

**THE QUEST FOR GOOD DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN BENUE STATE,
NIGERIA: THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE**

BY

**AANDE, SIMEON IEMBER
REG. NO. 2010097006F**

**DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AND HUMAN RELATIONS
FACULTY OF ARTS
NNAMDI AZIKIWE UNIVERSITY, AWKA**

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SEPTEMBER, 2016

CERTIFICATION

I AANDE, SIMEON IEMBER with Registration Number 2010097006 hereby certify that this dissertation is original and has been written by me. It is a record of my research and has not been submitted in part or full for any other Diploma or Degree of this University or any other institution or any previous publication.

APPROVAL

We certify that this dissertation carried out under our supervision has been examined and found to have met the regulations of Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. We therefore approved the work for the award of a Ph.D Degree in Religion and Human Relations.

Rev. Fr. Prof. ABC Chiegboka

Date

Very Rev Dr P.E. Nmah

HOD

Date

Rev Fr Prof B.A.C. Obiefuna

Dean, Faculty of Arts

Date

Prof Ike Odimegwu

Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

Date

External Examiner

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Aondoakaa Aande and Late Ngiher Aondoakaa and my dear wife Atese J.Z. Aande.

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**Aande, Simeon Iember
Department of Religion and Human Relations
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka.**

ABSTRACT

Benue State since its creation in 1976 has been pre-occupied with a political, social and religious dilemma arising from the position of Christians as members of the body of Christ and as members of the state. The Christian church has succeeded in many other areas of human endeavours in the state, but not so much has been done in the political field, because politics and governance in Nigeria and Benue State in particular virtually has been seen from a secular or non-Christian perspective and anyone who dares to be partisan is often thought not to be a good Christian or spiritually filled with the Holy Spirit. Although many Christians in the state have expressed concern about the high level of poverty in the state due to corruption and poor governance, paradoxically not many believe and understood their responsibility toward a democratic system that will bring about this good governance. Most of the existing works in this area of study tend to advocate that Christians can only make input in politics through the pulpit. Not so many scholarly works have been geared towards encouraging Christians to participate in politics. The concern of this present study, therefore, is to demonstrate the fact that Christians are called to be salt and light of the world; this gives Christians the divine responsibility and commitment to penetrate every area of human society especially politics. This can be done through the principles of solidarity and participation, which are the underlying principles of democratic system that can bring about good governance. The research recommends that the world government was instituted by God, and cannot in anyway be considered to be dirty and to be avoided by faithful Christians. An analytical method was used to achieve this set goal of the work. Suggestions and recommendations were made to stimulate strategies to enable Christians to take their responsibility seriously to become effective in the politics and governance of Benue State and Nigeria at large.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The grouping of human beings into societies, state or nation has behind it the desire to articulate collective aspiration and promote same for enhanced socio-economic and political well being. When people are politically organized within a geographical territory called a nation like Nigeria, they are together in order to make life freer, fulfilling and meaningful through conscious mobilization of both human and non-human resources. This agrees with Genyi (2011) who states that, “it is the state therefore that provides the structures through which people and priorities are established” (p.19). In this context, the legitimacy profile of a nation is measured by its ability to respond favourably to the demands made on it by the citizenry and this implies that the nation undertakes extractive activities in order to generate adequate resources for this purpose. This according to Gambo (n.d) “is the art of managing power in a way that promotes the developmental aspirations of the citizenry that is broadly referred to us as governance” (p.1). He further states that:

A state that lacks the basic capacity to perform the extractive distributive, responsive and regulative functions can scarcely cultivate considerable degree of legitimacy to operate without frictions. In a sense a state with weak capacity to carry out the extractive, distributive, responsive and regulative functions may experience a decline in the volume of support and effective orientations of the citizenry. (p. 2).

The idea here is that, there a fundamental truth in which one can contend that the people in a nation or state access its legitimacy profile by correlating with its performance rating by the public. Gambo (n.d) argues that “the way and manner the society is governed determines the public legitimacy rating profile of government” (p.2).The government that has as its priority the public welfare rather than the welfare of a few powerful individuals and group. Nigeria’s quest for good governance has faced many challenges as argued by Diamond (2004) who states that:

Is not a lack of resources but lack of good governance which presupposes lack of willingness to apply public resources effectively to generate public good such as roads, bridges, ports, sanitation, potable water, electric power, markets, courts, etc, (p.222).

The Nigeria’s democratic governance since independence in 1960 has faced challenges and this has lamentably failed to cultivate the appropriate environment for good governance to thrive; this range from poor administration of elections which has inevitably compromised the citizens’ capacity to institute a government of their choice and that which they can hold accountable.

The wide spread corruption in public and private sectors of the nation, and non-accountability of the ruling elite lead to weak performance of the economy with direct consequences for the people such as poor security system, endemic armed conflicts with grave consequences for the socio economic and political advancement of the society.

It is also important to state that there has been a steady neglect and disregard for work ethics by workers in both public and private sectors. This too is a challenge for many do

not want to make it through legitimate means anymore because of the frustrating display of ill-gotten wealth by some political holders in the society. Shamiya (2010) in agreement states that:

In this era of globalization and technological change, cut throat politics and unremitting culture of bad governance have posed a great danger for the overall development of our societies... that politics has become in our nation – state today where narrow interests vie for advantage and ideological minorities seek to impose their own selfish will on the majority, compromising the standard of good governance. (p. 2).

Benue State with huge human and natural potentials as well as a vigorous display of political actors is still languishing in underdevelopment with abject poverty, hunger and starvation (even though Benue State is called the food basket of the nation), rising crime wave unemployment, corruption, mal-administration, insecurity and other social vices that are increasingly becoming alarming. People in the state expect leaders to address these ragging social problems for better living standards, but the expectations are not forth coming. One therefore finds it difficult to reconcile the Christian commitment of Benue people with the increasing level of poverty resulting from bad governance in the state.

Taking cognizance of the degree of some abnormalities in Nigeria in general and Benue State in particular, Shamiya (2010) put down the following questions concerning the political activities in Benue State.

- Are there no political leaders that would provide good governance to the people of the state?

- What is the political atmosphere in Benue State like?
- What are people's views about Benue politics?
- What is the level of political participation and awareness?
- What is the degree of change in the political activities?
- What type of governance are the elected offering the yearnings messes who have given them the mandate? (p.4).

The answers to these questions is the focus of this work so as to perhaps provide the missing link about politics specifically in the state and the nation at large, and help fashion out the best approach to politics and the desirable governance capable of meeting up the yearning and aspiration of the people.

Benue state is located in the middle belt zone of Nigeria and the people of Benue are mainly Christians and as a Christian state the responsible lifestyle inspired and shaped by one's faith in the life – giving power of Jesus Christ who says,

I am the way, the truth and the life no one comes to the Father except through me” (John 14:6) (NKJV). He invites us to trust and follow him, to walk faithfully in the way of love, justice, mercy, and peace. It is important to note as stated by Vandezande (1983) that:

The reality of the presence of the kingdom gives us the courage to begin here and now to erect signs of the coming kingdom by working prayerfully and consistently for just and peace and towards the transformation of individuals and societies. (p. 54).

The statement is urgently calling on Christians to response to the issues of deprivation, injustice, mass destruction of lives and properties corruption and other social vices. They are called to stand up in the ministry of practicing love, seeking to restore the dignity of human beings created in the image of God. In Genesis chapter one (1) verse twenty eight (28) God created man, and asked him to “be fruitful and increase in number fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea and birds of the air and over every living creature that moves on the ground”.

This is referred in theological studies as “development mandate” or cultural mandate”. As put by Vandezande (1983) “Our creator is the owner and we are his images: we are his stewards who have the responsibility “to work and take care” of His creation as he would”. (p. 55).

This is to explain that Christians are called to do this task as trustees of a special treasure. By virtue of their vocation they are responsible for God’s beautiful handwork and accountable to Him for every activity. It is against this background that Christians are justified to respond to challenges of governance in Nigeria and Benue State in particular. Christians are to respond to Christ’s message of redemption and renewal, stewardship and love, justice and peace. The researcher is deeply aware that the country Nigeria today is in its most difficult times wounded and corrupt, violence and injustice abound, as such, it is important for us to review the special responsibility of Christians, Christian churches and organization as they face crisis and choose their future.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

With abundant mineral and natural resources Benue State is rated as “Food Basket of the Nation” which by every expectation could turn the fortunes of the state into massive wealth. But the problem is that the people in the state experience hunger, starvation and poverty. This agrees with Shamija (2010) who states that, “Ironically the state is becoming a toothless bulldog, the “Food Basket of the Nation” where hunger, starvation and poverty is the order of the day”. (p.41). This truth is also witnessed in the case of Nigeria that claims to be the “giant of Africa”, but maladministration is flourishing with all its characteristic consequences.

Jibo (cited by Orngu, 2007) also submitted to the problem in Benue State that:

Mass poverty is a feature of Benue Society. This development is paradoxical.

The more our people produce on farms, the less they earn in the markets ... our farmers are poor, not because they are lazy but because the nation’s agricultural and trade politics do not favour them. (p. 8).

It is important to note that, when poverty is sunk deep in a society, such a society becomes dysfunctional in the performance of its basic roles not only in the socio-political system, but also in the structure of the society or system as a whole.

Majority of Benue people are voiceless in the political scene and are also easily manipulated within the political terrain by the same political class who are the cause of the vulnerability of the poverty-stricken class in the state.

Many Christians in Nigeria and Benue in particular often regard politics as a dirty game, and sometimes preferred military dictatorship to civilian rule. This is because the kind of politics here is often characterized by political assassinations, thugery, blackmail,

manipulations, rigging, and double-dealing among others, due to the failure of the leaders to deliver the dividend of democracy. However, if Christians refuse to speak against the ills of the society how can the idea of governance which aimed at directing and reconciling human affairs in the society be achieved? Even though human needs are insatiable but it is believed that with governance individual would at best utilize the dividends. This is the reason why democracy since its inception has been seen by many as capable of assuaging the pains and suffering of the people in all societies of the world. It is sad to note that many political leaders in Benue State have failed for so long to embrace the genuine practice of democracy that can produce good governance for the people, thereby turning it to a venture of self aggrandizement to the detriment of the common people who they governed. Mbalishi and Chukwuemeka (2012) blamed corruptions in Nigeria on leadership. Thus, “Nigerians are corrupt because the system under which they live today makes corruption easy and profitable, they will cease to be corrupt when corruption is made difficult and inconvenient” (p.117). What then is the voice of the Christian church in situation like this?

The administration of the state’s economic and social resources must be judiciously managed and accountable; if not Benue state will never experience good governance. And if the elected people who are to manage the state’s economic and social resources failed in their duties who then is to question? This brings in the role of the Christians in responding to challenges of governance in Nigeria and Benue State in particular.

These problems call for a research of this nature especially to re-orientate Christians to stand up to their responsibility of developmental mandate owing to the desire of people for greater freedom and good governance which will improve their general living standards.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

One of the fundamental reasons for which a state or nations are created according to social contract theory was to give the state power by the citizens. Closely related to the above, Shaminja (2010) that, the “concern was about creating a common-for all society where good governance would be enshrined” (p.64). He further quoted Hamilton (1982) to explain that, “the goal of Marxists is to achieve a communist society in which there will again be no classes, no ruling elite, voluntary cooperation by all, and no repressive state machinery” (p.64). Although the issue here is not a discuss of Marxist theory of change, but the common good of all.

Since the advent of democracy in Nigeria, Benue people have given their mandate to leaders who were expected to deliver the dividends of democracy to the people, but it is worrying that the quality of governance in the state has not been able to improve remarkably the standard of living in the people. The rude reality is that despite the wealth of the state, Benue is still struggling with development; a reality that the state shares with Nigeria in general. The Benue situation is such that poverty has become bedfellows, this has exposed the people to serious agony, easily making them vulnerable by the opportune minority elites. In such a situation what should be the role of the Christian church? The biblical faith is a public faith that demands personal commitment and integral service.

Vandezande (1982) further explained that “By sovereign appointments we are earth-keepers and caretakers, using our skills and meeting our needs, while loving our neighbor and tending for its unfolding and wellbeing are tied to our obedience” (p.57). A major concern of this research work is therefore not to provide a social or political handbook or a political manual that pretends to give all the answers to governance issues, rather the work attempt to outline the Christian response to issues of social, economic and political responsibility that will enable Christians to respond to crisis of our time, especially as it affects Benue people. This is done from the conviction that the message of God’s creation and Christ’s incarnation is good news and of crucial significance for our everyday life.

The study also intends to provide education to Christians and the country at large on the need to understand the environment for governance in Nigeria so that we can clearly identify our strengths, weaknesses, and core responsibilities. We also need to evolve a system of leadership selection and accountability which produces the sort of leaders that will confront the challenges of the environment in a way that is beneficial for governance. The work argues that, we must find these resources in ourselves if we are to succeed in the process of good governance in our country in general.

The research intends also to call on Christians to take a critical look at what has been happening in Benue state, and the whole country at large, in the name of economic progress and listen to what some prominent observers have been saying about it. We must also explore the possibility of articulating an alternative view of economic social, religious, and political development as a way of building governance responsibility on

the basis of stewardship understanding of life and creation. This is necessary because the human condition all over Nigeria makes for depressing reading. Hundreds of millions of people live out their lives in alter misery and despair. And when we consider the present situation in Benue state where thousands of uprooted and dispossessed people who are in flight from wars, brutality, religious, political and ethnic persecution in their homeland, then the picture becomes still worse. Towards the end of 2013 to early part of 2014 Benue State has seen the largest waves of refugees in modern times. By far the greatest proportion is women and children. The Christian church must get on with this pressing task if they want to be known as people of God, who in faith in community seek to define the cause of the weak and fatherless, maintain the right of the poor and oppressed. Rescue the weak and needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked.

1.4 Scope of The Study

The concept of governance is a wider term which suggests the capacity of the government and bureaucracy to cope up with emerging challenges of the society. According to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012), “Good governance also refers to the ability to deliver goods to various stakeholders by making the various agents of political system work for the betterment of the citizens especially the marginalized section of the society” (p. 64).

But the scope of this research will not cover the general approach to the study of governance but it is on the Christian responsibility in a democratic system, a quest for good governance. The scope will use Benue state as a case study, with special attention on democratic governance from 1979-2015.

The scope is limited especially to the teaching of the Christian church which teaches that, the creator and redeemer of the world is not an absentee land lord, He is virtually interested in his majestic handwork. “The earth is the Lord’s and everything in it, the world and all who live in it” (Ps. 241:1). As creatures who belong to him, we need to give ourselves fully to the stewardly economic, political, social and religious development of His creation, because we know that our labour in him is not in vain (1Cor. 15:58). Chiegboka and Izuegbu (2012) write:

The church is part of the world and her members, citizens of the world. As a heavenly institution, though operational in the world, the church works for the wellbeing of mankind, society achieves the wellbeing of mankind through articulation and execution of policies which in other word understood as politics. (p.203).

By this the church in Benue State is called to respond to challenges of governance in the state, ranging from corruption, insecurity, lack of awareness of church members in their role to the development of the society, lack of transparency and accountability, lack of strong institution of governance, poor leadership focus and clear vision, lack of political will and sincerity, lack of programme continuity, and so on. People may have different conception as regard the type of response Christians may have towards challenges of governance, but the scope here is only on the mutual concern and respect and public responsibility and accountability of Christians as fundamental to the development and preservation of caring and sharing society. The military administration will not be covered in the case of Benue State since the emphasis is mainly on democratic governance. The administration of Mr. Aper Aku, Rev. Fr. Moses O. Adasu, Mr.

George Akume and Rt. Hon. Dr. Gabriel T. Suswam will be analyzed for the purpose of this work.

The scope is within a clear understanding of the task of the Christian church in Nigeria and Benue State in particular to work all ways possible for a quality lives for all in the society. Chiegboka and Izuegbu (2012) believe also that “the task of the church in the present Nigerian politics is therefore a call for proper concern in political life of the state being that politics determines the quality of life of the citizens in a society” (p.203). In this context, the whole work will be understood within one basic truth that, Christians are called by God to develop responsibly and to share equitably all the economic resources the creator has entrusted to mankind, so that all his creatures may be enabled to fulfill their diverse tasks without exploiting the good of creation. This is message of God to all His creatures and this is the mission of the church to the world.

1.5 Significance of The Study

The research holds that God’s sovereignty and human responsibility must always be proclaimed and practiced in a new and living ways, especially in the present Benue State where so many people act and live as if God is not relevant, even though they may confess him in their places of worship. And with this picture we have seen that even though Benue State is blessed with huge human and natural potentials, the citizens are still languishing in underdevelopment with abject poverty, hunger and starvation, rising crime wave, unemployment, corruption, mal-administration and other social vices that are increasingly becoming alarming. This makes the research significance and timely in the following ways: The research will help to create an orientation to all Benue

Christians, and Nigerian at large towards the idea of the basic principle of Good governance, which call on all Christians to be involved in struggles for economic justice and participate in the building of a new society based on gospel principle; and that they should do so in the realization that, this requires personal and collective efforts for the preferential option for the poor, the afflicted and the oppressed, and the special value and dignity of human work in God's plan for creation.

The research will be of great benefit to the development and building of our God given nation Nigeria. Benue Christians and the whole Nigerian population will come to the knowledge of re-ordering of their values and priorities in our economic, social, political and religious life. This basic shift in values will now have a new goal of serving the human needs of all people in the society but no longer the maximization of project and growth at a personal level.

The findings in this research will provide invaluable information which will help improve and encourage the practice of politics of good governance and leadership in Benue and Nigeria as a whole.

The research is also significant in the sense that it will encourage political participation, awareness and conscientization of Benue Christians and the whole Nigerians on the importance of demanding their basic needs and right from the government and not necessarily money as it seems to be the status-quo in our polity today.

The research will be of benefit in the sense that it would bridge the gap between political leaders and the majority of Christian electorates and offer more understanding about politics and ideal governance.

Researchers in the field of religion, political science, management sciences and many more will benefit greatly from this work.

1.6 Methodology

The success of every research depends largely on the appropriate choice of method by the researcher; the present researcher therefore intends to employ a surveying method: In the surveying method, the researcher will deal with systematic collection or obtaining of standardized information about governance in Nigeria and Benue State in particular. The surveying method in this context will involve reading widely on the topic, comparing and contrasting, analysis and synthesis of all the information collected for the purpose of this research. Data will be collected through an intensive research in the areas of political life, economic, social, religion, sociology and other social sciences that are useful and related to the topic. Main sources will be secondary sources; books, journals, magazines and such other works on governance. The analytical method will be used for the interpretation of data collected. This will be done through careful analysis and evaluation of the information.

1.7 Definition of Terms

In order to fully understand and situate this work in contemporary context, certain terms that will be constantly used throughout this research work will be contextually

defined. These include: Christian Response, Challenges, Governance and good governance, Nigeria and Benue State.

Christian – According to Webster (2006), the word Christian refers to “a person who believes in Jesus and follows his teachings. It also refers to “a member of a Christian church” (p.69). The name Christian has three occurrences in the New Testament of the Christian Bible, (Acts 11:26; Acts 26:28; 1Pet. 4:16). This according to Douglas (1987) may have originally been thought of as “soldiers of Christus” or “the partisans of Christus” (p.186). Hornby and Wehmeier (2000) also define Christian as “person who believes in the teaching of Jesus Christ or has been baptized in a Christian church” (p.192). The source of the name is traced back to the early time of the church when the followers or believers in Jesus Christ the founder of the new religion were first called Christians (Acts 11:26). In this context a Christian refers strictly to one who truly believes in Jesus Christ and his teaching on the kingdom of God. This person bore testimony that he/she wish to behave like Christ in matters of truths, justice, holiness and other virtues that promote the wellbeing of all humans. This is in contrast to mere church goers or those who professed to be followers of Christ by mere words of mouth without practical application of the confession.

Christian Responsibility

According to Hornby (2005) Responsibility refers to “a duty to deal with or take care of somebody or something so that you may be blamed if something goes wrong” (p. 1249). This explains that one may have a responsibility for ensuring that rules are enforced. The meaning of the term Responsibility includes the following: The state or fact of having a duty to deal with something or of having control over someone; the state

or fact of being accountable or to be blamed for something; the opportunity or ability to act independently and take decisions without authorization.

In the book of Genesis 1:28, we have what theologians called “cultural mandate” where God has given, his children the responsibility or duty to rule the earth and in Mathew 28:19, here too Jesus gave the responsibility of making disciples of all nations to Christians.

In this research the term Responsibility is used to refer to a duty Christians have to the world. The Christian is accountable to God for promoting common good for all citizens, irrespective of their social, economic, political and religious affiliations. This is used in the context of this work to refer to an act or instance of replying to situation in accordance with the authority of the scripture and the sovereignty of Christ.

Christians therefore, accept God’s word as the directing power for daily living and very necessary to the development of a responsible way of life and healthy, economic, social and political relations. In this context, Christians believed that Jesus Christ came to bring redemption and healing to this sinful and broken world and Christian are to be part of God’s work in human history. They therefore, according to Vandezande (1984), made a personal commitment to Christ and now want to translate that into a public confession of faith that is worthy of his name and contributes to responsible citizenship.

The liberation of Israel in the Old Testament (Exodus 3) signaled the watchword for every Christian response to injustice. It is therefore the duty of the church to proclaim

the truth about human being as disclosed in the truth about Jesus who is the savior of the whole world. Douglas (1991) accepted this when he maintains that:

Romans Catholics and mainline Protestants were among those interested in social action and most supportive of government efforts. Church agencies working with government grant sprang up and tried desperately to fill social needs. In the USA black churchmen began to take leading roles made possible through their growing civil right political power. (p.166).

Governance – According to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012) “governance” means “the act or manner of governing or the way of control” (p.4). They further state that, “it is the process by which decisions are made and implemented” (p.5). From the above understanding governance is ultimately concern with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective actions. According to Nnoli (2012) the term “governance” derives from its twin concept “government”. It connotes the act of discharging civil responsibilities in orderly manner following laid down rules and regulations by the authorities entrusted with powers to conduct the affairs or rule over other on behalf of them in a given society. He also stated that “governance is the act of ruling, managing, administrating, directing or controlling a nation, state, or community for public good by elected person or persons in accordance with the laid down constitution of the land” (p.247).

In the words of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as (cited by Nnoli, 2012):

Governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Good governance is participatory, transparent and accountable. It is effective, equitable and promotes the rule of law and ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on consensus in society and that the voice of the protest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over allocation of development resources. (p.247).

This statement helps us to see governance as been vital to the success of any organization, state or nation. In its simplest form, governance refers to group decision-making that addresses shared problems. It describes the processes and institutions that guide and restrain the collective activities taken by the state or nation and its members. Governance also describes the mechanisms through which the state or nation implements its policies.

Democratic system: To understand the concept “Democratic System” one need to know first what the term Democracy is all about. The term is very commonly used by politicians and non-politicians in political discussion. But it seems that not everyone who uses this term “Democracy” is absolutely clear about its meaning and implication, thus the need for explanation. According to Mages and Nthamburi (1999) “Democracy is government of the people by the people for the people” (p. 10). He states that:

In feudal Europe, democratic movements were denounced and prohibited. They were perceived to be subversive of the rule by God's vicars and representatives who ruled by divine rights in aristocratic and absolutist monarchies. It was not until the Glorious Revolution of 1688-1689, the America Revolution of 1766 and the French Revolution 1789, that "democracy" finally gained recognition and respect. (p. 10).

After the revolutions the term democracy came to be accepted by all people to mean "government of the people" or "rule by the people". Masega and Nthamburi (1999) also maintained that "democracy is concerned with what political system ought to be and ought not to be; it is thus ideal method of governance" (p. 11). In Omole and Olukotun (1999) democracy is define as "giving opportunity to virtually all individual to partake in decision making on issues concerning their lives as members of the society" (p. 241).The emphasis here is on the participation of citizens in managing their affairs. According to Abbass (2007) "Democratic governance is the science organizing government at all levels and the process of coordinating direct mass and popular people's totality of their wellbeing" (p. 2). From this understanding we can say that democratic system of governance, of course, involves competitions for various government positions, leaders as well as the guaranteeing of human rights. Abbass (2007) further states that:

The nexus between human rights and democratic governance on the one hand and the ability to provide and sustain socio-economic wellbeing on the other brings about the essence and framework which support the growth and development of democratic institutions, norms and values in the entire political system. (p. 2).

A democratic system, therefore, is meaningful to people only when it can positively affect people's social and economic wellbeing. The protection of human rights free participation in the affairs of the state is therefore, the essential ingredients for genuine and transparent democratic governance. This is the basis for which Christians have responsibility to the society in a democratic system.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section of the work is basically focused on review of relevant literature so as to establish a missing link that justifies the need for the present research study. The review will therefore be presented under the following headings: Conceptual framework, theoretical frameworks, empirical studies and a summary of literature review.

In every human society, there are the tendencies to pursue virtues such as peace, care, justice and truthfulness to ensure the wellbeing and survival of human kind. Elaigwu (2005) states that:

National government must act as a watchdog, guarding the interest of vulnerable sections of society. The state must also retain a major role in giving coherence to local actions and mediating between local and international actors. While national governments must facilitate the functioning of global markets and forces, they must also take responsibility for social cohesion, justice, equality and conflict resolution in cities. In the long run governments have the ultimate responsibility of ensuring that globalization and urbanization are positive forces of development. (p.481).

The basis of the above statement is to show the role of a country or state in the management of its resources for the wellbeing of all. But if the state or country fails to provide such to the people we then talk of bad governance. Using Nigeria as an example Okoye (2006) has the following to say quoting the words of Professor Sogolo that:

It is perhaps more appropriate talking about social disorder in the case of Nigeria.

The Nigeria state has over the years failed in discharging its obligations to the

people such that most Nigerians are already living as if each household is a mini state. Nigerians, who can afford it, are generating their own electricity (using NEPA as a standby). Most households in the urban areas operate their water works while rural dwellers depend on nature. All over the country, families now make arrangement for their own security, pray, so there would be no natural disaster, say earthquakes, floods or famine for that would expose the extreme vulnerability of Nigerians. (p. 11).

The picture above helps us to know that, without a strong and efficient management of a country's resources no nation can truly be a peaceful place to live. For if some few individuals live in comfort and opulence, while a greater percentage of the country or state population is trapped in squalor and poverty, it would result in mistrust and insecurity. It is for the above reasons that this section of the research will be concerned with a conceptual framework on governance and examine governance with a view to determining the relationship it has with the Christian response in Nigeria and Benue state in particular. It is hoped that in the end the study will throw some light on the nature of governance in our country and Benue State with the aim of improving on the status quo.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

The concept of governance is as old as human development. It is a concept that has increasingly attracted international attention. Ikpi (1997) view the notion of governance as, "the total ability to organize, synthesize and direct the various actions of the working parts of government machinery in order to form such a government to perform meaningfully, creditably and acceptably" (p.19). He argues further that

governance can be examined and analyzed from six stand points which include: The initiation and maintenance of rapid socio-economic growths; the establishment and development of a free market; the establishment of basic organizational framework to act as springboard for further development; the creation of an absorptive capacity for capital and other inputs; the organization and promotion of private sector investment; the conscious raising of productivity of the people by improving their skills; enterprise, initiative, adaptability and attitudes.

Ikpi's understanding simply suggests a conscious mobilization, management and utilization of societal resources to generate public goods for the common benefit of all within the ideological framework of capitalism. In a similar development, Akpotor (2001) views governance as "a normative judgment which indicates a preferred relation that would ideally govern relations between state and society and between a government and people" (p.13). Akpotor's conception of governance incorporates critical elements such as accountability based on the notion of public choice and popular sovereignty; a carefully articulated legal framework that guarantees and sustains rule of law and due process; and popular participation in decision making based on political and social pluralism.

Considering the above definitions, governance can, broadly speaking, be comprehended to mean the astute and prudent management of power towards achieving the collectively articulated goals of the society. Governance according to UNDP as quoted by Shaminja (2010) "is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels" (p.66). He further states that; "it comprises mechanisms, process and institutions through which citizens and groups

articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate on their differences” (p.66). Also in the words of Elaigwu (2009):

The nature of governance depends on the form of political regime, the process by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development and the capacity of government to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions. (p.8).

In this context, governance is said to be good when those who have the authority of the state makes efforts to achieve the goals or the aims of the state that is, the maintenance of law and order; the provision of welfare for its citizens and the pursuit of national interest in the global arena. According to

For Okechukwu and Duru (2012), governance refers “to rulership, administration and management of a society or system. It involves the act of making law, implementing them and effective handling of the outcomes”. (p.136). In this understanding governance is term good where there is an effective and efficient management of the state resources (human and materials) for the good of all members of the society. From the above definitions we can see that governance is a phenomenon determined by the phrase “good” and “bad”. In essence, if there is good governance, there should also be bad governance (Onwuekwe and Nwosu 2012). If governance is understood to mean the way and manner power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources to foster equitable development in society, then it must be the prefix “Good” (p.502). To Afekhena (2004) “governance provides a broad framework through which citizens seek to pursue the legitimate developmental aspirations”. This broad framework could be

constructed using the normative principles of trust, accountability, reciprocity and authority” (p. 206).

This could undermine effective governance critically needed to foster sustainable development in the society. Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012) states that:

The concept of governance transcends beyond the state to incorporate within itself the civil society organizations. Governance from this point of view means the sum of the ways in which individuals and institutions (public and private) manage their common affairs. (p.5).

This agrees with Iwuoha (2012), in line with the commission on Global governance that maintained that:

The sum of the many ways individuals and institution, public and private sectors, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflict or diverse interest may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed on or perceived to be in their interest. (p.80).

He further states that “good governance according to the office of public sector reform has about eight major characteristics namely; It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law”. (p.86). Each of these points will be briefly expounded.

Participation

Participation in this context implies that the needs and aspirations of all segments of the society including the vulnerable elements are adequately and equitably catered for in the society. That is to mean, good governance provides a comprehensive framework for active participation in public affairs. Mohammed (2008) avers that “good governance should deliberately seek to target vulnerable group like children, women, youths and handicaps through affirmative action for special access to socio-economic opportunities that could empower them” (p.3). In essence, opportunities in the society must be equitably distributed so as to ensure fair representation of all interests in the enterprise of governance. This is the only way that the domination of government by some interests group to the exclusion of others would be avoided.

Accountability

Diamond (2004) states that, “for public officials to be accountable, they have to advance explanations for their actions or inactions so that the public knows exactly what power as fiduciary resources is being expended for” (p.224). Iwuoha (2012) also states that “accountability is a key requirement of good governance not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders” (p.87). This is to say that, for governance to be characterized as good it must be accountable and accountability in this context implies the answerability of public officials for their conduct to the public. Accountability seeks to uproot the culture of impunity associated with corrupt behaviour in public life. Gambo (n.d) believes that, “when the culture of accountability is deeply entrenched, it promotes good sense of prudence and behavior that conforms to the

prescribed norms in public affairs” (p.7). This is true because, Diamond (2004) believes that governing agents are likely to be more responsible when they are answerable for their behavior and can impose sanctions upon them. However, ineffective principles of accountability breed widespread behavior with impunity and this erode the basis of trust which is critical to the promotion of culture of good governance in the society.

Rule of Law

According to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012). “A fair framework that is enforced in an impartial manner for protecting human rights, securing social justice and checking abuse of power is a prerequisite of good governance” (p. 90). The principle of the rule of law implies that laws must be applied equally to both the mighty and the weak in the society. The rich and the poor, the weak and the powerful are all within the operation of one in the society. The independency of the judiciary is a fundamental requirement for the effective observance of the principle of the rule of law in any democratic political system. Iwuoha (2012) also point to this fact when he states that, “impartial enforcement of laws requires independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force” (p.87). It must also be noted that, all actors, public and private must have confidence that those rules will be observed and that all social elements must be guided by the same law and none should claim exception to rules legitimately formulated to govern behavior.

Transparency

One of the major premises of good governance is the citizens’ access to information, and good governance must ensure free flow of information to citizens. The principle of transparency simply means openness in the conduct of governmental

business to the escorting of other governmental actors and the public at large. A transparent government always operates within the ambit of the law and seeks to avoid arbitrariness in the conduct of public affairs.

Effectiveness and Efficiency

Government is effective and efficient when it has all its agencies sufficiently equipped to discharge the legitimate functions of government to generate a condition where citizens would radiate with happiness and contentment. An effective and efficient government is sensitive to the needs of its citizens and ever ready to provide such needs in a timely manner in order to retain their trust and confidence. The effectiveness and efficiency is seen in services such as regular supply of potable water electric power supply, provision of security, construction of good road network, health care facilities, education for all, and so on.

Responsiveness

Jega (2007) believes that, “a responsive government attaches considerable importance to public opinion in the determination of issues”. (p.8). That is to explain that, the principle of responsiveness presupposes that government is swift, sensitive and empathetic in coming to the aid of distressed citizens such as in crisis situation. It also means that government is forthcoming in meeting legitimate demands and needs of citizens. The mutual obligation that exists between government and citizens can only be sustained when government had developed enough capacity to respond to its citizen by way of effective social provisioning and prompt delivery of critical goods and services. A government characterized by weak responsive capacity can hardly hold the society

cohesive as citizens would continue to express legitimate grievances deeply rooted in unmet needs.

Consensus oriented

Good governance should aim at reaching broad consensus after mediating different interests in the society for the best interest of the community. It aims at sustainable human development and aims to achieve the goals of such development.

Inclusiveness and Equity

Another important characteristic of good governance is that people should not be excluded from the mainstream of the society and the marginalized are able to avail opportunities.

All these defining indicators of good governance when effectively aggregated could create conducive environment for meaningful development to take place in society. In the words of Diamond (2004) “a good combination of these could breed sufficient social capital in the form of thriving associations that draw people together in relation to trust and voluntary cooperation for common ends” (p.223). Citizens sharing common aspirations and expectations would naturally coalesce around common goals thereby generating the necessary condition for effective unity.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Governance is vital to the success of any organization from small domestic organizations to large international organizations. Governments have the formal authority to act; they have also the power to enforce compliance with their activities, rules and policies. In particular, governments have, and exercise, police power. In contrast, the

broader concept of governance describes the way in which an organization, nation, or state chooses to engage in certain activities backed by goals shared by its constituents. This is to explain that there is no single theory to give a comprehensive understanding of the whole idea of governance. Instead, theory and definition of governance depend on the context. Despite their differences, the various theories on governance agree that social conflicts may be resolved not only by a sovereign (that is a national) government, but also by international organizations composed of multiple sovereign governments and non-governmental actors, also many of the people in the society in the interest of common good.

The purpose of this section is to present various theories of governance models those scholars and practitioners have used to describe the working of human society. Let us now consider some of these theories in the context of our study.

Behavioralism

Behaviouralism is one of the traditional approaches to political science that appeared on the scene in the early twentieth century. It received a world wide application to the study of political science. According to Shaminja (2010) “it focused on the greater knowledge about the working of political institutions” (p.60). He quoted Varma (1975) who maintains that, “by doing so, it investigated the problem of where the loci of power lay in society and into the operation of that power in and on governments” (p. 60).

Ujo (1996) pointed key factors to the emergence of the behaviourist approach as the need to explain the failure of democracy in Germany, the need to explain the political

dynamics of post colonial states in Asia and Africa, the need to create a scientific basis for the study of politics and the need to create models for comparative study of politics.

According to Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2012) “Among the prominent behaviouralists are Abraham Maslow, Christ Argyris, Douglas McGnergor, Rensis Likert, Hugo Munsterberg, Mary Parker Follett, Chester Bernard and others” (p.258). They all believe that people will be productive if they are given opportunities to use their abilities and creative skills. This is in line with the participation principle of governance where citizens participate in the organ of the state.

Ujo (1996) also states that:

The behavioral persuasion in politics had more than one approach and that there are many scholars who differ in their approaches but are unanimous in their analysis of bahaviouralism on the following: The political behavior of the individual and social group than institution and event” (p.59).

The important contribution is on the use of participation and ways of handle conflicts arising from strong differences of opinion within an organization.

Although, behavioralism suffers from certain limitations, for its assumption that all employees will seek self-actualization at work is not based on facts. This is because, people have diverse needs, it is wrong therefore, to assume that everyone is motivated by the same need in the same manner.

Welfare Policy Implementation Theory

Welfare policy generally referred to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, which had been in place for sixty years. Under the reformed welfare system, AFDC has been replaced with the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program. The legislation ends federal entitlements, funds welfare through capped block grants to the states, and sets a five-year maximum lifetime limit on receipt of welfare benefits. However, as important as these policies may be, PRWORA has introduced a lot of changes in its implementation. It gives the states enormous latitude in setting eligibility, benefit, and sanction policy, and it changes the focus of welfare from a human capital model emphasizing prolonged education and vocational training to a work-first approach that stresses the importance of work and self-sufficiency (Hayward, 1998). While there are many models of welfare implementation, welfare is essentially administered at either the state level (centralized administration) or at the local or county level (decentralized administration). Regardless of the administrations status, PRWORA has brought together public, non-profit, and private agencies that had been largely autonomous in their operations and more narrowly focused in their organizational mission. According to Ewalt (2001) for example, in theory, private industry councils (PIC's) and Departments of Employment Services (DES) were to have been working closely with welfare agencies implementing the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Program (IOBS) in the late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s. The reality was that for most states, there was very little involvement from employment-related public agencies in implementing welfare programs.

