

Witchcraft and Investment Behaviour in Rural Tiv Communities, Benue State, Nigeria

¹Sambe, N. & ²Ugba, D.

¹Department of Sociology, University of Mkar, Mkar

²Department of Sociology, Federal University, Gusau, Zamfara state

Corresponding Author: nsambe@umm.edu.ng, +23408058543839

Received: 13.02.2023 Accepted: 26.03.2023

Date of Publication: May, 2021

ABSTRACT

Witchcraft is pervasive in all African societies including Tiv society. However, the ramifications of this practice to business and investment are ignored by researchers and government. This study was carried out in order to investigate the effects of witchcraft on business and investment in Tivland. The study was guided by Weber's theory of Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism. The study used a case study design while a purposive and snowball sampling techniques were utilized to select Key informants. Key informant Interview was used to collect data while Data analysis involved the use summarization and transcription of the responses. The study discovered that witchcraft has both direct and indirect consequences on business and investment in Tivland. The study also concluded that witchcraft affected business investment in attacks on life and businesses of or community family members who are perceived to be successful business people; prohibition of witches from engaging in business activities, fear of being exposed to evil attacks from witches which scares from investing and use of witchcraft as a scapegoat for not investing in business. The study also found that witchcraft has negative influence on business investment and development in Tivland. This study therefore confirms the Max Weber's theory that religious ideas and practices are highly connected to entrepreneurship. The study recommends for Word of God in overcoming witchcraft and consideration of witchcraft beliefs in efforts to boost business and investment in rural communities in the study area.

Key words: Witchcraft, Business, Investment, Rural communities, Tivland

INTRODUCTION

Witchcraft is a cultural phenomenon settings in most developing countries that is pervasive in both rural and urban (Sambe, Avanger and Abanyam, 2013;

Zivkovic, 2017). This explains why Evans-Pritchard (1937). This explains why Evans-Pritchard (1937) contends that in most African cultures, witchcraft is an unavoidable backdrop to other beliefs. Witchcraft is a physical trait that can be inherited and passed on from generation to generation (Evans-Pritchard, 1937). Witchcraft is a social fact that has occupied an important role in the cultures of many people in Nigeria. This is due to the abundance of sordid tales based on personal encounters with witches or the experiences of others, as well as facts and events about witches in their daily social lives.

Witches are thought to exist in the world of imagination, with the power to hurt, maim, or kill their victims using supernatural means. Evan-Pritchard (1937) emphasized this point in his analysis of the Azande people in East Africa, claiming that the Azande believe that certain people are

witches with the ability to hurt them. The victims of witchcraft are often those who have excelled in life and thus perceived to be threat to the existence of the witches. In Nigeria, most people seem to be either directly or indirectly affected by witchcraft regardless of the socio-economic background and area of residence; rural or urban (Zivkovic, 2017).

Among the Tiv, witchcraft (Tsav) is a mystical power, which is operated by physical objects that are connected to mystical and spiritual forces. It is a force that grows in the heart of people or somewhere within the chest area (Evans-Pritchard. 1937). It also grows in the heart of some animals and can be biologically transmitted by birth (Wegh 2003). A man who is not possessed with spirit of witchcraft among the Tiv people is described as a person with “an empty mind” (*vangergbilin*); such a person has a benevolent spirit while a witch is seen as someone with a wicked mind (*vanger ubo*) or malicious spirit (Sambe et al, 2013). It is however to be noted that even though the

Tiv seem to determine who was witch through physical means by opening his chest area upon his death to ascertain existence of the witchcraft substance, the heart could be the spirit of a man. This is because the physical evidence of existence of witchcraft was never observed with natural eyes; the substance has never been seen with physical senses. Witchcraft is manifested in circumstances in which an individual or group of individuals dominate a situation, turn events the way they wish them to go, command obedience and attract loyalty through voodoo, sorcery, charm, persuasion, bullying or whatever means. Among the Tiv, witchcraft is believed to be practiced within kinship group as harm could be inflicted on a person by a member of his kin and as such is seen as bane of kinship (Geschiere 1997; Wegh 2003). This is a fact among the Tiv people whose witchcraft tends to operate among people who have close kinship affinity.

