



Tribal entrepreneurship in India: A case study of the bhils of dhar district, Madhya Pradesh

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Abstract

Entrepreneurship has various definitions depending on the context and research perspective. The most widely accepted view is that entrepreneurship addresses the need for profit within accessible markets. Beyond management, entrepreneurship is also shaped by individual behavior and cultural context, requiring an interdisciplinary approach. This research focuses on the anthropological study of entrepreneurial patterns among the Bhils in the Dhar district of western Madhya Pradesh, India, and explores the factors influencing these patterns. The Bhil community is patriarchal, and women are generally not encouraged to pursue entrepreneurship, though Self-Help Groups (SHGs) formed by women present an exception. In some instances, families support entrepreneurial ventures, while in others, individuals engage in entrepreneurship to provide financial support to their families. Regardless of family background, there is a common trend of advising children to pursue government jobs. Government schemes, although present, have shown limited effectiveness in the post-COVID context. Prior work experience, particularly in private companies, has enabled some individuals to establish their own businesses. Moreover, limited political awareness among the Bhils hinders their ability to navigate and benefit from available government schemes, underlining the need for increased engagement with policy and public information channels for community upliftment.

Keywords: Tribal entrepreneurship, bhil entrepreneurship, political awareness, government schemes, anthropology of entrepreneurship development and sustainability

Introduction

The concept of entrepreneurship, which is the crucial factor for the emergence and development of a small enterprise, trade, or any other business venture, has assumed importance in research and action to accelerate economic growth in developed and developing societies. According to Swedberg (2000), most people who are not economists would probably expect the theories and analyses of entrepreneurship as part of economics, as it is one of the disciplines of the social sciences. Entrepreneurship involves both profit and the behaviors and culture of an individual or a community, hence entrepreneurial behavior. So, the entrepreneurship subject took an interdisciplinary approach, which involved psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Hoselitz (1951) [11], mentions that in the Middle Ages, 'an entrepreneur' was an active person who gets things done. One of the early definitions of entrepreneurship was given by Max Weber (1898) [31], 'Entrepreneurship means the taking over and the organization of some part of the economy, in which the people's needs are satisfied through the exchange, for the sake of making a profit and at one's economic risk'. Virtanen (1997) [30], further states that entrepreneurs act as individuals despite society and culture playing a crucial role in entrepreneurship. The decision will be flexed continuously according to the market, availability of raw materials, and consumer satisfaction. Knight (1921) [13], highlights entrepreneurs' behavior and mentions that entrepreneurs make decisions under risk and uncertainty. In Knight's words, "entrepreneur is an economic functionary, who undertakes such responsibility as by its very nature cannot be insured, nor capitalized, nor salaried; he also guarantees specified sums to others in return for the assignments made to them" (p. 312). Barth (1963) [1], has mentioned that entrepreneurship is not about a person but an aspect of role to the actions and activities. Schumpeter (1934) [25], has supported that entrepreneurship development comes from innovation. An entrepreneur is a

person who foresees an opportunity and tries to exploit it by introducing a new product, an original production method, a new source of raw materials, or a unique combination of factors of production. Chaudhuri (1975) [6], suggests that Schumpeter's concept of entrepreneurship needs to be modified, especially in less advanced countries of Asia and Africa. In these countries, most business leaders or entrepreneurs are imitators. The least developed and developing countries cannot afford innovation. In India, entrepreneurship or a modern factory system was introduced in the 1850s with imitative industries like cotton textiles and jute (Medhora, 1965) [18].

Entrepreneurial studies in India started in the mid-1950s. These focused mainly on the rise of trading communities as manufacturers and hindrances due to the upcoming entrepreneurs' caste and religion. The in-depth social and cultural aspects were less emphasized on Dalits

Entrepreneurship definition of Max Weber (1898) [31], retrieved from Yoo, M. (2003, p. 6) [33]. The Ties that (un)bind: Social Networks and Entrepreneurship in High Technology Industries. United States: University of Michigan.

and Tribals. Studies highlight that entrepreneurship in India started in the late 1800s during the British era. Dalit entrepreneurship started during the 1980s and took off vigorously after the 1990s, and Tribal entrepreneurship is a novel concept (Medhora, 1965 & Iyer, Khanna & Varshney, 2013) [12, 18].