In the current environment, local welfare implementation involves a host of public and non-profit organizations. Regardless of whether the organization is centralized or decentralized, a variety of agencies are contracted with the mandate to provide basic services such as eligibility assessment, needs assessments, job training, employment training, education, transportation, child care, job retention, and rehabilitation. In addition, although most welfare recipients are children and their mothers, non-custodial parents (usually fathers) are also an important if ancillary program target. Important goals of welfare programs relate directly to the legislation, and to state implementing regulations. All states are subject to statutory requirements about the percent of welfare clients who must be engaged in “countable” work activities, among other rules, and these requirements drive many of their organizational relationships states and localities establish. The bottom line for state and local welfare programs is that they seek to accomplish the following universal goals:

Divert potential clients from TANF when other assistance may be more appropriate;

- Move TANF clients into countable work activities as soon as possible and at least as soon as prescribed by state and/or federal law;
 - Meet federally mandated work participation rates;
 - Remove barriers such as lack of child care, transportation, appropriate clothing, and so on, so TANF clients can remain at work;
 - Assist TANF clients in devising a self-sufficiency plan to move off public assistance;
- and

- Apply client sanctions when noncompliance with program rules reaches a critical level.

This brief review of welfare policy is intended to introduce the requirements of welfare reform and its implications for organizational structure. To describe the specific nature of welfare implementation arrangements, we turn to the literature on networks. The theory is relevant because it enhances the welfare of all members of the society. This is same with what Christians call common good.

Networks in Action Theory

In meeting programme goals, welfare agencies must establish both informal and formal relationships with numerous organizations (Provan and Milward, 1995; O'Toole, 1997; Agranoff and McGuire, 1998). In many of these multi-organizational networks of linked agencies and other units, the linkages are not particularly well established. Rather, they are in a state of continual reformulation because of shifts in providers, new programme emphasis or problems, or other internal or external shocks to the environment.

According to Midward and Provan (2000), the practice of contracting out government services to networks of nonprofit (and some private) organizations has been referred to as “hollow state” (p.242). Hierarchical bureaucracies are generally considered more predictable and stable because networks must coordinate, negotiate, monitor, enforce and hold accountable a variety of organizations with varying funding streams and levels of authority and responsibility. As these authors have noted elsewhere, human service systems that are stable are better performers Provan and Milward (1995), “in

addition, they point out that networks may threaten the legitimacy of governance because of the distance between government and policy action” (p.242). Another critical issue is whether network arrangements are mandated or emerge as part of the evolution of program implementation.

In sum, Milward and Provan (2000) note that there are at least four perspectives of evaluating network effectiveness:

Clients and advocacy groups favor flexible network structures at the level of the service provider.

- Agency managers and network administrators favor stability, which presumably leads to agency and network growth and increases in resources.
 - Local officials and community leaders look for structures that promote efficiency, cost reductions, and the containment or reduced visibility of social problems.
 - Funding sources and regulators favor network structures that permit control and monitoring and thus reduce the likelihood of their being blamed for poor outcomes.
- (p.255).

The premise of this paperwork is that the related concepts of governance, New Public Management, and network theory can bring some clarity to the search for theories of policy implementation. It also offers hope for one of the most prevalent criticism of implementation research: the lack of parsimony. In the section that follows, the research reviews the evolution of implementation research from a top-down/bottom-up structure to efforts to achieve synthesis. A governance model of implementation is then explored as a theoretical alternative that offers the potential to synthesize models and bring network into the governance paradigm.

Finally, this study suggests ways that the governance model can be applied to increase our understanding of implementation structures in welfare policy. This shows the relevance for good governance for the promotion development.

Moving Beyond Top-Down Bottom-Up Approaches Theory

Policy implementation is what happens after policy makers have decided to do something now, do something different, or stop doing something, and before the impact of this action. In the study of implementation, at least until recently two conflicting analytical perspectives dominated: top-down and bottom-up views of how one should study the issue. Bottom-up theorists (Hjern and Porter, 1981; Hjern, 1982; Hull and Hjern, 1987; Lipsky, 1978) study implementation at the street level, concentrating on service believers and policy targets. Top-down theorists (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975, Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1980, Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1981, 1989; Sabatier, 1986) the level of analysis is the relationship the authorizing statute or order, the nature of the problem, and the central actors in the implementation process.

Both perspectives have their critics. As summarized by Matland (1995), the top-down approach suffers from a lack of specificity about important sub-national contexts, while bottom-up research tends to ignore centralized policy control, it is often so narrowly conceived in the form of case studies or small studies that variation is described but generalization is rarely accomplished. O'Toole (2000) suggests that "virtually all analysts have moved past the rather sterile top-down/bottom-up dispute, and some helpful proposals for synthetic or contingent perspectives have been offered" (p.267). However, as he notes, consensus has not been reached and the sheer number of explanatory factors

has not been much reduced. Efforts to combine the two approaches illustrate that both have merits. Two recent reviews of the synthesis literature offer distinct but related convergence approaches.

Mattad (1995) in trying to connect top to bottom states that researchers have generally either proposed new models, or have developed theories of how one approach is more appropriate. Examples of the former include forward and backward mapping as noted by Elmore (1982 & 1985); advocacy coalitions by Sabatier and Pelkey (1987); Sabatier (1991), and Goggin's communications model (1990). Taking the latter approach, Berman (1980) suggests that the top-down/bottom-up dispute can be settled by viewing the specific policy context: scope of change, validity of technology, institutional environment, goal conflict and environmental stability. Matland offers an ambiguity/conflict implementation model which views the level of conflict over policy goals and goal ambiguity as dichotomous, producing four distinct implementation processes with varying reliance on top-down or bottom-up forces. In O'Toole's (2000) review of advances in implementation research, he finds progress in attempt to achieve synthesis. In particular, he points to a number of studies that while outside the formal domain of implementation literature, have much to contribute to the field. Among these are Institutional Analysis and Development, Governance, and Networks and Network Management. It is his assessment of the governance-implementation link that concerns us here. Governance theory highlights the multivariate character of policy, considers the design and operation of policy structures and actions, and focuses on the "multi-layered structural context of rule-governed understandings, along with the role of multiple social actors in arrays of negotiation, implementation, and service delivery. O'Toole (2000)

states that, Addressing governance requires attending to social partners and ideas about how to concert action among them”. (p.276). Clearly, governance theory embraces many implementation themes.

Governance and New Public Management (NPM) Theory: Integrating Implementation Questions

The (mostly European) literature on governance and the increasingly international scholarship on New Public Management (NPM) describe two models of public service that reflect a ‘reinvented’ form of government which is better managed, and which takes its objectives not from democratic theory but from market economics (Stoker, 1998). While some use the terms interchangeably (for example, Hood, 1991), most of the research makes distinctions between the two. Essentially, governance is a political theory while NPM is an organizational theory (Peters and Pierre,1998). Stoker (1998) describes it, thus:

Governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors has become blurred. The essence of governance is its focus on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government...Governance for (some) is about the potential for contracting, franchising and new forms of regulation. In short, it is about what (some) refers to as the new public management. However, governance is more than a new set of managerial tools. It is also about more than achieving greater efficiency in the production of public services. (pp.17-18).

Peters and Pierre (1995) agree, saying that “governance is about process, while NPM is about outcomes” (p. 232).

Governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action (Stoker, 1998; Peters and Pierre, 1998; Milward and Provan, 2000). As Stoker (1998) notes, “the outputs of governance are not different from those of government; it is instead a matter of difference in processes” (p.17). Governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. The essence of governance, and its most troublesome aspect, according to its critics, is a focus on mechanisms that do not rest on resource to the authority and sanctions of governance (Bakke, et al, 1998; Peters and Pierre, 1998; Stoker, 1998; Rhodes, 1996, 1997). Stoker (1998) draws five propositions to frame our understanding of the critical questions that governance theory should help us answer. He acknowledges that each proposition implies a dilemma or critical issue. Governance refers to institutions and actors from within and beyond governance. (But there is a divorce between the complex reality of decision-making associated with governance and the normative codes used to explain and justify government).

The question, as it relates to policy implementation, is one of legitimacy. The content to which those with decision-making power are seen to be legitimate (in the normative sense) will directly impact their ability to mobilize resources and promote cooperation and build and sustain partnerships. Thus, the normative dilemma has pragmatic overtones. Beetham (1991) suggests that “for power to be legitimate it must conform to established rules; these rules must be justified by adherence to shared beliefs; and the power must be exercised with the express consent of subordinates” (p. 19). Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues. This shift in responsibility goes beyond the public-private

dimension to include notions of communitarians and social capital. (However, blurring of responsibilities can lead to blame avoidance or scapegoating).

An interesting research area that has grown in scope and importance following the implementation of welfare is the study of faith-based organizations' role and impact in service delivery. Public agencies have not merely endorsed or encouraged this partnership, but in some cases have institutionalized these arrangements. This suggests a shift in responsibility beyond the more traditional notions of contracting out and privatization. At the same time, all of these activities contribute to uncertainties on the part of policy makers and the public about who is in charge and who can be held accountable for performance outcomes. Implementation theory must attend to the nature and impact of responsibility and accountability.

Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action. Organizations are dependent upon each other for the achievement of collective action, and thus must exchange resources and negotiate shared understandings of ultimate program goals. The implementation literature is replete with studies of coordination barriers and impact (for example, Jennings and Ewald, 1998). (Nonetheless, power dependence exacerbates the problem of unintended consequences for government because of the likelihood of principal-agent problems).

For implementation scholarship to contribute to a greater understanding of governance relationships, arrangements for minimizing (and impacts of) game-playing, subversion, creaming and opportunism must be explored. Governance is about autonomous self-

governing networks of actors. (The emergence of self-governing networks raises difficulties over accountability). Governance networks, in Stoker's (1998) terms, "involve not just influencing government policy but taking over the business of government" (p. 23). The "hollow state" that networks has triggered Milward, (1996); Milward and Provan, (2000) raises questions about how government can manage public programs when they consist largely of entities outside the public domain. Network theory and governance issues overlap, and they are both directly linked to questions of implementation.

Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. (But even so, government failures may occur). It is in this proposition that we find a natural progression from the more encompassing theory of governance to the more prescriptive notions of New Public Management. Stoker (1998) notes that "within governance there is a concerted emphasis on new tools and techniques to steer and guide" (p.26). The language is taken directly from reinventing themes. The dilemma of governance in this context is that there is a broader concern with the very real potential for leadership failure, differences among key partners in time horizons and goal priorities, and social conflicts, all of which can result in governance failure. Stoker draws on Godwin as he suggests that design challenges of public institutions can be addressed in part by "invisibility, robustness, sensitivity to motivational complexity, public dependability, and variability to encourage experimentation" (p. 26).

a. Global Governance Theory

Global governance describes governance at the global level. According to Carrington (2008), the concept refers to “international organizations that operate on a global scale, and describes the link between the activities of their members in a specific field of international relations – for example, an international monetary system for the IMF” (p.3). The driving force behind this new theory of governance is the globalization of the international economy. Scholars disagree on the scope of global governance. While some only see global governance in the context of international finance, others also see its applicability in areas like the environment, international security and human rights.

The concept as it applies to international organizations has three characteristics” (1) a shared understanding of objectives and standards of conduct pertinent to the organization’s specific subject, or goal, of governance; (2) agreed-upon rules that seek to give structure and substance to the organization’s rules, tend to their amendment, and resolve disputes arising from their interpretation. Typically, international organizations that work according to theory of global governance will have a scientific approach to their operations. In other words, these organizations operate in part by strategies may also show this scientific nature because the strategies are designed to increase the level and efficiency of governance. While global governance does not require formal structures like good governance, the best examples of organizations operating according to this type of governance are the IMF and the World Bank because they possess all three characteristics of global governance; they are large in terms of members and assets, and they have a scientific approach to their mission. For example, the IMF takes a scientific

approach in its surveillance of the economics of its member countries because the IMF monitors the developments, events, and the overall change in conditions of the economies of its member countries to give sound policy advice on risks to each member's stability and growth.

b. Subsidiarity theory

The theory of subsidiarity, or multi-level governance, focuses on the relationships between international organizations and their member states. According to Carnngton (2008) this is based on the view that an international organization possesses certain powers traditionally exercised by the sovereign state, because its member countries surrendered these powers upon entering the particular organization. Because member states are giving some of their traditional sovereign powers to an international organization, they are considered to be making a leap of faith in joining the organization. Put differently, subsidiarity reflects a functional view of the governance of international organizations. Subsidiarity theory assumes that a member state may improve its domestic affairs by allowing the international organization to play a role in the formation of its domestic policies. Scholars believe this transplant of operational parts from the state to the international organization, helps the state to strengthen its legitimacy, acceptability, efficiency, and effectiveness.

Subsidiarity consists of a vertical and a horizontal component. Vertical subsidiarity describes the process of delegating issues to the public actor at the lowest level capable of addressing the issue. Because vertical subsidiarity is not traditionally applied to international organizations, many believe vertical subsidiarity always involves

pushing issues down to lower levels of authority. However, when the concept is applied to the relationship between an international organization and its member state, the international organization – an authority at a higher level than the state – is often the concept is often the authority at the lowest level capable of addressing an issue. Thus, the concept describes a state's delegation of policymaking to actors located above and below it. For example, a state may lean on an international organization and the global rules and standards that it creates to enforce those rules and monitor the soundness of its economy. Scholar's vertical subsidiarity is necessary because states are limited to creating policy within their own territory or to them without relying on international organizations. For example, no state could effectively on the IMF's standards and codes initiative, whereas the IMF is able to monitor individual countries' compliance with different international standards.

Horizontal subsidiarity addresses the idea of states delegating policymaking issues to non-state (that is, private) actors, such as businesses, labor groups, non-governmental organizations, consumer groups, foundations, and other interested parties. In comparison, vertical subsidiarity delegates policymaking to public actors. The groups that are engaged in policymaking with a given state are not limited in their powers by the territorial boundaries of the state. In addition, scholars believe that international organizations can create policy on an international level more effectively than a state acting alone because the former has better information and knowledge. Horizontal subsidiarity differs from self-organizing networks. For an example of horizontal subsidiarity it is helpful to think of a modification to an example in the section of self-organizing networks. Self-organizing networks consist of private businesses adopting

private standards and partnering together with other private firms to implement these standards on an international level through private agreements. If a state were to push private firms to create such standards, they would be the result of horizontal subsidiarity rather than self-organizing networks. The difference between the two concepts depends on whether the state or a non-state actor pushed for the private initiative in question.

c. Governance as the Minimal State Theory

The theory of governance as the minimal state refers to an organizational structure that arises when there is no government involvement. Applying this theory to international affairs would suggest that international affairs would be regulated without intervention from a formal actor, such as national governments or international organizations. Rather, governance would arise from the aggregation of individual decisions in the marketplace, and as a result, there will always be some sort of organic framework that governs the behavior of all actors within international relations. In the field of international economics, this theory would suggest that the field would be governed by an invisible structure even if the IMF and the World Bank were not to exist.

More often than not, this concept of the minimal state is brought up as rhetoric to demonstrate a preference for less government and fewer international organizations. In addition, some scholars like Resenau, believe that governance differs from market interactions – that aggregating informal and uncoordinated individual decisions to create order does not amount governance. This is because these scholars believe that individual actors within the markets lack the intentional or shared goals required for a governance arrangement. Thus, there is no group decision-making to address shared concerns in the

concept of the minimal state. As a result, there is no governance according to many scholars.

d. The New Public Management theory

According to the new public management involves managing an organization – in our context, an international organization – by introducing private-sector management methods and incentive structures into the particular organization. Advocates of this theory believe that introducing private-sector methods and incentive structures into international organizations will increase the efficiency of these organizations. They derive their inspiration from market economics, rather than democratic theory. Applying the new public management theory to international organization would require running the organizations like a private business. This involves two aspects. First, international organizations may apply traditional private sector management techniques such as: (1) clear standards and measures of performance, (2) results-based management techniques, and (3) a focus on the bottom-line. Second, international organizations may adopt portions of the corporate governance theory that structures private businesses. In particular, international organizations could seek inspiration by looking at how Anglo-American corporate governance theory separates the roles of each participant in the corporation.

Corporate governance describes the system by which business associations are directed and controlled. The corporate governance structure specifies the distribution of rights and responsibilities among different particulars in the corporation and describes the rules and procedures for making decisions on corporate affairs. In short, it provides the structure through which company objectives are set, and determines the means of

attaining those objectives and monitoring performance. The participants in the corporation include the Board of Directors, managers of the shareholders, who own the corporation and select its Board of Directors. The Board of Directors has the responsibility of determining the corporation's strategies and it manages the daily business of the corporation through the corporate managers. The managers are limited in their action; in some cases, they must obtain approval from the Board of Directors to take action on behalf of the corporation.

Analyzing the structure of the IMF's Executive Board from the perspective of corporate governance theory demonstrates how the theory of new public management can be applied to international organizations. The IMF's Executive Board is comprised of Executive Directors who represent the Fund's member countries much like a Board of Directors represents the shareholders in the typical corporation. Just as there can be majority shareholders that hold more voting power and amongst the member countries of the IMF which affects how decisions are made at that organization. Many critics lament this disparity and call for better balancing of votes between the developed country members and the developing country members. Despite their similarities, IMF governance and corporate governance differ in important ways. For instance, the IMF's "shareholders"- that is, its member countries-do not all hold same bottom line, in fact that they can be viewed as holding opposing interests, represented respectively by the developed (lending) countries and the developing (borrowing) countries.

e. Governance as Networks and Systems Outside Governance

Two related theories focus on the role of non-governmental actors in international organizations: (1) governance as a socio-cybernetic system, and (2) governance as self-

organizing networks. To some extent these theories play off of the theory of governance as self-minimal state. Governance as a socio-cybernetic system refers to informal and non-governmental methods of organizing actors that are accountable to a government in some manner. This model of government does not require a sovereign authority, as it brings together numerous actors, from governments to non-governmental organizations to international organizations, all who could benefit from the synergy to solve shared problems and take more effective actions to address shared concerns. The socio-cybernetic system relies on the view that policy-making actors in a specific area of policy need each other because no single actor can effectively address those problems alone. For example, multiple international organizations could join together to create an environmental policy that would be more effective than if each organization did so on its own. Under this theory, governance arrangements arise from the interaction of various social-political groups and organizations.

The theory of governance as self-organizing networks goes further than governance as socio-cybernetic systems and refers to governance arrangements that develop from coordination among all the actors in a network that are not accountable to a government body. As a result, international organizations under this theory have a degree of autonomy that actors in a socio-cybernetic system do not have. Similar to governance as socio-cybernetic systems, the theory of self-organizing network is becoming more relevant as governments encounter the difficulties of acting on an international stage. Scholars describe four characteristics of socio-cybernetic and self-organizing networks that distinguish them from the concept of government, as well as from other theories of governance: (1) interdependence between organizations and non-state actors; (2)

continuing interactions between members of international organizations based on their need to share resources and discuss shared goals; (3) game-like interactions, based on trust and the rules of international organizations; and (4) in the case of the self-organizing networks theory, autonomy from the state.

One example of self-organizing networks lies in private contracting on a global scale. If governance is described in the broad sense-that is, they refer to group-decision making that is designed to address shared problems-collective standards developed by private actors constitute firms to create and implement the standards through private agreements. For example, Wal Mart's adoption of the MSC standards for wild-caught fish and Home Depot's FSC standards for lumber both demonstrate standards initiated and implemented by private firms. There are no government actors involved in these situations, and neither Wal-Mart or Home Depot accountable to the government for these standards. Some scholars do not view private contracting as a form of governance arrangement because some private international standards are created unilaterally and thus lack the collective aspect required of governance arrangements. Should private contracting on the global level be considered a legitimate form of governance, non-governmental groups concerned about the environment or human rights, for example, should focus on developing standards through private entities rather than through national government.

Participatory Theory of Democracy

Participation theory of democratic governance deals with freedom and equality of citizens in making policies for the general welfare of the society. Here we shall consider

patteman corole analysis of Rousseau's participation theory and that of John Stuart Mill. This is relevant because it gives more understanding of the nature of democratic system which a Christian has a responsibility. Pateman (1970) states that in order to understand the role of participation in Rousseau's political theory it is essential to be clear about the nature of his ideal, participatory political system, as this has been subject to widely differing interpretations. Firstly, Rousseau argued that certain economic conditions were necessary for a participatory system. As is well known Rousseau advocated a society made up of small, peasant proprietor that is he advocated a society of economic equality and economic independence. His theory does not require absolute equality as is often implied, but rather that the differences that do exist should not lead to political inequality. Ideally, there should be a situation where 'no citizen shall be rich enough to buy another and none so poor as to be forced to sell himself' and the vital requirement is for each man to own some property the most sacred of the citizen's rights because the security and independence that this gives to the individual is the necessary basis on which rest his political equality and political independence. He further stresses that, if these conditions are established the citizens can assemble as equal and independent, the latter being necessary if the independence and equality are to be reserved. This is not as paradoxical as it sounds because the participatory situation is such that each citizen would be powerless to do anything without the co-operation of all the others, or of the majority. Each citizen would be, as he puts it, 'excessively dependent on the republic' that is, there would be an equal dependence of each individual on all the others viewed collectively as sovereign, and independent participation is the mechanism whereby this interdependence is enforced. The way in which it works is both simple and subtle. It is possible to read the

social contract as an elaboration of the idea that laws, not men, should rule, but an even better formulation of the role of participation is that men are to be ruled by the logic of the operation of the political situation that they had themselves created and that this situation was such that the possibility of the rule of individual men was ‘automatically’ precluded. It is because the citizens are independent equals, not dependent on anyone else for their vote or opinion, that in the political assembly no one need vote for any policy that is not as much to his advantage as to the advantage of any other. Individual X will be unable to persuade others to vote for his proposal that gives X alone some advantage. In a crucial passage in the social contract Rousseau asks ‘how should it be that the general will is always rightful and that all men constantly wish the happiness of each but for the fact that there is no one who does not take that word “each” to pertain to himself and I voting for all think of himself? In other words, the only policy that will be acceptable to all is the one where any benefits and burdens are equally shared; the participatory process ensures that political equality is made effective in the decision-making assembly. The substantive policy result is that the general will is, tautologically, always just (that is effects all equally) so that at the same time individual rights and interests are protected and the public interest furthered. The law ‘emerged’ from the participatory process and it is the law, not men, that governs individual actions.

In the analysis of Pateman, Rousseau thought that, the ideal situation for decision making was one where no organized groups were present, just individuals might be able to make their ‘particular wills’ prevail. Rousseau’s remarks about groups follow directly from what he says about the operation of the participatory process. He recognized that there would inevitably be ‘tacit associations’, i.e. unorganized individuals who were

united by some common interest, but it would be very difficult for such a tacit association to obtain support for a policy to its especial advantage because of the conditions under which participation takes place. If it was impossible to avoid organized associations within the community then, Rousseau argues, these should be as numerous and as equal in political power as possible. That is, the participatory situation of individuals would be repeated so far as the groups were concerned, and none could gain at the expense of the rest. Rousseau says nothing, not surprisingly, about the internal authority structure of such groups but his basic analysis of the participatory process can be applied to any group or association.

This analysis of the operation of Rousseau's participatory system makes two points clear; first, that 'participation' for Rousseau is participation in the making of decisions and second, that it is, as in theories of representative government, a way of protecting private interests and ensuring good government. But participation is also considering how the social order affects the structure of human personality' and it is the psychological impact of social and political institutions that is Rousseau's theory is an educative one, using the term 'education in the widest sense. Rousseau's ideal system is using designed to develop responsible, individual social and political action through the effect of the participatory process. During this process the individual learns that the word 'each' must be applied to himself; that is to say, he finds that he has to take into account wider matters than his own immediate private interests if he is to gain co-operation from others, and he learns that the public and private interest are linked. The logic of the operation of the participatory system is such that he is 'forced' to deliberate according to his sense for justice, according to what Rousseau calls his 'constant will' because fellow citizens can always

resist the implementation of inequitable demands. As a result of participating in decision making the individual is educated to distinguish between his own impulses and desires, he learns to be public as well as a private citizen. Rousseau's also believes that through this educative process the individual will eventually come to feel little or no conflict between the demands of the public and private spheres. Once the participatory system is established, and this is a point of major importance, it becomes self-sustaining because the very qualities that are required of individual citizen participate the better able he is to do so. The human results that accrue through the participatory process provide an important justification for a participatory system.

Another aspect of the role of participation Rousseau's theory is the close connection between participation and control and this is bound up with his notion of freedom. Rousseau also sees participation as increasing the value of his freedom to the individual by enabling him to be (and remain) his own master. Like the rest of Rousseau's theory the notion of 'being one's own master has come in for a good deal of criticism, although Cranston strikes a new note when he refers to it as the ideal of a footman and so, presumably, not worth serious consideration but that is too easy a dismissal of the idea.

That is, one must not be master of another; when one is master of oneself and one's life, however, then freedom is enhanced through the control over that life that is required before it is possible to describe the individual as his 'own master'. Secondly, the participatory process ensures that although no man, or group, is master of another, all are equally dependent on each other and equally subject to the law. The (impersonal) rule of law that is made possible through participation and its connection with 'being one's own master' gives us further insight into the reason why Rousseau thinks that individuals will

conscientiously accept a law arrived at through a participatory decision-making process. More generally, it is now possible to see that a second function of participation in Rousseau's theory is that it enables collective decisions to be more easily accepted by the individual.

Rousseau also suggests that participation has a third, integrative function; that it increases the feeling among individual citizens that they belong in their community. In a sense integration derives from all the factors mentioned already. For example, the basic economic equality means that there is no disruptive division between rich and poor, there are no men like the one Rousseau disapprovingly mentions in *Emile* who, when asked which was his country, replied 'I am one of the rich'. More important is the experience of participation in decision making itself, and the complex totality of results to which it is seen to lead, both for the individual and for the whole political system; this experience attaches the individual to his society and is instrumental in developing it into a true community.

Pateman (1970) also analyzed the view points of John Stuart Mill and stated that:

In his social and political theory, as in other matters, started out as a devoted adherent of the doctrines of his father and of Bentham, which he later severely criticized, so that he provides an excellent example of the differences between the theories of representative government and participatory democracy. However, Mill never completely rejected these early teachings and by the end of his life his political theory was composed of a mixture of all the diverse influences that had affected him. He never managed satisfactorily to synthesize these the task is probably an impossible one and this means that there is a profound ambiguity

between the participatory foundations of his theory and some of his more practical proposals for the establishment of his 'ideally best polity. (p. 29).

Echoes of the utilitarian view of the purely protective function of participation can be found in Mill's nature political theory. For example, he says in representative Government which expressed the principles 'to which I have been working up during the greater part of my life' that one of the greatest dangers of democracy lies in 'the sinister interest of the holders of power: it is the danger of class legislation. And one of the most important questions demanding consideration is how to provide efficacious securities against this evil. For Mill, however, Bentham's notion of 'good government' only dealt with part of the problem. Mill distinguished two aspects of good government. First, 'how far it promotes the good management of the affairs of society by means of the existing faculties, moral, intellectual, and active, of its various members' and this criterion of good government relates to government seen as 'a set of organized arrangements for public business'. Mill criticized Bentham for building his political theory on the assumption that this aspect as the whole. He wrote in the essay on Bentham that all that the latter could do is but to indicate means by which in any given state of the national mind, the material interests of society can be protected; (his theory) can teach the means of organizing and regulating the merely business part of the social arrangements. He committed the mistake of supposing that the business part of human affairs was the whole of them (Mill's emphasis).

Under that phrase advancement in intellect in virtue, and in practical activity and efficiency'. In this respect Bentham's theory has nothing to say. Mill sees government and political institutions first and foremost as educative in the broadest sense of that word.

For him the two aspects of government are interrelated in that a necessary condition of good government are interrelated in that a necessary condition of good government in the first, business, sense is the promotion of the right kind of individual character and for this the right kind of institutions are necessary. It is primarily for this reason, not because such a form of government will be in the universal interest, that Mill regards popular, democratic government as the 'ideally best polity. Thus, he is against a benevolent despotism, which as he points out, could, if it were all-seeing, ensure that the 'business' side of government were properly carried out, because, as he asks, 'what sort of human beings can be formed their active faculties attain under it? Their moral capacities are equally stunted. Wherever the sphere of action of human beings is artificially circumscribed, their sentiments are narrowed and dwarfed.

It is only within a context of popular, participatory institutions that Mill sees an active, public-spirited type of character been fostered. Here, again, we find the basic assertion of the theorists of participatory democracy of the interrelationship and connection between individuals, their qualities and psychological characteristics, and types of institutions; the assertion that responsible social and political action depends largely on the sort of institutions within which the individual has, politically, to act. Like Rousseau, Mill sees these qualities being as much developed by self-sustaining character. Nor does Mill regard it as necessary that citizens should perform the sort of logical and rational calculations that Schumpeter asserted were necessary. He remarks in Representative Government that it would not be rational form of government that required 'exalted' principles of conduct to motivate men, though he assumes that there is a certain level of political sophistication and public-spiritedness in the 'advanced'

countries to which this theory is addressed. Mill sees the educative function of participation in much the same terms as Rousseau. He argues that where the individual is concerned solely with his own private affairs and does not participate in public affairs then the 'self-regarding' virtues suffer, as well as the capacities for responsible public action remaining undeveloped. 'The man never thinks of any collective interest, of any object to be pursued jointly with others, but only in competition with them, and in some measure at their expense'. The 'private money-getting occupation' of most individuals uses few of their faculties and tends to fasten his attention and interest exclusively upon himself, and upon his family as an appendage of himself; making him indifferent to the public, and in his inordinate regard for his personal comforts, selfish and cowardly'. The whole situation is changed, however, when the individual can participate in public affairs; Mill, like Rousseau, saw the individual in this case being 'forced' to widen his horizons and to take the public interest into account. That is, the individual has to 'weigh interests not his own; to be guided, in the case of conflicting claims, by another rule than his private partialities; to apply, at every turn, principles and maxims which have for their reason of existence the common good.

So far, Mill's theory has been shown to reinforce rather than add to Rousseau's hypothesis about the educative function of participation but there is another facet of Mill's theory which does add a further dimension to that hypothesis, a necessary dimension if the theory is to be applied to a large-scale society. The, above is a decisive influence on Mill's political theory, in particular with the part which deals with local political institution. Mill was very impressed with the deals with Tocqueville's discussion of centralization and the dangers inherent in the development of a mass society (dangers

made familiar now by modern sociologists also impressed by the analysis). In the political Economy Mill declares that ‘a democratic constitution not supported by democratic institutions in detail, but confined to the central government, not only is not political freedom, but often creates a spirit precisely the reverse. In his review of volume II of de Tocquevill’s book Mill argues that it is no use having universal suffrage and participation in national government if the individual has not been prepared for this participation at local level; it is at this level that he learns how to govern himself. ‘A political act, to be done only once in few years, and for which nothing in the daily habits of the citizen has prepared him, leaves his intellect and his moral dispositions very much as it found them’. In other words, if individuals in a large state are to be able to participate effectively in the government of the ‘great society’ then the necessary qualities underlying this participation has to be fostered and develop at the local level. Thus, for Mill, it is at local level where the real educative effect of participation occurs; where not only do the issues dealt with directly affect the individual and his everyday life but where he also stands a good chance of, himself, being elected to serve on a local body. It is by participating at the local level that the individual ‘learns democracy’. We do not learn to read or write, to ride or swim, by being merely told how to do it, but by doing it, so it is only by practicing popular government on a limited scale, that the people will ever learn how to exercise it on a larger.

In a large-scale society representative government will be necessary and it is here that a difficulty arises; are Mill’s practical proposals about representation compatible with the fundamental role he assigns to the educative function of participation compatible with the fundamental role he assigns to the educative function of participation in his

theory? In his practical proposals Mill does not take his own arguments about participation seriously enough and this is largely because of ideas about the 'natural' state of society which are mixed in with the rest of his social and political theory.

Bentham and James Mill had thought that education, in the narrow, 'academic' sense of that term, is the major way of ensuring responsible political participation on the part of the 'numerous classes' and John Stuart Mill never really rejected this view. One of Mill's main concerns was how a political system could be achieved where the power was in the vetted intellect, he thought, was usually accompanied by 'prudence, temperance, and justice, and generally by all the virtues which are important in our intercourse with others. It was persons already well educated (the 'instructed') that Mill regarded as the 'wisest and best' men and whom he thought should be elected to office at all political levels. He considered that democracy was inevitable in the modern world, the problem was to so organize things that democratic political institutions would be compatible with the 'natural' state of society, a state where the 'multitude' have faith in existing state of society affords' and where the 'multitude' have faith in this 'instructed' minority who will rule. Mill, it should be noted, did not want a situation where the multitude was deferential in the unthinking, habitual sense of that word, indeed, he thought that the time was past when such a thing was possible; 'the poor have come out of their leading strings whatever advice, exhortation, or guidance is held out to the laboring classes, must henceforth be tendered to them as equals and accepted by them with their eyes open. The Elite had to be accountable to the many and it was the reconciliation of Elite rule with accountability that Mill saw as the 'grand difficulty' in politics. His answer to this problem gives rise to the ambiguity in the theory of participation.

From Mill's theory about the educative function of participation one would expect his answer to this problem would be that the maximum amount of opportunity should be given to the laboring classes to participate at local level so they would develop the necessary qualities and skills to enable them to assess the activities of representatives and hold them accountable. But Mill says nothing of the sort. His practical proposals for achieving a 'natural' but ideal political system are quite different. Mill minorities (and to this end Mill enthusiastically espoused Hare's proportional representation scheme), and the ideal system. The former did not solve the problem of ensuring that the educated Elite had a preponderant influence; that ideal system could only come about under a system of plural voting based on educational attainment, 'though everyone ought to have a voice that every one should have an equal voice is a totally different proposition'. Thus, Mill also implicitly effective participation political equality is necessary. Mill also implicitly uses a different definition of 'participation' from Rousseau, for he did not think that even the elected representatives should legislate but only accept or reject legislation prepared by a special commission appointed by the Crown; the proper job of representatives is discussion.

A further illustration of the point is Mill's comment on the form that the ideal suffrage should take. He says that it is 'by political discussion that the manual labourer, whose employment is a routine, and whose way of life brings him in contact with no variety of impressions, circumstances, or ideas, is taught that remote causes, and events which take place far off, have a most sensible effect even on his 'personal interests'. One might raise the question, with Mill's practical proposals for the achievement of the ideally best polity and his implicit definition of participation, of whether participation would have the

educative effect he postulated. The important point about Rousseau's paradigm of direct participation is that the participatory process was organized in such a way that individuals were, so to speak, psychologically 'open' to its effects. But none of this obtains in Mill. The majority is branded by the suffrage system as political inferiors and cannot resist the implementation of disadvantageous policies; if predetermined Elite are to gain political power why should the majority even be interested in discussion? Mill seems unaware of any inconsistency in the various elements of his theory but it is difficult to see how his kind of participation is to fulfill its allotted role. Even with universal suffrage and decision making by representatives there would not be such a 'strongly' educative environment as that provided by Rousseau's direct participatory system and the problem of how far Rousseau's model can be replicated in modern conditions will be taken up later. Here it should be noted that Mill's educationally crucial local political level might give scope for direct participation in decision making.

The stress on local political institution is not the only extension that Mill makes to the hypothesis about the educative effect of participation. The whole argument about the 'critical deference' of the multitude rests partly on the suggestion that participation aids the acceptance of decisions and Mill specifically points to the integrative function of participation. He says that through political discussion the individual 'becomes consciously a member of a great community' and that whenever he has something to do for the public he is made to feel 'that not only the common weal is his weal, but that it partly depends on his exertions.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Mill's theory is an expansion of the hypothesis about the educative effect of participation to cover a whole new area of social life industry. In his later work, Mill came to see industry as another area where the individual could gain experience in the management of collective affairs, just as he could in local government. Mill saw the real value of the various theories of socialism and co-operation that were being advocated, and sometimes tried out, in his day as lying in their potential as means of education. As might be expected he was suspicious of those schemes that were centralist in character; as Robson points out, Mill in the chapters on voluntary organization in small communities and which look to a national application of their principles only through the self-multiplication of the units'. In such a form are far more important than the actual forms of organization which guild socialists have thought out', and it is with these principles, the principles underlying the theory of participatory democracy, and the question of their empirical relevance at the present time, that we are concerned.

The very great difference between the theories of democracy discussed in this chapter and the theories of those writers whom we have called the theorists of representative government makes it difficult to understand how the myth of one 'classical' theory of democracy has survived so long and is so vigorously propagated. The theories of participatory democracy examined here were not just essays in prescription as is often claimed, rather they offer just those 'plans of action and specific prescriptions' for movement towards a (truly) democratic polity that it has been suggested are lacking. But perhaps the strangest criticism is that these earlier theorists were not, as Berelson puts it, concerned with the 'general features necessary if the

(political) institutions are to work as required', and that they ignored the political system as a whole in their work. It is quite clear that this is precisely what they were concerned with. Although the variable identified as crucial in those theories for the successful establishment and maintenance of a democratic political system, the authority structures of non-Governmental spheres of society, is exactly the same one that Eckstein indicates in his theory of stable democracy, the conclusions drawn from this by the earlier and later theorists of democracy can be undertaken I shall now briefly set out (in a similar fashion to the contemporary theory of democracy above), a participatory theory of democracy drawn from the three theories just discussed.