Witchcraft practice has huge influence on economic growth and development of rural communities. Until recently, development experts and researchers have paid relatively little attention to it (Eves and Forsyth, 2015). At

best, secular development practitioners have seen these beliefs as totally profounded, while at worst; they have disdained the beliefs as utterly primitive and, as merely a set of beliefs, of little significance. However, it should be noted that Witchcraft behaviour is one of the factors that appear to have significant connection to indigenous entrepreneurship. This is because there is a tendency for people to react in certain way or when they perceive the existence of witchcraft in their family or community. Belief in witchcraft nurtures fear and mistrust in the family and community. This creates spiritual insecurity, which describes the dangers, doubts and fears that arise from the sense of being exposed to the particular invisible evil forces deployed by witches (Ashworth 2005:1). The spiritual insecurity has massive implications on the social capital needed for business and investment. People who are successful in business or other entrepreneurial efforts are fearful of jealous attack by sorcerers or witches and the unsuccessful are likely to attribute this success to the use of sorcery or witchcraft. This often results to lack of business and investment as many indigenous people not

investing in their villages or communities (Akama and Kadenyi 2006).

In traditional Tiv society, witchcraft appears to be associated with business and investment. The practice “communalism” or “collectivism”. The communal approach to life has implications on practice of witchcraft. As such many individuals who through hard work or good fortune rose above others are said putting themselves in danger of arousing inimical forces (Witchcraft) in the cosmos (Ajekwe et al; 2016). Other family members who become prosperous and are perceived to have attained a higher wealth and social status, thus are out the communal cycle are envied. This seems to evoke hatred, jealousy and envy which is found to be basis of operation of witchcraft against ones kin (Sambe, *et al* 2013). This has immense influence on people’s perception and attitude towards business investment (Azenda, 2007; Weber, 1930). It determines generally accepted standard of operating a business enterprise which also seem to have significant effect on the success and failure of business organizations. It also determines how Tiv people conceptualize accepted or unaccepted methods of business investment, including

moral or immoral business dealings. Therefore, witchcraft appears to have huge connection to attitude and orientation of Tiv people towards business investment. They also point to a type or category of business people get involved in. A particular cultural values influence a type of business one establishes and also determines how they run or operate such business. Thus, culture is one of the most important environments which affects in business investment among people (Ogundele, Ajayi & Salako, 2003).

Studies have been conducted on indigenous entrepreneurship, focusing on investment and business behaviour among the Tiv ethnic in Nigeria and other parts of the world. For instance, Azenda (2007) investigated the effects of marriage and burial Ceremonies on Investment of Financial Resources in Tivland. The study focused only on how marriage and burial aspects of culture affect business investment among the Tiv. This study will however, examine another aspect of culture which is witchcraft and how it affects businesses and investment in Tivland. Zivkovic (2017) investigated factors responsible for use of black magic by business people, and the magnitude of black magic among the

entrepreneurs to prosper and protect their businesses in Nigeria. The study however did not look at how witchcraft practice destroys businesses and investment among the Tiv people in Benue state. Also, April (2010) also investigated witchcraft and entrepreneurship in Namibian indigenous communities. He examined the factors responsible for practice of witchcraft against

Theoretical framework

In this study, Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism by Max Weber have been adopted as the theoretical foundation of this work. The theory was propounded by Max Weber (1930), who was influenced by the works of Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790). The theory is concerned primarily with explaining how certain religious ideas (primarily Calvinism) were compatible with a “capitalist spirit” and how this in turn contributed to the rise of capitalism (Chriss, 2019). The 'spirit of capitalism' refers to a set of values and norms, the spirit of hard work and progress rather than the spirit in the supernatural sense. He defines the spirit of capitalism as the ideas and *esprit* that favour the rational pursuit of economic gain. Weber tries to understand how the religious norms and values determine human action

the members of their family and community and its effects on business and investment of the victims of witchcraft. The study did fail to investigate the effects of witchcraft on business and investments in the study area.