Trivedi (1991) [29] says that Bhils of central India are backward due to several factors; late introduction to sedentary agriculture, minor exposure to business or entrepreneurship, etc. Therefore, the entrepreneurship angle among Bhils is the least explored. Although the studies are scarce, the main focus was on the management and economics approach. Entrepreneurship has not been looked at through the cultural and social behavioral aspect like

anthropological approach. As a result, the proposed study sheds light on the anthropological approaches to the entrepreneurship of Bhils. The present study explores entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship development among the Bhil tribe of the Dhar district in Madhya Pradesh. The focus is to study the entrepreneurship patterns of the Bhil tribe.

Scope of Entrepreneurship Development in India

India has a strong social system, and a large variety of intellects has its scope for giving new entrepreneurs to the global economy. The scope of entrepreneurship development in a country like India is tremendous. The beginning of economic reforms in the 1990s opened the floodgates for Indian entrepreneurs to explore the hidden potential. The Indian economy clocked an extraordinary GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth rate averaging six to eight percent for a decade. Realizing the potential of native entrepreneurs, FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) touched new heights, relieving the Indian economy from persistent foreign exchange crises. With an increased and continuous growth rate supported by a solid entrepreneur base, employment and per capita income increased (Sharma & Sharma, 2011)^[26].

The entrepreneurial journey of India after attaining republic status during 1948-1991 has seen many changes. Post-independence, the state has assumed the role of a significant entrepreneur. The government has concentrated on developing the small-scale sector, boosting indigenous entrepreneurship. The small-scale industry not only contributes towards employment generation but also attends to the specific needs of many customers. The Indian government encouraged new entrepreneurs from the non-dominant classes in the late sixties. However, while providing financial assistance, the banks demanded equal collateral, which kept aspiring entrepreneurs away. In the later years, despite good schemes promoting entrepreneurship, less than 20% of new entrepreneurs have access to training (Gulati & Sharma, 2013)^[9].

Gulati and Sharma (2013)^[9], opine that, to a large extent, in the Indian context, there are other factors like risk-averse attitude, early settlement through long-term secured government jobs, lack of social capital, and no proper physical infrastructure that are bottlenecks for entrepreneurship development. In support, Maheshwari and Sahu (2013)^[17], found that family involvement in the decision-making of the youth paves the way towards regular jobs by hampering their entrepreneurial goals. They constantly compare the careers of early job settlers to those of later entrepreneurs. Exceptionally, few families support their children's idea of business, but not everyone is in a position to provide financial help. Also, non-banking firms charge high-interest rates to provide capital.

Despite the challenges, India has become a hotbed of outsourcing hubs of the globe. The entrepreneurs can cater for the demands of IT, management and R&D segments with uncompromising quality. Today's entrepreneurs address the financial problem by raising funds from venture capitalists. The new entrepreneurs have the latest technologies, such as the internet and mobile, which address the costly advertising platforms for small businesses. They are not just profit-driven but also focus on addressing social needs. Also, today's businesses focus on customer relationships and satisfaction (Gulati & Sharma, 2013)^[9].

However, the government has to realize that small business owners want to remain self-employed. Instead, they require market and legal assistance rather than financial assistance (Maheshwari & Sahu, 2013)^[17]. In rural India, the government of India operates various schemes for promoting entrepreneurship through the Ministry of Micro Small and Medium Industries, National Small Industries Corporation Ltd, Small Industries Development Corporation, Khadi and Village Industries Corporation, Financial institutions such as NABARD, SIDBI and the state governments through District Industries Centre and institutions such as Entrepreneurship development institutes (Lavanya, Hemalatha & Indumathi, 2014)^[16].

Tribal Entrepreneurship

Tribals are early settlers of the Indian Union (before Dravidians and Aryans). They are known for their unique way of life, customs, traditions, beliefs, and practices. The forest and hill dwellers, with time, adopted sedentary agriculture. At that time, they lacked fertile lands, as other communities already had land holdings. The availability of land and other natural resources became scarce. Further fragmentation from generation to generation worsened the position and pushed them into a vicious cycle of poverty and backwardness. In this condition, more and more tribals left agriculture and accepted wage earning, agricultural labor, and services in government departments and public and private sectors (Trivedi, 1991)^[29].