The theory of participatory democracy is built round the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another. The existence of representative institutions at national level is not sufficient for democracy; for maximum participation by all the people at that level socialization, or 'social training', for democracy must take place in other spheres in order that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. This development takes place through the process of participation itself. The major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is therefore an educative one, educative in the very widest sense, including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures. Thus there is no special problem about the stability of a participatory system; it is self-sustaining through the educative impact of the participatory process. Participation develops and fosters the very qualities necessary for it; the more individuals participate, the better able they become to do so. Subsidiary

hypotheses about participation are that it has an integrative effect and that it aids the acceptance of collective decisions.

Therefore, for a democratic polity to exist it is necessary for a participatory society to exist, that is, a society where all political systems have been democratized and socialization through participation can take place in all areas. The most important area is industry; most individuals spend a great deal of their lifetime at work and the business of the workplace provides an education in the management of collective affairs that it is difficult to parallel elsewhere. The second aspect of the theory of participatory democracy is that spheres such as industry should be seen as political systems in their own right, offering areas of participation additional to the national level. If individuals are to exercise the maximum amount of control over their own lives and environment then authority structures in these areas must be so organized that they can participate in decision making. A further reason for the central place of industry in the theory relates to the substantive measure of economic equality required to give the individual the independence and security necessary for (equal) participation; the democratizing of industrial authority structures, abolishing the permanent distinction between ‘managers’ and ‘men’ would mean a large step toward meeting this condition.

The contemporary and participatory theories of democracy can be contracted on every point of substance, including the characterization of ‘democracy’ itself and the definition of ‘political’, which in the participatory theory is not confined to the usual national or local government sphere. Again, in the participatory theory ‘participation’ refers to (equal) participation in the making of decisions, and ‘political equality’ refers to

equality of power in determining the outcome of decisions, a very different definition from that in the contemporary theory. Finally, the justification for a democratic system in the participatory theory of democratic process, one might characterize the participatory model as one where maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is 'feedback' from output to input.

2.3 Empirical Studies

The Christian affirms that the world is not an accident but a creation and that human beings, male and female, are created in the image of God. The Christian also believes that God has acted in history, in the person of Jesus Christ; to enable sinful people to have eternal life. Jesus Christ, through his teachings, death and resurrection calls human beings to become new creatures, to become the people of God, and to work with him to change the present world situation. However, others argue that Christians have no responsibility to democratic system. Vandezande (1984) states that:

Many Christians believe that the gospel does not address social, economic, and political issues. Therefore, they say, neither Christians nor churches should become involved in "worldly" problems. They think that God's word speak about "Spiritual doctrines and moral" values, but that it is not related to economic questions, social problems and political issues. (p.19).

These people tend to spiritualize or privatize the gospel of Christ. To them Christian life is restricted to personal piety. Okedijo (2005) also states that, three factors are responsible for the reborn Christian not take active part in Nigerian politics. (p.41).

According to him these factors are; (i) assumed Biblical commands (ii) the general and specific nature of Nigerian politics and (iii) fear.

In summary of this position he states that; Biblical passages like Ex. 19:69; Deut. 7:6-8; 1Tim. 2:1-3 and 2Cor. 6:14-18 call on Christians not to join unbelievers in idolatrous practices so as to have a blameless and clean ministry. Also that political office in Nigeria is too expensive, vulnerable to corruption, dirty and dangerous. And that, if Christians are in political life they are dealing with the real profile of darkness, but for them Christians are called out of the world system which is dominated by Satan.

However, the position cannot be claimed to be the true faith of the Christian belief. The Christian way of life is indeed a walk of lifestyle inspired and shaped by one's faith in the life-giving power of Jesus Christ. Vandezande (1984) argues that, "Biblical faith affirms the importance of our mission in God's world. The Spirit of God empowers us to face the problems in our society in faith with a real sense of purpose and responsibility" (p.23).

Briner (1993) maintains that:

Jesus was speaking to anyone then or now who accepts Him as savior. It is one of the clearest declarations in scripture from Jesus to His followers. Notice, he did not say for us to become salt. He said we are salt. Once we accept Him into our lives we automatically are the salt of the earth. (p.39).

The second part of the verse gives us insight into what being salt means, "But if the salt loses its saltiness, how can it be made salty again? That is to say if Christians are salt and are not being. Isn't it fair to say that we are good-for-nothing Christians? But how do we act as salt in our world? Briner (1993) avows that:

The answer lies in the way salt is use. Salt is both a seasoning and preservative. It seasons by adding taste and enhancing flavor. It preserves by cleansing and retarding spoilage. In both cases, the salt must be brought in contact with the object for its power to be realized. Sitting in the shaker, it does no good. It might just as well be thrown out. (p.39).

The above statement shows that for Christians to be salt as Christ commands them to be in the Nigerian society. They must teach His relevance, demonstrate His relevance, and they must live His relevance in every area of life. If the Nigeria political system is corrupt, violent, insecurity, dishonest activities, frustration and so on are everywhere it is the duty of the Christian, to respond to such acts for wellbeing of the common man.

Okedije (2005) has extensively discussed challenges that have denied Nigerians good governance especially during the fourth (4th) Republic. These include:

1. Nigeria's dependence on mono-economy – that is, crude oil-s is still unassailable. Hence, we are largely consumers not producers; and we are import not export oriented. In fact, our non-oil export earnings are about five percent. It is, thus clear why massive unemployment and endemic poverty (about ninety million people live below poverty line) persists.
2. The Vice-President, Abubakar Atiku, admitted that “The PAP (Poverty Alleviation Programme) in the past four years (1999-2003) is seriously flawed in implementation”. This is because “the initial N10b voted for PAP was largely mismanaged as party chieftains who supervised the disbursement could not transparently account for the huge fund. The distributed stipends did not reach the

target groups”. The result is that “seventy percent of Nigeria’s 120 million people are still poverty stricken. So, PAP is now put on hold to re-strategise!.

3. There is a giddy and frenzied implementation of privatization, liberalization and deregulation of public enterprises which is not showing cost effectiveness while more of the nation’s wealth continues to be concentrated in the hands of a few people with a further levy of mass unemployment and poverty on the majority of Nigerians.
4. Petrol pump price has been raised at least five times in the 4th Republic. The highest increase was at the resumption of the same government in office for the second term and was tied to deregulation of the downstream sector of the petroleum industry. This was supposed to alleviate scarcity, ultimately lower petrol pump price, provide more funds for the provision of social and infrastructural facilities, etc. Instead of fulfilling this purpose, labour strike (in which protesters were allegedly killed), artificial scarcity and rising inflation became the immediate consequences. While the manifest function of the post-haste deregulation measure was to reward part of corporate Nigeria that gave substantial contribution to the governing party at the 2003 polls, the latent function was to weaken the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC).
5. Assassinations and murders of prominent politicians (e.g. Lai Balogun, Bola Ige, Ogbonaiya Uche, Marshal Harry, O. Olagbaju, etc) are still unresolved.
6. Corruption has become more massive, endemic and destructive of the economy and the basic values of society, and effective structures are not yet in place to uproot or stem it.

7. The three hundred billion Naira (N300b) spent on the rehabilitation of strategic roads between 1999-2003 simply vanished! Or how can we explain the lack of visible evidence of the roads that were allegedly repaired?
8. There is no longer a National Airline. Nigerian Airways has been grounded to zero level through official liquidation with a massive debt of sixty million dollars (\$60m) and failure to pay back salaries and pensions to deserving staff long after the Airline's liquidation.
9. There is no modern effective railroad system long after billions of naira had been spent on research and rehabilitation. There is no realistic decision in place to move the railroad system forward. Rather government decided to reschedule its twenty billion naira (20b) debt to sustain its unviable operation.
10. The four domestic petroleum refineries are either out of service or operate at very low production capacity that cannot satisfy domestic needs. Senator Idris Kuta said on 5th August, 2003 on NTA that Nigeria required one hundred and eighty million dollars (\$180m) to establish a new refinery, yet, two hundred and fifty million dollars (\$250) has been committed to each of the existing ones for Turn Around Maintenance (TAM).
11. The federal government workforce is two hundred and fifty thousand; yet, two-thirds of the federal budget is spent by the work force on salaries, personal emoluments and overhead costs.
12. An estimated \$3.5b is lost annually to pipeline vandalism. In fact, the Governor of Bayelsa State, Diepreye Alameseigha, was alleged to have said at the first News Africa global lecture at the Royal Commonwealth Club in London toward the end of

November, 2003 that Nigeria does not know the amount of crude oil exported outside the country.

13. It is official that one hundred and seventy billion dollars (\$170b) has been siphoned abroad through the private and public sectors of the economy by, among others, money launderers.
14. There were attempts to cover up gross electoral malpractices at the state and national levels during the 2003 elections. A classic case is the incredulous and crippling “godfatherism” in the governorship election in Anambra State which continues to render unstable the administration of the state.
15. There is the tendency toward “meritocracy” instead of genuine transition from military dictatorship to democracy.
16. There has been marked neglect of systematic development of human capital. In fact, brain drain of Nigerians to developed nations is openly canvassed and officially condoned.
17. Leveling of Odi and Zaki Biam on orders of the federal government.
18. There has been an unbroken cycle to spoliation, rebellion, hostage taking, arson and murders in the delta region especially in Warri where frequent outbreak of violence is considered normal.
19. Incessant closure of universities due, among other reasons, to inadequate funding thus stretching three year degree programmes up to six more years with parents withdrawing their children to universities abroad to complete their studies.

20. Continued interruption of electricity support by National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) long after the president gave official assurance on his honour, that power disruption will be a thing of the past by the end of 2001.
21. Relocation of army personnel and dependants caught in the tragic bomb explosions of January 27, 2001 without rolling out the plan to physically rehabilitate the badly damaged or burnt out buildings.
22. Presentation of false certificates by some gubernatorial and National Assembly candidates during the first term of the 4th Republic to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).
23. Deliberate refusal by many politicians in high public office to declare their assets and liabilities to the Code of Conduct Bureau.
24. The scrambling by National Assembly legislators, especially in the first term of the 4th Republic for quarters and furniture allowance.
25. Legislative truancy by several National Assembly members who were too busy attending to their private businesses than to their official duties. Hence, bills were passed without forming proper quorum. This is unconstitutional.
26. There were opportunistic impeachment moves, some of which succeeded in diverting attention from a serious nurturing of a sound democratic culture.
27. Premature campaigns for second term in office, using official time and taxpayers' money to achieve personal goals.
28. Timidity on the part of the executive branch of government, to boldly take responsibility for policy formulation and implementation thereby foisting bad

policies on to the nation, especially during the first term when the government embraces direct participation by members of the three political parties in existence.

29. Occasional lapses which had to transborder panic reactions and events.
30. The concealment of salaries and allowances by National Assembly legislators in the first term of the 4th Republic.
31. The apparently political-motivated sacking of forty four University of Ilorin teachers.
32. Mismanagement of Nigeria's major ports which led to the dissolution of the Nigeria Port Authority (NPA) board following "war of attrition" among board members.
33. The IMF loan which has become a Damocles' sword on the economy of the nation was initiated by President Obasanjo as military Head of State in 1978 with an amount estimated between \$1.5b and \$2.8b for no genuine reason since Nigeria's problem then was not lack of money but how to spend it. Yet, the President now complains openly and vehemently to the world about the loan and debt forgiveness.
34. In the first four years of the 4th Republic, the President travelled for about a whole year out of the country to launder the country's image, one of the journeys included the one he made to England when Heathrow Airport was closed to traffic because of local strike action by labour there.
35. Abeokuta steel mill conceived about thirty years ago with an initial estimated cost of one hundred and twenty million naira (\$120m) has, at 2000, consumed five hundred and ten billion naira (\$510b) without rolling out a steel billet. Yet, there is renewed official commitment to the project in 2003, with general, but not specific expected

results. This is in spite of the fact that there have emerged new technologies which could make the manufactured products obsolete, even if the project succeeds.

36. A Nigerian satellite, assembled in England and launched in Russia, was put in orbit in the midst of massive domestic poverty and joblessness.
37. Although several villages in Bakassi peninsula had been ceded to the Cameroun Republic on orders of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at the Hague, Nigerians were still being palliated with tortuous contradictory tales by official spin doctors until Nov/Dec. 2003 when it became necessary to admit to Nigerians that some villages bordering Borno State were being handed over to the Cameroon Republic.
38. Overnight, the electoral body (INEC) registered more political parties from the original three in 1999 to thirty in 2003.
39. Religious belief is a deeply personal experience as well as an established institution. Nigeria is both a secular and multi-religious state. The way in which President Obasanjo has decided to promote religious tolerance may not paper over the interreligious violence so far experienced in the 4th Republic. Rather, it could create more problems in the near future if his successors do not copy his model. For example, he publicizes his new Christian status through open worship at Aso Villa chapel and with some other Christian churches. He also dresses like a Muslim cleric playing court at Muslim festivals or similar occasions. He, again easily associates with a few cult groups in an official and perhaps in his private capacity. So, everything boils down to perception in terms of signals sent out to members of various religious groups in society. Muslims who see him as syncretistic will also be right while a few cult groups who believe he is their own may also be correct.

40. The presidency has eleven airplanes in its fleet, three of which are being sold to purchase a new replacement while the Nigerian Airways, through mismanagement and corruption, has been liquidated with no single flying plane on the ground.
41. NNPC headquarters in Lagos was gutted by fire by confessed arsonists.
42. While the nation has more than fifty universities, it ranks among the top nine illiterate nations of the world. This is a cumulative problem, which should have been boldly, and objectively addresses as top priority tool for the acquisition of democratic ideals and values as well as for the evolution of a modern society.
43. Certain people who have rubbished and diminished the image of the nation in the eyes of the whole world through fraudulent practices while holding public trust for Nigerians in office and who should have committed suicide in shame or locked up in jail were being awarded honorary doctoral degrees and national honours.
44. In the midst of poverty, unemployment, corruption, economic stagnation, etc. Nigeria continues to spearhead peacekeeping missions in the West Africa sub-region ahead of UN initiative and to lavishly host. All African Games (COJA) and the biannual Commonwealth Summit without adequate preparation for concrete economic returns with perhaps the exception of Delta State which prepared and carried its economic drive in concrete terms to the venue of the summit in Abuja.

These and many other factors need the Christian response. Synder (cited by Vandezande, 1984) contends that, “church members will quite predictably be squeezed into the mold of the world unless the church is such a dynamic community that it can withstand the pressures of society” (p.28). The church through her members (Christians) has the pastoral and prophetic responsibility to identify and stress, even to governments, the

underlying biblical view of life, human dignity, public justice and the right of people to live in freedom according to their respective beliefs.

In response to challenges of governance the Christian will have to consider the democratic system of governance with some modifications this may help to cure the problems of good governance in Nigeria and Benue State in particular. The issue of improving governance has to be addressed at multiple levels. These include the structure, operation and relevance of institutions concerning the social economic and political process.

One of the processes is the development of national outlook. This is to mean in a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religions country, like Nigeria requires to embraced qualities of tolerance. Any opinion which is intolerant is to be scrupulously avoided and a positive attitude has to be cultivated, so that any situation of conflict is avoided in the right earnest.

Curbing corruption too is among the processes that need to be put in place for good governance to thrive. In Nigeria and Benue State in particular, corruption in political and administration arena hinders equity, efficiency, effectiveness,⁹ and ethics as well as responsiveness, accountability, justice and so on. Corruption has damaged the image of Nigeria and is a landrace in realization of democratic, transparent and accountancy, government and has degenerated the Nigerian polity. In Benue state, the critics of Suswam administration have this to say in the words of Shaminja (2010) who opined that; effective governance can be realized only when the citizens are efficient and effective. An alert and enlightened human resource would facilitate good governance

which can come through education in values and responsibilities of good and expensive governance. In the political field, people have to be aware of the right and duties and in the administration arena; they have to inculcate values of morality and accountability.

It is also worth noting that those who have and control political power in Benue State and Nigeria at large have not been showing any serious interest in the transformation of the human and material resources by resolving the contradictions in the economic and social structures to pave way development and enhance good governance. Akaakuma (2001) lamented on non-development of human and material resource which tend to reflect in extreme poverty of the people by stating that, to be more precise, corruption has been the bone of public policy and programmes in Nigeria. It has made a few members of the Nigerian society extremely wealthy and the majority of the people extremely poor. Corruption in Nigeria has its roots in the nature of the economic structures. This is in relation to the mode of product appropriation or a distribution and consumption relations determined by ownership of the major means of production peculiar to each of the economic structures. This therefore, cannot produce good governance in any society. It is in line to the above that the church as the “communion of Saints” not exists in airy abstraction isolated from the concrete affairs of people and has not become a semi-angelic fellowship. Christians who are creation of the gospel message addressed to the whole world, does not consequently lose its solidarity with the world. It is therefore, correct and justifiable for Christians to respond to challenge of governance in Benue State and Nigeria at large. Vandezande (1984) has the following points of support: When a government commands the church to disobey God either by requiring some form of “emperor worship” or by forbidding religious practices which according to any

reasonable standard hurt no one, the church objects. When government tramples on basic rights or ignores the formal or conventional constitutional restraints, the church is obliged to warn and admonish. When a government is blatantly inconsistent or discriminatory, the church objects, particularly if non-Christian are involved. When a government becomes arbitrary and unpredictable in important areas, the church speaks up. When a government ignores major social problems, such as organized crime, starvation in the midst of plenty, or mistreatment of native people, the church presses for action; when a government is unresponsive especially concerning the plight of dependent minorities, the church then points to the problem. In all of its socio-political involvement the faithful church gets involved in those activities which permit Christian servant hood or which follow from a commitment to speak up for truth and righteousness. In essence, Christians have a responsibility to respond to public issues for the wellbeing of human creation in the image of God.

2.4 Summary of Literature Review

All that we have said so far about Christian response to challenge of governance as it relate to Nigeria and Benue State in particular reveals the necessity of Christian response to challenges of our time. The concept of the body of Christ (Christians) with its different but unified members is critically important both in defining appropriate goals for secular life and for relationship of the church to the world. We believe that Christians were created to serve God on earth, live in communion with him, doing his will and walking in ways.

Vandezande (1983) quoted the Christian Reformed Church's contemporary testimony "Our world belong to God" describes the Christian task to the world this way: "By sovereign appointments we are earth keepers and caretakers, using our skills and meeting our needs, while loving our neighbor and tending the creation. For its obedience" (p.57).

Responding to economic, social, political development and other stewardship issues means responding directly with ourselves and the meaning of our salvation. As we are saved in Jesus Christ, it gave us new life and a new opportunity to act responsibly. We saw from the chapter that the art of managing power in a way of the citizenry is what is broadly referred to as governance. It is the astute and prudent management of power towards achieving the collectively articulated and compacted goals of the society. Akpotor (2001) view governance as:

A normative judgment which indicates a preferred relation that would ideally govern relations between state and society and between a government and people... Concept of governance incorporates critical elements such as accountability based on the notion of public choice and popular sovereignty; a careful articulated legal framework that guarantees and sustains rule of law and duo process; and popular participation in decision making based on political and societal pluralism. (p. 13).

Good governance on the other hand exhibits the following characteristics. These include Accountability, Broad participation, Transparency, Responsiveness, Effectiveness and efficiency, Rule of Law, Consensus oriented, and inclusiveness and Equity. All these characteristics when effectively put in place, the society could create conducive environment for meaningful development to take place in such society.

The work also discovered that since Nigeria became a democratic society, nearly all the preceding characteristics of good governance have not been put in place in Nigeria, and Benue state is not an exception. These include, poor administration of elections which has inevitably compromised the people capacity to institute a government of the choice and which they can hold accountable. Widespread corruption and non-accountable ruling elites leading to weak performance of the economy in the state with dire consequences for the people.

Steadily neglect and disregard for work ethics by workers in both public and private section. For nobody wants to make it through legitimate means anymore because of the frustrating display of ill-gotten wealth by politicians in the state and Nigeria at large. Also the challenge of endemic armed conflicts which have grave consequences for the socio-economic and political advancement of the society. This ugly development in itself is an expression of the failure to put in place those principles that promote good governance in Benue State.

In our theoretical framework we discussed that the theory of behaviouralism which focus on the greater knowledge about the working of political institutions. It also deals with personality, sentiments, interaction, motives, drives, attitude and values. These if not properly managed can become a challenge for achieving good governance. The welfare policy implementation on the other hand stresses the importance of work and self-sufficiency. The bottom line for the application of welfare policy is to accomplish universal goal for the establishment. Global theory, subsidiarity theory, new public

management theory of governance have the focus of direct and control of resources for the welfare of all.

The New public management (NPM) theory draws five propositions to frame our understanding of the critical questions that governance theory should address the issues of governance, these include;

- Governance refers to institution and actors from within and beyond governance.
- Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues.
- Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
- Governance is about autonomous self-governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority.

The above perspectives bring into focus a number of key issues in the study of governance. It is to be hoped therefore that the governance perspectives can develop in an evolutionary way to capture the processes of adaptation, learning and experiment that are characteristics of governance. It is also to be hoped that although the governance perspectives outlined here are drawn on the international and more broadly western democratic experience, it has been framed and argued in a manner that achieves an appropriate resonance with the Nigerian background and experiences.

Since we all live in a changing world, the governing perspectives is also changing, as such the governance perspectives here is worthy of study. The research also

considered the participatory of a democratic system. The theory emphasizes the ideal that individuals and institutions in the society cannot be considered in isolation from one another, all people must participate to bring development for the general welfare for all. The work stressed also that Christian is a member of two kingdoms. He belongs to the earthly kingdom as well as the heavenly kingdom.

The two kingdoms theology which others consider it as way of not participating in the world affairs, the work strongly argues that the world belong to God and all who live in it. Therefore, it is important to recognize that every aspect of life relates to others and that all aspects are subject to the same biblical law of love. It is equally important that every human endeavour contribute to a way of life that promotes the personal and communal well-being of all God's creatures and the quality of their societal structures and organizations.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF BENUE STATE AND DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

3.1 Historical Overview of Benue State

What is today known as Benue State has undergone geographical, political, economic and historical transition in various epochs. According to Ikime (1997) “the Niger Benue confluence area leaps into prominence when we enter the mental age. The period going back some three millennia or more before the present” (p.146). It could be recalled that in 1914 the protectorates of the North and South of Nigeria were amalgamated into one. To Lyam (2003) “the northern group comprised twelve provinces while the south had ten and each of these two groups of provinces was administered by a separate Lieutenant Governor who reported directly to the governor with a district colonial bureaucracy” (p.70). He further stated that British contact with northern Nigeria area dates back to the early exploitation across the Sahara desert but it was not until the mid nineteenth century that the British became definitely interested in developing close commercial links with the Niger-Benue territory.

The region of the Niger-Benue though was comprised of chieftaincies and small communities in varying scales of political organization, and inhabited by majority of people who are not Muslims; Lyamn (2003) states that:

The situation posed difficult problems for the British as they attempted to bring the region under common and effective occupation in trying to establish some sort of administration over the diverse, heterogeneous people of the Niger-Benue

province, the British believed the “emirate system” would be appropriate which the people of the zone were against. (p. 71).

Records show that when H.R. Palmer became Lieutenant Governor of the Northern provinces in 1926, he ordered the redrawing of the boundaries of the Benue valley. His idea was believed to stimulate as far as possible the situation in the emirate provinces where one emir was usually recognized as the dominant native ruler within the province. As O’kwu (1976) indicates, the boundaries in the middle and lower Benue valley were to be redrawn to create power bases for the Lamido of Yola, the Aku Uka of Wukari and the Attah of Igala (Lyam, 2003). To Palmer’s thinking at that time, these dynasties represent a higher aristocratic caste who like their counterparts in the emirate, should be given power over the lesser races. In 1926, Lieutenant Governor Palmer caused the change of the name Munshi province, originally created as a power base for the Aku Uka of Wukari, to Benue Province. The two principal tribes, Tiv and Idoma that constitute Benue today did not register much with Governor Palmer. To his thinking, the Tiv belonged to the “savages” and he was unhappy that they should be given the undue prominence implied by the name Munshi province. This was why he renamed the province Benue in 1926 when the Igala area was transferred to Kabba province. Two years later, Idoma Division (the new name for Ikoga Division) was constituted as part of the new Benue province.

By 1946 the composition of Benue province consisted of the Idoma Division, Tiv Division, Wukari Division, (which had three independent areas namely Kentu, Tigon and Ndora in the mandated territory very remote and inaccessible), Nassarawa Division and Lafia Division. Makurdi town according to Adejo in Lyam (2003) “had a Native

Authority capacity and it was indicated in the 1946 Annual Report of the province that the province remained prosperous economically and money appeared to be plentiful by the end of the year” (p. 72). By 1959, the penultimate year to independence, Benue province with an area of 19,318sq miles had a population of 1,468,229 within the Northern Region” (Lyam, 2003). ‘The composition of the province was said to be the same until the military incursion into politics in 1966. General Ironsi attempted to abolish the federal system for a unitary system of government but his tenure was shortened’. (p. 72). According to Lyam (2003):

When Yakubu Gowon took over in the midst of the awful political climate, he abolished the regions in Nigeria and created twelve states on 27th May, 1967. This was aimed at correcting the structural imbalance between the sub-national components of the country and also to allay the minority group’s fear of being dominated by the majority ethnic groups within large regions. What is today Benue State was part of the Benue-Plateau State, the Tiv and Idoma constituting the larger Benue half of the state. The further administrative and political restructuring of the Nigerian Federation in 1976 witnessed the creation of seven additional states with Benue State coming into existence. (p.73).

Consequently, Benue State was created on February 3rd, 1976. It was one of the seven states created by the military administration headed by General Murtala Mohammed which increased the number of states in the country from twelve to nineteen. The state derives its name from River Benue, the second largest river in the country and the most prominent geographical feature in the state. The greater numbers of people in Benue State

are Christians. In fact for the 14 local government areas among the Tiv speaking people more than 90% percent are Christians.

At its inception, the state comprised of only seven local governments, namely: Makurdi, Gboko, Katsina-Ala, Ankpa, Dekina, Idah and otukpo. Several Local government creation exercises increased these, first to thirteen and later nineteen. The state attained its present composition of Tiv and Idoma-speaking areas on 27th August, 1991 when the administration of General Babangida increased the number of states in the federation to thirty. The Igala and Bassa areas were again excised to form the present Kogi State. Benue State at present has twenty-three local government councils, fourteen and nine in Tiv and Idoma-speaking areas respectively.

Location

According to Lyam (2003):

Benue State is located in the middle belt zone of Nigeria and shares boundaries with five neighboring states namely; Nassarawa to the north, Taraba to the east, Cross River to the south-east, Enugu to the south-west and Kogi to the south-west. The state also shares a common boundary with the Republic of Cameroon on the south-east. Benue State lies roughly between latitude $6\frac{1}{2}$ - $8\frac{1}{2}$ north and longitude $7\frac{1}{2}$ * north and longitude $7\frac{1}{2}$ *-10* east. (p. 73).

Climate

Benue State experiences a tropical climate with two distinct seasons, the wet/rainy and dry seasons. The rainy season lasts through April to December with the annual rainfall ranging from 150-180mm, the dry season begins in November and terminates in

March. The temperature fluctuates between 23 and 30 degrees centigrade in the year.

The south-eastern part of the state adjourning the Obudu – Cameroon mountain range has relatively cool climate similar to that of the Jos Plateau.

Mineral Resources

Benue State is blessed with abundant mineral resources widely spread across the State.

These resources include:

S/No.	Names of Mineral	Places Found
1.	Limestone	Apa, Agatu, Ado, Ushongo, Okpokwu
2.	Gypsum	Apa, Agatu, Ushongo, Okpokwu, gboko, Konshisha, Cross River
3.	Anhydride	Apa and Agatu
4.	Kaolin	Apa, Agatu, Vandeikya, Ogbadibo & Otukpo
5.	Natural Gas	Apa, Agatu, Ado, Ohimini & Otukpo
6.	Salt	Apa, Agatu, Ado, ushongo, Ukum, Ogbadibo, Katsina-Ala, Logo, Gwer, Guma & Buruku
7.	Petroleum (Oil)	Apa, Agatu and Konshisha
8.	Lead and Zinc	Ado, Ushongo, Katsina-Ala, Logo, Guma and Buruku
9.	Glass Sand	Ado, Ushongo, Katsina-Ala, Guma and Buruku
10.	Nariles	Ushongo, Makurdi, Gwer, Gboko & Tarka
11.	Clay	Okpokwu, Ohimini, Ogbadibo, Makurdi and Katsina-Ala
12.	Coal	Okpokwu and Ogbadibo
13.	Gemstone	Kwande, Oju and Otukpo
14.	Magnetite	Gwer
15.	Bauzile	Oju

Table ‘1’

Source: Benue State Ministry of Information and Culture.

Natural Resources

According to Lyam (2003):

Benue State with the appellation “Food Basket of the Nation” is rich in agricultural produce such as yams, cassava, sweet potatoes and cocoyam as well as other cereal crops like beans, millet, guinea corn, rice etc, and fruits crops like mango, orange, pawpaw, cashew and banana among others. The state also accounts for over 70% of Nigerian Soya beans production. (p. 75).

He further stressed that:

Benue State has a vast and fertile landmass which is used by the farming population that treasures agriculture as the bedrock of its livelihood. It also boasts of one of the largest stretches of river systems in the country with great potential for viable fishing industry, dry season farming through irrigation and for an inland water high way. It is worth mentioning that, the vegetation of the southern part of the state is characterized by forests, which yield trees for timber and provide suitable habitat for rearing animals. The state also possesses potential for the development of viable forests and wildlife reserves. (p. 76).

People

The state consists of several ethnic groups namely Tiv, Idoma, Igede, Etulo, Abakpa (Abakwariga), Jukun, Hausa, Akweya and Nyifon. The Tiv are the dominant group accounting for over half of the entire population. Most of the people in the state are predominantly farmers while the inhabitants of the riverine areas engage in fishing as their primary or secondary occupation. The people of the state are famous for their cheerful and hospitable nature as well as rich cultural heritage.

Population

According to Federal Republic of Nigeria Population Census, (2007):

Benue State is one of the most populous states in Nigeria. According to the 2006 population census of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette volume 94 the state has a total population of 4,219,244, a break down shows that 2,164,058 are males and 2,055,186 are females and occupying a land mass of 30,955 square kilometers. (p. 94).

Culture

The state is rich and diverse in cultural heritage; this can be expressed in language, arts and artifacts, the mode of dressing, music and dances among others. The state has won acclaim at national and international cultural festivals. The popular dances include Ingyough, Ange, Anchanakupa and Swange among the Tiv and Anuwowo and Odubaru among the Idoma. The kwagh-hir puppet theatre provides memorable entertainment in its dramatization of Tiv folkore and offers social commentary aimed at social corrections. The socio-religious festivals in the state like Adzov, Akombo, among the Tiv which are respected traditionally and celebrated occasionally sometimes serve as agents for checkmating aberrant behaviours. The Alekwu ancestral festival of the Idoma for instance is an occasion when the ancestors re-incarnate from the spirit world to re-establish contact with the living in form of masquerades. Marriage, funerals and other rites of passage provide occasions for display of the people's cultural heritage. Fishing festivals and communal hunting expeditions are among other memorable and remarkable social events amongst various communities. The Igede Agba, a new yam festival and the

Ujo festival are the most important social occasions among the Igede of Oju and Obi local governments as well as Igumale/Agila people in Otukpo local government.

Tourism

According to Akuusu (2005), “Benue State offers many fascinating scenes to tourists. These are scattered all over the state meant for leisure and educative purposes. Prominent among them include the enchanting scenery of Ushongo, Selagi, Harga and Kashimbilla hills” (p. 30). The River Benue is another tourist attraction. Others include the historical monument of the Tiv trench fortification of the 18th century in Turan, Kwande local government area which were defensive bulwarks against the invading Chamba horsemen, the Gbeleve trade post near Katsina-Ala one of the earliest colonial trade posts in Tiv land, the Akata fishing festival in Katsina-Ala, the tombs of the early missionaries at Sai and Harga in Katsina-Ala local government and the palaces of the Tor-Tiv and Och’Idoma in Gboko and Otukpo respectively, which are veritable museums containing important artifacts of the people. The traditional annual festivals including the Benue Carnival organized by the Benue State Council for Arts and Culture is also packaged and promoted for cultural delight.

Visitors to the state are assured of adequate accommodation facilities like Benue Hotel, Plaza Hotel, Royal Choice Inn, Half-Haven and others too numerous to mention. The state capital Makurdi is accessible by road, rail and water. The state has a network of roads connecting the major towns with neighbouring states while rural roads like the state up. Postal services are available in the state while telephone services are operational in Makurdi, Gboko, Katsina-Ala and Otukpo. With the introduction of mobile telecommunication services by the administration of former President Olusegun

Obasanjo, almost all the local government areas in the state are connected by mobile network providers which ease communication.

Rural Development

Benue State is agrarian in nature. Against this background, attention is always accorded to rural development towards improving the living standard of the people. The Ministry of Rural Development and Cooperatives is saddled with the responsibility of providing a robust rural development to eradicate or reduce the poverty level amongst the people.

Education

Since its creation in 1976, the state has recorded tremendous growth in education. The state hitherto with a few primary and secondary schools and no tertiary institution; at present has over two thousand (2000) primary schools with nursery schools competing side by side. The state also has over three hundred (300) public secondary schools and nine tertiary institutions which include: Colleges of Education Katsina-Ala and Oju; Benue State Polytechnic Ugbokolo; College of Advanced and Professional Studies Makurdi, Akperan Orshi College of Agriculture Yandev; School of Health Technology Agasha and School of Nursing and Midwifery Makurdi. Apart from the Benue State University which started in 1992, the Federal Government also through its efforts of providing quality education, established Federal University of Agriculture Makurdi; and several unity secondary institutions like Federal Government College, Vandeikya and Otobi as well as the Federal Technical School, Otukpo. The immense contributions made

by Christian missionaries, community development associations and the private stakeholders in this sector are highly commendable.

Commerce and Industries

Benue State strategically located in the middle belt of Nigeria between the north and the south, has a network of roads, air and water transportation. Shaminja (2010) observed that:

The state provides a meeting point for commercial activities. Considering the natural resources the state is endowed with, people come from far and near to tap these abundant resources. For example, Zaki-Biam market in Ukum Local Government Area, famous for its yam produce and other crops is rated as one of the largest yam-markets in the whole of West Africa. (p. 20).

In other to boost the economic activities of the state capital, the government has built an ultra modern market of 2,500 stalls in Makurdi. The market which is of international standard has facilities such as an administrative block containing officers, court, police station, restaurant, community hall, clinic and bank for users of the market. Other facilities for the market include a fire station, sewage plant, abattoir, power station, bore hole and water storage tanks as well as children's play-ground. The present government of Gabriel Suswam has recently laid the foundation for another ultra-modern market in Makurdi to boost commercial activities in the state.

In the area of industrialization, the state has also taken bold steps to redress the industrial retrogressive condition of industries in the state by re-awakening the Taraku Mills Limited, Benue Brewery Limited, Benue Burnt Bricks and Agro Millers Limited.

Other industries in the state include Benue Roofing Tiles Limited at Abinsi near Makurdi and the Fruitcon Nigeria Limited at Katsina-Ala. Benue State Investment and Properties Commission which has absorbed the former state Housing Agency is charged with the responsibility of embracing Benue State investment as its own company as well as other companies.

Health

The state is committed to ensuring the provision of adequate health care services to the people. Towards these goals, the government has established nine General Hospitals in some local government headquarters, supplied with drugs, ambulances, water, electricity and trained personnel. Government has a conscious policy to establish additional community health clinics and maternity centres in all the local government areas especially where there are no General hospitals.

The health care programme of the state places great emphasis on primary health care and immunization campaigns have been mounted to eradicate the high incident of preventable diseases in the state. In addition, there exists a Federal Medical Centre in Makurdi to help others cater for the health needs of the people. Christian missionaries, communal associations, donor agencies such as UNICEF, WHO as well as individuals have also contributed tremendously to health care delivery services in the state.

Infrastructure

Benue State is accessible by water transportation through the Rivers Niger and Benue. It also enjoys good roads, rail and air links with other parts of the country. Besides the Federal Trunk Roads, which span the length and breadth of the state, the state

government has either constructed or rehabilitated several hundreds of kilometers of roads. The Benue Rural Development Authority (BERDA) and Benue Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (BNARDA) have given tremendous support to the construction and rehabilitation of rural roads.

Though the condition of electricity in the state has not been stable as it is a national problem, government's efforts are geared towards improving electricity output in the state. Many electricity projects are at commissioning stages now, thus more communities will soon have access to electricity when the state's rural electrification programme is completed, as recently done in Igor community of Gwer-West, Abuku community of Buruku local government, Agan community of Makurdi local government, Mchia community in Abeda Shitile of Logo local government among several others. The federal government has promised to complete the extension of 330KVA National Grid power line to boost power supply in the state. Shaminja (2010) stressed that:

In the area of water, water projects have been commissioned and new contracts on the supply of water in the state have been executed to expand the scope in the bid to boost the supply of potable water to the people. For example, the Ameladu water works, if completed by the federal government will serve Gboko town and its environs. Non-governmental organizations like UNICEF have also been very active in assisting in the provision of basic amenities like potable water in the rural communities by means of wells, boreholes and rain water harvest as well as sanitary sensitization programmes. (p. 20).