The major objective of the study, therefore, is to investigate how witchcraft behaviour affects business and investment in Tivland.

from the actor's point of view. The theory tries to understand what motivates entrepreneurship behaviour and comparatively analyzing various strands of Christianity, it identifies Protestantism and specifically Calvinism as the root of the capitalist work ethic. The doctrine of Early calling from Martin Luther, predestination from John Calvin, Self asceticism, a strict work ethic that requires self-denial by Richard Baxter, as well as individualism, from Benjamin Franklin, are all linked together to create a capitalist ethic. Weber describes the "unimaginable inner loneliness of the solitary individual" under the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, which ultimately led to the Protestant work ethic as a crystallization of the individual desire to be saved.

For Weber, religion can be a force of social change. Weber asserts that culture catalyzes economic conditions. He sees as business and investment as culturally-driven historical change. This implies that

religion is a major causal factor in the development of entrepreneurial spirit. The theory argues that religious ideas, norms and values can create desire and drive for business and investment

METHODOLOGY

Area of the Study

Tiv are a group of people and the Tiv are named after their ancestral father Tiv. They inhabit the planes of Benue valley in the north central Nigeria and are found mostly in Benue state. However, considerable populations are indigenes of Taraba and Nassarawa state. The Tiv people are believed to have migrated from *Swem*, a location somewhere around Nigeria-Cameroun mountain axis. Around 1456, they started to move towards the Benue valley and have now spread across the North central region of Nigeria as stated in Makar (1975).

Several reasons have been advanced on migration of Tiv to this area. One of the reasons has been for agriculture. The second reason put forward was the practice of shifting cultivation, which was precipitated by rapid growth in population and sparse settlements pattern (Bohannan 1953). In addition, the increase in population might

have increased their military capability to give them effective advantage over their neighbors. This view is particularly strong because all the other minority ethnic groups around Tiv that were reluctant to move were either entangled or remained within the Tiv territory up to date or were defeated and pushed further. The third reason is the military decline of the Kwararafa Confederacy in the nineteenth century. This gave the Tiv little resistance from other tribes in area and ensured their present position in Benue valley (Makar 1975; Dzeremo 2002). Migrations during the pre-colonial times were largely carried out in groups and batches, since land was largely not scarce. In such a case, the various clans or families in front spearheaded migration into virgin lands where resistance was weak.

The Tiv people are divided into four lineages, Kwande, Jemgbagh, Jechira, Sankera and Minda. They are predominantly

farmers who also have firm belief in witchcraft and powers associated with it. The Tiv area in Benue State is bordered by Nasarawa State in the North, Taraba State in

the North-East, and Cross River State in the south. Within Benue State, the Tiv area is bordered by Agatu, Apa, Otukpo, Obi and Oju Local Government Areas to the south

Research Design

The paper adopts a case study design to study the problem in-depth.

Sample and Sampling Procedure

Sampling involved the use of purposive and snow ball sampling techniques. Through the informant, other key-informants were identified and selected for the interview. The researchers also purposefully selected an individual who was perceived to have in-depth knowledge about how witchcraft affects business and investment in Tivland. In the process of selection, the researchers purposefully selected determined categories of people to be considered for selection. One of the categories was people who were perceived to have considerable knowledge about witchcraft in Tivland. Another category was people who are business people, while other

Methods of Data Collection

After the selection the informants, the researchers started data collected immediately for those who were ready. For others who were not prepared for the interview at the time, an appointment was

group is those who were those businesses whose business have being declining. After determining the categories, the some of the key informants were selected purposefully. This is the informants that were perceived to have considerable knowledge about practice of witchcraft. These are people who grew up in families famous for practice of witchcraft in Tivland. Also, one key informant who is a business owner was purposefully selected. This business person now led the researchers to other business people who were perceived to be affected by witchcraft. Through this process, 12 key informants were selected for the study.