Throughout history, they have been exploited by non-tribals. Some non-tribal groups have made their way into the tribal region and become part of the tribal society, having a separate non-tribal identity. They have emerged as tribals' exploiters, moneylenders, and big landholders. Other reasons for the backwardness are high population pressure, which contributes to pressure in land holding, lack of traditional occupations, lower efficiency of governmental machinery and the unsatisfactory situation of technological adoption. The nature of backwardness among the tribals is social and economic. Further, Trivedi (1991)^[29], suggests that the only meaningful way to bring development in the lives of tribals is by introducing them to entrepreneurial activities and assisting more entrepreneurs in their ventures. Slowly, they have started to take up entrepreneurship as an alternate source of income.

For tribal development, the Government of India has been trying to support them through various programs and schemes. The National Institute of Rural Development, in its report on Rural Development Statistics 2019-20, calculated the poverty among STs in rural and urban India for 2011-12. The report revealed that in 2011-12 poverty among tribals was 45.3% and 24.1% in rural and urban areas, respectively, with a total national percentage of 25.4% and 13.7% in similar categories (Sathyapalan, 2020)^[24].

Basu and Bharati (2016)^[2], in support of Trivedi, suggest that the need of the hour is to sharpen the tribe's existing skills, expertise, and knowledge through specialized training and knowledge. It will provide them with the needed inner strength to grab external opportunities coming their way. Grabbing external opportunities will provide them with sustainable development, better employment opportunities, and new avenues for entrepreneurial development.

The tribals lag far behind their non-tribal counterparts in starting their business ventures. It is mainly due to their

area's political isolation and backwardness (Bogaert, 1975 & Doshi, 1971) ^[4, 7]. Bogaert further emphasized the need for training and readymade models as possible solutions to eliminate the hindrances. In studying the entrepreneurial development in the tribal society, Doshi (1971) ^[7], in his study among Bhils, felt that tribals lack social awareness with respect to the regional society, which consists of both tribal and non-tribal populations. Further, his study pointed out that entrepreneurship and self-awareness are directly related. Sachchidanand (1968), in his study of the tribals of Bihar, shows that many tribals have shown entrepreneurship abilities in opening grocery, tea, and cycle repair shops.

Hooja (2004) ^[10], states that today's world is connected like never before due to strong financial and trade linkages cutting across all natural and national boundaries. As a result, global and national economic environment changes could trickle down to the local economy. Tribals are mainly based in rural areas. So, the rural economy plays its part in tribal employment and entrepreneurship. The international and national phenomena, globalization and economic reforms, influence the rural economy and tribal entrepreneurship. The changes resulting from the 1990s economic reforms and globalization that followed have their say in tribal entrepreneurship in India. Komaraiah (2008) ^[14], explains how the 1990s economic reforms brought development opportunities among the tribes.

Due to remoteness and isolation, tribal people are often deprived of modern tools, techniques, and technologies that can solve their daily problems. As a result, they rely primarily upon their indigenous practices and try to bring up ground-level innovations. When the touch of modern technology embraces simple practices, the output could be stunning. In line with this, Sahoo and Kalyani (2013) ^[23], placed the case of the Mahali community of the Mayurbhanj district of Orissa. The community has expertise in manufacturing and growing bamboo crafts on their barren land. There is a need to support such types of indigenous skills.

A series of studies on tribal entrepreneurship considered several issues. Basu and Bharti (2016, p. 83-84) ^[2], have put forth some significant issues which some scholars have already raised. The main issues in the development of tribal entrepreneurship are as follows.