In the area of telecommunication, efforts are being made to extend telephone services to all the local government headquarters. Postal services are already being enjoyed in some major towns and villages of Benue State.

Community Development

Considering the dire need for development, various communities have contributed in providing basic amenities to supplement the efforts of the federal, state and local governments. There are multitudes of projects initiated and executed by the government, communities, associations, clubs, and societies. Such projects include construction of federal roads, bridges, culverts, dispensaries and clinics as well as the establishment of water and electricity participation through providing assistance by way of material, manpower and financial grants. Other nongovernmental organizations like UNICEF, World Bank, among others, are also contributing their quota.

Traditional Rulers

The state accords respect to traditional rulers as custodians of culture and tradition of the people. They are agents of control as well as maintenance of law and order at the grassroots level. In order to enhance their contribution to the affairs of the state, the government established a three tier traditional council and state council of chiefs. The local government area traditional council is made up of District heads in the local government and is headed by the chairman who is a second class chief; the two paramount councils are the Tiv traditional council and the Idoma traditional council. According to Akuusu (2005) "The former is made up of all the traditional rulers from fourteen Tiv-speaking local government areas with the Tor Tiv as the chairman, while

the latter is made up of nine Idoma-speaking local governments with Och'Idoma as the chairman" (p. 29). The state council of chiefs has the Tor Tiv as chairman with Och'Idoma, and all second class chiefs/chairmen of local government traditional councils as members.

3.2 Political History of Benue State and the Democratic Governance

In the words of Torkula (2007):

The state has evolved through so many political stages starting from the colonial era till date. In 1926 the colonial administration in Nigeria created the defunct Benue province, the present Benue State constituted the Tiv and the Idoma divisions of the province. This administrative arrangement lasted till 1967. (p. 24).

In that year, it was altered by the military leadership headed by Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon which ousted the previous military junta that came into power following the demise of the post independence democratic administration in the country. In the administrative arrangement of 1967, the state was part of the Benue-Plateau structure. At creation in 1967, it comprised of seven divisions. These were Ankpa, Dekina and Idah from the former Kwara State as well as Gboko, Katsina-Ala, Makurdi and Otukpo divisions from the defunct Benue-Plateau State. It further witnessed the splitting of seven divisions (which later became local governments? To thirteen local government areas and then to nineteen at present, the state has twenty-three local government areas; explanation shall be given as to how the development came about. Although Benue State came into being in 1976, the activities culminating into the creation of the state pre-date this period. Torkula (2007) further stressed that:

Prior to creation of states, Nigeria was administered under four (4) regional structures namely; The Northern region, the Eastern region, the Western region and the Mid-Western region. However, following the emergence of Lt. Col. Gowon as the new head of state, he progressively favoured further splitting of the country into more geo-political entities known as states. It is important to note that the struggle that began since the 1950's took preference to regions than states. (p. 23).

The activities can be traced right from the period when the colonial government was still maintaining political control over the affairs of the nation. This could not be a strong political issue until the emergence of three main political parties, strongly supported by the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. These were Action Group which was dominated by the Yoruba in the western region. The National Council of Nigeria Citizen was dominated by the Ibo in the eastern region, and the Northern People's Congress with Hausa/Fulani as the dominant group in the northern part of the country. Each of these regions was characterized by hegemony of majority group as a result of which the minorities agitated for the creation of more regions. This was because, they felt unflavored marginalized and alienated politically, economically, socially and otherwise. Therefore they forwarded several demands for the creation of more states in one country. As a result, new political parties were formed which became the moving force challenging the status quo. In the understanding of Jibo (1993):

In the Western Region, the agitation for the creation of Mid-West Region was strongly desired by the people. In the Eastern part, they agitated for the creation of Calabar-Ogoja Rivers Region. This was to embrace the Efik-Ogoja from

Calabar, the non Ibo speaking areas of Ogoja and Ijaw from Rivers. And the United National Independence Party (UNPP) was formed in 1954 which became the rallying point for the agitation. In the North the Northern People's Congress with the motto "One North, one people" was a strong political group which agitated for the creation of the Middle-Belt Region. The agitation led to the formation of United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) to serve as a political platform for the movement. (pp. 7-8).

The geo-political area that was carved out as Benue Plateau in 1967 and later Benue State in 1976 was administratively, an appendage of the Northern regional government, which was one. Others were Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Kabba, Plateau, Niger, Kano, Zaria, Sokoto, Sardauna, Ilorin and Kaduna as the capital territory.

The political arrangement in the region favoured the Hausa/Fulani group which dominated the political process. Moreso, the Hausa/Fulani were predominantly Muslims while other ethnic groups particularly those from the south-eastern part (middle belt) were predominantly Christians. This later culminated into political tension amongst the people of the region for what they viewed as imposition and dictatorship of the Hausa/Fulani. Skiar pointed out in Akuusu (2005) that:

Middle belt separatism assumed organization, formed in 1949 following a private members motion in the House of Assembly which called upon the regional government to restrict the activities of Christian missionaries in the North. A small group of Christian leaders reacted to this political threat by the Northern non-Muslim League. (p. 29).

The issue of ethnicity and religion may however be an immediate cause. The United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) took its root from the Tiv tribal cultural organization known as the Tiv Progressive Union. Tseayo (1995) noted that, “the UMBC movement was basically directed against Hausa-Fulani hegemony in the Northern system” (p. 193). But the UMBC as Torkula (2007) rightly observed, “because a political party when it was merged with the Middle Zone League (MZL) founded by David Lots, its membership was wider in scope, cutting across Berom-Tiv, Idoma-Igala-Jukun, Kabba and Ilorin provinces, Yorubas and Nupe etc” (p. 23). By 1955, the United Middle Belt Congress became a political party championing the cause of the minorities and the creation of the middle belt state from the giant north. Hembe (2003) states that, “in 1957, J.S. Tarka was elected as president general of the organization at one of its conferences held at Lafia, while Patrick Dokoti became the secretary”. (p. 155). Those who dominated the leadership of the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) were mostly from Benue, Plateau and Cabba provinces. In the words of Torkula (2009), “Then the UMBC became the rallying point for the agitation for the creation of the Middle Belt Region from the Northern Region” (p. 23).

In 1958, Chief J.S. Tarka (late) led a delegation of other minority groups in the north to the Willinks Commission to demand for the creation of the Middle Belt Region. The Middle Belt then comprised the present day Kwara, Niger, Taraba, Adamawa, Plateau, Benue, Abuja and part of Kaduna and Bauchi states. The Willinks Commission was set up by the British government to investigate the fear of minorities by the domination of the majority. The idea of the creation of more regions was not realized as the commission recommended that they would create new minority problems. As a result

of the Northern domination by NPC, the Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) went into alliance with the Action Group on the eve of the federal election in 1959. According to Jibo (1993) “the UMBC/AG increased the resources available of their political actors at the same time as it bolstered their self-confidence. In the 1959 Federal election, the UMBC-AG alliance won 25 seats in the north” (p. 7). Jibo (1993) once again observed that “when one looks at the voter turnout in the 1959 elections, one would see that the UMBC/AG alliance achieved a higher degree of political mobilization and political awareness” (p. 7). This reveals the importance of mobilization and awareness in any electioneering process which our country must address. The Northern People’s Congress swung into action across Tiv-land in preparation to win the next election. The massive defeat of the NPC in Tivland in 1959 was a major step towards the realization of the UMBC agitation. Consequently, the success recorded in the areas of Borno and Ilorin made the northern government to react quickly. Following this, the NPC decided to turn the political screw on Tivland immediately after independence.

It was against this background that the Tiv people revolted in August, 1960 when Nigeria was preparing for its independence from the British. Tiv people were in bitter struggle against NPC administration and the revolt came to the popularly known as *Nande-Nande* (burn-burn).

The Tiv revolt was brutal and ruthless, many Tiv people explained their opposition to the NPC government that they would never be conquered by the Fulani jihad and they would never be subjugated politically. Jibo (1993) succinctly submitted that “the greatest loss was psychological and reputational. In the first republic, the Tiv suffered material,

psychological and reputational losses as a result of their uncompromising political stance” (p. 3).

In 1963, the Mid-Western Region was created out of the Western Region; still, the same NPC which separated the Mid-Western Region out of the Western Region did not consider the agitation of the UMBC. With factors mentioned above coupled with heavy burden of “riot tax” imposed on them they embarked on another riot in 1964 and 1965.

Many people were killed and over four thousand were arrested. Many people were also convicted and sentenced to various jail terms and were never released till the military took over in 1966. The Northern government had failed to quell the agitation of February, 1964 which led to the military intervention in the polity of the nation. It is also worth mentioning that this was the reason given for the coup that took place on 15th January, 1966. This was because by 1965 many of the military personnel that were sent to quell the crises were dissatisfied with what they saw.

The struggle for the creation of Middle Belt Region did not materialize during the first republic. However, awareness had been created in the minds of the people. On 15th January, 1966, there was a military coup that led to the death of the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, among others. It also brought the administration to an end thereby ushering in Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon as head of state.

The cry for more states lingered on which subsequently led to the formation of an ad-hoc constitutional conference. This body was set up in August, 1966 and held its first

meeting on September 12th same year and recommended the creation of more states in the country. On 27th May, 1967, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon created Benue-Plateau State out of the Northern region along with eleven other states. The head of state in his speech stated as recorded by Akuusu (2005) that:

The main obstacle to the future of stability in this country is the present structural imbalance in the Nigeria Federation.... This is why the item in the political and administrative programme adopted by the supreme military council last month is the creation of states as a basis for the stability. (p. 35).

Benue-Plateau State was made up of Benue and Plateau province (just a small fraction of the desired Middle Belt Region that was being fought for since the 1950s. Military governments were appointed to administer the various states. J.D. Gomwalk, the commissioner of police, was appointed the military governor of Benue-Plateau in 1967.

The situation that necessitated the splitting of Nigeria into a twelve state structure still persisted after the creation exercise of 1967. There was division between the people inhabiting the upper Benue-Plateau and the lower Benue-Plateau who felt marginalized, since, the head of state and the governor of the defunct Benue-Plateau State were from the upper part of the state. In addition, the generality of Nigerians were convinced that, state creation exercise creates new opportunities for grassroots development and closer affinity among kith and kin.

On 29th July, 1975, a coup took place which ended the government of General Yakubu Gowon. Consequently, Brigadier Murtala Ramat Mohammed became the head of state of the new military government. The new government had taken cognizance of the

yearnings and aspirations of the people and set up a panel called Justice Ayo Precede panel to assess the request for the creation of additional states in the country. Jibo (1993) once again avers that:

As a result of the unease that had developed in the relationship between the Benue and Plateau component of Benue-Plateau State on one hand, and that between the Kwara and Kwara overseas on the other hand, the Murtala regime came to conclusion that a new state called Benue should be created (among six others) to diffuse tension in Ilorin and Jos. This brought about Benue in 1976. (p. 32).

This brought the total number of states to nineteen in the federation. Therefore, the state came into existence on February 3rd, 1976 which derived its name from River Benue, one of the distinctive natural features of Nigeria. What was eventually carved out of Benue State was different from the old province. For the old province was made up of five divisions, Tiv, Idoma, Lafia, Wukari and Keffi/Nassarawa were merged with the Plateau province while one of the divisions was taken away from Kwara state and added to form Benue State. Thus, the original divisions that made up Benue were Tiv, Idoma and Igala. Considering the fact that the state was created during military administration, military governors were appointed to administer it, hence Colonel Abdullahi Shelleng was appointed to administer Benue State. Jibo (1993) stressed that:

The cry against marginalization and domination culminated to agitations for more states, for the purpose of grassroots development. To this end, General Ibrahim Babangida on August 27, 1991 created Kogi State. It was an extract of Igala and Bassa speaking people to join other groups from Kwara to form Kogi State. Since its creation Benue State has witnessed internal local government areas. With the

extraction of the Igala from Benue State the remaining major ethnic groups are the Tiv and Idoma. The twenty three (23) local governments include Agatu, Apa, Otukpo, Ohimini, Okpokwu, Ogbadibo, Ado, Oju, Makurdi, Gwer West, Konshisha, Ushongo, Kwande, Guma, Vandeikya, Katsina-Ala, Ukum, Logo, Gboko, Tarka and Buruku. Just as the geo-political structure of Benue State has witnessed transformation over the years; it has also experienced diverse changes in the political leadership. Succession to political leadership in the state necessitated by the prevailing political events and circumstances both at the federal and state levels. (p. 33).

From its inception in 1976 till date, Benue State has had a total of eleven military governors/administrators and four democratically elected governors. They include:

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|---|-----------|
| 1. | Col. Adbullahi Shelleng | - | 1976-1978 |
| 2. | Gp. Capt. Adebayo Lawal | - | 1978-1979 |
| 3. | Brig. Atom Kpera | - | 1983-1985 |
| 4. | Gp. Capt. David J. Jang | - | 1985-1986 |
| 5. | Col. Yohana Madaki | - | 1986-1986 |
| 6. | Col. Ishaya Bakut | - | 1986-1987 |
| 7. | Col. Idris Garba | - | 1987-1988 |
| 8. | Col. Fidelis A. Makka | - | 1988-1992 |
| 9. | Gp. Capt. Joshua Obademi | - | 1994-1996 |
| 10. | Col. Aminu I. Kontagora | - | 1996-1998 |
| 11. | Col. Dominic Oneya | - | 1998-1999 |

The four democratically elected governors include:

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1. Mr. Aper Aku | - | 1979-1983 |
| 2. Rev. Fr. Orshio Adasu | - | 1992-1993 |
| 3. Mr. George Akume | - | 1999-2007 |
| 4. Barr. Gabriel T. Suswam | - | 2007-till date |

3.2.1 Government of Aper Aku 1976-1983

The man Aper Aku, the first democratic governor of Benue State, was born in 1936 in Ikyobo, Mbakuha. Ushongo local Government Area. After his primary education, he attended Government College, Keffi, in Nassarawa State, from 1952-1957 and the Nigerian College of Arts and Science, Zaria from 1958-1961. He proceeded to Fourah Bay University, Sierra Leone, for his Bachelor of Arts degree from 1961-1964 and the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1965-1966, where he enrolled for a Post Graduate course in education.

Aper Aku started his working career as a teacher in 1964 at William Muckle Bristow Secondary School, Gboko. In February 1965, he joined the then Northern Regional Government as a teacher. Between 1965 and 1967, he taught at the Bauchi Provincial Secondary School and Government Secondary School, Gombe. In 1968, he transferred his services to the Federal Government and worked with External Aid for Education and Federal Ministry of Establishment.

Between 1970-1972 he worked with the Federal Training Centre, Kaduna. He also served as a member, Governing Council of the University of Ibadan 1972 and 1976. According to Gum (2000):

Aper Aku resigned from the civil in 1972 and became an active business man between 1977 and 1978; he started testing his political career as the Chairman, Kwande Local Government at the inception of party politics, where he joined National Party of Nigeria (NPN) under whose platform he was elected the first democratic Governor of Benue State in 1979. On completion of his four-year tenure, he sought for re-election and succeeded on same political platform (NPN) against the opposing Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP) in 1982. Mr. Aper Aku was married and blessed with children. (p. 71).

Aper Aku's up Shoot in Politics

Aper Aku came into political limelight in 1974 when he courageously swore to an affidavit of wrong doings against the then Military Governor of Benue-Plateau State, the late Police Commissioner, J.D. Gomwalk. Aku who had left his teaching profession in Kaduna State, alleged that money was fraudulently siphoned out of the state during Gomwalk administration through front companies. He specifically mentioned Voteniski and Benue Plateau Construction Company (BEPCO). Following these allegations from the young anti-corruption crusader, the late J.D. Gomwalk felt such was scandalous and calculated attempt to destroy his administration and personality. As such, Aku was promptly detained by the military. It was the aftermath of Aku's anticorruption crusade that made him a national figure through the protests and enquiries into his detention and

the call for his immediate release. The press supported Aku and pressured those concerned to insist that justice must take its course. Gum (2000) observed that:

In the heat of the outburst of protesters especially from other well meaning citizens and the media across the nation, Mr. Aku's wife and his lawyer, Mr. Ogaba Ede, unsuccessfully challenged the legality of Mr. Aku's continuous detention. While Jonathan Gomwalk and Clement with his wife Helen Gomwalk headed to the court for a counter affidavit, the pressmen who courageously fought on behalf of Aper Aku did not relent garnered efforts to make it known to General Gowon, the then head of state, that apart from Aku's detention which was illegal and surprising, the purported allegations could not be easily dismissed or waved off in such a manner that the head of state did. (p. 72).

However, Aper Aku regained his freedom after General Gowon administration was ousted from power in 1975. It was glaring that for Aku to have summoned such courage to pick the grey areas in a fearful military regime where many fold their arms in fear, was what catapulted him politically up the ladder. After his release in 1975, Aku became a political bride not only in the state but across the country because of his anti-corruption crusade. The feelings of the public especially among the Tiv were to allow Aku to practicalize by entrusting a public office on him for political cleansing. As such, this was manifested during the local government general election of December, 1976. Aku contested as a local government chairman in Kwande local government and was defeated by Paul Loko who scored 11 votes while Aku had 8 votes. Loko was said to have won by a simple majority of three (3) votes difference but never occupied the office because the Local Government Edict had empowered the state government to choose any body of its

choice among the councilors irrespective of whether he had the majority votes or not, provided the government considered such person suitable for the post (Gum 2000):

Considering this, Aku probably because of his fame during his anti-corruption crusade was preferred. His inconsequential votes scored earlier were elevated automatically thus. Aku was sworn in as the first chairman of Kwande Local Government, this development angered Loko who petitioned the legitimacy and credibility of installing Aku as a chairman against “majority wish”. However, the petition was overruled taking into consideration the powers vested by the Local Government Edict. Aku having tested the mandate went on to demand for more like Oliver Twist when he sought for the governorship and was accorded the mandate to govern the good people of Benue State. (p. 73).

Aper Aku as Governor (1979-1983)

Nigeria suffered a perennial military rule and the return to civil rule in 1979, gave room for democratically elected leaders to steer the affairs of the country. In Benue State, Aper Aku contested the gubernatorial election of 1979 on the platform of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and won with 75.4% to become Executive Governor of Benue State under the new presidential constitution that came into force in October, 1979. On the 1st October 1979, Aper Aku took an oath of office as the first elected Executive Governor of the state. The Governor in his speech stated that: “My government intends and will achieve results which even some of our detractors and opponents, who are honest, will commend... We will bring the government not only nearer to the people but also spread development”.

Indeed, Aku had spread development to Benue State as the first democratically elected governor of the state. To call a spade a spade whatever level of development Benue State has attained today, reference must be made to the landmark efforts of the Aku's administration in the state which were described as visionary.

History has shown that given Aku's determination to serve his people, he sets a record of been the first governor to appoint and inaugurate a cabinet, and reshuffle same after just one year. The prevailing political circumstances that led to an early reorganization of his cabinet are not necessarily the concern of this study. But most importantly, it is on record that the dominant members of NPN in the State House of Assembly facilitated the cabinet's quick approval. A week after he was sworn in, Aku had a cabinet of people who had served the people selflessly and were committed to social service delivery to the yearnings of the people of the state. Below is the list of Aku's cabinet members and their portfolios:

Table '2'

S/N	Name	LGA of Origin	Portfolio
1.	Aper Aku	Kwande	Governor and Chief Executive
2.	E.I. Odoma	Dekina	Deputy Governor, Attorney General and Commissioner for justice
3.	J.M. Shuaibu	Dekina	Health
4.	Dr. J.O. Nyiakura	Konshisha	Local Government Youth and Sport
5.	A.I. Angereke	Makurdi	Finance
6.	Moses U. Abi	Oju	Rural Development and Cooperatives
7.	G.I. Okpe	Okpokwu	Economic Planning
8.	Elizabeth A. Ivase	Gboko	Special Duties (Parastatal)
9.	Mvendaga Jibo	Katsina-Ala	Education
10.	Vincent T. Uji	Kwande	Housing and Environment
11.	Kpamor J.T. Orkar	Gwer	Works and Transport
12.	Adejo A. Ogiri	Otukpo	Annual and Forest Resources
13.	Sule Iyaji	Ankpa	Agriculture and Natural Resources
14.	Abu John Ali	Ankpa	Trade and Industries

Special Advisers

S/N	Name	LGA of Origin	Portfolio
15.	Peter Vamde Acka	Katsina-Ala	Political & Chieftaincy Affairs
16.	Nelson Onoja	Otukpo	Security Affairs
17.	Toryima Orga	Gboko	Economic Affairs
18.	Simon Peter Gusah	Gboko	Economic Affairs
19.	O.D. Tebu	Bassa	Secretary to state Government
20.	Ezekiel Akiga	Katsina-Ala	Head of Service

Source: Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006-160).

Policy Thrust and Achievements of Aper Aku

Jibo (1993 being a member of Aku's cabinet rightly observed that "all the important decisions for which Aku is hailed today were taken in his first year in office" (p. 75).

When Aper Aku had assumed office in October, 1979 he was confronted with serious challenges of providing dividends of democracy to the people of the state that had suffered a decade and three years of military dictatorship. The challenges of providing social services as well as basic infrastructures to the people, and to resolve a striking balance between campaign promises and the yearnings and aspirations of the people irrespective of their socio-economic and cultural background.

The Aper Aku-led administration created a historic policy thrust that is being enjoyed in the state today. From the educational sector, the establishment of University of Technology now University of Agriculture, Makurdi and two additional Advanced Teachers Colleges, one at Oju and upgrading of Advanced Teachers College Katsina-Ala now College of Education, remaining of Murtala College of Arts, Science and Technology as Benue State Polytechnic, Ugbokolo with opening of more secondary

schools and awarding of scholarship automatically to Benue State students in tertiary institutions across the country. He made important industrial plans to complete projects started by the Abdullahi Shelleng administration like Benue Brewery, the Idah Sanitary Ware Industry, the Otukpo Burnt Bricks factory, and made a decision to take foreign loans to finance a number of the projects like rural water supply, electrification and the construction of the international market in Makurdi as well the giant Taraku Oil Mills. General hospitals were established at each local government and also health clinics to meet the health needs of the people. Construction of several major roads in order to facilitate movement of goods and services like Mkar-Ameladu road, Township roads in Gboko, Makurdi, Otukpo, Katsina-Ala and so on. Agriculture was also given its due accord as evidenced in the establishment of Ikyogen Cattle Ranch, Hawaii Agronomics Soya Mill Company, Ber Agbum Agricultural Company and subsidization of fertilizers among others.

General Directory of Achievements of Aper Aku

S/N	Projects	Locations
01.	State Civil Service Secretariat	Makurdi
02.	Government House	Makurdi
03.	Benue Brewery Limited	Makurdi (Gboko Road)
04.	Modern Marker	Makurdi (off Makurdi Naka Road)
05.	Aper Aku Stadium	Makurdi
06.	Benue Int.Hotel (Sheron)	Makurdi
07.	Taraku Mills	Taraku (along Makurdi Otukpo Road)
08.	Tarka Tomb	Gboko
09.	Lobi Bank	Makurdi
10.	Otobi Water Works	Otobi
11.	Otukpo Burnt Bricks	Otukpo
12.	Benue Printing and Pub. Company (BPPC)	Makurdi
13.	Rural Electrification Proj.	Naka, Lessel & others
14.	Road Construction	Makurdi, Naka road
15.	Raav Cattle Ranch	Ikyogen, Kwande L.G.
16.	Ber-Agbum Fishing Farm	Ushongo Local Govt.
17.	Tarka Centre for Demo- critic Studies	Gboko
19.	Construction of College Hospitals	K-Ala, V-Ikya, Adikpo and Okpoga

Facilitated/Initiated Projects

S/N	Projects	Locations
22.	Benue Cement Company	Yandev (Mkd.-Gbk. Road)
21.	BENRO Packaging Coy.	Yandev (Mkd.-Gbk. Road)
22.	Benue State University (Accelerated by Makka and executed by Adasu)	Makurdi-Gboko Road
23.	Many others	

Source: Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006:171)

Problems/Criticism of Aper Aku

Aper Aku, the first democratic governor of Benue State, touched so many lives. This was made possible given his ability to listen to the yearnings of the people and consult with relevant agencies and organizations. Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006) described Aku's leadership thus:

One interesting feature of Aku's political character was that in every given political opportunity, he was always mindful of the yearnings and aspirations of the people, and above all their expectation, desiring all the time, to live above and enhance his future political image as Aku was a man of endless political ambition, as he established in due course as the governor of Benue State, he was seen by the people of the state as crowning of glory, considering the struggle for self-rule that began during the Tarka era of 1950s. Secondly, his determination to address the above enumerated programmes to solve the problems confronting the people made him a political messiah of the state. (p. 157).

Despite the achievements his administration had recorded, he had his shortcomings. This is normal in life because of the inevitability of human errors. Leaders are not extra-

ordinary beings; they are mere human just like us. As human, he was confronted with both internal and external problems as his critics put it. Part of his early emerging problems, according to his critics, was the early reshuffle of his cabinet after just one year in office which affected the peace of his administration. Jibo, a member of Aku's cabinet then who first served as the commissioner for education and later water and electricity Jibo (1993) averred that:

The cabinet reshuffle affected the commissioners except the justice commissioner... After just one year in office, it puzzled a lot of people, should it be taken that the commissioner had not performed well and they needed to be moved around? Or that they had done but a change for the sake of it was required? (p. 75).

Thereafter, matters were said to have worsened when the Secretariat got burnt. Aku was said to be inaccessible as a governor and a lone-star in the process of his administration without consulting as before which led to many of his later unpopular decisions thereby aggravating his leadership problems. He embraced "rumour mongering" and when advised against it, he was quoted as saying "I am a politician, and I shall continue to listen and act on them". He was a person who never took information against his political opponent for granted and was interested in such information especially if it concerned the Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP) which formed a major opposition to his government, even when such was inconsequential. In the words of Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006):

Critics also alleged that his anti-corruption crusade which predated his governorship came under serious attack when he was accused of corruption

especially when he undervalued the estimated amount for his accountability briefing meant for J.S. Tarka's burial in 1980. Unknowingly, the opposition party NPP had sent mercenaries to get details of Tarka's burial expenses from the state treasury, which they threatened to expose. To avoid this public embarrassment Aku was said to cover it up as misquotation. His educational policy was also criticized. He was also accused of meanness by some opposition party chieftains. This attack came from Isaac Shaahu and Paul Unongo. Isaac Shaahu for example accused Aku of meanness when his local government (Konshisha was created; Aku made Tse-Agberagba the headquarters instead of Korinya which was a more populous and better developed town in the area. Similarly, Paul Unongo alleged a demonstration of Aku's meanness was the Jato-Aka road which was originally designed to pass through Kendev. But as he alleged, Aku felt that Unongo would get credit for it and possibly feel comfortable driving to his village and denied thousands of Turan people access to the road because of their rejection of the NPN. (p.171).

He was also criticized of considering the civil service as pro-NPP, the major opposition party. This, according to his critics, led to the downgrading of some permanent secretaries like R.W. Erukaa and E.I. Apaakpa.

Within NPN, he was accused by Tarka's loyalists who felt that he was trying to dismantle Tarka's structures and replacing them with his own and eventually succeeding them as the substantive leader of the Tiv people – a strategy which later split the party into several factions. Criticisms of Aku were internally meant to assassinate his character basically from the major opposition party, the NPP. These were criticism meant to

challenge him, especially from people who felt their loyalty had been buried; many of such were crafty and laughable. These critics composed songs as their major weapons to distract Aku's government from enjoying its peace; a sharp contrast today in our politics is the use of sophisticated weapons to assassinate people. It is high time we go back to the trend of using songs as political weapons, rather than physical battle as evidenced in our contemporary politics. Shaminja (2010) stated that:

Externally, Aku's fast growing political stature and his ever increasing desire for the political concretization of the minority groups toward his ever increasing presidential ambition which became an open secret in his second term landed him into serious problem. The climax of it was a paper he presented at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria on 27th April, 1982 entitled *Zoning, Rotation and the Stability of Nigeria*, after which so many eye brows were, raised on him by the northern ruling class especially the Hausa-Fulani who felt he was challenging their political dominance. Some of the state representatives in Lagos also felt that Aku was not consulting them enough and were said to have avoided the state capital, Makurdi. These were the likes of Senator Amadu Ali. (p.94).

Despite these criticisms leveled against Aku, his landmark in the state are glaring evidence of the beginning of dividends of democracy and good governance for the people of Benue State.

3.2.2 Government of Rev. fr. Moses Orshio Adasu (1992-1993)

Revd. Fr. Moses Orshio Adasu was born on 12th June, 1945 at Tse Adasu in the present day Konshisha Local Government. Adasu spent his early childhood with his

parents Mr. Peter Tie Adasu and Mrs. Monica Amar Adasu and started his primary education at St. Pius Primary School in 1961. According to Shaminja (2011):

After his primary education, the young Moses was said to have ignored all other career opportunities open to him and chose to become a priest. This was not only an unpopular choice in the early sixties but a most radical decision for any young man who dared. In pursuit of his priesthood, he attended St. James Junior Seminary, Keffi from 1962 to 1966 and thereafter St. Augustine's Major Seminary, Jos an affiliate of Propaganda Fide University, Rome from 1967 to 1972. His ambition was fulfilled on December 19, 1971 when he was ordained a priest of the Catholic Church. (p. 101).

He further states that, his quest for knowledge never quenched. After graduating with a Bachelor of Divinity (*Cumu laude*) in 1974, he proceeded to St. John's University, New York in United States of America where he studied from 1975 to 1976 and obtained a Master of Arts Degree. Adasu again enrolled at the Catholic University of America, Washington DC from 1976 to 1978 where he graduated with a Master of Religious Education (MRE). Since his ordination to the priesthood in 1971, Revd. Fr. Moses O. Adasu put in over twenty years of service to the church and society before venturing into politics. He was the Existent Curate; St. Mary's Parish, Otukpo in 1973 and served in the same capacity at St. Charles Parish, Adoka in 1974. While in the United States, for post graduate studies to further prepare himself for the challenges of modern priesthood, Father Adasu served as Assistant Curate of St. Mary's Rectory, Ne York from 1975 to 1976 and then St. Anthony's Rectory, Washington DC. from 1977 to 1978.

Revd. Fr. Adasu has also served the Diocese of Makurdi in various capacities. He was the Vicar General of the Diocese from 1980 to 1982. He served as a member of the Presbytery Council from 1983 to 1990. He was simultaneously the parish priest, Holy Ghost Parish, Makurdi. Revd. Fr. Adasu also served the church as a member of the Episcopal Commission on African Traditional Religion from 1986 to 1990. He was a senior Inspector of Religions and Moral Education with the Benue State Ministry of Education from 1979-1980. He served as a member, Benue State Pilgrims Welfare Board and Advisory Council on Prerogative of Mercy in Benue State from 1979-1983 and later from 1983 to 1990. Revd. Fr. Adasu also served on the Board of Governors of Shangev-Tiev Community Secondary School, Awajir. Shaminga (2011) also states that:

Besides, his church and community services, Revd. Fr. Adasu taught at Teachers' College, Jos in 1972, St. Francis Secondary School, Otukpo in 1973 and St. Andrew's Secondary School, Adikpo in 1976. Adasu also taught at Advanced Teachers College, Akwanga (1978-1983) and transferred his services to College of Education, Katsina-Ala (1983-1989). At the College of Education, Katsina-Ala, he rose to the rank of Senior Principal Lecturer and served in other positions as well. He was Head of the Department of Christian Religious Studies (1985-1987), Dean, School of Arts (1987-1989), member, Academic Board (1985-1989) (p. 100).

Following the lifting of the ban on partisan politics and the subsequent formation of political parties, Rev. Fr. Adasu joined the Social Democratic Party (SDP), on whose platform he felt he could best render selfless service to humanity by correcting the trend of social injustice in the society. He justifiably won and proved a point to the world that

Christians owe a moral duty of political cleansing when he was given the mandate in a landslide victory on December 14, 1991.

Moses Adasu as Governor (1992-1993)

Rev. Fr. Moses Orshio Adasu emerged on the political scene as the second executive civilian Governor of Benue State. However, his tenure was short lived, making it the shortest democratically elected government in the state. He stayed in office for only 20 months. His declaration in his maiden broadcast to convert the present government house, which according to him was too gigantic, into a teaching hospital, and instead, construct a more portable and realistic one was obviously a pointer to the fact that someone had come to replace the priorities of a state which according to him, were visibly misplaced. Shaminja (2010) stated that:

His decision to venture into politics as a clergy man was subjected to serious criticism from his immediate constituency, the Catholic Church, which saw his involvement in politics as a clear violation of the church ethics. To the church, the political environment was too tempting, dirty and characterized by vices abhorred by the church. Stepping into the political realm was akin to backsliding into the devil's den. On the contrary, the leadership of the church outside his immediate constituency, to some extent, saw him as a messiah that would improve upon the system that suffered over bearing exploitation and human right abuse like the biblical "Moses" saddled with the responsibility to take the Israelites to the Promised Land. (p. 102).

Regardless of the initial opposition to his decision to delve into politics, Adasu was firm to break the jinx and convinced supporters to his side. In his maiden broadcast to the

people on the 2nd January, 1992 he displayed his consciousness. He told the people the task ahead is no longer a partisan affair but that of providing purposeful and effective leadership and governance. Shamija further states that:

Despite the prevailing circumstances, Adasu was nominated as the flag bearer of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and was elected as the second Executive Governor of Benue State in the 1991 electoral pools. On the 2nd January, 1992 he was sworn into office. Within a short time, he fast-forwarded some developmental plans for the benefit of the state before the military under General Abacha who overthrew administration however, he struggle to established Federal Medical Centre Makurdi, he got presidential approval for the construction of a 330KV line electricity project. He facilitated the construction of a branch of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) in Makurdi and established Benco Roof Tiles Company, Abinsi. He also re-opened the College of Education, Oju, which was closed down since December, 1983. (p. 102).

The Adasu led administration also initiated “Benue Day” where prominent Benue sons and daughters, both at home and in Diaspora, met to brainstorm on the state’s political, economic, social and cultural development agenda. He also embarked on a policy of immortalizing all past governors who had served as governors in other states of the federation. Through this, the first executive governor of the state, late Chief Appolos Aper Aku, had the ultra modern Makurdi stadium named after him, the state library was named after Filelis Makka (Rtd). Governor Adasu also initiated several other projects like Alpha Plastic Industry, North Bank, Makurdi, Cassava Complex, a Yam Flour Factory at Zaki-Biam, Fruit Juice Factory (FRUITCON) Katsina-Ala. He also established a

Fertilizer Blending Plant in Makurdi. Although most of these projects did not see the light of the day before the overthrow of his administration, Adasu's policy thrust remains indelible and beneficial to the good people of Benue State in particular and Nigeria in general as a foundation upon which subsequent administrations built.

Tables 4, 5 and 6 summarize the administration and governance capacity during Rev. Fr. Moses O. Adasu government.

Table '4'

S/No	Name	Portfolio	Local Government
1.	Revd. Fr. Moses Orshio Adasu	Executive Governor	Konshisha
2.	Engr. Yakubu O. Agada	Deputy Governor	Ogbadibo
3.	Mr. B.I. Ugalahi	Commissioner for Agriculture, Natural Resources & Rural Development	Oju
4.	Mr. Terna Unum	Commissioner for Establishment Services	Kwande
5.	Mrs. P.A. Aondo-akaa	Commissioner for Education, Youths and Sports	Konshisha
6.	Mr. F.I. Abagen	Commissioner for Finance and Economic Development	Konshisha
7.	Mr. T. Liamngee	Attorney General & Commissioner for Justice	Gboko
8.	Dr. P.Y. Ochefu	Commissioner for Health and Human Resources	Otukpo
9.	Engr. S.O. Uto	Commissioner for Works and Housing	Makurdi
10.	Mr. Sefanu N. Torsabo	Secretary to the State Government	Wukari

General Directory of the Achievements of Moses Adasu Table ‘5’

S/No	Projects	Location
1.	Tarka Foundation	Makurdi
2.	Benco Roof Tiles	Abinsi (Along Makurdi-gboko Road)
3.	Benue State University (BSU)	Makurdi
4.	Beach Road and Beach House “Planned for retired priests”	Makurdi

Initiated/Facilitated Projects Table ‘6’

S/No	Projects	Location
5.	Federal Medical Centre	Makurdi
6.	Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN)	Makurdi
7.	Mbatlav Cement Industry	Mbatlav
8.	Alpha Plastics Industry	North Bank, Makurdi
9.	Onyagede Cassava Complex	Onyagede
10.	Yam Flour Factory	Zaki-Biam
11.	Fruit Juice Company (FRUITCON)	Katsina-Ala
12.	And several other achievements	

Source: Abomtse ana Aer-Asenge (2006:279)

Criticisms/Problems of Moses Adasu

Adasu's major criticism came from his spiritual constituency which refused to cooperate with him before, during and after his adventure as the second civilian governor of Benue State. Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006) rightly observed that:

AS far as politics and good governance was concerned, the religious problem Adasu faced... never mattered, what mattered were the immediate problems faced on the political front, which had adverse bearing on him as a person and his effort to provide quality services to the people of Benue State, to which he had taken oath as a sincere man of God. (p. 309).