booked with them. Later on, the researchers visited informants, either in their homes or designated places, on the appointed times to conduct the interview

Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis involved ethnographic summary. This involved reviewing statements and responses made by the key

informants and transcribing the responses in relation to the questions raised by the researchers.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

From the above findings it can be deduced that witchcraft has more negative influence on business and investment compared to the relative positive influence it has in Tivland. It can be observed that witchcraft affects business and investment in four major ways. These are actual attacks on life and businesses of family members who

are perceived to be successful business people; prohibition of witches from engaging in business activities; lack of desire or will to invest or expand in ones business due to fear of being exposed to evil attacks from witches and use of witchcraft as a scapegoat for not investing in business.

Witchcraft Attack on Business Owners who are not Witches

Witchcraft is a social fact that has influenced lives negatively in Tiv society. In this case, there is an indication that witchcraft is used malevolently on family members who are not witches and excelling in business. Witches often use “atsuku” a bad luck spell to destroy businesses. Once the *atsuku* spell is cast on a particular business, customers will stop patronizing such a business and until it folds up. When the spell is pronounced on the individual, such a person becomes ridden with ill-luck, he cannot excel in any business. This is a classical manifestation of jealousy and envy which manifests in the “Pull him Down syndrome” among the Tiv. The display of

this malevolent force appears to be responsible for low level investment in among the Tiv. This is because most small and medium scale businesses owned by Tiv people are targeted for destruction through *atsuku* by the witches who are basically members of his family.

According to a 54 year old Key informant who hails from Kpav council wards in Katsina-Ala Local Government Area:

...if you are not a member of the witches and you are progressing in business, the witches will harm you or your business because of jealousy and envy...if a witch visit you and you slaughter a fowl for them they eat but they also become jealous...they think such a person have been enjoying. If the witch returns to his house in the village, every time he eats okra without meat, he'll

remember how his kin have been eating meat in his house and will become furious...this is the moment when he will employ witchcraft to attack the person with diseases such as diabetes and stroke which will incapacitate the individual and stop him from eating food they consider to be good such as meat, pounded yam, beer and others...they won't inflict the person with HIV/AIDS now because they have realized that some diseases require an individual be feed well...the ailments witches inflict on people are also intended to weaken the person physically and derail his business...
(Key informant Interview No 1; 2020)

...witchcraft practice also affects business and investment through use of spiritual force called "Atsuku" (Ill or bad luck)...if the spell of *atsuku* is cast in your business or a place where you are operating a business, people will no longer want to patronize you...all your customers will begin to dislike you and leave you to other competitors...unless you change the line of business or location, your business will collapse...if the spell is cast on you as an individual, then the effect takes another dimension. Such a person cannot be successful in any business and any location...you cannot succeed in anything you lay your hands on...

... this is the reason why so many rich Tiv people don't do business in their villages or home towns...this is why some Tiv people don't even expand their business for the fear that they will be noticed as being rich and might become special target by witches which are normally members of your family...(**Key informant Interview No 1; 2020**)

This finding is consistent with April (2010) investigation which reveals that the primary reason why indigenous communities in Namibia use witchcraft is harm family members who are doing well in business psychologically and physically. This force can be effective whether one is living in the community or not. This is because witchcraft operates primarily between kinship groups. April (2010) also observed situation in Amberbo community "when one specific member of the community strives to advance in life, the rest of the community will pull him/her down" through use of witchcraft as witches do conspire against such as person and his investment. Zocca (2009b) study in Papua New Guinea, reports that witches were envious of people who are successful. Witchcraft is a mechanism of levelling, of bringing people down. Eves and Forsyth (2015) study also found that in Melanesia of the Pacific Islands, witchcraft prevented a person from progressing in life. Specifically, it worked against family members who invested in businesses and ensured that they lose money mysteriously from their investment. Van Heekeren (2013) reports that among the Vula'a of Central Province

in New Papua Guinea, witchcrafts is employed to target those who are perceived to be successful, such as those who possess motor vehicles or who make major improvements to business or farming.