1. Tribal vs non-tribal entrepreneurship.
2. Change in tribal entrepreneurship pattern.
3. Government's efforts for the development of tribal entrepreneurship.
4. The role of non-governmental organizations in tribal entrepreneurship.
5. Indigenous development of tribal entrepreneurs.
6. Role of credit facilities and money lending organizations and institutions.
7. Role of other forms of entrepreneurship.
8. Role of socio-psychological parameters in developing tribal entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship development for the tribes in Madhya Pradesh

The varied socio-cultural and geographical environment and its parameters, the diverse tribal world of Madhya Pradesh (MP), has been cut off from mainstream development. The Government of MP has initiated several programs under the auspices of the Tribal Welfare Department to uplift the

downtrodden, with particular emphasis on the economic development of the tribal population. The tribal population constitutes approximately 20.27% of the state's total population, and there are 46 tribal groups as per the government record. A significant chunk of the tribal population resides in the forest areas, and they are deprived of schemes from mainstream development due to isolation, low education, unawareness about the schemes, and a lack of a proper source of information. To have overall development in the state, the state government has introduced different schemes significantly to improve the living standard of tribes by enhancing their annual income with improved livelihood opportunities. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the Madhya Pradesh government initiated the tribal sub-plan for development. Among many tribes of Madhya Pradesh, Bhils are high in number (Tripathi, 2014) ^[28].

Who are the Bhils

The Bhil tribe is an indigenous group in India known for their scattered settlements and diverse cultural practices. Their identity is believed to derive from the word "Villu" (Bow), their primary weapon. Tribals generally share homologous characteristics, but bhils are different. There are no commonalities, even among those living a few kilometres apart. Furthermore, in the ethnographic study done on bhils, Nath (1960) ^[21], supports the previous statements from Majumdar's writings that, despite heterogeneity exhibited by the Bhils, the superficial resemblance of adjacent tribes might have helped to come under the generic term 'Bhil.' The Bhil settlements consist of 25-30 homesteads, each housing a basic family unit under the administrative control of a Headman (Tadavi) under the guidance of a village accountant (Talati). They worship Hindu deities, chiefly Raja Pantha, of their pantheon. as well as natural elements like crops, water, and forests. They have a poly-segmentary social system and follow patrilineal descent. The Bhil dialect is a mix of Rajasthani, Gujarati, Hindi, and Marathi, with unique words and no Sanskrit elements. (Naik, 1957 & Nath, 1960) ^[21]. In India, they are concentrated more in eastern Gujarat, western Madhya Pradesh, parts of Chhattisgarh, Northern Maharashtra and Southern Gujarat (Williams, 2020, p. 17) ^[32],

Research Methodology

The study relied on primary data collection through fieldwork to understand tribal entrepreneurship among the Bhils in central India. Due to the dispersed population of tribal communities, identifying a sufficient number of entrepreneurs was challenging. The Bhil tribe, being populous in western Madhya Pradesh—especially in Dhar, Jhabua, Kargone, and Ratlam—offered a suitable study population. Dhar district, with 12 tribal-rich blocks, was selected for in-depth exploration.

Fieldwork was conducted over a year (August 2021–September 2022), during which 110 entrepreneurs were interviewed from seven blocks: Dhar, Nalccha, Sardarpur, Badnawar, Umarban, Kukshi, and Bagh. These entrepreneurs operated in sectors like horticulture, poultry, dairy, fisheries, handicrafts, handlooms, and small-scale industries. The chain referral (snowball sampling) technique was used to identify participants, facilitating rapport and trust. In-depth interviews formed the core of the data collection method, leading to a rich set of case studies presented in the subsequent sections.

Entrepreneurship patterns in the Dhar district

In the field area of Dhar, the researcher has observed many disparities between tribals and non-tribals in terms of entrepreneurship. Mainstream entrepreneurship is not a cup of tea for many tribals. Among tribals, many are single entrepreneurs (sole owner cum worker), and a few own small enterprises which employ people. Non-tribals such as Rajputs and Thakurs of the district hold contracts for laying roads, electrifying villages, and managing gas stations. Baniyas in this region hold mainly retail outlets.

Despite the district having an affluent tribal population, the Pithampur industrial area in the Block, and good infrastructure, the share of tribals among entrepreneurs is too less. Dhar district's tribals commonly run businesses of general stores, tea vendors, hotels, Ladies' accessories selling shops (exclusive shops where ladies' items are available), vehicle mechanic shops, welder workshops, poultry, fishing, cloth stores, handlooms and handicrafts. Bagh print is a type of block print that is a significant livelihood source in both the Bagh and Kukshi blocks.