Indeed, on the political scene, Adasu's first problem was associated with party stakeholders who wanted to ride him over. On the contrary, he exposed his true colours indicating he was not a push over as misunderstood by many of his followers. His sincerity and straightforwardness as a man of God who head bent on improving the virtue of mankind were never admired by most political self-seekers who threatened his vision. This calls to mind the stand point of the Catholic Church, his immediate constituency, which had regarded his venture into politics as toying with a lion's den which is not safe for men of God.

Others criticized him of over dependence on the advice of Sebastian Ikyegh Agbinda to the exclusion of all others, to them whatever Agbinda says goes as far as Adasu was concerned. This threw a lot of challenges to those who supported him because, a good leader is not supposed to be a mono-listener but a multi-listener with the ability to sieve the relevant from the irrelevant advice or ideas he/she is confronted with. J.K.N. Waku criticized him for his lack of consultation, unguarded public utterances

which were said to be vulgar, and for his inaccessibility among other factors (in his open letter to Adasu dated October 21, 1992).

Whatever his critics might have accused him of, Adasu as a clergy man had done his best for the people of the state. Today, the greatest achievement in the state which Adasu cannot be forgotten for generations yet to come is the establishment of Benue State University which remains an indelible mark of development in the eyes of the public.

3.2.3 Government of George Akume 1999-2007

Mr. George Akume was born on 27th December, 1953, at Wannune in Tarka Local Government Area of Benue State. The Governor hails from a local government named after the famous minority rights crusader, the late Senator Joseph Sarwuan Tarka. He had his primary education at the then Native Authority (NA) Primary School at his birth place, from 1960-1966. He proceeded to former Government Secondary School (then at Otobi, and now Model Science School) Otukpo in 1967, and completed his secondary education with a brilliant result in 1971. He proceeded to St. Louis College, Jos, where he obtained Advanced Level (A/L) papers in 1973. In 1974, Akume was admitted into Nigeria's Premier University, the University of Ibadan where he bagged a Bachelor of Science degree (B.Sc) in Sociology in 1978. He later enrolled for post graduate studies at the same Industrial and Labour Relations (MILR) in 1986. He attended the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON) in 1988 and obtained a certificate in Management.

He started his working career with his mandatory National Youth Service Scheme in 1978/1979, during which he served at the Advanced Teachers' College (Now College of Education) Akwanga, Nassarawa State. Thereafter, he took appointment with

the Benue State Civil Service, as a Lands Officer. In the civil service, he held various positions which include Assistant Secretary, Research and Policy Analysis (REPA) in the Governor's Office, Principal Secretary, Under-Secretary, and Director of Personnel Management in 1994. Akume also handled several special assignments including Secretary, Gboko Local Government Council, Sole Administrator of Idah (now in Kogi State) and Gboko Local Government Areas as well as Director of Protocol, Government House, Makurdi. On his entry into politics, he registered as a member of the defunct Congress for National Consensus (CNC), one of the five registered parties during the General Sani Abacha's era, and sought for governorship ticket on that party's platform. When General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over power after the demise of Abacha on June 8, 1998, he dissolved all the political structures set up by General Abacha and directed the formation of new political parties; Akume then took part in the formation of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). He later contested on the party's platform and won the Governorship election marking the beginning of a new dawn in the history of Nigeria's democracy after a long period of military interregnum. Mr. Akume is married with children.

George Akume as Governor (1999-2007)

George Akume is the 3rd democratically elected governor of the State. He came to power on the platform of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) on 29th May, 1999 after defeating Chief Ignatius Momhwange of the All Nigeria Peoples' Party (ANPP). In his inaugural speech as the Governor of Benue State at the Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida square, he expressed his determination and commitment as a servant to the people of the

state to provide dividends of democracy to the people. Below is his speech in part:
Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006):

Today Benue State has joined the rest of Nigerians to usher in a new beginning. Today a break of fresh air, that is democracy blows over our land again and brings with it our new hope for good governance, progress and development... Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, as we take over the reins of government, we are very much aware of the challenges ahead and the hard work that is required to meet them. We have traversed the entire state and visited every nook and cranny. I can assure you that we are familiar with the problems of Benue State-problem of hardship and hardworking farmers with too little resources to increase productivity, problem of lack of electricity and low adequate power supply, industrialization, problem of inadequate infrastructural facilities, restive labour and son on... My dear people, this inauguration, which comes only seven months to the dawn of the 21st Century, is symbolic of a new awakening, a reinvention of the covenant between us and people. We pledge to offer transparent visionary and dynamic leadership. Our efforts will be geared towards restoring confidence on the institutions of governance. We shall endeavour to harness the vast energies and initiatives of our people to be active partners in development. This philosophy of helping the people to help themselves is the main thrust of the Benue Advance Plan, which shall form the cornerstone of the policies and programmes of my administration. (p. 91).

Indeed, Akume understood the plight of his people as he entered into a social contract with them despite the challenges; he was bent on “consolidating” the gains of democracy

which his civilian predecessors - Aper Aku and Moses Adasu, had left on the ground. By this the good people of the state gave him another ticket for second tenure in 2003 to put some finishing touches to his programmes as he desired. Ironically, most of his achievements were in his first term. In reviewing his stewardship in what was entitled *Benue State, Food Basket of the Nation*; being his broadcast marking the second year anniversary of democratic rule in Nigeria. Akume mentioned bit-by-bit all his achievements in the areas of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Education, Finance, Health, Information and Culture, Internal Affairs and Boundary matters, Justice, Water Resources and Environment, Works and Housing, Rural Electricity, Youth and Sports, Labour, Inter-Government Relationship among others and identified the fact that lack of adequate infrastructural facilities such as roads, communication, electricity and insignificant internally generated revenue weighed down his efforts to hasten the pace of development.

The General Directory of Akume's achievements can be seen below:

Table '7'

S/No.	Projects	Location
1.	College of Medical Science	BSU Makurdi
2.	Bankims Plastic Industry	Makurdi
3.	Construction of eight General Hospitals across the state	North Bank, Makurdi and 7 others
4.	New site of Federal Medical Centre, Apir	Apir
5.	Owner Occupier Housing Unit	King Shuluwa Road, Makurdi
6.	Judges Quarters	Makurdi Gboko Road
7.	Benue State food basket symbol	Wurukum Roundabout Makurdi
8.	BIPC Head Quarter	Makurdi
9.	BIPC Housing Unit	Makurdi
10.	Increase Benue Links Fleet	Makurdi
11.	Benue Plaza Abuja	Central Area, Abuja
12.	Awajir-Oju Road	Awajir-Oju
13.	Network of Township Roads	Makurdi, Otukpo, Gboko and K-Ala

14.	Model College Administrative Block	Makurdi
15.	Construction equipment and truck	Makurdi
16.	Benue Television Site	Makurdi
17.	Benue Teaching Hospital	Makurdi Gboko Road
18.	Rural Electrification project	Adikpo and Aliade
19.	International Cattle Market	North-Bank Makurdi
20.	Indoor sports hall and flood light at Aper Aku stadium	Makurdi
21.	Landscape at Tarka Foundation	Makurdi
22.	Motorcycles for Poverty Alleviation and Civil Servants	Makurdi
23.	Facilitated Lobi Star FC to win challenge cup 2003	Makurdi

Source: Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006:395)

Akume's cabinet in second tenure

Table '8'

S/No.	Commissioners	Portfolio
1.	Emmanuel Udende	Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs
2.	Dr. Christopher Obute	Finance and Economic Planning
3.	Mr. Titus Madugu	Lands and Survey
4.	Barr. Geoffrey Agenor	Commerce and Industry
5.	Barr. Joe Abaagu	Justice
6.	Engr. Charles Avul	Works and Housing
7.	Engr. Samson Ityovenda	Culture and Tourism
8.	Dr. Cletus Akwaya	Information
9.	Mrs. Maria Idu	Women Affairs
10.	Mrs. Awuese Nancy Torhee	Agriculture and Natural Resources
11.	Dr. Peter Agogo	Education
12.	Dr. Francis Ijir	Health
13.	Mr. Mike Kusa	Sports and Social Development
14.	Mr. Mike Iduma	Animal and Forestry
15.	Mr. Peter Ochijele	Water Resources and Environment
16.	Mr. Benson Aboonu	Energy, Science and Technology
17.	Mrs. Rebecca Apedzan	Special Duties and HIV/AIDS and Comm. Diseases

Source: Abomtse and Aer-Asenge (2006:395)

Criticism/Problems of George Akume

Governor Akume was criticized and accused on several occasions for his choice of leaders in his government without the knowledge of the people whom they were to represent. According to critics, such situation did not go well with the people and his administration, for such political leaders often hijack government presence for their egoistic motives to the detriment of the people, hence, denying the people dividends of democracy. This was clearly shown in the people's assessment of him thus; Akume himself has no problem, he is a nice man. It is the people surrounding him that are spoiling his government. They would not allow anybody access to the governor.

This allegation goes in line with our earlier assertion in this chapter that the success of any leader depends so much on the people surrounding him. This is because no leader is good enough to do it all alone, except with the collective responsibility of others. By this, a listening leader without selfish interest who understands the plight of the people as well as their yearnings and aspirations will best carry the people along in his strides for development.

Secondly, what constituted Akume's problem according to critics was godfatherism associated with the Gemade and Ayu factor. These party elders had claimed to be the only force to reckon with in the state which created serious tension in PDP, and the state at large thereby affecting the pace, cooperation as well as smooth running of his administration. This was seen in the act of petition writing and counter-petitions across the state.

More importantly, there was a deliberate absence of Federal Government presence under President Olusegun Obasanjo during the reign of Governor Akume. There was no state visit by Obasanjo unlike in other states of the Federation. To make matters worse was the deployment of the military troupe to Zaki-Biam and its neighboring villages over the Tiv-Jukun crisis of 2003. The situation caused great harm to the people of the area and the image of the state was jeopardized nationally and internationally. Late S.J.I. Akure and retired Commissioner of Police Abubakar Tsav both accused Akume's administration of corruption, running a Tabilan government. In the words of Jibo (2014) quoting Tsav in the Alternative Magazine, states that:

Akume was a person without conscience; Akume caused misery to everyone in the state. He wasted the resources of Benue State by paying projects which were not executed. Some of the projects have money paid out for them which seems to have vanished in this air (e.g. payment to Okupe's Value Trust Investment Ltd.). He bought refurbished, out of use vehicles for the fire Bridgade Service and these proved useless when the Benue Investment Company caught fire. (p. 76).

Jibo (2014) also summarized Tsav criticism under Akume in the following words:

Benue State under Akume was like a state devastated by war, nothing happened under Akume. Huge sums of money were released by the Federal Government to the state and yet nothing happened here. Akume misappropriated this money. He used this money to buy cars for women, open beer parlours for women, sponsored people on holy pilgrimage to Mecca and Jerusalem, wasted our money for burials, and wasted our money in doing personal favours to people. (p. 77).

The three democratic regimes with their achievements and shortcomings; occasioned by their different political circumstances and atmosphere, time frame and leadership styles as well as personality differences, should not be judged without the above factors being considered in the evaluation or assessment. Also, due to the incessant political instability and military interregnum which negated our democratic culture, dividends of democracy as well as good governance, the three democratic regimes in the state have however complimented and consolidated the gains of each other as government is a continuous process born out of effort to provide social services and the dividends of democracy to the people. In Benue State and the country at large, the contributions of these administrations, the leadership question and governance in the state cannot be underestimated and remains constant reference point and foundation upon which the present and future generations of government would be based.

3.3 The State of Governance in Benue State under 2007-May 2015 Rt. Hon. Dr.

Gabriel Torwua Suswam

Every society presents people with different behaviors; principles and ideologies which make the society function as a system progressively or retrogressively. The activities of these men or women can be recorded by history whether good or bad as it affects the society. Put in another perspective, the activities of men and women could also be traced with biographical history that surrounds them in the society they find themselves. Biography and history, just like the great American Sociologist C. Wright Mills argued, form the focal point for any constructive and substantive analysis.

Biography of Gabriel Suswam

Born on 15th November, 1964, in the famous Suswam Tingir Dom dynasty in Anyiin, Logo Local Government Area of Benue State. At the dawn of the Nigerian Civil War, the young gentle and humble Torwua Suswam enrolled at NKST Primary School, Zaki-Biam between 1971 and 1977 where he obtained his First School Leaving Certificate. In 1977 to 1982, the youthful ebullient Torwua Suswam was admitted into the elitist Government College, Makurdi in search of secondary education. As a student, humble and dedicated, Gabriel Suswam was friendly with his fellow students and his teachers. Shaminja (2010) provided a good background of Suswam's life in the following words:

Indeed, he was in turn loved and embraced by many if not all. Little surprise then that, till date friendship is his most cherished devotion. He shows affection, brotherhood, encourages familiarity, gives love, showers praises and is ever ready to sacrifice. At the completion of his secondary school, Gabriel Suswam transited through the then School of Basic Studies, Makurdi between 1982 and 1984 as a preparatory stage for his robust and engaging University career ahead. From 1986 to 1989, he read and obtained his Law degree (L.B Hons) from University of Lagos and proceeded to acquire the requisite BL certificate at the Nigerian Law School, Lagos from 1989 to 1990 and was called to bar the same year. At the completion of his law degree programme at the University of Lagos, he had his mandatory Youth Service Scheme at Tredexd Finance Firm in Lagos. Between 1990 and 1994, Gabriel Suswam began cutting his legal teeth at Tokode and Co; a corporate, legal firm in Lagos, where he distinguished himself as an emerging

legal luminary with vision purpose. While practicing Law, Suswam's flaring desire for knowledge always rekindled-itself. Thus, between 1992 and 1993 in preparation for the challenges of advanced human resources management, capacity development and leadership, Suswam schooled and bagged an Advanced Diploma in Management (ADM) from the University of Lagos. (p. 116).

In line with the practice of his profession, Suswam took delight in service delivery to the people around him than a pedestal for career fulfillment and self enrichment. In order to devote more time and commitment to the increasing demands of his immediate constituency, Suswam formed Tingir and Associates Law firm, another corporate legal firm based in Lagos in 1994. From 1994-1997, Tingir and Associates, his legal firm, engaged in very robust legal practice and consultancy service as he eventually relocated to Abuja the heart of the government of the federation. Shaminja (2010) further states that:

In Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory, Suswam went into partnership with a close colleague, to float a new chamber, Suswam Ogbole and Co. By 1997, in order to meet the expanding horizons of his ambition for service delivery closer home, Suswam showed interest in the accelerated development of his state particularly the liberation of his constituency from the shackles of poverty and underdevelopment. This justified the saying that "when a man runs mad, he first sets his house ablaze". The struggle for freedom and return to civil rule was already gaining momentum. The learned gentleman did not shy away from his civil responsibility even in the face of a very hostile military era. He met and

aligned with pressure groups and political associates to build grounds for a return to democratic rule. (p. 117).

It is worth mentioning that while practicing law in Abuja, Suswam got married to Arch. Mrs. Yemisi on the 26th September, 1998. Thereafter he succumbed to the pressure from his people to contest for the House of Representatives in a quest to make laws that would benefit them (Katsina-Ala, Ukum and Logo) at the National Assembly under the umbrella of the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

At Abuja, the political "arithmetic and sagacity" was highly tensed up combined with smartness, risk-taking, conspiracy, political alignments or creaks, politics of long knives and even outright loose outs and political suicides were all that Suswam, like many of his colleagues who dared, went through. In his gallant utilization of his profession the area of politics as a law maker, Suswam emerged a worthy ambassador of his constituency as he was appointed leader of the caucus group that would eventually campaign and produce the first elected speaker of the first session of the Fourth Republic in the House of Representatives.

Also in 1999, Suswam was appointed Chairman, House Services Committee. It was while serving as the chairman of this all engaging committee that Gabriel Suswam wasted no time in employing a host of junior and middle cadre staff of Benue indigenes into National Assembly Service. Thereafter he was appointed Chairman, House Committee on FCT/FCDA between 2001-2003, where he also wasted no time in employing an unprecedented number of Benue graduates into Federal Service.

That did not stop Suswam in his unflinching task of legislation; he also served as a member on various committees such as Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Environment wealth of legislative experience in different strata of society. Considering his good leadership skills, Suswam's constituency (Sankera) on the 12th April, 2003 re-elected him as their representative at the Lower House. In 2003 at the inauguration of the second session of the Fourth Republic of the National Assembly, Suswam became the "bride of the moment". A golden fish, which had no place to hide, his pedigree spoke volumes, groups wooed him. He was firm, focused, well articulated and dedicated. Alas, history again beckoned on him to form and chair the famous LEAD GROUP that would produce the first Speaker of the second session of the Fourth Republic of the House of Representatives. Between 16th June and 3rd July, 2003, Suswam was Chairman, Ad-hoc Committee on Members' welfare. On 3rd July, 2003, he was appointed Chairman, House Committee on Appropriation.

Inspired by the unquenchable spirit to liberate the people from the shackles of academic and material exploitation for which he sees education as a major tool, the learned politician offered scholarships and educational materials to his immediate constituency and beyond. He has never relented in attaining academic pursuits. Hence, in June 2001, Gabriel Suswam attended a workshop titled *Nigeria Foreign Policy and our enduring National Interest* at the elitist National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) Kuru. He had earlier attended a seminar on Nigeria's Foreign Policy and International Relations, organized by the National Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) between 25th-27th January, 2000 in Abuja. In that same year, he attended a course in USA from 26th June-14th July on the Role of Congress. In 2004, Gabriel Suswam

attended a course and bagged a merit certificate of Good Governance from the famous Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, and Executive Programme in the United State. Also, on assumption of office as Chairman, House Appropriation Committee, the unassuming Harvard Graduate was in Washington D.C at the behest of the US Government from 28th -31st July, 2003 to attend a workshop on Congressional Appropriation Process; organized by the US National Democratic Institute. Suswam's desire for acquiring all the tricks of public administration that would improve good governance never quenched. Between 2005 and 2006, he enrolled into the University of Abuja where he bagged a Masters degree in Public Administration (MPA). In the same year, Suswam saw the need to expand the tentacles of exemplary leadership skills well-acquired across the state that has been languishing in abject poverty and underdevelopment for many years into a modern Benue. In the April, 2005 General Elections, Gabriel Suswam was elected as the youngest and fourth democratic Governor of Benue State on the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

The man has indefatigable spirit, strength and good leadership qualities. Though humble, shy and modest in carriage, Suswam's achievements and credentials have not gone without applause from groups and organizations that see him as an icon for the changing political trend in the state, a new generational leader, a reformer, messiah as well as an encouragement to people as a typical example of an icon that moved from grass to grace in the 21st century. In his leadership contributions to the educational development of Benue people, in 2002, the Benue Youths Association, Abuja branch honoured him with Meritorious Service Award. Consequently, that same year Mzoughu Tiv, Lagos State branch bestowed on him the Prestigious Excellence Award. Community

of Tiv Students, University of Abuja in 2004 and 2005, 2006 and 2008 honoured him for his selfless service and good leadership.

Within one year in office as Governor, Suswam was bestowed with several awards among which were Best Performing Governor in the North Central Geo-political Zone, conferred on him by the *Sarduna* Magazine in Abuja. At the 14th yearly THISDAY newspapers' awards held in Abuja on the 14th January 2009, he was honoured as the Best Governor of the year 2008 in fiscal management and infrastructure. He also bagged the Europe Business Assembly (EBA) International Socrates Award of the Oxford University in London, UK in recognition of his strong leadership and good governance in Benue State. Such and many more recognition decorate the humble life of Gabriel Suswam. Though a man who refuses to count his political obligations to his people as personal achievement, history will prove it right that what men do never go unrecorded.

Gabriel Suswam is happily married to (Arc.) Mrs. Yemisi Dooshima Suswam and the marriage is blessed with two children. He is a devoted Christian and believes in the philosophy that "the race of mankind". This simply means that benevolence, generosity and kindness are his guiding principles.

Suswam as a Governor

For the first time in the history of Benue State, the governorship election was described as a tug of war. The governorship seat was zoned to the North-East Senatorial District (Zone A) admits the Sankera axis. For what seemed incredible to the people of the state, Gabriel Suswam clinched the nomination ticket for PDP where he contested the

election and won against the opposition ANPP candidate, Prof. Daniel Saror; Shima Ayati of AC among others.

On 27th May, 2007, Gabriel Torwua Suswam Tingir took an oath of the office as the fourth civilian Governor of Benue State, following his declaration by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), as the winner of the 14th April, 2007 gubernatorial election.

Below is His Inaugural Speech in Full Text Delivered at IBB Square, Makurdi on 29th May, 2007

This speech will help us to know the plans of his administration in regard to achieving or not (Shaminja, 2010).

For a young man, born, bred and nourished in the rustic Benue, I cannot but gladly accept this challenge to give back to my people, the people that nurtured me, service with all his physical, mental and intellectual capacities it did please the Almighty God to endow in me, in return for the honour and mandate I have been so generously given. In accepting your mandate here today, I pledge before you all, before my creator, the Living God I serve, that I desire to give my people no cause whatsoever to regret. I desire and pray the Almighty God to make me surpass the achievements of my forbearers who have brought us this far. I am inspired by the selfless philosophies of our heroes and fathers of modern Benue, in the person of the minority rights activist, the late Senator, Chief Dr. Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, late Chief J.C. Obande, Chief Apollos Aper Aku and all others who had laid a solid foundation for a modern Benue.

In the course of electioneering, I traversed the nooks and crannies of this state of ours. I met the people in their diversities. I came across dejection and abject poverty. I saw

*human and natural resources. It is really difficult to resist the urge to harness these potentialities for the benefit of **Our Benue, Our future.***

This is Benue; we have no other place to call our own. We have stakes in the nation state of Nigeria because we are from Benue. Our present and our future, the future of our children yet unborn, will be better guaranteed.

*We have abiding faith in the programmes and vision which the Economic Team comprising the best of Benue brains, under the chairmanship of Chief Ambrose Feese put together to give direction to our course of actions. It is to really re-enforce our commitment to Benue that this vision too, is called, **Our Benue, Our Future.** In this vision, we shall REAP beautifully.*

Ladies and gentlemen, by the programme of Rural Economic Action Programmes (REAP), this administration envisions a reconstruction of rural economy through the aggressive construction of our rural infrastructure. Our rural economy if it has not collapsed, is certainly heading for a collapse. The attendant consequences of rural urban migration and unprecedented unemployment which are turning our society of able bodied people into a beggarly, dependent community is just too dreadful to be imagined. We are therefore, committed to ensuring a reversal of this trend. Any time we look at the present abject poverty in our rural areas and the general state of underdevelopment, we cannot but bemoan the level of mismanagement in our local governments. It is no longer a secret that our local governments have abdicated their responsibilities and are no longer directing their resources at improving the living standards of the generality of our people. This administration shall, without delay, carry out reforms in the local government system with a view to plugging financial waste and restoring discipline.

Our administration is committed to creating a transparent, honest and egalitarian society based on the rule of law. We shall therefore, wage a war against corruption just as we shall insist on high standard of probity and accountability from public officers. This administration shall promote greater transparency in the handling of government business and shall insist on due process in all government transactions. A due process office will immediately be set up in the office of the Governor. We shall articulate and develop a governance/performance policy initiative where every government programme will have a focus and will be completed on time. We shall therefore, promote an ethical re-orientation agenda that would encourage our people to put service to the community above any other selfish agenda. According to Thomas Jefferson; one of the foremost of American presidents, “where a man assumes a public trust, he must consider himself a public property”, I agree absolutely with this thesis.

*In the vision of **Our Benue, Our Future**, we shall boost agriculture to ensure food security, raw materials for our industries, and guarantee employment and meaningful earnings from agricultural ventures to consolidate our status as Food Basket of the Nation. Agriculture is a time-bound endeavour. We shall always act promptly to fulfill our part of the bargain as a responsible government.*

Furthermore, we shall streamline government to make it effective, efficient and result oriented. We also have consummate programmes on urban and environmental renewal, improved housing, employment, economic emancipation and poverty eradication, dynamic industrialization with a view to processing our agricultural produce, exploration of other natural resources will be pursued in earnest.

Through this vision, our health systems and capacities will be enhanced through the provision of infrastructural facilities, to ensure adequate health care for all Benue people. No effective health care delivery system can be developed on the basis of imported drugs. We shall rationalize our list of essential drugs and set up industries to manufacture such drugs and other medical equipment.

This administration shall improve the quality and access to education with the view to breaking into the world trend areas of information and communication technology, science, space, Mining and petroleum technologies. Never again will any intelligent and knowledgeable Benue child, regardless of his indigent background, be inhibited from access to education on account of poverty. This vision has everything it takes to make life better for Benue people.

My dear people of Benue State, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I am not unaware of the private sector reforms and the Millennium Development Goals that are gradually putting government out of business management. As you all know, government has never been an efficient business manager, we shall therefore set up the necessary machinery to privatize government interests in public investment.

As for the civil service and organized labour, we are committed to improving conditions of service and sustaining the good relations that have existed. We shall pay workers salaries as at when due but equally demand commitment from labour. As a worker deserves his wages, the employer equally deserves his services.

Let me use this opportunity to solicit the support of all Benue indigenes living in Diaspora both in Nigeria and elsewhere in the world. I urge you to remain very good

ambassadors of our state and to draw support and assistance for the state. Be assured that your share of privileges and responsibilities towards Benue is guaranteed. You must therefore work in tandem with new initiative of selfless service.

On the ideological plane, I have always admired the welfare philosophy enunciated by the Talakawa emancipator, Mallam Aminu Kano. This ideology of democratic humanism enhances the human work of the individual by working in the perspective of “be your brother’s keeper”. From this stand point, on no account will the humanity of any individual be devalued. This ideology is both human, humane and promotes equality of opportunity and elimination of privilege. This shall be the salient philosophy behind our actions, policies and programmes.

My dear good people of Benue State, we must brace up to the challenge ahead and get out of our past experiences characterized by bloodletting, violence, mindless killings and destruction of poverty. Let us turn a new leaf of tolerance and dialogue in the management and containment of political and communal conflict. Violence from political, communal conflict and land dispute has not only set us back, it has certainly given us a bad name for too long. We shall deal firmly and decisively with anybody or community no matter how highly placed fanning the ember of hate and promoting conflict and crisis in Benue State.

We must stabilize our democracy by having abiding faith in the concept of separation of powers as well as checks and balances as promoted by the constitution for the three Arms of Government. We shall definitely not infringe on the independence of the

other Arms of Government to properly lubricate the system such that it runs without hitches for the overall development of democracy and good governance.

Against this background, we extend our hand of fellowship to the candidate of the other political parties that contested the just concluded general elections. We urge them to forget their grievances and join us to develop Benue. We therefore, look forward to the successful proclamation of the next session of the Benue State House of Assembly which leadership will be very crucial in sustaining the desired cooperation.

My dear good people of Benue State, the assignment you have given me is no doubt enormous. I have no doubt in my mind that with God on our side and with your cooperation, we shall discharge it satisfactorily. I therefore, humbly but sincerely solicit your support and cooperation. I am ready to involve as many people of ideas as possible in the enterprise of government. There is no government better than that in which everybody is involved. No talent or knowledge will be alienated on account of age, sex, tribe, religion, party inclination or any other indices of discrimination. I will make myself available and listen to all in the discharge of this assignment.

To members of our great party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) O salute you, I congratulate you. I thank you all for your resilience and for standing by me all this while. It is our party that has been mandated by the people of Benue to pilot the affairs of the state. We must discharge this mandate for the benefit of every Benue indigene be he in ANPP, AC, NDP, AD, DPP and whatever political party. Your conduct must not spite members of other political parties but must give them hope and confidence in the administration. May I take this opportunity to especially thank the State leadership of the

PDP under the able chairmanship of Hon. Sule Audu for their commitment and dedication.

As a democrat, I am convinced that meaningful democracy cannot be achieved in the absence of opposition. We are therefore, not out to stifle opposition. We must encourage opposition. We must encourage opposition by giving them access to government. For, as the saying goes, “the opposition must have their say even if the majority shall always have its way”. We shall tolerate constructive criticism but shall not condone any attempt by anybody or group of persons to undermine our mandate.

Let me appreciate very sincerely our leader; the outgoing Governor of Benue State, Senator Dr. Geogre Akume Jugu Dajoh. He has been a wonderful leader, father, brother and uncle to us all. He means very well for Benue. Throughout the eight years of his tenure, he took very giant strides and exhibited love, care, humanity and generosity, not before known by the people of the state. He took very giant strides in the development of Benue State as seen in such projects as the construction of Faculty of Health Sciences, the BSU Teaching Hospital, the various industries and many others too numerous to mention here. I want to assure you Sir, that I shall pursue the completion of these laudable projects. Your cherished virtues will also not be abandoned. Our leader Sir, I wish you and our amiable first lady and mother of Benue, our dear Chief Mrs. Regina Akume, and your entire family the very best as you engage in higher assignments for the people of Benue and the service of the nation.

Let me also appreciate my brother and friend, the prince of Benue, our dear Prince Ogiri Ajene, the outgoing Deputy Governor of Benue State. He has been an honest and sincere assistant of his boss. Let me appreciate Hon. Mzenda Iho, all the members of the State House Assembly and all the commissioners of the era; for their glorious service to Benue State. My hart felt appreciation goes to the Chief Judge and all the judges of the Benue State Judiciary who have maintained an enviable high standard. I appreciate our senators and members of the National Assembly for their effective representation of the state in the last dispensation. I appreciate our Royal fathers, His Royal Highness Orchivirigh Dr. Alfred Akawe Torkula Tor Tiv, the Orch'Idoma, Agabaido Elias Ikoyi Obekpa and all traditional rulers, for their role as custodians of our cherished values and traditions. Finally and above all, I appreciate the Benue electorate, who in their wisdom made my standing here today possible. You are all wonderful people.

Let me congratulate all those who have won various elections to serve the people of Benue in different capacities. I also felicitate with our spiritual fathers, Bishops, Priests, Pastors, Imams and all who have in one way or the other continued to watch and guide the strides of this state.

Finally, let me especially thank the woman after my own heart, the women who has stood by me and will stand by me as I discharge this mandate, my dear wife, Arc. Yemisi Dooshima Suswam. Let me also thank my sons, Shima and Terna, for their wonderful support and cooperation. They missed me a lot while I was on the campaign trail. I love you all. It would have been a thing of joy for my parents; Baba Suswan Tingir and Mama Ashiewa, if they were alive here today to witness this event. As they are late, let me pay tribute to their glorious memories as they never labored in vain. Let me also pay tribute

to the memory of my late sisters, Msurshima; who lost her life in a ghastly motor accident after witnessing my inauguration at the National Assembly in 1999. Dear sister, though you are dead, this is how it has pleased the Almighty God to bless your brother whom you loved so much. My tribute also goes to my late uncle, Pa Imenger, who prayed for me just before he died. Dear Uncle, you can see that God has answered your prayer. Let me acknowledge the love, support and cooperation of my elder brothers, Cephas and Terkura and my kid sister, Mwuese. Your love, kindness and good wishes have seen me this far. Lastly, and not the least, I appreciate the serious concern of all members of the Tingir Dom family; they have always wished me very well and have supported me without reservation. Today's crown is for us all. (p. 123-130).

After this speech is the Suswam's Blue Print which shows his governance activities.

The Blue Print of Suswam Administration: Our Benue, Our Future

On 17th January, 2007 Gabriel Suswam the Benue State gubernatorial candidate of the People's Democratic Party in the 2007 General Elections, inaugurated an eight-man Economic Team with the charge to prepare a blueprint for the sustainable development of the state for four years commencing from 29th May, 2007. The terms of reference for this herculean task required the Economic Team to take a critical look at the candidate's manifesto titled "Our Benue, Our Future" and formulate it programme of activities that would advance development in the key areas of political and economic governance, agriculture, commerce, industry and tourism; education, health and social welfare; women and youth empowerment; local and foreign investment promotion as well as infrastructure and environment. The Economic Team was further given the latitude to consider

and deliberate on any other related matter and proffer appropriate recommendations.

The initial step taken by the Team to approach its task was to schedule development activities under four main clusters namely;

- (i) Governance
- (ii) Agriculture, Infrastructure and Environment
- (iii) Commerce, Industry and Investment
- (iv) Social Development and Service

Four sub-committees were thereafter constituted and assigned to work on the respective clusters. The sub-committees worked separately but met internationally at plenary sessions to assess progress and integrate or situate its recommendations, relevant in the context of the previous and on-going development efforts. The team made reference to existing documents such as the state's 2007 Budget, the Benue Advance Plan, the Benue Reform Action Plan, and the Benue State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, which were previously drafted to improve the condition of Benue State. This invariably entailed some form of benchmarking to facilitate an assessment of the level of progress as well as determine the pertinence or otherwise of the Team's proposals and recommendations. The Team was also guided by practical considerations of the pulse of development of the state especially with regards to where we are, where we want to be and what we have to do. The format also informed the overall conceptualization and presentation of the blueprint.

The primary concern of the Economic Team was to prepare a blueprint that is geared towards poverty eradication through efficient management of resources and reorientation of the thinking of the people. As such, its recommendations clearly tended to place a premium on fiscal discipline in public expenditure management, increased productivity, and improved service delivery, building partnerships for development, and sustainability in the use of exhaustible resources. In this light, the recommendations of the Economic Team aspire strongly towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals as contained in the United Nations Millennium Declaration of September 2000. Similarly, the blueprint according to its authors strives to inculcate the spirit of collective destiny and collective responsibility among the citizenry. The spirit will be nurtured to become the guiding philosophy upon which the actualization of the blueprint shall be anchored. Of course government has a leading role to play in facilitating total growth and development through policy and direct action aimed at creating an enabling environment to support viable initiatives.

According to the authors of the blueprint, the policy framework is based on the assumption that there will be:

- Consistency and rationality in government policies and actions
- Loyalty and commitment of the bureaucracy
- Transparency and accountability in the governance
- Participatory and complementary action by the populace
- Due recognition of merit and professionalism
- Fruitful cooperation with NGOs, international organizations and foreign countries
- A strong reporting culture and feedback system.

For the purpose of this analysis, we shall consider the goals of Suswam's blueprint in each sector of governance for general assessment of his administration. This can be seen under the following sub-headings:

Section One: Governance Table '9'a.

Structure of Government	To create a streamline, manageable and efficient structure of government that eliminates waste and ensures efficient service delivery.
Inter-Governmental Relations and Traditional Institution	To maintain cordial, and harmonious relationship among the various tiers of government for development cooperation and enhance unity and peaceful co-existence.
Internal Revenue Generation	To broaden the base and improve the efficiency of internal revenue generation and collection.
Civil Service	To maintain a motivated, property oriented and productive workforce.
Public Expenditure Management	In collaboration with the LGCs, the organized private sector, the civil society and the communities, develop a strategic approach for operating responsive, accountable and transparent system of governance, especially the management of public resources to ensure effective delivery and value for money.
Programme Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation	To institute functional and efficient systems of implementation, monitoring and evaluation of government programmes to ensure successful delivery.
Security, Justice Administration and Legislature	To ensure the security of life and property of the citizenry, enhance the efficiency of Justice administration and access to Justice, and support the development of a socially relevant and people oriented governance.
Information & Communication	To attract, harness and maintain joint development initiatives with the Non-Governmental Sector, particularly international organizations and foreign countries and increase the levels of their involvement in the state's development.

Section Two: Agriculture, Infrastructure and Environment Table ‘9’b.

Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Forestry	To improve food security and self sufficiency, create opportunities for gainful employment, generate income and reduce poverty.
Infrastructure	To have in place workable infrastructure that support enhanced economic production and improved quality of life of both the urban and rural populace.
Environment	To promote environmental safety, ensure sustainability in the use of natural resources, and eradicate environment related poverty.

Section Three: Commerce, Industry and Investment Table ‘9’c.

Commerce, Industry and Investment	To harness levels of gainful self-employment and income earning through expansion in commerce and sustainable industrialization, as well as increase in the investment portfolio.
Culture and Tourism	To harness the natural and cultural heritage of the state and raise the current level of tourism as a veritable tool of identity, integration, unit and development.
Education	To create equal opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, marketable skills and positive attitudes through functional and qualitative education at all levels.
Women	To mainstream the female gender through capacity building to improve the status and quality of life women.
Youth	To enable the youth to improve in character development, acquire production skills and increase their capacity for discipline, self-reliance and patriotism and to also position them to avail themselves of prevailing opportunities.
Sports	To improve sports administration, talents and facilities and enhance the performance of Benue in Sports.
Social welfare	To integrate and enable socially disadvantage groups to live up to their full potentials.
Health and HIV/AIDS	To enhance access of the population to improved health services and reduce rates of mortality and morbidity especially among the vulnerable segments of the Benue population.

Source: Report of the Economic Team on Our Benue, Our Future (March, 2007).

It is apparently clear that, these noble goals will serve as a guide for the tenure of the Suswam administration. However, for concerted efforts of his administration, it is pertinent to consider or look into his programmes and activities and x-ray whether he is

working in line with the document or policy frame work of Our Benue, Our Future as well as the challenges.

Suswam in Governance: Projects, Programmes and General Activities

Several governments come with different policies, activities and programmes that would change the lives of their people either for better or for worse. It will be noted that the pace of these activities can be attributed to the type of leaders and the cabinets they chose to assist in various spheres of administration.