The above findings seem to fall within the scope of analysis of which see a connection between religion and spirit entrepreneurship spirit. Witchcraft is part of Tiv religious practices which are guided by norms and values that are completely antagonistic to material wealth for non witches. In this case, it is clear that witchcraft practice has direct relationship with business and investment by using spells

Prohibition of Wealth among Witches

Case 2 indicates that the practice of witchcraft among the Tiv is primarily not for wealth creation but to cause physical, psychological and spiritual damage to people. Witchcraft also seems affect even the witches adversely in business. This is because one of the principles of witchcraft is that a witch should not dominate both in spiritual and physical realms. That is, dominating in both worlds is not acceptable according to the principles on Tiv witchcraft. However someone could break this law of he is able to dominate other witches in the spirit realm. Such people can now use the

to bring down a persons' business and also destroy their business potentials. This practice appears to be rooted spirit of jealousy and envy for family members who are perceived to be succeeding in business. Weber argued that capitalist ideas was rooted in principle of self asceticism and doctrine of predestination, spurring business activities, it seem also that witchcraft ideas rooted in jealousy and envy destroys investments of family members in Tivland. Thus, there is a negative connection between witchcraft practices and growth of business and investment among the Tiv.

power for their advantage through contacting the investment with forces of witchcraft to become successful business people. However using witchcraft involves servicing these powers through sacrificing a family member and using their blood. This starts from their children, then siblings and other family members. However, this is short-lived because failure to offer this blood sacrifice means the collapse of the business and eminent death of the business person who is a witch.

According to a 49 year old Key informant who as in-depth knowledge of practice of witchcraft:

...witchcraft have serious impact of business and investment in Tivland...first, it affects even witches themselves...witches have this adage ‘ Ihyev mom icha I hyar ga’ (One rat does not have two tails)...that that you cannot rule or dominate both in the night (spiritual realm) and in the day (physical realm)... this principle prohibits witches from doing business and being physically prosperous...unless in peculiar circumstances where the witch overbearing spiritual influence over other witches...If such a witch has physical artifact such as *Ityough ki a Ayu* (Head of a Mermaid), which represent just a strand of its hair, *Isham* (Star), which makes a person or business prominent and *Imborivungu*, He can progress in business but all these require regular human sacrifice especially the *imborivungu*, which witches use to prosper their businesses...The business and investment only last as long as human beings of your family are sacrificed...(**Key informant Interview No 1; 2020**)

This finding seems to agree with a study by April (2010) on use of witchcraft in the Namibian extended family especially in the Amberbo district where there was some seemingly positive the use of witchcraft by entrepreneurs, however, these businesses did not last for a very long time while long term consequences for the entrepreneurs were endemic. This due to the fact that the entrepreneur often has to kill a family

member or other members of the community as sacrifice to ensure that it functions effectively. But when there is no longer a family member to sacrifice, the entrepreneur was doomed to loss his business.

This finding also appears to indicate a relationship between witchcraft practices and business investment among the Tiv. The data explicitly reveals that witchcraft norms and values do not accommodate business and investment even among those who practice witchcraft. These norms and values seem to be against witches being both successful physical world and spiritual realm. It appears to give more premium to spiritual prosperity rather than physical success. This implies that the values promote poverty for members instead of physical wealth. This is less likely to engender investment spirit since desire to accumulate wealth is not present. Here too, there appears to be a direct negative connection between witchcraft practice and business investment. It can therefore be stated that in as much as Protestant religious ideas were instrumental to the growth of capitalism and entrepreneurship spirit in the Europe, Witchcraft religious norms and

values seem to be detrimental to business growth and investment among the Tiv.

Fear of being exposed to Witchcraft attacks

Most people are afraid to invest for the fear of bewitchment. Most Tiv people invest in other locations, states or local government areas, but not close to their families. This is rooted in the fear that once your family members become aware of the business and its success, both the individual and the business will be exposed to witchcraft attacks. This could be through bewitchment through disease and death or attack on the business itself. The fear of witchcraft dominates most people who do not even visit their villages. In such situations, it is very unlikely for some rural areas to be industrialized as fear of witchcraft drives away family members who could have invested in their communities.