The chain referral technique is a snowball sampling method that is employed when it is challenging to select the people. The researcher, with convenience sampling, identifies the first few samples and asks them to recruit more subjects among their acquaintances who are willing to participate in the research. Sampling continues till data saturation. It is an efficient and cost-effective process (Naderifar *et al.*, 2017) ^[19],

In the field area, the vast differences between tribals and non-tribals in taking up entrepreneurship depend on several factors. The main reason would be isolation for several years. The entrepreneurial language is a novel concept to Bhils. Other than that, internal factors include gender dynamics, family background, and community support. Externally, politics in the region and the availability of government schemes influence the entrepreneurial will of the Bhil. These are discussed elaborately in the next section.

Factors Responsible for Tribal Entrepreneurship

The entrepreneurial aspirations and achievements of the Bhil community are shaped by a complex interplay of social, cultural, economic, and political forces that extend far beyond individual ambition. Factors such as prevailing gender norms, familial support and legacy, access to government programs, accumulated work experience, and local power dynamics collectively determine who enters the realm of enterprise and how they sustain their ventures. By examining each of these dimensions in turn, we can understand not only why some individuals emerge as successful entrepreneurs but also the barriers that inhibit broader participation. The following subsections explore these critical influences, beginning with the role of gender, on tribal entrepreneurship among the Bhils.

a. Entrepreneurship and Gender

The Bhil tribe is patriarchal, which has significantly less scope for encouraging women as entrepreneurs because entrepreneurship is a novel form of earning for tribals, where men themselves show restrictions for such occupational changes. Though the number of Women entrepreneurs is less, they can come into the limelight with support and encouragement. The primary role in women's entrepreneurship is played by SHGs (Self-Help Groups) registered with NRLM (National Rural Livelihood Mission)

and NULM (National Urban Livelihood Mission) under the government. Women got educated about savings and the easy availability of loans from group members. They have opened petty businesses, poultry, goat farms, fisheries etc., Other individual entrepreneurs, such as Kanchan Baghel, Rajunam Bai, and Kaveri, are successful with family support. Kanchan's husband is an expert in the tailoring of ladies' garments. He taught the skill to his wife. Kanchan looks after the shop and works as a tailor too. Rajunam Bai, the wife of the vegetable vendor, assists her husband in selling vegetables and Kaveri, the wife of an entrepreneur who manages a Poultry farm, supervises the same. Two of the three women mentioned worked part-time and looked after agriculture too. Women are not encouraged in Bagh print as the process is laborious, where washing before and after dyeing has to be done in the river or flowing water. Families advocate that men shall handle such work. However, as an exception, an SHG in Mandu with Bhil women primarily engages in Bagh Print, with women undertaking the end-to-end activities of Bagh Print.

b. Effect of Family Background on Entrepreneurs

A family is a fundamental unit in deciding a person's abilities as an entrepreneur. An entrepreneur may initiate his own business with family support or start supporting the family in dire financial conditions. An entrepreneur of Rupakheda village of Badnawar tehsil has immense family support in dealing with entrepreneurial activities. Their family handles multiple businesses in which the profits are shared among all. His brothers will handle stakes in all businesses except the gas station. Being a member of the Youth Congress, he has become a pivot in making his family politically strong.

An entrepreneur from Bhamori village runs the garage inherited from his father. In contrast, the other entrepreneur of Shambhupada village has imbibed the skill of Two-wheeler repair and started his garage from his elder brother. Few entrepreneurs are into entrepreneurship by sacrificing their educational careers and supporting one of their family members to get a good education. Balu Mori of Bhamansuta village started his enterprise very young and supported his brother financially to complete post-graduation. Also, Bharat Baghel has supported his brother to be an Advocate with the help of his enterprise. They have dropped out of formal education before the primary level.