It is against this background that we consider the activities and programmes of the Suswam administration for the purpose of this analysis. On assumption of office in May 29, 2007, the Suswam led administration has embarked on the following programmes in various sectors of economy of the state and can be seen under the following:

The Structure of Government

The structure of government is what defines its success whether big or small. The clear cut approach and ease in the bureaucratic bottle-neck, producing accountability and transparency are all ingredients for good governance. Having taken cognizance of the fact that a sizeable government where resources are properly managed serves the best interest of the people, Governor Suswam on assumption of office trimmed down the number of ministers from 17 to 13 in order to carry everybody along in the spirit of good governance. He appointed a handful of commissioners and special advisers with requisite expense and intellectual depth to assist in the smooth running of his administration. These political appointees serve as bridges between the government and the governed as it is practiced in other democracies particularly the United States of America. Reforms were

also extended to the Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs to be supervised by a Special Advisor. Verification and authentication exercises of councils was carried out and yielded positive results. Over N1 billion which used to be misappropriated monthly to ghost workers was discovered from the exercise. The government used the recovered money to pay off debts owed to banks, contractors and staff in the previous administration. This enabled the elected local government chairmen who assumed office in January, 2008 to start on a clean sheet without debts to handle.

Another side of the reforms on local government focused on entrenching the practice of accountability and transparency. This included disbandment of council chairmen from attending monthly joint accounts committee meeting in the state capital. This function has been given to the treasurers who are the chief finance officers of their respective local government areas. The arrangement gives room for checks and balances crucial for the reduction of waste which had hitherto been the hallmark of local government administration in the state.

Appointments into local government positions such as Directors General, Service and Administration (DGSA), treasurers and cashers also were to be based strictly on merit and approved by the local government service commission, while the remunerations of principal officers of the legislative and executive arms of the local government council were streamlined. All these were backed up by the amended local government law passed by the State House of Assembly in January, 2008. Such reforms in the third tier of government are geared towards providing an enabling playing ground for local governments to embark on development projects to complement the state

government's concerted efforts to positively change the lives of the people at the grassroots level.

Water and Power Supply

To hearken to the sufferings of the people about water which is a necessity for both domestic and industrial use, Suswam on assumption of office approved the award of N318 million contracts for emergency repairs of existing facilities at Makurdi, Katsina-Ala and Otukpo water works to make them functional and perform the optimally. A contract of N4.9 billion was also awarded for Greater Makurdi Water Works with a capacity of 100,000 litres of water per day to cater for the needs of Makurdi residents and environs. The contract is scheduled for completion within two years. Another contract of N1.5 billion for New Water Works at Katsina-Ala with a capacity of 15,000 litres per day was also awarded. At Otukpo a contract of N2.5 billion for new water works with a capacity of 15,000 litres was also awarded covering communities around Otobi. The government has embarked on comprehensive rehabilitation of water works at Gboko.

Power Supply

On assumption of office, Suswam released the sum of N50 million to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) to facilitate the extension of power supply to Obi and Oju local government areas of the state. Efforts are also made in partnering with some foreign investors and other private sectors to improve electricity supply. One of the meetings of the power supply committee of the National Economic Council held on the 20th October, 2008 in Abuja, of which Suswam was a member, lauded the plan of the

government to improve power supply by resuscitating some of the moribund stations and admitted that there are quite a number of issues involved in steady power supply which is something that cannot be done in a day (*The Nation, Tuesday, 21st October, 2008*). In the same vein Suswam government has also released funds for clearing of equipment for the re-activation of Owukpa Coal Mines which if completed would serve as an alternative source of power to the state. Rural electrification has also been commissioned in Ighor and Aliade, Gwer local government, Mchia community in Abeda Shitile of Logo local government, Agan community of Makurdi local government among many others to meet the yearnings and aspirations of the people.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the bedrock of the people of Benue State as exemplified in the appellation “Food Basket of the Nation”. About 95 percent of the inhabitants of the state solely depend on agriculture as their major source of occupation. Unfortunately, agriculture has hitherto not been given the desired attention, which will go a long way in reducing the suffering of farmers and improving their standard of living. Suswam, in recognition of the fact that Benue is an agrarian state, embarked on massive campaign towards improving the plight of farmers by providing and distributing fertilizers to all the 23 local government areas of the state at subsidized rates. Depot centres and committees were also set up to monitor the distribution in order to avoid the problem of middlemen who often hijack the product. Tractors were also distributed to farmers for improved mechanized farming. This was commissioned in the early part of his administration. In the reign of the threatening global food shortage, government procured 800 metric tons of grains to cushion the effects on its citizenry. Efforts have also been made towards

restocking of the livestock breeding and incubation centre in Raav. A total sum of N25 million was released for that purpose.

Health

Good health and long life from time immemorial have been among the most prized goals of mankind. In every age and land, there have been significant efforts made by people to curtail the menace of mortality and morbidity. Believing in the concept of sound health and productivity, Suswam, on assumption of office, set out to work to improve the health status of the people in the following dimensions:

He completed work on 11 hospitals financed by ADB/World Bank with the injection of counterpart funding of N91 million, the hospitals at Anyiin, Ugba, Lessel, Buruku, Naka, Alagianu, Otukpo and Owukpa, have been equipped. A befitting place has been acquired for a health centre at Wannune, Tarka local government for the teaching of medical students of Benue State. Contract has also been awarded for the construction of radiology department at Benue State University Teaching Hospital. There is also work going on at the Teaching Hospital site which is expected to be completed soon. Medical equipment and furniture worth N7.1 million were also supplied to General Hospitals across the state. Modern delivery beds were purchased for General Hospital in Katsina-Ala, Gboko, Oju, Otukpo and FSP Clinic Makurdi. In the same vein, five ambulances and untra-sound scanning machines for General Hospital at Katsina-Ala, Gboko, and North bank, Otukpo, Oju and Benue State University Teaching Hospitals were purchased. In collaboration with several non-governmental organizations, attempts have been made to bring specialist doctors to provide free medical services for the people in some local

government catchment centres. Sensitization campaigns about the importance of breast feeding have also been embarked upon by the first lady of the state, Arc. Yemisi Dooshima Suswam.

The Suswam-led government has already taken concrete steps to combat the dreaded scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the menace of goiter in the state. Awareness campaign was initiated by the state government agencies such as Benue State AIDS Control Agency (BENSACA), to check the spread of HIV/AIDS in the state. These efforts are also being complemented by the state's first lady, Arc. Mrs. Dooshima Yemisi Suswam, through her pet project SEV-AV foundation. Suswam has also entered into partnership with the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) and the United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) to fight the menace of goiter and other related cases of Iodine Deficiency (ID) discovered in the state.

Women Affairs and Social Development

The place of women in the society is very important. Women in all spheres of life in the state have been encouraged to participate in the process of governance. One may be right to say that the Suswam-led administration understood the importance of women in administration and governance and hence included women in some vital positions like Commissioners, Special Advisors among other strategic positions. The first lady Yemisi Dooshima Suswam, in a quest to recognize the virtues of women in the state, came out with an initiative, *Celebrate Benue Women and National Cooking Competition*", on 13th–14th November, 2008, an event which exposed the socio-economic status of the Benue women in all spheres of life. (www.greaterbenue.com.www.gabrielsuswam.com).

Rural Development and Cooperative

For any agrarian society to transform, there is ardent need to embrace the concept of rural development which is a conscious attempt targeted at bringing the basic structure of government closer to the people. The establishment of the Ministry of Rural Development and Cooperatives by the Suswam-led administration underscores the importance attached to radical transformation of the rural areas which is an all embracing effort in the process of development. On assumption of office, the Suswam-led government took some steps towards improving the socio-economic status of the rural populace which includes; construction of a wide network of feeder roads across the state, establishment of micro-finance schemes and cooperatives where loans could be advanced to the rural people for meaningful ventures.

Government has entered into partnership with banks, industries and the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) to give micro-credits to Benue people. Other attempts include boosting rural electricity, construction of bridges to link rural areas to urban centres. Plans are also under way for government to approve design for the construction of housing units to be built in all the local governments of the state. The ministry has entered into memorandum of understanding with ESKAY-MULTI TRADE LIMITED for the establishment of Benue Grassroots Housing Scheme to provide decent and affordable accommodation for rural dwellers.

Attempts are also made for a programme for rural market development which is being supported by First Bank of Nigeria Plc. To be operationalised in six local government areas namely; Ukum, Logo, Gboko, Okpokwu, Ado and Guma. There is also sensitization and mobilization of the rural people.

Education

The brain box behind development has received serious attention. Classroom blocks in both primary and secondary schools have been built or renovated in some areas, while chairs, desks, learning and teaching aids have also been provided. To put records straight, the total sum of N300 million was released for renovation and improvement of learning facilities in primary and secondary schools. Another sum of N500 million was also released for the payment of teachers' salaries owed in June/July, 2005.

Tertiary institutions have also been given due attention with the sum of N193 million released in the state to the accreditation of their courses while scholarship is given to law students yearly to take care of their tuition fees at law school. Others are also given scholarship to study in foreign countries.

The foundation stone for a 300-bed space hostel in Benue State University has also been laid while N486 million has been released for comprehensive renovation of 36 government secondary schools and provision of science and ICT facilities. There is also construction work going on at the College of Advanced and Professional Studies, Makurdi. The Benue State National Library also has been looked into, contracts have been awarded for the supply of books and renovation work.

Science, Information and Communication Technology

The Suswam-led administration embraced the concept of e-governance with the launching of two websites. This is aimed at making the state accessible globally as well as facilitating the availability or free flow of relevant information, data and statistics needed by anybody, anywhere and at anytime. The state government has since authorized

the commercialization of the website so as to enable the state become accessible online to ease business and administration. Internet services have been provided to some major government departments to make government accessible to the public, while several government establishments have received financial backing to this effect to connect their organizations on-line to ease their work in various spheres. Selected primary and secondary schools have also been provided with computer laboratories and v-sat for internet access as a pilot scheme. In collaboration with Bill Gate of Microsoft in USA, arrangements have been concluded for the establishment of four computer academies across the state. The state government is also in partnership with the banking sector to support the establishment of a land information system as well as the computerization of the Ministry of Lands and Survey at the cost of about N700 million.

Works, Housing and Transport

On the pages of both local and national dailies you find headlines such as “Benue State Wears a New Look”. This is part of the transformation process that has been going on in terms of infrastructural development which is one of the cardinal points of the Suswam administration. Within 100 days in office, township roads in Makurdi, the state capital took a different outlook. Over 100 kilometres of roads in Makurdi were constructed along with walkways and work is still in progress on several other streets. Drainage Channels were also constructed on the major streets.

Residents of Gboko, Otukpo and Katsina-Ala are also enjoying good roads. Construction work has not been restricted to township roads only, rural roads have also been given adequate attention. Government has released the requisite funds and got

contractors back to site on the completion of the Ugbokpo Agatu Oweto road. Contracts worth N8.7 billion for the construction of some key rural roads were also awarded. A breakdown of the amount shows that a contract for the construction of 74km stretch of rural road from Anyiin, Abeda, Amaafu, Abaji covering Logo and Katsina-Ala local government areas was awarded for the sum of N5.7 billion while Orokan Owukpa, Okpoga Utonkon road covering Ado, Ogbadibo and Okpokwu local government areas was awarded at the cost of about N2.7 billion. Similarly, a two and half kilometer access road which links Makurdi Township with 72 Air Borne Battalion North Bank Area is being rehabilitated at the cost of N61.5 million. Other roads for which contract has been awarded are: Shaminja (2010) puts them thus:

- The 54km Eke-Elemgbecho – Ugbokpo – Otukpo – Orokam at N1.8billion.
- The 65km Adikpo – Ikyogen – Jato-Aka at N1.9 billion.
- The 7km North Bank University of Agriculture Makurdi at N220 million (federal road).

Construction work on the Gboko – Gbemacha, has also started at Akpagher road. Other rural roads are in various stages of completion across the eleven federal constituencies, some of them inherited from the previous administration are being fully funded. In addition to all these, commissioned consultants are undertaking the design of twenty eight (28) rural roads covering 1,118 kilometers across the state preparatory to the award of contracts for their construction as soon as funds are available.

In the same area of housing, work has commenced on about 500 housing units in the Suswam administration. Renovation work on the commissioners' quarters has been

completed. Also a comprehensive re-construction of Government House Makurdi has been completed giving the area a befitting look.

In the area of Transport, government has acquired fleet of vehicles to be used as township taxis in Makurdi and other major towns in the state to cushion the effect of the ban placed on motorcycle operators.

Commerce, Industries and Tourism

The Suswam administration has pooled a lot of foreign investment in the state which has started to yield positive results for the development of the state. Efforts to reach out to foreigners has sent good signals in the area of energy and tourism, especially as the alternative energy plans to renew the Owukpa Coal with the possibility of providing alternative energy for the state. Talks have commenced with investors on the possibility of building a 45 megawatts coal-powered plant to supply electricity to Makurdi. Foundation has been laid for another ultra-modern market in Makurdi to boost commercial activities.

In the area of industrialization, the government at the moment has taken some bold steps to redress the industrial backwardness of the state by re-awakening the Taraku Mills Limited, Benue Brewery Limited, Benue Bricks and Agro Millers Limited in which it still retains some holdings. Recent additions include Benco Tiles Limited at Abinsi near Makurdi and the Fruitcon Nigeria Limited at Katsina-Ala. Benue State Investment and Property Company which has absorbed the former State Housing Agency is charged with the responsibility of promoting industrial development in the state, monitoring Benue State investment in its own companies as well as other companies.

In addition, plans are also under way to set up a Yam Flour Company in Zaki-Biam. Tourism has also received due attention. The government has taken bold steps in developing the abundant tourist sites in the state. The proposed reactivation of Ikyogen Cattle Ranch, the Ikov Wild Life Park, Makurdi International Hotel and the revival of the Akata Fishing Festival is being given consideration. Government is also exploring the possibility of developing Chile Island located along the river banks of the River Benue into a formidable tourist central of international status.

Arts, Culture and Social Mobilization

In the area of arts and culture, the Suswam-led administration has indeed accorded it due consideration for its importance in the development of the state. The state government took some bold steps to host National Festival of Arts and Culture, NAFES. Accordingly, the sum of N45 million was released for the fiesta. As the host, Benue State seized the opportunity to showcase its unique cultural identity as indeed the “Food Basket of the Nation” with vast cultural heritage.

Information

The Suswam-led government, having understood the role information plays in any organization in actualizing its goals, has continued to build on the efforts of the previous administration. On assumption of office it took promptly took delivery of equipment purchased for the establishment of Benue State Television by the previous administration. Already, a bill for the establishment of the television station has been signed into law, and construction work completed paving way for its takeover. The state government also took delivery of new transmitters for Radio Benue AM station, to extend wide coverage around and beyond the state.

Civil Service

Recognizing the fundamental role of the civil service in the success of any government, the administration has already raised the waned morale of civil servants through prompt payment of salaries, changing the structures of the work environment as well as redefining of the work ethics. In order for governance to return to its smooth ways, due process has returned and a special unit has been created to ensure its strict compliance.

Workers' salaries in the state are paid promptly. Primary school education has also been a beneficiary of the deep concern of the government. The government has paid its N400m, counterpart fund for the Universal Basic Education (UBE) scheme. Teachers in primary schools whose June/July, 2005 salaries were not paid on the assumption of office in 2007. Vehicles to ease the supervision of work have been provided to some top government officials. Their accommodation has also been taken care of. Considering the mass level of unemployment in the state, the government has also provided some job opportunities to the people in some industries available in the state and through replacement in the existing vacancies so as to reduce unemployment.

Peace and Conflict Resolution

Development as the core objective of government cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of crises, rancor and acrimony. Having inherited border crises, on three front's of the state, the Suswam-led administration immediately reached out to his colleagues, governors of Ebonyi, Chief Martin Elechi; Taraba, Alh. Danbaba Suntai; Cross River, Senator Liyel Imoke; and Nassarawa Aliyu Akwe Doma towards conflict resolution in

the affected areas in a bid to foster unity of purpose among the neighbouring states on mutual socio-economic and cultural ties. The office of the Special Advisor to the Governor on Conflict Resolution had toured all the 23 local governments in the state to ascertain the actual cause of crises in some areas. The report of this tour was aimed at finding lasting solutions to conflict-prone areas within and the state.

Security, Crime Control and other Social Vices

This is another area that has been given adequate attention by the Suswam-led government. Any society characterized by high level of crime and other social vices would remain stagnant. The activities of these criminals scare foreign investors who would have engaged in meaningful investment. Adequate attention has been given to checkmate this menace starting with the ban of motorcycle riders (Okada) from operating in the night. Newly acquired fleets of vehicles have also been donated to the State Police Command to enable them combat crime in the state.

Another campaign against crime initiated by the Suswam-led administration is a joint operation of both the police and the army known as “Operation Zenda”, deployed to all the zones in the state to assist the police in combating crime and other social vices. The operation has yielded positive results and the state is no longer a harbor for criminals.

Anti-Corruption and Transparency Posture

Corruption and its concomitant as an adverse effect on the practice of good governance. To ensure transparency, accountability and probity in the management of public resources, the government has established a full-fledged procurement unit charged

with the responsibility of ensuring due process in the conduct of public transactions. The government's zero-tolerance for corruption received national attention when Governor Suswam was enlisted a member of the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC) in Abuja, shortly after his assumption of office.

Sports

Sports, one of the uniting factors in life, has also been given due attention. On his assumption of office, Governor Suswam took over the chairmanship of the board and management of Lobi Stars, constituted a new technical crew and players to boost the club's performance in the Nigerian Premier League Campaign. Government also successfully hosted a National Volleyball Championship in Makurdi in December, 2007. In recognition of its performance, the state's female volleyball team was selected by the National Volleyball Federation to represent Nigeria at the world volleyball championship in Russia.

In order to boost sporting activities in the state, government organized the 4th Benue State Sports Festival in February, 2008, involving all the 23 local government areas. This was the first time the festival would be organized in the last 28 years. The weeklong event saw the discovery of sporting talents from the nooks and crannies of the state. The local governments that took the first three positions were given a prize of a bus each by the state government to encourage them to do better in future. The office of the First Lady also complemented in this area by organizing a sports competition for talent hunt. Other notable achievements of the government in sports include:

- Award of contract for the upgrading of Aper Aku Stadium to international standard.

- Renovation of eight sport courts, two each for basketball, tennis, bandball and volleyball at the cost of N52 million.

Continuity and Stability

Government is a continuous process and in line with this, the Suswam-led administration has carried on with some of the projects and programmes of his predecessor with some of its key functionaries being retained for their past experience. Some of the essential projects that the administration inherited were the multi-billion naira Benue State University Teaching Hospital and the Faculty of Health Sciences which the government is head bent on completing. Other carried over projects include:

- Fruitcon Industry in Katsina-Ala
- Fruit juice and Tomato factory at Wannune
- Benkims Plastic Industry, Makurdi among others

Suswam-led administration is working towards the actualization of all these inherited projects.

Corporation among other Organs of Government

With due regards for separation of power, the Suswam administration has enjoyed a working relationship among the three organs of government namely the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary. Each of these organs has been accorded its due respect without unnecessary interference and the welfare of these serving officials highly considered. For instance, the renovation of the State House of Assembly complex has been completed with principal officers appropriately accommodated and provided with requisite needs. The construction of the Assembly Quarters at North Bank is under way. On the other hand, the Judiciary has also been allowed to play its constitutional role

without interference. Recently, on 20th July, 2009, payment of accumulated debts worth over millions of Naira owed past local government councilors by the past administration was upheld by the Supreme Court of Nigeria. Several of such cases against the government which the court upheld have been readdressed without questioning the rationale behind it. This smooth relationship among all the arms of government is what brings the equilibrium for the government working as a team in the transformation of the state for a better future.

Traditional Institution

Traditional rulers as custodians of culture and tradition play an important role in the running of any government. They assist the government through harmonious and peaceful coexistence of their subjects at the grass roots level. The Suswam-led administration has improved the welfare of both the first class and second class chiefs to boost their role in selflessly assisting in the duty of governance in their own domain. This assistance by government is evident in the luxury Prado Jeeps donated to them to ease their mobility in reaching out to their people and solving their differences without delay.

General Directory of Suswam's Projects and Programmes Table 10.

S/No.	Projects	Location
1.	Government reform	Across the state
2.	Water supply	Makurdi, Katsina-Ala, Otukpo, Otobi, & Gboko
3.	Power supply	Makurdi, Obi & Oju
4.	Owukpa Coal Mine	Owukpa
5.	Rural Electrification	Igbor, Gwer West, Mchia Logo, Agan Makurdi etc.
6.	Agriculture	Fertilizer at subsidized rate and other mechanized farming to all the local governments.
7.	Re-awaking of Akata fishing festival	Katsina-Ala

8.	Health	Completion of eleven hospitals financed by ADB/World Bank at Anyiin, Ugba, Lessel, Buruku, Naka, North Bank, Agata, Idekpe, Aleglamu, Otukpo & Owukpa
9.	Equipped Health centers with Medical equipment, Ambulances & ultra sound scanning machines for General Hospital. BENSASA	Wannune, Katsina-Ala, Gboko, Oju, Otukpo, PSP Clinic. Makurdi, Gboko, North Bank, Otukpa, Oju and BSUTH
10.	Rural roads	Ugbokpo, Agatu, Uweto, Anyiin, Abeda, Amaafu, Abaji, Orokan, Uwokpa, Okpoga, Ogbadibo, Gbagir etc.
11.	Initiated rural markets	Ukum, Logo, Gboko, Okpokwu, Ado and Guma
12.	Class room blocks, Chairs/Desks for teaching and learning	Selected primary and secondary schools in the state from each local government
13.	Facilitated BSU	Makurdi
14.	ICT	Makurdi and some selected secondary schools on pilot scheme
15.	Scholarship	To students within and abroad
16.	Rehabilitated College of Advanced and Professional Studies	Makurdi
17.	Building of block at Federal University of Agriculture	Makurdi
18.	Building of block at Special Science Secondary School	Makurdi
19.	Township roads	Makurdi, Gboko, Oturkpo and Katsina-Ala
20.	Housing units	Makurdi
21.	Renovation on Commissioner quarters	Makurdi

Source: Benue State of Nigeria, Our Benue, Our Future, A report of stewardship in two years in office of His Excellency, Rt. Hon. Gabriel Torwua Suswam (29th May, 2007 – 29th May, 2009).

Criticisms of Suswam Administration

Just like the first three democratically elected Governors in the state, Suswam's leadership is not considered perfect. In the words of Shaminja (2010):

It will be unfair not to point out Suswam's criticism in this work. One of the criticisms leveled against him is globetrotting. Hear one of the critics, "we hardly see him in the state, he is in Abuja, United States, United Kingdom, Germany or

far away from home”. Other critics have accused Suswam administration of lack of transparency as well as running a “government of exclusion”. (p. 168).

Some also accused him of corruption and mismanagement of resources. Prominent among those who take the leading role as Suswam’s critics are Clement Nanev Wua Uhondo, former House of Assembly member, and Manasseh Joshua, one time friend to Suswam and a Governorship aspirant under PTA in the 2007 election polls with Suswam.

Another strong criticism of Suswa’s administration is from Rev, Fr. Christopher Utov, and a Roman Catholic Priest who hails from Anyiin like Suswam, who has declared that the Suswam programme tagged “Our Benue, Our Future” has failed. According to Jibo (2014) Utov stated that, Leaders must change their attitudes; like in Benue State, Our future, we thought they will stick to it and be working towards helping to improve society and all people. We had the society and all people. We had the thinking that it will truly be Our Benue, Our Future. But this is false, the slogan is not real, it is not there, nobody is looking at the future. Our Benue, Our Future is not in existence and it is a big shame... But if you see around, our youth and children are helpless. No schools to go to, no employment for the population and this is unfortunate. Infact, you look at Tiv nation today, the Tiv people having nothing to hold up to and celebrate. Absolutely nothing and they can’t hold to anything to say this is our tradition and we shall celebrate every year. (p. 282). According to these critics, the Suswam’s administration has failed. For much government, criticism would always have its way whether genuinely articulated or not. However, good leaders who seek to provide good governance to the populace should always open doors for constructive criticism in order to have a better society.

3.4 The Challenges of the Suswam Administration

Every successive government or administration, no matter how highly rated in performance, has some challenges facing its operations. These challenges may comprise both internal and external factors. The internal ones may be incongruent with various factors ranging from the political values of the people, the opposition parties and criticism, the attitude of political gladiators, the level of natural resources and its harnessing, the level of internally generated revenue, the overall income and its management, to the cabinet formation of such administration among others.

The external factors may have to do with the level of support from the federal level, that is the federal attention, co-operation among various political actors at the federal or national level. The role of leaders is to oversee the interplay between conglomerations of factors to enhance good governance for all. Leadership is central to any organization for the enhancement of good governance. It is in line with this that Tukur (1999) opined that: “The notion of leadership, its attributes and code of conduct, are central to any thought system which embodies or articulates a body of principles that would, among other purposes, guide the exercise of policy-making authority” (p.76).

The central role of any leadership does not go without some obstacles hindering the performance of such leadership. The Suswam administration after three years in the state has its challenges. In this chapter we shall discuss some of the pressing challenges facing Suswam’s administration, taking into consideration both internal and external factors. Although Benue State under the Suswam-led administration is being rated as one of the fastest developing states in Nigeria today, the challenges facing its growth and

development are enormous. Considering the fact that the state is agrarian in nature, the problems inhibiting its development as earlier identified in chapter three are factors to be eliminated for the state to actualize its full potentials.

The internal challenges confronting Suswam's administration can be discussed as follows:

- Weak economy plus global economic meltdown. It is wise to note here that the economy forms the major fulcrum for the sustenance of growth and development of any society. Despite the government's effort to improve on the vicious circle of economic backwardness of the state, several factors continue to linger, one of which is the relatively low source of internally Generated Revenue (IGR). This is borne out of the fact that the state is agrarian in nature and depends solely on farming for its development unlike the oil producing states. In Benue State, though there are other natural endowments but interest seems to be focused on agriculture as a major source of internal revenue for the sustenance of the economy in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Efforts to mechanize agriculture to suit the modern style are creeping in gradually, but it seems to be a herculean task for government to reach out to the teeming rural populace. The vast majority of farmers still indulge in the traditional way of farming based on subsistence with attendant problems of storage and preservation as well as improved seedlings still facing farmers. This in turn affects the economic growth and development of the state.
- Secondly, over-dependence on federal allocation for developmental projects in the state. The federal allocation itself fluctuates and is still not enough for development projects while the wage bill on it and other government maintenance are enormous.

For speedy development to take place, the economy needs to be diversified in all sectors not only concentrating on a mono-sectoral economy which is so challenging for the Suswam administration given the fact that the state's industries are in poor condition thereby, reducing the pace of development in the state. Efforts are being made to revamp the industrial sector of the Suswam administration but such efforts are slow owing to the fact that it is highly capital intensive and will take a gradual process and cannot be achieved within a mere four year term. Another problem is the attitude of the people towards government programmes and policies which will be discussed later. Suffice it to note that countries or societies that have developed over time did not make it in just four years but took piecemeal approaches and proper planning which requires a long term.

- Thirdly, the dwindling global economy meltdown has not helped matters. This ordinarily ought not to have been a state or national problem but considering the capitalist intrusion into our economy, one has no reason whatsoever to rule out its impact.

The Governor, in one of his interviews, admitted that the challenges his administration is being faced with owe much to the impact of the global economic meltdown. According to the This Day (2009):

I have been having sleepless nights and it's something that has bothered me greatly. My concern really is born out of the fact that we plan to complete all our projects. We don't want any abandoned projects during tenure. We are aware of the fact that we need to pay the contractors to remain on site. It has become absolutely very difficult about N1.5 billion as allocation, last month it

was N1.3 billion, and this month it was N1.3 billion until things get better.

It's becoming very difficult for us to conveniently pay for these projects.

(p.211).

Today, we are faced with the moral imperative of global capitalism in the face of mass poverty amidst unprecedented wealth. This has become a big problem for developing societies like ours. This process is driven by 'western consumerism and materialism'. Global economic policies originated from the industrialized countries are constantly challenging leaders for implementation of policies to enhance good governance in developing societies who stand the risk of under-performing in delivering the dividends of democracy to their people. This raging economic crisis produces crises of development especially in developing societies. It is in line with this that Kwanashie (2008) observed that:

These policies triggered off the faced by the developed countries after 1973, were aimed at ensuring that the resources lost due to the jump in oil prices were channeled back to the developed countries. Despite the important role of oil in global economy and politics, it was important for the dominant global powers to design a global economy in which their hegemony could not be challenged. Policies had to encourage in oil surplus countries which Nigeria is one (emphasis mine) that would ensure that western companies have access to these surpluses and could repatriate such back home. It does not matter what projects were implemented and whether such have social benefits for the local population. (p.26).

The impact of the global economic meltdown is critical and challenging to Nigeria, being oil producing nation and Benue State, a beneficiary from the revenue accrued from it. The global economic meltdown has destabilizing social and political effects on the Nigerian society. Benue State is no exception since issues towards the reduction of allocation to meet up with the ever demanding consequences of the global economy are a big challenge for the Suswam administration. The other challenge is the aspect of borrowing from international financial organizations like World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to facilitate projects. Developing societies like ours are faced with stringent financial conditionality to meet up with the targets of assessing or bringing foreign investors for development projects. This is also one area critical for the development of Nigeria at large and Benue State in particular.

Debt burden is another challenging area to the actualization of Suswam's policies and programmes. One critical aspect in Nigerian democracy is the issue of smooth transition from one democratic government to another. Being mindful of the fact that government is on going process and must transit for it to continue, the question of how smooth it transits is another case study of its own. How best the government kick starts its quality performance depends on handling over and taking over to a new government. This scenario is challenging to nascent government which faces pressure and great expectations to cope with debt accrued by its predecessors. The Suswam-led administration encountered debt burden in terms of payment of salaries owed to workers, contractors and so on. This debt burden culture prevailing in our democracy is challenging to successive governments which often struggle for programmes bearing in mind that a good government must first start by addressing both human and

developmental needs which are very critical for speedy development to take place in any society.

Another challenge to Suswam administration has to do with the vigour to manage the large number of unemployed youths in the state. Unemployment seems to be a serious threat to the Suswam-led administration. According to a recent report by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), covering 2003-2007, Benue State has the highest rate of unemployment in Nigeria with 67.4% as at December, 2007. That means that almost seven persons out of every ten persons in Benue are unemployed. Corresponding figures for some states with unemployment rate in the federation include Yobe (19.9%), Federal Capital Territory Abuja (16.4%), Niger (17%), Kwara (16.4), Kogi (16.5%), Jigawa (17.4%), Ekiti (15.6%) and Delta State (18.9%). (The Nation, July 3rd, 2009). If unemployment as defined by the New Webster's dictionary of the English Language is a state of being unable to secure paid employment, then we can certainly concur to this definition for it substantiates the present situation in the State. This problem is aggravated by the over-dependence on government as the major employer of labour in the state. Little attention is being given to other sectors with the industries in poor state. This is where the role of private sectors, organizations and individuals comes into play to enhance comprehensive development in the state. The underperformance of these sectors hinders development in the state. As the situation is now in the state, unemployed ones are sometimes not regularly paid because of the over-dependence on the federal allocation as the major source of government revenue while the expectations on it for payment of workers' salaries, contractors, among others are heavy on the part of government. The culture of creativity among the youths has gradually disappeared

giving room for all forms of social vices in the state. This situation is very challenging for good governance and development to take place in a desiring state like Benue.

Furthermore, another factor challenging Suswam administration is lack of political values and people's attitude to change. Political values and orientation are a huge substance for political change and good governance. Tukur (1999) sees value as one of the highest ethical parameters, standards and criteria through which individuals, groups and societies order their goals, determine their choices and judge their conducts as these certain to fundamental aspects of life, whether in the sphere of personal or public life. He maintained that political values provide the basic measure by which the wrong and right postures or attitudes are decided in societal matters of an essentially political nature. It is evidently clear that the values which people hold a strong influence on their political norms and ideologies. Tukur (1999) again averred that: "A value may, in fact, be seen as a favourable attitude which a person has towards the realization of a certain state of affairs" (p.20).

An organized value system and good conduct by people facilitates political change and good governance. The reaction of people towards government efforts to development policies and programmes is a plus to the success of any administration. It is quite unfortunate that the core value, the political value and the moral strong-hold in our society has been eroded thereby destabilizing our politics. Lack of good political value of truthfulness in our political culture gives birth to politics of throat-cutting with all forms of political evils. People's attitudes to change or reforms put forward by the government are also critical for development. Before any change is successful in any society, people must express their readiness or willingness to change. Dugguh (2007) opined that "One

approach to preparing the ground is the concept of readiness. Where readiness is high, change may be straight forward. When readiness is low, some ground work may be required to increase readiness among those affected” (p.190).

The actions of the people in some areas in the state are questionable if we are to use the concept of readiness to x-ray any form of change as a lubricant to political change and good governance. In some areas, people are not ready to support or accept any form of change politically, economically, socially or otherwise. As mentioned earlier above, people are more concerned about accepting changes or reforms that favour them and their families. On the contrary, this brings opposition to the government of the day based on sectional interests, mindless of how the changes may go with the generality of the people. Government is for the people irrespective of age, gender, religion, ethnic group, social class among other sectional variables. Suswam administration is confronted with these serious changes where the value of hard work and self-reliance amongs Benue citizens is bastardized, gradually paving way for over-dependence and the culture of begging which hitherto were not the cherished values in the state. All these factors hinder the performance of government in pursuance of good governance.

Moreso, the non-performance of local government administrators and lack of rural mobilization is challenging to Suswam administration. In line with the ethos of good governance, local government as the third tier of government was empowered in the 1976 reforms with the objective to bring government nearer to the people in order to enhance development. It was hoped that with government operating at the grass roots, a development process that would lift the rural areas from depression into the national

economy will be triggered off According to Olisa and Obuikwu (1996), “ironically, this arrangement and the hope it raised now appears to be substantially dashed in most states in the country” (p. 68).

While the governor, as the chief executive in the state, with his entire cabinet is set to vigorously ensure the realization of good governance for the entire state, it is constitutionally expected that the local government chief executives (council chairmen) should complement such efforts to bring development closer to their people. This is borne out of the notion that the hope for the creation of local governments in Benue State just like any state of the federation seems not to be providing the desired expectations. For instance, in many local government areas in the state, the leaders have deliberately shined away from their primary responsibilities of bringing development closer to the people by failing to address common critical infrastructures in their domain; a bulk of the work is left to the state government. Most leaders at council levels in the state see their elective offices as frolicking jamboree rather than as an opportunity complement the state government efforts in bringing positive change and good governance to the people. Most local government administrators no longer mobilize their people for issues that will enhance rural development in the areas. They are more interested in how to remain relevant on the political scene. The consequence of this is the poor state of infrastructures at the various local governments in the state and the over-dependence on the state government.

Violence is another major impediment to Suswam administration. Recently, ethnic violence has dominated the state affairs, the climax of it is the support this ugly trend has received from the top officials in government who ordinarily ought to have been

preachers of peace for development to reign in the state. Sometimes, government efforts to halt these crises become a major headache. If Benue people can channel the energies which they use for violence and contribute meaningfully towards consolidating government policies and programmes by shunning jealousy, blackmail and violence, then the cross fertilization of ideas would be enshrined.

The last internal factor that confronted the Suswam administration is the culture of criticism and unguarded utterances. Burya (1999) identified “the culture of petition writing as one of the problems in the state. He referred to petition writing culture as a way of life of some indigenes who pivot and write earnest appeals” (p.196), either individually or collectively to various authorities. I disagree with Burya’s view because petition writing cannot be regarded as earnest appeals since most of these appeals are not earnest but sometimes distractive and written for selfish reasons. Criticism as defined by the New Webster’s dictionary of the English Language means to find fault. The assessment on fault finding may be of any particular phenomena to which the government of the day is not an exception. If we are to correlate this, the habit of criticizing here means the belief or way of life of some indigenes of the state who find fault either as individuals or groups in state affairs, especially concerning leaders.

As earliest pointed out, none of the democratically elected governments in the state has gone without criticism. This is normal in a society as the functionalists would say. Some of these criticisms may be constructive or destructive and triggered by evil motives. Mills (1959) in his master piece contribution on intellectual craftsmanship for stimulating sociological imagination for a better society rated constructive criticism high against the destructive type. He noted, “If you think about despair also think about

elation” (p. 235). It is however worrisome to note that some of the criticisms in Benue State are rooted in personal problems, anti party and ethnic reasons aimed at creating unnecessary political tensions to destabilize the performance of the government of the day which is unhealthy for any political development. This is not an attempt to undermine or discourage the importance criticism plays in reawakening public office holders on sensitive issues as regards governing the people which is pivotal for any positive political change and democratic development. Any pattern of dominance which does not develop a pattern of differential support and critical, minimal pattern of opposition is sooner or later bound to lead to stagnation or cause crisis. Suffice it to note that a good quality of social critique on public issues is the ability to deviate oneself from diluting personal troubles with public issues. Issues relating to government or the public are not personalized or individualized. The habit of seeing events or situations mainly in terms of how they affect individuals blinds people offer constructive criticisms to leaders who will in turn bring the possibilities of improving the way society is organized to bear political change and good governance. The Suswam administration has also been attacked with unconstructive criticisms which pose a challenge to his government in that such criticism produces political tensions in his government. Suswam in his inaugural speech on May 29th, 2007, admitted to welcome constructive criticisms. However, in a struggle to develop a state like ours, constructive criticism should be the watch word, i.e what I call advisory criticism aimed at pointing out areas where leaders have failed in order to suggest and advice them, irrespective of one’s party or ethnic background, on what to do for enhancement of good governance for all, rather than total condemnation

which takes the centre stage when personal interests take precedence over collective interest, thereby dividing the unity of purpose in the state.

