious and educational investment, Parsi family enterprises, at both the industrial and the small-business scale, achieved a level of commercial success profoundly disproportionate to the community's numerical size (Mani, 2021). Yet this paper's synthesis of the historical, sociological and management literature, together with its dedicated eight-parameter comparative analysis, demonstrates that the very determinants underlying that historical success, namely educational investment, small and late-marrying families, endogamous communal solidarity and urban

professional concentration, have, in the changed demographic and economic conditions of contemporary India, become the principal drivers of small-business decline. The closure of iconic Irani cafés, dairies and other family-run establishments across Mumbai and other Indian cities is thus best understood not as an isolated commercial failure but as the visible surface expression of a deeper demographic and sociocultural transformation affecting one of India's smallest and most historically influential minority communities. Sustaining what remains of this distinctive small-business heritage, whether through structured succession planning, adaptive heritage policy, or innovative organizational reinvention, will require an integrated response attentive simultaneously to the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon that this paper has sought to illuminate. Future empirical research building upon the theoretical framework, the comparative parameters and the findings advanced here can further refine both scholarly understanding and practical intervention in support of a commercial and cultural legacy of considerable significance to the economic history of India.

References

1. Bakhru, K. M., Behera, M., & Sharma, A. (2018). Entrepreneurial communities and family enterprises of India: An overview of their emergence and sustained growth. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 12(1), 32–49. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JEC-01-2017-0003>.
2. Berrone, P., Cruz, C., & Gómez-Mejía, L. R. (2012). Socioemotional wealth in family firms: Theoretical dimensions, assessment approaches and agenda for future research. *Family Business Review*, 25(3), 258–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894486511435355>.
3. Bonacich, E. (1973). A theory of middleman minorities. *American Sociological Review*, 38(5), 583–594. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094409>.
4. Dias, K. (2014, March 20). In pictures: Mumbai's dying Irani cafes. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/2014/03/mumbai-irani-cafes-dying-slow--2014312134113726760.html>.
5. Encyclopaedia Iranica. (2026). Parsi communities ii. In Calcutta. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/parsi-communities-ii-in-calcutta/>.
6. Free Press Journal. (2026, May 10). Parsi community facing demographic crisis, poverty and ageing population challenges. <https://www.freepressjournal.in/mumbai/parsi-community-facing-demographic-crisis-poverty-and-ageing-population-challenges>.
7. Gómez-Mejía, L. R., Cruz, C., Berrone, P., & De Castro, J. (2011). The bind that ties: Socioemotional wealth preservation in family firms. *Academy of Management Annals*, 5(1), 653–707. <https://doi.org/10.5465/19416520.2011.593320>.
8. Gómez-Mejía, L. R., Haynes, K. T., Núñez-Nickel, M., Jacobson, K. J. L., & Moyano-Fuentes, J. (2007). Socioemotional wealth and business risks in family-controlled firms: Evidence from Spanish olive oil mills. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 52(1), 106–137. <https://doi.org/10.2189/asqu.52.1.106>.
9. Habbershon, T. G., & Williams, M. L. (1999). A resource-based framework for assessing the strategic advantages of family firms. *Family Business Review*, 12(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-6248.1999.00001.x>.
10. Johbawa. (2022, October 19). 30 most famous Parsis of India and their contribution. <https://johbawa.com/2022/10/07/30-most-famous-parsis-of-india-and-their-contribution/>.
11. Leonard, K. I. (2011). Family firms in Hyderabad: Gujarati, Goswami and Marwari patterns of adoption, marriage and inheritance. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 53(4), 827–854. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417511000397>.

12. Luhrmann, T. M. (1996). *The good Parsi: The fate of a colonial elite in a postcolonial society*. Harvard University Press.
13. Mani, D. (2021). Who controls the Indian economy: The role of families and communities in the Indian economy. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 38(1), 121–149. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10490-018-9633-5>.
14. Palsetia, J. S. (2008). The Parsis of India and the opium trade in China. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 35(4), 647–678. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009145090803500408>.
15. Patel, D. (2017). *The Banaji and Mehta families: Forging the Parsi community in Calcutta* [Unpublished manuscript]. <https://dinyarpatel.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/patel-dinyar-the-banaji-and-mehta-families-forging-the-parsi-community-in-calcutta.pdf>.
16. Patel, D. P. (2022). Power and philanthropy: The imperial dimensions of Parsi amelioration of the Iranian Zoroastrians. *Iranian Studies*, 55(3), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1017/irn.2022.15>.
17. Time Out Mumbai. (2026, July 17). Parsi Dairy Farm is the latest iconic Mumbai eatery to lose its license. <https://www.timeout.com/mumbai/news/parsi-dairy-farm-is-the-latest-iconic-mumbai-eatery-to-lose-its-licence-071726>.
18. TRT World. (2025, May 23). How the Parsi community from Persia shaped India's economic growth. <https://www.trtworld.com/article/5d238774be12>.
19. World Financial Review. (2026, March 13). Indian merchants & the opium trade (1773–1900). <https://worldfinancialreview.com/junior-partners-in-empire-indian-merchants-and-the-opium-trade-1773-1900/>.
20. Zoroastrians.net. (2017, November 21). The disappearing cuisine of an ancient religion. <https://zoroastrians.net/2017/11/21/the-disappearing-cuisine-of-an-ancient-religion/>.