According to a 35 year old informant from Sai village in Katsina-Ala Local Government Area, menace of witchcraft and damage caused to him and his business in Lagos has injected fear of not going to his village again talks less of investing there. He said:

...Jealousy is the root of witchcraft in Tiv society...I grew up in my village and moved to Gboko...from there I also moved to

Lagos where I started my personal delivery business...I was paid to pick items or goods ordered by individuals both within and outside Nigeria and deliver to clients... I was successful in this business and nobody in my village knew how successful I was until I made a mistake...I started building a house in my village, a very big house...the house was nearly completion when I was attacked by witches in my village through accident...One day, I made a delivery and was standing by my motorcycle beside the road. A car came straight at me and hit me on the ground. I broke my leg, it was so serious...this happened in July, 2019 and up till now, I am yet to fully recover...my business went down...cannot complete the house...I will never complete it even when I have the money...I was attacked by witches in my father's house...I will never go to the village again...If I come to Benue again, I will stop in Gboko and go back to Lagos...
(Key informant Interview 2; 2020)

Another Key informant who is an elderly man from Usar community in Kwande Local Government Area also said:

In some places, witches do not make their perceived enemy openly known ...the perceived enemies are not enemies in a sense of being enemies...in this case, it is one person, the witch considering another person, the business man as an enemy when the businessman, his brother, is in fact is not aware that he's being perceived as such...the witch may not openly display this enmity, he hides it...when such a business man gives the witch some money, he uses

the money spiritually to dry up all sources of income of his brother or kin...This is where his business will start to go down....such a victim cannot recover from the attack unless something is done about it... **(Key Informant Interview 3; 2020)**

In these circumstances also theory of Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism is applicable. Witchcraft appears to be connected to indigenous people investing in their local communities. It should be noted that fear of witchcraft and its malevolent practices is highly associated with investment by the indigenous people in the study area. Knowledge about the destructive effects of witchcraft on successful business people is rampant among the Tiv. Armed with this knowledge and possibility of becoming a victim, most people do not invest in communities while others don't even think of investing anywhere in Tivland. This further seems to illustrate the significance of religious practices to business growth and investment among the Tiv. In Europe, religious ideas affected investment by spurring entrepreneurship spirit among the population. In Tivland, it appears to be the contrary. Witchcraft practices seem to have deflected investment away from the area and also appear to have

even killed entrepreneurial spirit among most of the Tiv people.

The above finding is consistent with a study conducted by East (2003) Ashforth (2005). The Tiv social organization is based on kinship and lineage. People who are "kith and kin" settled together. Traditionally, the Tiv society scorn individualism and is apprehensive of anyone who embraced it. East (2003) argues that an individualistic person is thought to be dangerous in the Tiv society for he is moving toward an innovation which had not been tested before and it is feared that the act might affect the carefully structured balance of the society. As a result, many individuals who through hard work or good fortune rose above others are in constant fear of exposing themselves to danger of arousing inimical forces (tsav) in the cosmos. So much is the force of kinship and lineage institutions and the social security that living in them provided that they "could held in check any desire to engage in business activity to enjoy the proceeds, one had to share it among kinsmen or be ostracized by them."

Ashforth (2005) uses the notion of 'spiritual insecurity' to explain the impact

produced by belief in witchcraft. The concept of spiritual insecurity, he argues, most adequately describes the dangers, doubts and fears that arise from the sense of being exposed to the particular invisible evil forces deployed by witches (Ashworth 2005). Eves and Forsyth (2015) study also found that in Melanesia, witchcraft contributed to material insecurity as the fear witchcraft caused people to curtail activities that could improve their livelihoods and increase their living standards. Eves (2000) investigations also which reported a starkly expressed New Ireland man who remarked that if a man was wealthy enough to buy two

vehicles he would almost certainly be killed by witches. A similar view was expressed to Eves (2000) also found in Bougainville, when someone built a four-bedroom house, the person will become ill. The fear of being a target of witchcraft has the effect of moderating outward signs of success, such as semi permanent houses; in some parts of Bougainville, people prefer to live in bush-style houses even though they are quite wealthy, out of fear of being attacked by those who are envious of their success. Eves and Forsyth (2015) study also found that in Melanesia, fear of witchcraft prevented a person from progressing in business.