One of the external factors confronting Suswam's administration is the attitude of some foreign contractors working on some major projects. Contract is a binding agreement between persons, groups, or states to supply goods or do work. The major reason government awards contract is to ensure that work is properly done to better the lives of its citizens. It is quite disheartening that sometimes contract terms are violated with impunity by people who entered into it. The attitude of some contractors towards the execution of some vital projects embarked upon by government is sometimes not sincere since they are profit motivated forgetting the quality of the projects itself. In most situations, contracts go for the lower or inferior materials for the project while the proposal or estimate is on the superior product. This condition affects the longevity, since the government keeps jumping chunks of monies for maintenance of such projects which ordinarily would have been avoided if work were done properly. Some of these contractors even collect monies and are nowhere to be found. The Governor in an interview with the *Alternative* on 25th June, 2009 admitted the fact that they have been duped by fraudulent contractors. Hear what he says that one of the contractors whom they said is a Korean or Chinese; they said he declared himself dead. So, we can't trace him ... If somebody is dead then you can jolly well write off as bad debt. According to This Day (2009):

The eagle eye of the political gladiators representing the state at federal level is another challenge. This factor ordinarily ought not to be dreadful but as Suswam rightly observed in one of his media chats: "Problems are created by followers

who imagine that there should be the problem so that they can benefit from it.

You have noise makers here and there; I consider them as noise makers because I have no problem with these gladiators. (p.22).

One ugly trend is hike of political gossips and sycophants who's Jobs is fabricating "head-cracking" stories among various political actors that would bring unnecessary enmity and tension thereby destabilizing government policies and programmes. If leaders are not subjected to some level of humility and carefulness, the time then would spend on embattling problems created by these political sycophants would divert their attention from pursuing policies and programmes that would ensure good governance to the people. This factor has deleterious effect on the performance of any government in the state.

3.5 The Challenges of Building Institutions for Democratic Governance

One of the greatest challenges of governance in Nigeria is the challenge of institution building this has an effect on Benue State too. Whether nations are able to manage their political and social disputes peacefully, without lapsing into conflict, or sustain economic growth without creating huge inequalities, critically depend on the quality of the relevant national institutions.

The important components to institution building include: setting the rules; hiring persons with the technical expertise and moral competence to interpret the rules or implement the goals of the organizations; and ensuring that the institutions inspire public confidence by being transparent, fair and consistent. These are also the standards by which the performance of any organization, in particular, public sector organizations should be measured. This shows that the act of creating the organization itself is not as

important as its proper functioning and overall effectiveness. In this regard, Nigeria needs to create or strengthen institutions that would help achieve the national goals of democratic governance and sustainable development.

- **Institutions for fostering public integrity:** When we refer to the courts or the ICPC or Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) as institutions that fight corruption; we imply that these organizations not only operate and apply/enforce a set of rules but also aim to create a system of values that rejects the abusive position for private gain.

3.5.1 Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)

The EFCC is another central anti-corruption agency that includes the Financial Intelligence Unit to fight economic crime, including the infamous ‘advance fee fraud’ e-mail scams that emanate from Nigeria. The legal instrument backing the EFCC is the EFCC Establishment Act, which mandates the EFCC to prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalize financial and economic crimes. A 2011 report published by Human Rights Watch points out that, despite many high-profile corruption cases against political figures since the commencement of the EFCC, there have only been a few convictions, and those convicted faced little or no prison. The same report also lists some external obstacles, such as political interference, as well as the EFCC’s own shortcomings, which have undermined the EFCC’s anti-corruption work.

The Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC)

(Independent Corrupt Practices and Others Related Offences Commission) is a Nigerian agency that was inaugurated on the 20th of September 2000 following the

recommendation of President Olusegun Obasanjo. The mandate is to receive and investigate reports of corruption and in appropriate cases prosecute the offender[s], to examine, review and enforce the correction of corruption prone systems and procedures of public bodies, with a view to eliminating corruption in public life, and to educate and enlighten the public on and against corruption and related offences with a view to enlisting and fostering public support for the fight against corruption. The Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Act 2000 governs the committee's activities.

The swearing-in of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo on 29th May, 1999, as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces was a political watershed for Nigeria after several years of military rule and it marked a new dawn for Nigeria in more ways than one, not least in the fight against corruption. At the time the civilian administration came into power, corruption in Nigeria had indeed become a full blown cancer. In 1999, Transparency International Corruption Perception Index rated Nigeria the second most corrupt nation in the world.

Although corruption is a global malaise, the extend its reach in the country was tragically stupendous. All indicators showed that the spread of this cancer had become frightening. It pervaded private and public institutions and overwhelmed all levels of government. The price of corruption has been extremely high. The economic, political, social and moral bases of the country have been severely eroded and degraded. It has brought us near the brink and almost rendered us helpless and hopeless. Even religious institutions, the gate keepers of the nation's moral conscience, were not immune to the ravages of the cancer. It became imperative that something drastic had to be done to

arrest the rot. This impelled the commitment of the President to tackle corruption head-on.

The ICPC Act 2000 brought a fresh and decisive perspective to the fight against corruption in the form of a holistic approach encompassing enforcement, prevention and educational measures. It captures in a single document, a host of corrupt offences in their old and sophisticated guises. It sets up the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission with wide-ranging powers. The Act brings under its purview all Nigerians, in the private and public sectors and even those public officers with constitutional immunity.

The commission is at the hub of Nigeria's fight against corruption. The main duty of the commission is to receive complaints, investigate and prosecute offenders. Other duties include education and enlightenment of the public about and against bribery, corruption and related offences. The commission also has the task of reviewing and modifying the activities of public bodies, where such practices may aid corruption. (<http://www.business.anti-corruption.com/country-practices/sub-sahara-africa/nigeria> retrieved on 18/9/2014).

Membership of the Commission

The Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences which the Commission was inaugurated on the 29th of September, 2000 by President Olusegun Obasanjo. As provided for in Section 3(3) of the Act 2000, the Commission consists of a Chairman and twelve (12) members, two of whom represent each of the six geo-political zones of the country. The membership is drawn from the following categories of Nigerians as spelt out by the Act:

- A retired Police Officer not below the rank of Commissioner of Police;
- A legal practitioner with at least 10 years post-call experience;
- A retired Judge of a superior court of record;
- A retired Public Servant not below the rank of a Director;
- A woman;
- A youth not being less than 21 or more than 30 years at the time of his or her appointment; and
- A chartered accountant.

The Act provides that the chairman and members of the Commission, who shall be persons of proven integrity, shall be appointed by the President upon confirmation by the Senate and shall not begin to discharge their duties until they have declared their assets and liabilities as prescribed in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The tenure of office for the Chairman is five (5) years while that of the members is four (4) years in the first instance.

The Act also provides for the position of a Secretary to the Commission who is to be appointed by the President. The Commission is granted the powers to appoint, deploy, discipline and determine the conditions of service of its staff. Section 3 (14) of the Act enshrines the independence of the Commissions by providing that “the Commission shall in the discharge of its functions under this Act, not be subject to the direction or control of any other person or authority”. (<http://www.business.anti-corruption.com/country-practices/sub-sahara-africa/nigeria> retrieved on 18/9/2014).

Mission Statement

To rid Nigeria of corruption through lawful enforcement and preventive measures

Vision Statement

A Nigeria free from all forms of corruption and corrupt practices.

The ICPC Mandate

To prohibit proscribe punishment for corrupt practices and other related offences.

Duties of the Commission

Section 6 (a-f) of the ICPC Act 2000 sets out the duties of the Commission as paraphrased in the following:

- To receive and investigate complaints from members of the public on allegations of corrupt practices and in appropriate cases, prosecute the offenders.
- To examine the practices, systems and procedures of public bodies and where such systems aid corruption, to direct and supervise their review.
- To instruct, advise and assist any officer, agency, or parastatal on ways by which fraud or corruption may be eliminated or minimized by them.
- To advise heads of public bodies of any changes in practice, systems or procedures compatible with the effective discharge of the duties of public bodies to reduce the likelihood or incidence of bribery, corruption and related offences.
- To educate the public on and against bribery, corruption and related offences.
- To enlist and foster public support in combating corruption.

With respect to the prosecution of cases, the ICPC Act provides that every prosecution for offences under it shall be deemed to be done with the consent of the Attorney-General.

Furthermore, it is provided that the Chief Judge of a State or the Federal Capital Territory shall designate a court or judge to hear and determine all cases arising under the Act. Presently, there are two such designated Judges in each State of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory. (<http://www.business.anti-corruption.com/country-practices/sub-sahara-africa/nigeria> retrieved on 18/9/2014).

Relationship with other organizations

In 2003 the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was established as a law enforcement agency to investigate financial crimes such as advance fee fraud (419 frauds) and money laundering. While the ICPC targets corruption in the public sector, especially bribery, gratification, graft and abuse or misuse of office, the EFCC investigates people in all sectors who appear to be living above their means, and is empowered to investigate and prosecute money laundering and other financial crimes. The EFCC tracks illicit wealth acquiring from abuse of office, especially attempts to integrate such wealth into the financial system. There have been tensions between the two commissions. The ICPC chairman, Justice Emmanuel Ayoola, has complained about duplication of the functions of ICPC by the EFCC, particularly overlap between the ICPC Anti-Corruption and Transparency Monitoring Units and the EFCC Anti-Corruption and Transparency Committees.

Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB)

The mission of the CCB is to establish higher standards of morality in the conduct of government activities through the enforcement of the Code of Conduct for Ministers and Special Advisers. The CCB was established in accordance with the Code of Conduct

Bureau and Tribunal Act. The CCB monitors public officials through the collection and verification of annual asset declarations. All public servants are required to file an asset disclosure form, but the CCB focuses primarily on fixed tenure, career civil servants. Although these declarations are not made public, the CCB can take officials to court.

Public Procurement

Nigeria enacted the Public Procurement Act (PPA), creating the Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP) and laying down the procedure by which the BPP can debar companies guilty of major violations in the procurement processes from participating in future government contracts. According to the Global Integrity Report 2010, public procurement regulations are not effectively enforced in practice, as companies guilty of major violations of procurement regulations are not always blacklisted. The PPA addresses conflict of interest for procurement officials and empowers the BPP to undertake professional training of these officers. The PPA also established tendering procedures and mobilization fees, and provides for an audit process. Government tenders are advertised in newspapers and on websites, including the BBP section on Federal Government Procurement Notices. Unsuccessful parties to the bidding process can make administrative appeals using the BBP complaint mechanism and challenge procurement decisions in the courts. The Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU) is established under the president as an operationally independent body designed to harmonise regulations and standards in public tender procedures and monitor all government contracts and procurement of goods and services. The MBPIU has instituted a process of contract award reviews in public contracting to ensure transparent and

competitive bidding. (<http://www.business.anti-corruption.com/country-practices/sub-sahara-africa/nigeria> retrieved on 11/9/2014).

3.5.2 The Judicial Institutions

According to Gambari (2008):

The Judiciary is an important institution in any democracy but they are essential to the functioning of a market economy. The judiciary not only arbitrates disputes between the various levels of government, between government and citizens, and among citizens but also among private sector agents. Given its pivotal role in national stability and economic prosperity, some of the major features of good institutions noted earlier are particularly relevant. These are that institutions should have persons with the technical expertise and moral competence to interpret the rules or implement the goals of the organizations; and ensure that the institutions inspire public confidence. (p.10).

He further states that:

In recent times, the Supreme Court, the apex court in the country, has inspired much public confidence and respect because of the quality of its judgment, especially in some politically sensitive cases. In some ways, the gradual maturity of the democratic process in Nigeria, where politicians now prefer legal recourse rather to local rampage with their supporters and loyalists, is directly linked to the growing public confidence in the courts. Election related disputes should be addressed in the courts – be they electoral courts or ultimately in judicial courts – and not through violence. (p. 10).

There are multiplying instances of election-related violence tearing apart the social fabric in several African countries. Nigerians have also needlessly shared much blood in the past. If Nigerians are beginning to realize the futility of shedding blood in elections disputes, this owes much to our judiciary, which has provided reasoned judgment on several cases. Nonetheless, the responsibility for conducting free and fair elections and accepting results should not be left to the judiciary alone. Democracy cannot be built solely on court orders of judgment of electoral tribunals.

3.5.3 The Civil Service

The civil service is the main instrument and institution of public service delivery. Traditionally, the civil service performs three functions: supporting the policy making function of government at the federal, state and local government; facilitating or regulating the private sector; and providing managerial leadership for operating public sector enterprises. The capacity of the Nigerian civil service to perform its statutory functions is critically dependent on its ability to attract and retain competent and highly skilled persons in the professional category; the willing to offer attractive pay and benefits package; and the modernization of the office infrastructure.

The reforms of the federal civil service has rightly focused on improving the pay package, increasing the number of staff in the professional category and improving service to the public through the Service Compact with Nigerians (Servcom).

Nevertheless, much remains to be done both in improving the office infrastructure in the civil service and in bringing public servants attitude to the standards of many emerging economies. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the new pay scale has done much

to improve overall conditions of the civil servants. While high pay may not offer a guarantee against fraud and corruption, it is a major incentive to work harder and show commitment to public service.

3.5.4 Institutions for Economic Governance – The Central Bank of Nigeria

According to Gambari (2009):

The functioning and effectiveness of a market-based economy such as Nigeria relies on several institutions. It requires an institution to regulate the supply and flow of money and the financial system (Central Bank of Nigeria) to allocate capital to firms and individuals (Bank and Stock Exchange); to insure against commercial risks (insurance firms); to insure individual bank depositors against loss of up to certain amount (deposit insurance); to enforce contractual obligations (courts); and to collect revenue for the government (fiscal authorities). (p. 10).

The performance of our national institutions of economic governance is a mixed one. However, the reform of the financial sector has strengthened public confidence in the banks especially and opened opportunities for our banks to extend their reach to other parts of the region.

How to spread the benefits of growth and development to all – in other words to achieve equitable growth is a major public challenge. In Nigeria, little effort has been made in that direction. The key instruments for sharing include unemployment insurance, access to affordable housing, and access to health.

CHAPTER FOUR

BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVE FOR CHRISTIAN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

A Christian lives in the society with constant pressures, that of moral social, economic and political. As Christians we are always faced with the challenge of applying biblical principles of justice and compassion, integrity and uprightness to our lives as individual and to society's affairs. Vandezande (1984) states that:

The body of Christ is also a critical element in defining the relationship of the church and to contemporary society while it is of course, unrealistic to expect that all of our contemporaries will unite under Christ's headship, the church can work with the secular structures of our time to create true pluralism and to translate Christ centred values and goals in language and activities comprehensible to secular riots as part of a common endeavor to be truly responsive to human need the context of justice and mercy. (p. 160).

The ideal here is for Christians to understand that God's caring redemptive love in Jesus Christ extends to all mankind, because all people are made in his image and for a purpose. This background helps us to discuss the biblical stand at which a Christian has responsibility to a democratic system.

4.1 Democratic System is Instituted to Care for God's Creation

The origin and role of government is instituted by God Himself. This is contained in what theologians refer to as cultural mandate. In Genesis 1:26-28; 2:15 and Exodus 18 here we see mankind is created to partner with the creator in maintaining and caring for

the whole creation for the glory of God Himself. Yamsat (2011) while talking on leadership and governance maintained that:

The aim of political leadership is to have control over God's creation as his agent, maintaining and taking care of it, to keep it whole and good, as God created it (Gen. 2:15). Thus as we have seen Romans. The political leader or governing authority is God's servant or minister for the enhancement of God's creation and for bringing peaceful and harmonious relationship between human beings who are created in his image and likeness, rather than for making life burdensome for them. (p.11).

Here we see a Christian is placed in a position of not only taking care of fellow human beings but all of God's creation on earth beneath the earth and above the earth, so in a democratic system the Christian not only have the rights to vote but the responsibility of speaking on the issues that are of vital importance to our families and the society in general. Vongaip (2013) stressed the fact that, the basis for civil government is:

Rooted in our created nature, we are rational volitional beings. We are not determined by fate, as the Greeks would believe, nor are we determined by our environment as modern behaviorists say, we can exercise delegated power over the created order. Thus a biblical view of human nature requires a governmental system that acknowledges human responsibilities. Since civil government is necessary and divinely ordained by God (Romans 13:17), it is ultimately under God's control. (p. 95).

The above understanding shows that respect for God or the transcendent being is a great and genuine source of Christian's responsibility in a democratic system. Mugesu and Nthambun (1999) stressed the point to maintain that:

Under democracy people must govern together and collectively. Such governance is only possible when certain conditions are in place. These are:

- People should have respect for one another
- people should accord each other the right to full human dignity, and
- People should cultivate healthy attitudes of people towards each other. (p. 101).

It is also important to note that, the Christian Bible explains in Genesis 3 that human nature is so twisted by our rebellion against God, therefore a democratic system of sort is essential to protect the weak. In the New Testament (Matt. 22:15-22; Roman 13:1-7; 1Pet. 2:13-17) we have biblical principles that explain the essentially positive perspective of a democratic system that will bring about good governance. Here we see our God is a God of order whose nature is love he protects all people, care for all and also emphasizes the innate dignity of all human beings.

The biblical perspective in support of Democratic System creates room for service to the people not as the Gentile kings who lord it over them (see Luke 22:24-27; Matt. 20:25-28). The biblical view of government or democratic system also recognizes the need to limit the influx of sin in human society and the best way of achieving this is by living out the faith and proving that the kingdom of God is not after self-satisfaction. Let us now see Jesus' principle as it relates to a democratic system of governance.

4.2 Jesus' Political Principles and Christian's Responsibility to a Democratic System

The political context in the world today with scripture and our current democratic system in our country is the starting point for our investigation of Jesus' political principles and its meaning for today. The focus here on the political context means that we cannot separate our understanding of Jesus from the concreteness of everyday life. According to Storkey (2005) "the understanding of the government of God that comes from Jesus' teaching" (p. 133), is the starting point of understanding Jesus' political principles. He further states that:

Principles are directions signposts, showing the way we must follow. They require us to submit our lives to this way of seeing things, and to understand what the principles require of us. They imply a willingness not to see ourselves as exceptions. (p. 133).

These principles in some cosmic sense reflect the whole purposes of God for mankind. The teachings of Jesus as reflected in parables or actions form the key to understanding his political principle of a democratic system. In the understanding of Cone (1999):

Our question about Christ is derived from Christ himself as he breaks into our social existence, establishing the truth of freedom in our midst. This divine event of liberation places us in a new sociopolitical context wherein which we are given the gift of faith for the creation of a new future for ourselves and for humanity. (p.100).

In this narrative we see the principles of freedom, liberty, equality, rule of law and fraternity which are key to democratic system in our present society. In the Gospel

according to Luke chapter 15, we see Jesus political teaching about the kingdom which holds everyone important. He deems every person important in his teaching and shows it by his actions. Here in the parables God's democratic system demands searching for all that have lost: the lost sheep, the lost coin and the prodigal son. Storkey (2005) explained the point in the following words, "Tax collectors and sinners, the despised of Jewish society gather round to hear Jesus" (p. 135). When the Pharisees and teachers of the law were against the kind of people Jesus welcomes and eats with because of their exclusive thinking, Jesus tells three parables against them and against the idea that anybody is expended. Storkey (2005) stressed that, "it is a thorough, cumulative riposte, requiring his hearer to move outside their self-importance and see something of the heart of God" (p. 135). God is always going out after people and to bring them into the kingdom. Jesus also teaches love for God and loves one's neighbor (Luke 1)27). Also in Luke 14:15, everyone is invited to great feast. In this political arrangement of Jesus everyone important and the government of God has concern for all people except those who may wish to exclude themselves because of their self-acclaimed importance and righteousness. The apostle of Jesus when reflecting on his teachings said that, "I now realized how true it is that God does not show favoritism but accepts people from every nation who fear him and do what is right (Acts 10:34-35). Here we see the democratic principle of equality. Jesus teaches many other political principles like: The principle of peacemaking (Matt. 5:9). Jesus lives and teaches peacemaking, it is a great costly principle, peacemakers must move back across the divide of hostility. Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you (Matt. 5:44). He also teaches the Christian to forgive one another "forgive us, as we forgive those who trespass against us" (Matt.

6:12). This is to explain that, we are to recognize the symmetry of sin and forgive in accord with the terms of our membership in the kingdom of God.

Another political principle thought by Jesus is the principle of truth. In our contemporary Nigerian society, truthfulness has often been an absent or unwelcome guest in politics. In the teaching of Jesus, truth is one of his major themes, He talks about the idea of hypocrisy as against truth (Matt. 5:8), the principle emphasizes private and public life of a Christian (see Matt. 23:3) “the Pharisees do not practice what they preach”. Jesus emphasizes solid honesty and integrity.

The teachings cut across the issues of power, freedom and weakness. Most political leaders have been powerful and getting to power and hanging on to it, seem to be preoccupation of many democratic politicians. Jesus thought his followers the spirit of meekness, reconciliation, stewardship, political toleration. The political principle of Jesus’ teachings is the root of Christian notion of the dignity of the human person, because human person is created in the image and likeness of God. It also emphasizes the idea of common good for all. To pursue the principle of human dignity, Christians have the responsibility to fight for democratic system that is build on the teachings of Jesus for the development of our state.

4.3 The Kingdom of God as an Integral Mission of Church

The church is the creation of God through Jesus Christ for purpose of proclaiming the kingdom and demonstrating the gospel to a sinful and suffering world. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the church to be involved in the preaching of the gospel of

salvation to the lost world and also showing social aspect of the gospel. This is what integral mission of the church is all about. Musa (2009) stated that:

It is not simply that evangelism and social involvement are to be done alongside each other, rather in integral mission our proclamation has social consequences as we call people to love and repentance in all areas of life. And our social involvement has evangelistic consequences as we bear witness to the transforming grace of Jesus Christ. (p. 34).

The Christian is call to live Christ in everyday life, that is he or she is to follow the example of Christ whose mission was wholistic in nature. Musa (2009) also maintained that, “being actively involved in politics is seen as part of our involvement in social action. Christian involvement in the politics should be regarded as part of our mission of the church as it provides opportunity to demonstrate the gospel. (p. 35). It is the responsibility of the Christian to make sure that the resources of the nation are effectively harnessed and managed, so all people especially the poor benefit from the nation’s development programmes. In the book of Luke chapter 4:18, Jesus said “the spirit of the Lord is on me because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed”.

The Apostles followed the example of Jesus by emphasizing the importance of the ministry to the poor, this according to Paul is the pillars of the early church (Gal. 2:10). Christians are given this divine mandate to the glory of God. In the kingdom principle, the Christian is call to confess Christ not only in private but to confess him publicly. Jesus said in Mark 8:38 that “if anyone is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous

and sinful generation, so the son of man will be ashamed of him when he comes in his father's glory with the holy angels". The responsibility of the Christian does not end with his baptism, he or she must take Christ to his business, political life, economic and social, and must not be afraid to own up to his Christian responsibility when challenged about it. According to Stott (1998):

although every Christian is not called to be a minister or a missionary, God does intend every Christian to be a witness to Jesus Christ. In his own home, among his friends in his college or at his place of business, it is his solemn responsibility to live a consistent, loving, humble, honest, Christ-like life, and to seek to win other people for him. (p. 141).

The kingdom of God and an integral mission of the church to the world call on Christians not to be a self-regard Coterie of Smug and selfish prigs, who are interested in themselves. On the contrary, every Christian should be deeply concerned about all his fellow men. And it is part of his or her Christian vocation to serve people in whatever way he or she can. Stott (1998) also maintained that, "In brief, we find ourselves citizens of two kingdoms, the one earthly and the other heavenly. And each citizenship lay upon us duties which we are not at liberty to evade" (p. 142). The biblical principle according Vandezande (1983), "has real consequences for the way we as persons, families, churches, communities, and nations relate to suffering neighbors at home as well as to desperate people abroad" (p. 88).

Through a democratic system the Christian can influence for the poor, the afflicted and the oppressed. He further states that "as Christians we are called to follow Jesus by identifying with the victims of injustice, by analyzing the dominant attitudes and

structures that cause human suffering, and by actively supporting the poor and oppressed in the struggles to transform society” (p. 89).

In the kingdom narratives of Jesus in Mark 9:33-37; 10:45, Christians have the responsibility to world as best servants. It is a service in order to meet basic needs of the people. According to Vongdip (2013), Apostle Paul in Philippians chapter 4:12 and:

In Romans 13:1-4 gave four major motives why Christians should be the best servants in the society. Maintenance of law and order for conscience’s sake; the love of one another’s sake and the savior’s sake... The church must recognize the fact that even an unsaved government official is a minister of God. Even if they cannot see him from such light, they must respect the God-ordained office. It is through such obedience of God’s word that the gospel reached the likes of Erastus, Roman (16:23) and some of Nero Caesar’s officials. (pp. 49-50).

This gives the Christian the responsibility of been fully involve in social, political, and educational decision-making of the democratic system. Vandezande (1983) also stress this in the following words:

If the church is to assume its responsibility to be Christ in the world, if Christians believe that Christian values and the Christ-centered life are good and salutary for all people, then the church must model and reassert the strength and goodness of those values in our increasingly value-complex society. (p. 159).

The Christian particularly has a leadership responsibility to help people in the society to assess the mechanistic model that dominate our social structures to come to realize how imprisoned we are in these increasingly hardening institutions and to use gospel values to humanize this machine that seems to rub so many aspects of our lives. By this the

Christian can gradually transform our society and the world will see the relevance of the gospel in its structures. We are called therefore, not only to preach doctrine as such and to celebrate the sacraments, but as an agent of change and hope for our social economic, and political structures. Christians are called to be that living hope that is in them, that is, Christ's message of truth, of peace, of justice and love.

4.4 Christians as Light and Salt of the World

Another biblical view which supports the responsibility of a Christian in a democratic system is the teaching of Jesus on light and salt. In Matthew 5:13-14 Jesus said, You are the salt of the earth, but if the salt loses its flavor, how shall it be seasoned? It is then good for nothing but to be thrown out and trampled underfoot by men. You are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hidden. And in verse 16 he said "let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your father in heaven". By this Christians are supposed to be the light and salt of the society. Musa (2009) stressed the point in the following words:

How can we be light and salt of the world if we are not involved in politics? We need to demonstrate justice, fairness, honesty and accountability in politics and model God's character in these areas. God expects us to act justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with him (Micah 6:8). (p. 35).

Christians have been called out of this world (John 15:18), but they still have responsibility to the world. Vongdip (2013) supports the view with the following words:

A Christian view of government also recognizes the need to limit the influence of sin in society by being salt of the earth and light of the world wherever a Christian

lives or works. This is best achieved by living out the faith and providing that the kingdom of God is not after self-satisfaction. (p. 96).

In the Sermon on the Mount or the Beatitudes (Matt. 5-7) we see moral and ethical responsibilities or standards of a Christian to the world. Vongdip (2013) add that, “the Sermon on the Mount describes the way in which individuals are free to live when they commit themselves to the kingship of Jesus” (p. 97). This explains that, when individual Christians of any time in the history realize that in Jesus the kingdom is close by them, they are therefore free to abandon themselves totally to God’s will, confidence that, as they obey, God will positively shape events that concerns them.

It is important to note that, money, power; influence, pleasure and fame among other worldly pursuits can pressure a Christian out of shape and up turns his or her responsibility to the world. This is why a Christian cannot act morally unless God himself has broken into his or her world, and unless God himself acts in the person’s life to accomplish his will. Vongdip (2013) further states that:

What kind of church exists in a country like Nigeria that the country sinks this fast into the morass of despair, a people who blindly pursue pleasure, rather than longing for the things of God? They pursue self satisfaction, rather than hunger for the truth of the word of God. They pursue popularity rather than commitment to an unpopular cause like justice to the poor. They are competitive and bent on winning always. (p. 99).

The idea that Christians are light and salt of the world has do away with the unnecessary dichotomy between the church and politics or democratic system which consequently give room for good governance. The Christian should be able to rise to his or her

responsibility so that the world may witness the holistic nature of the Gospel message. That is the Christian is called to proclaim the biblical faith in all its fullness - the joy, peace and hope for Christ. As salt and light of the world, the biblical faith affirms the importance of our responsibility in God's world (John 14:16). The spirit of God empowers the Christian to face the problem in the society in faith with a real sense of purpose and responsibility. In the kingdom teaching of Jesus concerning salt and light of the world, the kingship of Jesus presents in Jesus concerns the whole of human life in its public as well as private aspects. When the Christian seeks to live by the demands of God's word, such will do everything possible to show genuine solidarity with hungry neighbours and to work for the freedom and share of bread with them. Briner (2000) states that:

When Jesus said "you are the salt of the earth" He was speaking to anyone then or now who accepts him as savior. It is one of the clearest declarations in scripture from Jesus to his followers. Notice, he did not say for us to become salt. He said we are salt. Once we accept him into our lives we automatically are the salt of the earth. (p. 39).

The verse gives us insight in what being salt should mean. Briner (2000) continues:

But if the salt loses its saltiness, how can it be made salty again? It is no longer good for anything, except to be thrown out and trampled by men. So, just being salt is not enough. In fact if we are salt and not being salty, isn't it fair to say that we are good-for-nothing Christians? (p. 39).

Just as salt penetrates the meat to preserve it. Christians have the responsibility to penetrate key areas of our society to have a preserving effect. And in this case,

penetration does not mean standing outside and lobbing hand grenades of criticism over the wall. It is not about being reactionary and negative. It is about being inside through competence and talent and, with God's help and the Holy Spirit's leading, offering spiritual based alternatives to those things that are corrupting and evil. Christians in the country and the state are called by the command of Jesus to teach his relevance to demonstrate his relevance and to live his relevance in everyday life.

It is clear that from this section of the research that, the biblical perspective Christian's responsibility to a democratic system called Christians to salt in the world. It is also clear that this demands penetration, not selective penetration but penetration of every area of our human society. This command is not for some elite but for all those who accept Jesus as their Lord. The way to be salt and light of the world is to provide positive uplifting alternatives wherever Christian find themselves, be it social, economic and political areas. God must be made present in all our lives.

4.5 The Christian and the Role of Social Justice in a Democratic System

In the biblical understanding of Jesus' democratic system the justice of God and justice among fellow humans is strongly emphasized. In the teaching of Jesus the rule of God requires justice that is vested in an institution. In Matthew 5:18-19, Jesus validates God's law. I tell you the truth until heaven and earth disappear not the smallest letter, not at least stroke of a pen will by any means disappear from the law until everything is accomplished. Anyone who breaks one of the least's of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever practices and teaches these commands will be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

In the political teachings of Jesus on justice everyone is expected to do that which is right and in accordance of the law. Here Jesus' teachings on the political nature of his kingdom demand that no one is above the law, rulers or the ruled. Democratic system in our country today should recognize and provide for the rule of law. Also in Matthew 6:33, we see the Old Testament institution of judging, restitution and just rule are not dimmed in the new government of God but gain an added priority.

Jesus Christ teaches and practices social justice. He has the power to heal and he has fully healed the man with leprosy. However, the cure of leprosy needs validating by the priest if other people are not to be put at risk. (Luke 17:11-19). Storkey (2005) states that:

The rule of God is prior to political institutions and formative for them, just as God's law pre-formed the Jewish state. This is not validation in its own terms, but on God's terms. Jesus and Paul lay claim to the Roman state on God's terms. Pilate asserts his power to crucify Jesus, presuming that Jesus will be impressed by fact. But Jesus insists on Pilate's dependence on God and not the Roman Empire. "You would have no power over me if it were not given you from above" (John 19:11). (p. 130).

Even at this crucial point in the life of Jesus, he wants his disciples to know that, they have a responsibility to world, to tell what is right and how God in heaven is the controller of all powers and authorities on earth. Before, Pilate Jesus requires fair trial and will not answer false accusations. Paul insists on proper trial, not mob rule. (Acts 26:32).

In this presentation we see that, the presence of the kingdom gives Christians the courage to begin here and now to erect signs of the coming kingdom by working prayerfully and consistently for more justice and peace and towards the transformation of individuals and societies. Here we see that the God of the Bible is the God of justice. In Deuteronomy 32:4; 15:7-11; 24:17; 27:19, the Bible call for support and concern to the plight of the poor and the afflicted, the fatherless, the widow and the sojourner that is, people who were not able to fend for themselves or had no support system.

In democratic system these key ideas of social justice are promoted in the words like, income redistribution, property redistribution and equality of income. It is the responsibility of a Christian to push forward these ideas on the society. This principle is based on the fact that everybody in the society have inalienable human rights because Christians believe in the concept of love your neighbor as yourself (Matt. 22:39). This gives the Christian a responsibility of social justice to be good steward of God's creation, because all wealth comes from God.

In the political teaching of Jesus Christ about the kingdom of God the teachings require the laying down of self-pride and self-referencing politics. Politically, this kingdom stands on its own terms, ruled by the self effacing one, practicing mercy, justice and the care of the weak.

From our discussion so far, and looking at the social-political and economic situation in Benue State, one can discern a near total neglect of social justice and other principles of a democratic system. This is very clear from peoples' personal lifestyle and in the general society value orientations, policies and projects pursued by our political

leaders and the privilege few in the state. It is therefore, the responsibility of the Christian and the church as whole to teach, promote and practice the democratic principles of justice, equality, human rights and the dignity of the human person for everyone is created in the image and likeness of God. In the political teachings of Jesus, he extended his love to everyone, to the children, to the sick and suffering, to the tax collector, even to the woman caught in adultery. For a society to experience true democracy all need to accept the teachings of Jesus and must consider the welfare of their neighbor as part of their responsibility

4.6 Models for Christian's Responsibility to Democratic System

In this section we shall consider some patterns or models that a Christian will use to be more effective in his or her responsibility to the world. The interaction of a Christian with other people who are not of the same world view comes with enormous challenges. Musa (2009) expressed this in the following words thus:

Christians going into politics must be aware of these challenges and be determined to address and overcome them by the grace of God. It is when these challenges are not taken into consideration that Christians become ineffective in politics. This makes some Christians believe that it is impossible to play clean politics in Nigeria today; or go into politics and come out clean. (p. 96).

It is the position of this research that inspite of all challenges around, the Christian's responsibility in a democratic system will still be effective and make reference for God's glory and the common good of mankind.

These models are within the understanding that, a Christian has a relationship with God, with the church of Christ, and with the people in the world. This relationship help him or her to know that he/she is called by God, and he/she within the Body of Christ (church) and that he/she is in the world. The aim is to use God divine principles for a democratic system to bring about good governance and make a positive impact in the world so that both poor and the rich can benefit from the creation of God.

4.6.1 Biblical Values and Principles as a Model for Christian's Responsibility in a Democratic System

One's values are beliefs and principles that functions as a guide to our life. They form our world view, such that even when the worldview is half unconscious and unarticulated functions like a compass or a road map. Wolters (2005) has the following to say:

It orients us in the world at large, gives us a sense of what is up and what is down, what is right and what is wrong in the confusion of events and phenomena that confronts us. Our worldview shapes to a significant degree, the way we assess the events, issues and structures of our civilization and our times. (p. 5).

Our values help us to think, make decisions on issues, they are the basis for every decision and actions will take. Wolter (2005) stated this in a more comprehensive way when he said:

One of the unique characteristics of human beings is that we cannot do without the kind of orientation and guidance that a world view gives. We need guidance because we are inescapably creatures with responsibility who by nature are inescapable of holding purely arbitrary opinions or making entirely unprincipled

decisions. We need creed to live by, some map by which to chart our course.
(p. 5).

From a Christian point of view, we must say that our belief is a decisive factor in our lives, it forms our values, even though our professed beliefs may be at variance with the beliefs that are actually operative in our lives. It is the command of the gospel that we live our lives in conformity with the beliefs thought in the Bible. According to Musa (2009) person's attitude and behavior or actions can always be traced to the kind of values the person holds ...values are at the core of individual, group or organizational identity. Values are relatively enduring conceptions or judgments about what we believe to be important. Motivation also comes from the value system a person holds. That is why any strategic thinking and planning process must begin with value clarification. These values may not be written but they are always embedded in the person's mind. (p. 108).

This is to explain that Christians need to hold very strong to the Christian values as taught in the scripture. It is clear from what we have on ground in the Benue State system of democracy, many Christian politicians or even democratically elected leaders are not in line with the Bible in terms of values and Bible principles. If people in private and public sectors would abide by Christian values and principles, we will witness more development in the state than what we have now. The Christian is to imbibe the Biblical values by upholding justice and fair play for the poor and the oppressed, the value of hard work, righteousness, accountability and openness in dealing with people, honesty and sincerity, demonstration of love through sacrificial living and giving, and above all living exemplary Christian lives in words and actions, serving as a models of excellence. Jesus

warned that life does not consist in the abundance of what we have (Matt. 6:9-21). And that, we should store up for ourselves treasures in heaven by obeying God and taking action that would benefit those who are less privileged and poor. When we do things that would benefit the poor, God regards it as service to him (Matt. 25:34-36).

Christians need to know that the values and principles of accumulating material wealth would distract them from fighting injustice and corruption that is present in our democratic system, which hides the manifestation of good governance.