In the case of women among SHGs, apart from advancing in agriculture and managing enterprises, many have supported their husbands in buying autos, goods carrier vehicles, and floating petty businesses to become sole entrepreneurs by availing of bank loans. A few SHGs, with mutual support, formed producer groups and worked on preparing organic fertilizers and pesticides, organic farming, custard apple procurement and selling. On the contrary, women of Bagh print families are never encouraged to manage the enterprise. Some entrepreneurs are into their ventures, while the other family members are into agriculture. The occupational background of parents of entrepreneurs is either agriculture, landholding, or agricultural labor.

c. Entrepreneurship and government support

The government of Madhya Pradesh and India have developed schemes to uplift tribals. In the pre-COVID era, there were no separate schemes for tribals, but the benefits were more in terms of subsidies. There was the Mukhya

Mantri Swarojgar Yojna scheme under which the tribals received the help of a 35% subsidy in the state. During COVID-19, the government discontinued all the schemes due to a shortage of funds. Lately, the schemes have been revived. Mukhya Mantri Udhaym Kranti Yojana is active, and the beneficiary will not receive any subsidy but a three percent rebate on interest rate while availing of bank loans. Interestingly there is no encouraging number of entrepreneurs coming out with this scheme's help due to the absence of the subsidy. The state government is taking steps to revive the schemes. These schemes have benefited entrepreneurship forms such as Bagh print and welder workshops. However, the central government's PMEGP (Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme) has been active for a long time, but the target number of beneficiaries is less.

d. Experience in starting an Enterprise

Experience as an employee in any organization will teach the technical know-how and give exposure to the market and resources to float their enterprise. It allows an individual to understand the social capital of the company. Almost 40% of the entrepreneurs have worked as employees in a similar organization before starting their own. Forms of entrepreneurship, like construction, garage, hotel, and Bagh print, require previous working experience. To start these enterprises, entrepreneurs should have the skill set before the inception to sustain them in the long term.

All the construction and garage entrepreneurs had experience ranging from six months to four years. The person who started the hotel has worked in a Juice Centre for seven years. Earlier, they did not have any skills, but learned when they worked in an organization. The Owner of Mobile Kirana Store has worked for 11 years in a Kirana store, learnt procurement and inventory management, and earned expertise in customer relationship management. Bagh print entrepreneurs have worked for eight to ten years to understand the long process of printing, dyeing and washing techniques. The mentioned entrepreneurs have worked for a significantly lower salary as they will learn the skill. The organization's owner knows they will start their enterprise after gaining experience. It would be better if the government take pains to teach the skill set to become entrepreneurs, or rapidly educates the tribals about the existing schemes, or introduces new schemes to support in finance to start a new enterprise.

e. Entrepreneurship and Politics

The Dhar district has a substantial nexus between government officials and elected representatives. The flow of scheme information has to be announced in the gram sabha (villagers' meeting) by the sarpanch (elected village council leader or Panchayat president) and gram sachiv (village secretary), which rarely happens. The Sarpanch and his family relatives enjoy the benefits in the first go. Tribals lack cohesive relations within their community and rarely share information about schemes, even if it is known.

Dinesh Girwal is an entrepreneur from Rupakheda village in Badnawar block whose family has been in politics for a long time. The Sarpanch has been elected from the same family for decades. He is a Youth Congress member, and his wife is a Zilla Parishad (ZP) (district council) member. It is a joint family that helps them maintain their political status. He owns a Petrol bunk (Gas station) of Bharat Petroleum.

He got a piece of land on the site of the Badnawar-Indore highway and an initial petrol bunk loan from the government.

There is a different case in the Bagh print. The traditional Khatri community, which claims to be the inventor and has long been practicing the technique, has good relations with the officials and state elected representatives. The government provides a ninety percent subsidy for equipment buying under Utkrusht Upkaran Sahayata Yojana to advance the Bagh printing process technologically. Only the Khatri community, who exercises a monopoly, knows this scheme from officials, but the bhils do not. Only some people know there is an official present to promote and revive the handloom and handicraft sector in the state, and few are aware that the official is biased towards the Khatri.

Challenges for tribal entrepreneurship in the Dhar district

In the Dhar district, entrepreneurship is not considered an alternative source of earning to a large extent. The children of the successful entrepreneurs of bhils encourage them to go for government jobs rather than managing the existing business. In contrast, the scenario differs for upper-class entrepreneurs, where the children are encouraged to take up business. Tribals choose entrepreneurship next to jobs and agriculture.