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Witchcraft as Scapegoat for Lack of Investment or not Being involved in Business

In this case, witchcraft is used as scapegoat for not investing or involving in business. The implies that though witchcrafts exists and its consequences are felt by victim, some people hide under the shadow of malevolent affects of witch to excuse themselves from irresponsibility. People who use witchcraft as a factor for not investing their money are often not blamed for their lack of entrepreneurship ideals and spirit. In fact, it was revealed that some people consciously do not want members of

their families to benefit from their wealth, so they tend to invest in other places rather than their communities. Such people hide under the pretext of fear of witchcraft to actualize their intensions.

According to a 52 year old Key Informant who is from Mbakwen Community in Kwande Local Government Area;

...some people just use witchcraft as a reason for them not investing in their place of birth...it is a fact that these things happen and most people are victims...in some families, witchcraft is not as pervasive... but

if someone sees it operating in another family, he uses this as a reason for not establishing any business in his home town or community... in fact some people do not want anybody to benefit from their money...they don't want to help, to do something that could generate employment in their communities...so they hide under the fear of witchcraft...(Key Informant Interview 4; 2020)

In this case witchcraft has become a scapegoat for some people not investing in business in their indigenous communities. This seems to create a situation where witchcraft is not directly connected to business and investment, but still has **CONCLUSION**

From the above findings it can be concluded witchcraft has negative influence on business investment. This is in four major ways; they are actual attacks on life and businesses of family members who are perceived to be successful business people; prohibition of witches from engaging in business activities; lack of desire or will to invest or expand in ones business due to fear of being exposed to evil attacks from witches and use of witchcraft as a scapegoat for not investing in business. Comparing

RECOMMENDATIONS

negative influence on business in the study area. Just as Protestant ethics were not meant to directly engender entrepreneurship spirit but to achieve other purposes that were related to Christian virtues of the time. Witchcraft beliefs and practices in this case are used as a pretext. It does not factor directly in people business and investment plans; rather it is used as a cover for factual reasons why a person would not invest their local community. The bottom line is that, witchcraft has negative connection to investment in the study area.

with Weber's theory of Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism, it can be concluded that witchcraft has influence on business and investment negatively, while the Protestant Ethics had positive influence on business and investment. This study therefore confirms the Max Weber's theory that religious ideas and practices are highly connected to entrepreneurship. These have negative effects on rural development and a factor for level of poverty and backwardness in the area

Based on the conclusions drawn from the findings, it is recommendations are made.

They include:

- a. People who want to overpower witchcraft and prosper in business should also use spiritual warfare in the word of God. Since witchcraft is spiritual and there are no known and effective physical ways of dealing with it, one must also use spiritual power to overcome it. The Word of God seems to be the only acclaimed and potent way of bringing witches to their Knees. There are numerous confessions from people who have defeated it by abiding in the Word. The word will quench the fear of witchcraft and its consequences on business.
- b. Efforts by government and Non Governmental Organizations aimed at encouraging small and Medium Scale Businesses in communities in

Tivland must seriously consider witchcraft beliefs and practices of such communities and how they relate to business and investment. Without this, efforts to raise entrepreneurs in rural communities are likely to fail. Research should be a one of the major ways of achieving this.

- c. Building capacity of rural people to combat poverty by empowering them be involved or own small scale business or other income generating activities. This will control jealousy and envy which appears to be rooted in poverty and responsible for practice of witchcraft against progressive and successful family members. This should be the responsibility of Non Governmental organizations, private business enterprises and private individuals.

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