Post covid-19, the schemes have not been revived completely, and the existing subsidy has been cut down. The new entrepreneur figures have been falling gradually. Few pre-COVID businesses have been shut down due to lower cash flows. Steps need to be taken to revive such businesses. The product's market facilities are minimal in the handloom and handicraft sectors. They could get customers only at the exhibitions. The craftsman products are costly, and the local buyer is rarely present. The market for such is elsewhere, making it difficult for tribals to identify the buyers. The SHGs that prepare organic fertilizers have a decent market. Scaling up of the enterprise is required.

Alcoholism is the main problem that destroys consistency among bhils. The researcher observed a few entrepreneurs who had started businesses but could not run the enterprise for long. The researcher has observed that successful entrepreneurs are teetotalers and vegetarians. Bhanuram of Amjhera, in his words, opines that the tribals have much potential to flourish in entrepreneurship. However, the addiction to daru (alcohol) and extreme consumption of gosh macchi (non-vegetarian) are the hurdles that destroy consistency. He is a teetotaler, practices vegetarianism, and owns an agricultural machinery-making workshop. Also, Gedaram owns a tea stall in Sultanpur, Bherusingh owns a block print unit in Rampura, and Aman owns a dairy in Khandlai, agreeing that alcohol and meat consumption disrupt the consistency of running a business. Interestingly, Dinesh of Gulripada does pisciculture but does not consume any meat. However, this belief is strong only in some of the interviewed entrepreneurs. Some entrepreneurs are indifferent as well as disagree with such opinions.

Conclusion

As earlier studies have proved that entrepreneurship patterns and behaviours vary among tribals and non-tribals. Bhils experienced negligible entrepreneurial development due to lacking social awareness, remoteness and innovative approaches (Doshi, 1971 & Trivedi, 1991 & Schumpeter,

1934) [7, 25, 29]. Chaudhuri (1975) opines that imitative entrepreneurship prevails in the least developed areas suitable for bhils to practice. Bhils in the Dhar district are majorly single entrepreneurs and a few own small enterprises with a small workforce. Bhils enterprise in general stores, tea vendors, vehicle mechanic shops, handlooms and handicrafts etc., and the Bagh print industry is an example of a small enterprise in western blocks of the district.

The study's finding shows the various entrepreneurship patterns and factors responsible for entrepreneurship among the bhils of Dhar district, Madhya Pradesh - gender, family support, government support, work experience and social awareness. Firstly, the gender discrimination resulting from the patriarchy is evident from the low participation of women in entrepreneurship. Secondly, In the field, the 'family support' factor has interesting findings - Irrespective of the parental background, be it an entrepreneur, employee or agricultural labor, all parents prefer their children to fetch government jobs. The family least encourages entrepreneurship. Thirdly, despite government schemes to uplift tribals, the beneficiaries are minimal. The schemes are not publicized effectively in the tribal areas of the Dhar district. Fourthly, work experience helped bhils learn how to run their own business. Finally, entrepreneurship also depends on the political influence of the family. The families of elected representatives harvest the schemes, and the immediate close kin is the beneficiary. The tribals need to get awareness of the schemes through publicity.

Exceptionally, women from SHGs have entered entrepreneurship in a male-centric society. They do not face loan problems and financially help their husbands to practice alternative income-generating ways other than agriculture. Even though bag printing is considered a masculine activity, an SHG in Mandu manages all of the business's end-to-end activities. The families of landless parents have encouraged their children to take up entrepreneurship. Without government support, certain bhils have learnt skills in an enterprise and gained experience to start a similar enterprise, such as bike repair and construction of buildings.

The decades of schemes and policies did not significantly change the lives of Bhils. There should be separate schemes for the tribals instead of adding them to the standard population. The awareness of the same has to be done effectively. Further, there is a scope of research in other Bhils' regions to study their commonalities and differences and learn about their entrepreneurial behaviour. Slight entrepreneurship is covered in a few sections of the vast tribal population by other researchers. Similar studies in future can bring out India's holistic tribal entrepreneurship picture.

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