4.6.2 Networking and Seeking Support from Fellow Christian and Church Organizations

In the book of John 17:21, Jesus prayed that all Christians are to be one, that the church is the body of Christ. The church of Christ is universal with one common goal of building the kingdom of God, through evangelism and making sure that the will of God is done on earth as it is done in heaven (Matt. 6:10). Consequently, whoever is going in the world for service in the political realm is not alone and should not think so. It is the responsibility of the church in the state and the country at large to contribute in getting people of good character into democratic process to help develop the nation. Once people of good character are into policy making the state will witness the light of Christ. Musa (2009) states that:

The need for Christian politicians in the country to liaise with one another for sharing information, challenges, difficulties experiences and ideas can never be over emphasized. Such liaison among them will provide encouragement for them to continue to do what is right in terms of making proper decisions, fighting injustices, corruption and proper management of resources. (p. 121).

The church in Benue State and Nigeria must go beyond mere identification with the following blocks; the Catholics, the Reformed Church, the Anglicans, the Evangelicals, the Pentecostals or Orthodox to providing solution to the Nigerian democratic challenges. The church need to join hands and efforts together as the body of Christ to try to find balance in the nation's approach to secularism as a main philosophy of governance. In networking, the body of Christ needs regular meetings for effective liaising with one another. Through such meeting people will be motivated and encourage one another to do the right thing that will improve development and enhance common good. Musa (2009) also emphasized that this is, "desirable because no matter which political party Christian politician belong to, they share many things in common especially Christian values, which they should uphold no matter where they are such as the desire to fight corruption and injustice" (p. 121).

The church needs to build up a strong bond relationship as one family in God to fight the evil of this present world. Networking together will help Christians who are working in public offices to have a good motivate; that is, service to God and the people. Service to people involves fighting corruption that perpetuates poverty, practicing good governance, effective management of our God given resources for the benefit of all especially the poor. The Christian church is a creation of God and it is called to live out of the power of gospel and to make know the kingdom of God in all departments of human life. Briner (2000) maintained that:

As effective as individual Christian can be – and with God's help one person acting alone can do mighty things. It is almost always true that acting in concert we can do even more when body of Christ works in harmony and unison, the most

effective kingdom building is done. Although we should not wait to begin our own individual ministries, our goal should always be to energize the church toward a corporate strategy. (p. 175).

This is to explain that, when the whole church joined together in unity to make the kingdom of God manifest in a democratic process, then the whole world will really come to the true knowledge of God. The world too will come to join in the fight against a situation where abject poverty will exist side-by-side with conscious consumption. A society where floating islands of wealth are to be found amidst a sea of degrading poverty, but a true humanity where government protects the vulnerable poor from excesses of the powerful who are often tempted to sell the poor for a pair of sandals.

4.6.3 Acquiring Governance Knowledge and Skills for Development

One of the basic characteristics of leadership at any level is influence. It is well argued in the previous section that Christians have a responsibility in a democratic system. This responsibility has to do with influencing people positively towards godly living, doing things right for the benefit of the generality of the people. It is unfortunate that many a times we talk about Christian's responsibility to the world, but the how the responsibility is not discussed. In this section, the research hopes at addressing one of the models for effective influence in the world. Musa (2009) states that:

The need for Christian politicians to acquire knowledge and skills in development approaches, good governance, resource management and appropriate technologies cannot be overemphasized. A Christian politician may have the right motivation, willing to apply biblical principles and values, but if he or she does not have the

requisite knowledge and skill in good governance, management and appropriate development approaches, he or she will not be effective. (p. 114).

This knowledge and skills will help a Christian to apply the appropriate leadership styles that will help in providing good governance for the welfare of the people in the society. Governance is all about the welfare of the people, therefore, a consultative and participatory style of running government will help in drawing or tapping on the creativity of the people, thereby giving everyone a chance to contribute his or her shares in the development of the society. The focus here is learning about various aspects of leadership including leadership styles, decision-making process, and management process. Development approaches that focus on doing things for people without their participation tend to make the rich richer. In addition, they create dependency and do not result in sustainable development. Furthermore, the approaches that do not develop in people a sense of ownership of development programmes is not good for a democratic system.

It is important therefore to note that Christians are to have good knowledge and skills on how things are done so as to create sustainable development. These are the kinds of approaches that will help Christians to be effective in their responsibility in the world. The acquired knowledge and skills will help Christians to develop better strategy of achieving their intentions. It is true to note that, a well-designed strategy provides focus and direction for an individual or an organization without a strategy, a Christian who wish to response to issues of the world may find himself or herself being tossed around by every wind of materialism. Jesus Christ developed a very good strategy for his earthly ministry by chosen 12 apostles to work closely with him. This strategy gave him and the

apostles a better focus for developing the gospel ministry. The strategy should be developing based on the knowledge of the political, economic and social institution within the locality and for the country at large.

4.6.4 Model of Integrity, Faithfulness and Accountability

One of the qualities of good governance for leaders is integrity. In our society today, many people crave for leadership position not because they want to serve the people but merely for self-enrichment and to remind in authority. Yamsat (2011) maintained that:

With power, people believe they can command other people to do what they want and can get whatever they want. But true position of power goes together with integrity. For a leader to be able to unite people and lead them to greater heights, he must be a man of integrity, one that is upright, honest, truthful and trustworthy to such a degree that he can be relied upon and trusted for every move with regard to issue and decisions affecting the lives of the people he lead. (p. 24).

This is to explain that, integrity is a key model for Christians in their duty to the world. It is not power or authority per se that command things to be done, but the integrity of the leader or policymaker. Yamsat (2011) in discussing the integrity of a leader states that “If he is not a man or woman of his words, whatever he says or commands will not be carried out to its logical conclusion or in a way that would benefit the whole people concerned. (p. 24). It is therefore important for Christians to develop a high level integrity so as to communicate the gospel of Christ to the world. When people of no integrity find themselves into positions of authority or policy-making opportunity, they

do more of embezzling of public funds than development of the society. But the Bible made it very clear that:

People who want to get rich fall into temptation and a trap and into many foolish and harmful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction. For the love of money is the root of all kinds of evil. Some people eager for money have wandered from the faith and pierced themselves with many griefs (1Tim. 6:9-10, RSV).

The Christian needs to take after Jesus, for Jesus exhibited the highest level of integrity, such that people of his time testified to this saying “we know you to be a man of integrity and that you pay no attention to who they are” (Matt. 22:16). The quality of integrity is lacking in the state, it is therefore the responsibility of the Christian to teaching the world the words of God. Integrity must be always valued above wealth and other material gain. The book of Proverbs 28:6 reminded us that, “Better a poor man whose walk is blameless than a rich man whose ways are perverse”. In support of the importance of integrity Musa (2009) maintained that:

A person tells half-truth is often more dangerous than a person who tells an outright lie. The situation today is such that if a politician wants to be truthful, honest and sincere at all times, most people most would think he or she is foolish and would not make it in life. Unfortunately, this thinking is gradually creeping into the church. One of the main reasons Jesus denounced the Pharisees was because of their hypocrisy. God expects Christians to be the salt and light of the society. (p. 153).

It is the responsibility of the Christian church to be truthful, honest and sincere. It is only through this quality of integrity that our state and country will witness development. God has promised a reward for just people, For God “holds victory in store for the upright, he is a shield to those whose walk is blameless, for he guards the course of the just and protects the way of his faithful ones” (Prov. 7-8). Also in Proverbs 10:9, the Bible says “the man of integrity walks securely, but he who takes crooked paths will be found out”. A Christian is duty bound to be a man or woman of integrity.

In a similar way a Christian must be trustworthy before he or she will be able to influence the world. People who are to join a democratic process must be faithful to keep the promises he or she makes no matter the situation. In Psalm 145:13b, says “... the Lord is faithful to all His promises and loving toward all He has made”. A Christian as a child of God should be a person who can be depended upon to bring about positive change in the society through words and actions. The life of a Christian must always be governed by value-based principles for the development of the society. The life of integrity and trustfulness live to please God, but a life full of here and now will not flourish. Vongdip (2013) has the following to support the idea when he says:

a person who lives only for the present moment takes great pains to get and increase his or her material property, making it, and to leave heirs to carry on his or her name and family. Divine providence, however, overrules every plan. A life lived like this will be overthrown. The Bible calls such a person a fool (Luke 12:20). On the other hand, a life lived in reverence of God shall flourish. (p. 26).

Christians are therefore, encourage and challenged to grow in their faith by eternizing it. The integrity and faithfulness of a Christian will not be forgotten by God when the time for reward comes (Jeremiah 37:7-13; 39:16-18).

It is quite true that the primary religious axis is between God and the world. The Christian's responsibility therefore, is to bear witness to the truth of our relationship to each other to creation and to God to tell the world the truth about itself, and in so doing act as an instrument of God's intention for the world. The Christian's responsibility is also that of a steward who is accountable to his or her master. He or she stands accountable for actions and policies he or she takes in relationship to the world. God is the owner of the world and its government and mankind especially Christians are the stewards. We are called to make good use of our God given world, but to waste it as the prodigal son in the gospel of Luke (Luke 15:11-13).

Accountability is one of the important characteristics of good governance. It serves as key elements for fighting corruption and injustice in the society. Where accountability is lacking, both private and public sector development will not thrive. Christians are therefore, required to take accountability seriously by ensuring that they are accountable to the people they relate with no matter their status in the society.

4.6.5 Seeking God's Will

Christians are children of God and this is a wonderful privilege, it involves obligation also. The Christian is thus in a relationship with God and such relationship needs to manifest itself in practical terms as he or she operate in the world. God is holy therefore the Christian also called to be holy. The Christian also need to understand what

God will or what God expects of his or her person. Every Christian must long to become more and more conformed in the character and behavior of the Jesus Christ. They must seek to obey God's commandments and do the God's will. The will of God for Christians is for them to live a life of benefit to one another. Slott (1998) has the following to say:

The Christian life is not just a private affair of your own. If we are born again into God's family not only has he become our father but every other believer in the world, whatever his nation or denomination has become our brother or sister in Christ. One of the commonest names for Christians in the New Testament is brethren' this is a glorious truth. (p. 139).

The responsibility of a Christian is to know that the will of God for him is to be for another person. It is a life that is connected in a family affair, in which the children enjoy a good relationship their father and act the same time with each member of the family. Stott (1998) further states that, "Christians are not a self-regarding coterie of smug and selfish prigs, who are interested only in themselves; on the contrary every Christian should be deeply concerned about his fellow men" (p. 140). Such is the will of God for his people. It is therefore a Christian vocation to serve others in whatever way he or she can.

Even though Christians may find themselves to be citizens of two kingdoms, the one heavenly and the other earthly, each citizenship lay upon us duties which we are not free to avoid. In so doing the will of God, the Christian must fight all forms of selfishness that result into corruption, injustices, inequality in our world today. Smith (2005) states

that people who are so full of themselves they cannot think to consider other. He further explained that excessive self-interest can manifest itself in many ways:

- The person who physically or mentally abuses their family.
- The burglar who breaks in and steals may be they needed those goods for their own household but why should another family suffer the loss of something they earned?
- The person who has a personality disorder and ends up getting a divorce because their partner is not able or no longer wishes to continue coping with their strange behavior.
- The man who murders his neighbor because something trivial. The murderer with a mental health problem may only be out of control for a few seconds but that is all it takes.
- Those who commit suicide. The pressures of the world but physical and mental become so great that death appears to be the only way out of their problems. In many cases the loved ones they leave behind then pick up transference of those pressures.

Was there something I could have done to prevent this?

- The bomber who kills innocent people in order to bring publicity to their warped cause of religious, moral or political fundamentalism.
- The anorexic girl who wanted to be a supermodel but is effectively in self-destruct mode due to poor self-worth and lack of family relationships.
- The person addicted to drugs, alcohol, cigarettes or pornography (to name but a few vices).
- The person who gets an advantage from making threats of violence.

All this vices are against the will of God for his creation. An excessively self-interested person may exhibit greater bias, tell lies or be untrustworthy, immoral or dishonest. The

problem for democratic system from excess self-interest is that democratic structures will be harmed, as the democratic structure or system depends upon trust. To be trustworthy you have to respect the rules of the system or structure in which you find yourself in and also try to have moral boundaries.

Christians are expected to do all things for the glory of God. In the gospel of John 6:38 Jesus said, "For I have come down from heaven not to do my will but to do the will of him who sent me". Christians have it as their duty to seek in doing the will of God for this world. We can know God's will through our personalities and the kind of people God brings into our lives. We can also know God's will through the talents and gift He has given us. Knowing the will of God and his purpose in our lives gives us a better focus.

This is what God expects from his people to be in relationship with the father in heaven and in loving fellowship with one another for the glory of the creator.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE IN BENUE STATE

5.1 The Voice of the Christian Church and its Responsibility towards Good Governance in Benue State

The basis of Christian response to challenges of governance in any given society is deeply rooted in the teaching of the Christian Bible. In Genesis 1:28 “Be fruitful and increase in number, fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air and over every living creature that moves on the ground”. The theological meaning of this passages is that, God is the creator and also the owner, and we are his imagers; we are his stewards who have the responsibility “to work and take care” of his creation.

Christians are responsible for God’s beautiful handiwork and accountable to him for every activity. Also in the gospel according to Matthew Christians are called to be the light of the world. “You are the light of the world ... let your light shine before men, that they may see your good deeds and praise your Father in heaven” (Matt. 5:14-16). Christians therefore, assumed the responsible stewardship over all God has made, for his glory and the well-being of our neighbours the world over.

In this chapter we shall consider Christian view as regards governance issues as reflected by different denomination in Benue State. In the case of Benue State Christian response to the challenges of our times is to be found in the Good News of Jesus Christ. At the beginning of his public ministry Jesus words in the temple must be the watchword

for every Christian response to challenges of governance such as, injustice lack accountability.

In Luke 4:16-21 God's word proclaims liberation of Israel, and this liberation is for all people. God's word further proclaims that all people are accountable to and for each other. This is the message of the great parable of the final judgment, "When the son of man comes in his glory, escorted by all angels of heaven ... all the nations be assemble before him". This is the mystery of our church that all men and women are brothers and sisters, and that we are responsible to each other in all issues of human existence.

The chapter shall also consider among others, the biblical principle of leadership in God's mission as it relate to good governance, the issues of human rights, justice and peace will also serve us a good understanding of the section. All these will be viewed in respect to search for a common good for citizens.

5.1.1 The Catholic Church

Governance in general is about people and Catholic social teaching has a great deal to contribute firstly to an understanding of the concept of governance and secondly to the practice of ethical governance. Hoffner (1997) reminds us that, "Christian social teaching is neither a bundle of practical instructions for solutions of social questions nor a skillful selection of certain finding of mode in sociology useful for Christian social teaching, but an integral component of the Christian doctrine of man" (p. 21). That is to say that:

the whole of knowledge about the essence and order of human society and the resulting norms and tasks applicable to any given historical conditions; it is

acquired socio-philosophically from the essential social nature of man and socio-theologically from the Christian order of salvation. (p. 23).

Hoffner (1999) further explains that, “the goal of catholic social teaching is therefore, “ a system of order, based as it must be on truth, tempered by holding fast of the practice of freedom” (p. 71).

Such an understanding may illustrate at once that catholic social teaching would have a contribution to make to governance; it is rooted in an understanding of the human person and advocates norms and tasks which are timeless in application to the ordering of society for the benefit of the humans who inherit it. Ideally governance in this context should likewise benefit the human person and the common good.

There is a second aspect of Catholic social teaching on the idea of the political community which is clearly important to our understanding of the concept of governance. According to Smurthwaite (2004) “the political community exists for that common good in which the community finds its full justification and meaning, and from which it derives its pristine and proper right” (p.10). This explains that the whole society is to be managed towards the common good of all. According to Ajiki (2011) the social teachings of the church, directed towards an authentic development of men and women in society seek to promote all dimensions of human life” (p. 93).

According to the fathers of the second Vatican Council, Usman (2011) states that:

God destined the earth and all it contains for all men and all people so that created things would be shared fairly by all mankind under the guidance of justice tempered by charity ... This position is upheld to the extent that even what a

person thinks he/she legitimately owns should not be exclusive, but must shared with those who have nothing. (p. 125).

This is to explain that, it is therefore, a mandate for the church to respond to the aid of the poor, who should do this from the abundance of its goods. This calls for the Christians in Benue State to respond or pay special attention to critical issue of poverty unemployment health challenges that are facing the citizens. The church can use the Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) to better handle the issues of poverty and other related challenges.

Usman (2011) also quoted Benedict XVI who is more emphatic with the role the church must play in its evangelization in our world today when he quotes the Apostolic Exhortation of Paul VI Thus:

Evangelization would not be complete if it did not take account of the increasing interplay of the Gospel and of man's concrete life, both personal and social ... The church needs to take more cognizance of its role which his/her capacity to develop and have fulfillment in life. (p. 127).

The Catholic Church teaching on Christian response to challenges of governance has always considered the state, in this case Benue State, as a necessity founded on human nature, while authority is ultimately rooted in God, therefore the specific form that is adopted by the political community or state should be decided by citizens taking into account the common good. In this context governance generally is ultimately to do with people wellbeing and not merely with systems and procedures.

The Catholic Church responded to the challenges of the governance with the hope of bringing hope and peace to Benue people. According to Jibo (2014):

In a letter dated September 11, 2004 and addressed to the Governor of Benue State, Gerorge Akume, the Tor Tiv IV, Alfred Akawe Torkula, the Hon. Minister of Internal Affairs, Iyorchia Ayu and the then PDP National Chairman, Audu Ogbeh, the then President of Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria and at the time, Archbishop of Abuja now Cardinal Onaiyekan (CON) invited them to a meeting to create a forum for us to encourage and further challenge the Catholic Political elite of Benue ... it would also be an opportunity for you to let us know under what pressures you are operating and how far the church hierarchy can support your efforts in serving your state, with a clear commitment to good governance at all levels. (p. 133).

The Catholic church through the Catholic Bishops were shocked at poor state of governance in Benue State and initiated this meeting to find out ways of improving the situation for the wellbeing of the citizens. This intervention of the Bishops shows to what extent bad governance during this period have affected negatively on the peace of the state.

5.1.2 Anglican Church

Protestant Christianity was introduced in Benue State in 1911. According to Yakela (2007) the Anglican "Missionary Diocese of Makurdi was inaugurated on Monday, the 24TH OF September, 1990 among eight others that were carved out of Kaduna, Kano and Jos" (p. 13). At this time there were only thirty one (31) Anglican churches in the entire Benue state. Currently the Anglican Church under the leadership of

Bishop Nathan Nyitar Inyom, Makurdi Diocese alone now has two more Dioceses, Gboko and Zaki-Biam.

One of the achievements of Rt. Rev. Dr. Nathan Inyom is the creation of Ecumenical Commission for Justice and Peace (ECJP). This is a non-governmental organization (NGO) set by the Anglican Church for response to social and political issues. According to Jibo (2004):

It was set up in 1996 to promote and encourage peaceful co-existence among communities and different ethnic groups in Nigeria and to promote the understanding and practice of the principles of democracy. It encourages participation and accountability in governance and to sensitize people to work together in community projects to improve their living conditions. Conflict resolution is therefore, high on its programme agenda. (p. 135).

The Anglican Church in Benue State through the ECJP enjoined politicians to play politics according to the rules of the game and be prepared to accept defeat. However, According to Jibo (2014), “This appeal was not headed hence Kwande was engulfed in violence a year after it was made” (p. 136).

Bishop Inyom believes, as stated by Yakela (2009), that any spiritual worship must direct us to God. The true/spiritual church should be the voice of the voiceless, the vanguard of the society and the conscience of the nation. There is too much “religiosity in our society today but no or little spirituality. The Gospel becomes ineffective if it fails to transform individual lives and changes of the entire society. Twelve disciples changed the whole world upside down. Christianity is a religion of profession and conduct. Our words must agree with our actions.

In principles Anglican Church believes in Christian response to challenges of governance as regards issues of corruption as one of the biggest told that has divested our economy and ruined our nation. However, the church lack the practical approach as regards her response to social, political and economic challenges to our country and Benue State in particular. This is put clearly by Akinlola (2000) to lay bare the process of articulating the vision for the church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion) thus: The failure of the church, national governance and society at large has led to a situation whereby Nigeria as a country is faced with such problems as lack of genuine unity, religious and ethnic conflicts, corruption, indiscipline, lack of exemplary leadership and moral decadence, among others.

This they believe that “the church has been complacent and often silent on socio-political matters of the nation and does not take firm and informed stand on these matters. Lasebinkan (2000) encourage the church to take serious the socio-economic and political need of her members and the society in general by stating that, while the church is truly in the world, but not of the world, it does need part of the world to exist. There is. And it is only by being in the world that it is able to challenge the standards of the world. He further states that:

The prophets for instance will not keep quiet over the powers that be who cheat the people the lead. Powers which often is accompanied by social ills such as drug addiction, juvenile delinquency, armed robbery and unemployment is the product of government uncivilized approach to human problems. (p. 82).

In the Old Testament the prophet condemned this social ills and the Bible speaks of concrete positive steps to rehabilitate those who were not priviledged of the displaced

people that is the poor, the widow, the orphan, the alien Deut. 24:19-21; Lev. 19:9-10). The Sabbath day is a day of rest for the slaves and the alien Deut. 5:14; Exod. 23:11; Lev. 25:2-7), debts were pardoned to those who owed (Deut. 15:108), slaves regained freedom (Exod. 21:206). In such a way the Old Testament responded to all challenges faced the people with words and actions.

In a depressed economy such as we have in Benue State, the church need to become really their brothers' keeper, and also promote true brotherhood. The Christian church must set up a rehabilitation scheme which offers help to the destitute and the less-privileged in many areas. By so doing the church will be preaching Jesus who from all spiritual point of view was a friend to the outcast (Lk. 9:29-37), very compassionate and neighbourly (Lk. 10:30). He understood the signs of the time. He recognized the needs of the people. He could easily identify social issues which came out of the socio-political and religious condition of his time. He was ready to rise to occasions as demanded. That was why the gospel writers noted his sympathies (Mk. 6:34; 8:2), his love (Mk. 10:21), His grief (Mk. 3:8), His sighing (Mk. 7:34). Thus the basic concern of the Christian faith is social issues.

5.1.3 The Universal Reformed Christian Church (URCC)

The Universal Reformed Christian Church (URCC) locally call “Nongo u Kristu u i Ser u sha Tar” (NKST) is a product of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) from South Africa. According to Ahenakaa (2009):

It is on record that the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) from South Africa began work among the Tiv people in 1911. The pioneer missionaries of

the DRCM in Tiv land were Dr. Karl Kumm, Mr. Hosking, Rev. George Botha, and Mr. C. Simmermann. (p. 2).

It is on record that the mission had the fear about the rapid growth of Islami in West African countries. Thus, by 1895 and 1898 meetings were convened in London under the auspices of the North African Mission to find workers for missionary work in Nigeria.

Ahenakaa (2007) also stated that:

Dr. Karl continued to work hard at last on June 15, 1904 during a meeting in the Hall of the Free St. George Church in Edinburgh, Scotland Dr. Alexander Whyte, well known preacher and writer proposed that the new mission should be named Sudan United Mission SUM), the mission, Karl Kumm was later associated with. (p. 3).

The Gospel was finally planted in Tiv at the house of Sai on April 17, 1911 at 10.00am in the present Katsina-Ala Local Government Area of Benue State. Since then the church has grown in size and strength by January 9, 1957 the missionary finally handover to indigeneous Christians for self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating virile Nigeria church. Achineku (2007) states that:

From January 9, 1957 to January 9, 2007 NKST has spanned fifty years of both the past and present millennia. January 9, 2007 is therefore unique in the sense that it marks the end of the first fifty years of existence as an indigenous independent church. (p. 88).

By January 9, 2007, the NKST church celebrates her 50th anniversary. Achineku (2007) further states that:

Anniversaries are important occasions for all of us because they bring to our attention God's many blessings his faithfulness, limitations and dependence on God in bold capital letters. As we look back on what the Lord has enabled us to do in fifty years of our existence, we are reminded of how God's power is made perfect in our smallness, limitations and dependency. We can thus say with Paul "for when I am weak, then I am strong. We can also set up our Ebenezer and say "Thus far has the Lord helped us. (pp. 88-89).

The missionaries of DRCM started the work among the Tiv people with a pellucid worldview carefully development from the scriptures and prayerfully formulated to have a biblical cultural slant. This philosophy of life is derived from many passages of the scriptures but most lucidly from Genesis 1:26-28; Psalm 119:105; 1Cor. 10:3; Col. 3:17 and 1Pet. 4:11, 1Cor. 10:31. The summary of this philosophy of life is as follows:- so whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do it all for the glory of God". John Calvin, an Augustinian philosophical theologian, in exegeting this text, succinctly captures this philosophy of life in the following words as quoted by Achineku (2007) thus, "there is no part of our life or conduct, however insignificant which should not be related to the glory of God and that we must be concerned ... to do all to promote it" (p. 90).

The Universal Reformed Christian Church since its beginning in 1911 has been in Benue State and almost all the major cities or towns in Nigeria. The church with its holistic Theo centric worldview and approach to life stems from a realization that after the fall of man into sin the whole human nature becomes so depraved that in everything

man does he claims independence from God, his creator. Only a holistic Theo centric approach is capable of presenting a counter challenge, which can effectively out weight the inherited humanistic dominion effect.

In response to challenge of education the church has a total of 501 primary schools in Benue State alone. Although management of these schools has been taken over by government, NKST still has retained these schools in her name. NKST also has over 50 secondary schools that dot the map of Benue State and beyond. The NKST school system does not discriminate on the ground of religion, ethnicity or tribe because of its approach to present Christ to all.

In the area of tertiary education, the church has the following:

- a. School of Nursing and Midwifery, Mkar.
- b. NKST College of Health Technology, Mkar
- c. Len Gabriel's School of Medical Laboratory Sciences, Mkar. All these medical schools have full approved and accreditation of the Federal Ministry of Health.
- d. The Reformed Theological Seminary, Mkar
- e. The Reformed Bible College, Harga – all for the training of pastors and church workers.
- f. The University of Mkar – Mkar. This is the crown of NKST (URCC) educational vertical development. This is the highest level the church can go in the area of education.

It is true that the church has done well in the area of Health, Education, and Social services like Orphanage, Community Based Rehabilitation Centres, Leprosy Centers and

many others. The question has been up to response to challenges of governance in the state?

According to Jibo (2014) the role of the Tiv clergy in Tiv politics has been shown to be very controversial. “The general feeling is that rather than show the “light of Christ for the Tiv political elites to follow, the clergy has been compromised by their egos and by partisan politics/materialism” (p. 470).

It is important for the church (URCC) attempt to live out the principles that are given in the Bible and other religious teachings and, in particular, to live them out in political and community life. If Christians do not take these steps, then social economic and political life is left to. Those without faith, with resulting harm for all mankind. Benue State is among the state in the country with high rate of unemployed youths, insecurity is at the increased poverty, nonpayment of salary to works. The church has the responsibility to speak out on public issues which have effect on the citizens.

If the URCC is to assume its responsibility to be Christ in the world, if Christians in the church also believe that Christian values and the Christ-centred life are good and salutary for all people, then the church must model and reassert the strength and goodness of those values by demonstrating that they represent much more than one set of competing values in our increasingly value-complete society.

5.1.4 Pentecostal Churches

According to Douglas (1991) Pentecostal Churches is a term used to describe “Church which emerged from the Holiness movement in the USA at the turn of 20th century” (p. 645). He further states that characteristically these churches embraced the

view that a “baptism in the Holy Spirit” apart from that of regeneration was an experience of empowerment for ministry” (p. 644).

Pentecostal church generally holds a high view of scripture, and the need for personal salvation available only through faith in Jesus. They typically understand themselves to receive the Holy Spirit at conversion (see Rom. 8:9) but anticipate a later “baptism in the Spirit” to receive additional power for ministry through the exercise of various spiritual gifts, including those listed in 1Cor. 12:8-10.

In Nigeria many denominations are grouped under the Pentecostal churches. These include the Aladura (Yoruba word – praying people). Faith Tabernacle, Pentecostal Apostolic Church. The Independent Apostolic Church, Living Faith, Redeemed Christian Church of God, Church of God Mission International, Assemblies of God, Foursquare Gospel Church, The Deeper Life Bible Church, Christ for All Nations, the list is endless.

The Pentecostal Churches have no different teachings that are so sharply from the Catholic and Mainline Protestants Churches on the issues of response to challenges of governance they believe strongly that Christian stand to benefit from the wealth of this earth. In 1977, the Pentecostal Political activism was fully established in Nigeria with the founding the Christian student’s special movement. The emphasis was on to work against spiritual forces that govern politics and to bring about reform through prayer. Freston (2001) puts it more clearly that under a succession of Muslim Military dictators, the Association becomes increasingly political and functions almost as an unofficial opposition to the regime. In 1979, the government proposed the creation of a Federal

Sharia Court of Appeal, and in the 1988-1989 constitutions Assembly, efforts are made to extend the jurisdiction of Sharia Courts. Evangelicals and Pentecostals in Youth Wing of the Christian Association of Nigeria organize prayer sessions and pamphleteering campaigns against the Sharia proposal.

Pentecostal members are always encouraged by their leaders to participate in politics for it is their God-given rights. In February, 2006 the Danish Cartoon controversy sparks religious riots in the country, many Christian churches including Pentecostal ones were destroyed in Borno State and some Pentecostal pastors were killed. According to Eyoboka (2006), "Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria President, Ayo Oristegafor demands that the federal government should guarantee the safety and property of Christian and politics.

However, in Benue State, the stand of the Pentecostal churches is not strong, the churches have no clearly and strong voice as it concerns issues of governance.

The Pentecostal churches have been complacent and often silent on socio-political matters of the state and have not taken a firm and informed stand on these matters that the state is currently facing. At no time in the history of our beloved state, is the need for unity, peace, solidarity, security, stability more urgent than now. We are all witnesses to numbers of incidences that greatly threatened the peace and progress of this beautiful and adorable state.

The Pentecostals group of churches is therefore called to preach and live on the principles of human destiny and dignity. All people, rich or poor men and women are equally endowed with rational souls and all have the same origin and destiny. All are

equally redeemed by Christ, as such all are called to participate in the same divine beatitude; all therefore enjoy an equal dignity. Jesus extended his love to everyone to all children to the women caught in adultery, to the tax collector to sick and suffering. All these violation the principles of human dignity and equality currently going on in the state need and must be preach again. To pursue the princple of human dignity, the church must fight for democracy, justice and equality.

5.1.5 The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)

This is a religious Christian organization that hopes to bring together the church of God in Nigeria. It is a big Christian body that provides shade or cover to all the churches in Nigeria. It is these covers that also strengthen the voice of the church in matters relating to the church and state in Nigeria. According to Leva (2008) who observed that:

It is an association of Christian churches with distinct identities, recognizable church structures and a system of worship of one God in the trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This Association makes Christ the centre of its entire works and shall promote the glory of God by encouraging the growth and unity of the churches and by helping them to lead the nation and her people to partake of Christ's salvation and all its trails. (p. 1).

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) according to Leva (2008) “registered as a religious organization on 19th December, 1976. The first constitution was thereby signed on 20th April, 1977” (p. 2). He further states that CAN operates with the following objectives:

- To serve as an umbrella of unity of the church in Nigeria. This is clearly contained in the motto of Christian Association of Nigeria, Christened: That they may be one (John 17:21).
- To promote understanding, peace and unity among the various people and other religions in Nigeria through the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.
- To act as liaison committee which facilitates member churches to come together when necessary to make policy statement and take common actions on crucial nation issues.
- To also act as a watch man of both the spiritual, political and moral welfare of the nation.

Since its origin Benue State has been actively involved, since it is one of the states in the middle belt that strongly opposed the Muslim invasion. In the words of Leva (2008):

The first meeting in the state was held in 1979 and was pioneered by Bishop Benjain Achigili of the Methodist Church and Rev. Pastor Joseph Kanyi Manyam of the NKST church. As it was the first meeting of its kind, the attendance was not impressive as expected. (p. 25).

Since the inception of CAN in Nigeria and Benue State in particular, it has as its primary aim, the advancement of Christ kingdom here on earth. This gave CAN a clear vision to response to issues of governance in the country as it affects the Christian church and the society in general. Thus, CAN encourage her members to be fully involved in partisan politics. This according to CAN is the only way through which godly leaders are selected to contribute to the development of the society. All the Churches and religious

organizations mentioned above have not proved enough their responsibility in democratic system, and this has greatly affected the quality of governance in the State.

5.2 The Biblical Principles of Leadership in God's Mission and Good Governance

The ultimate purpose of our lives is to bring glory to God and to participate in God's mission to the world. This purpose is the same Christian Leadership. God who is the creator of the world is also the ruler of all and the righteous judge. As a judge God ensures that there is justice within the nation, particularly for the poor of society. Leadership is therefore God's mission to his people. God accomplishes it by choosing human leaders.

In the history of Nigeria and Benue State in particular, leadership problem is one of the chief challenge for effective development and good governance. Leadership in its general understanding deals with a process of getting things done through people; that is to say leadership means responsibility, having passion for the purpose and mission of the organization or society one leads. However, it is on records as state by Dike (2003) that, "the leaders of Nigeria appear good at prescribing solutions to economic problems without providing the institutional framework to make it grow" (p.21). This is to explain very few of the leaders, if any working for common good of the nation.

The activities of the leaders shape the reality of a nation or state. When God called Moses for the liberation of his people from slavery in Egypt He also called Joshua and the judges to ensure that his people were protected from the enemy outside of the nation, who would regularly seek to conquer Israel. These leaders were also to establish justice and right order in Israel. These leaders who were called by God had to fashion the

life of the nation around the laws of the Lord and administer justice within it. According to Ande (2010) “the call of God to take responsibility implied faithfulness, accountability to God and care for the people” (p. 7). The idea here is that any nation’s development, peace, justice, rights of citizens rest with good leadership and governance. The development of Moses ministry of judging the people following the visit of Jethro were based on the principle shared leadership and authority for the wellbeing of the whole nation (Exodus 18).

In the New Testament we have good examples of the leadership of Jesus with much concern for the weak and love for neighbor and even enemies (Matt. 22:4; Matt. 5:43-48).

Ande (2010) also states that:

Jesus’ message is one of justice, judgement and the right ordering of the whole of society, beginning with the new community he calls into being, their church, Jesus also challenges the use of power among the secular and religious leaders of his age; he repudiates both their attitudes and their methods (Matt. 7:29). He rebukes those in power without fear or favour. The least important in society is to be the most valued in the kingdom of God. (p. 9).

The church of God, that is the whole people called by God for salvation, is a unique community of faith, hope and love. The church is also called to be a community of worship and mission and to instruct others in the way of faith. Therefore, leadership, kingship and leadership within the Christian community belong first to Christ himself, and this true leadership must be extended to all people for the common good.

It is clear from the leadership of Jesus that the church has the role of proclaiming the social concern for all members of the society. Leadership within the church must equip Christians to proclaim the good news of the kingdom set within a holistic understanding of the mission of Christ Jesus. The church must make concrete the kingdom of God through tangible expressions of it. The church must preach this message not only in words and sermons and statements but also through its actions, programmes, campaigns and divine service for the well-being of people in the kingdom. It is the task of the people to promote good governance in the state and anywhere it finds itself. Ande (2010) also put forward the task of the church in respect to good governance thus:

The church's task is not to lead protest against any institution, but to support practical efforts, aimed at affirming love, justice, freedom and human dignity. However, the church may be irrelevant when it doesn't take action for freedom where it is necessary, as Julius Nyerere said, unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organization which condemns men to poverty, humiliation and degradation, then the church will become irrelevant to me. (p. 32).

Christians have always found politicians who want to detest the church leaders' criticism of political evils. A convenient politician in Benue State could tell the Christians to "leave politics to politicians." The question then is, would the church be justified in following that maxim? Other politicians in their bid to defend the status quo, take the interesting route of preaching the Bible back to church leaders. Their favourite text is from Romans 13:1 "everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established".

The above attitude of politicians should not put Christians away from responding to challenges that our state is facing. Christians also called to be salt of the earth ... you are the light of the world “(Matt. 5:13a, 14a). Briner (1993) maintained that, “for Christians to be the salt Christ commands them to be is to teach His relevance, to demonstrate His relevance, to live its relevance in every area of life” (p. 40).

He further states that we cannot accomplish this by talking only to ourselves, working only for ourselves associating only with ourselves and working only in the “safe” careers and professions. Being salt is not nearly so much about having more pastors and missionaries as it is about having many more committed Christian lay people thinking strategically about and acting on ways to build the kingdom in such areas as public policy, advertising, media, higher education, entertainment, the arts, and sport.

Keeping Christ bottled up in the churches is keeping salt in the shakers and he does not go where we do not take him. Christian leaders need to take Christ and his gospel of love, care, freedom and human rights everywhere and show His relevance and the relevance of His word to every aspect of modern life, be it politics and social life. This is not an option; it is an imperative, a scriptural imperative. When religious leaders and churches see only the professional ministry as a calling of concern, as a field of interest for the whole body, as a profession to be supported with prayer and financial support, kingdom building is terribly weakened.

It is clear that Christ the great leader commands us to be salt in the world. It is clear that this demands penetration, not selective penetration but penetration of every area of society.

If the church of Christ through her members is to be salt in the issue of governance in Benue State and Nigeria at large, she must consistently, consciously and conscientiously provide an equipping ministry for the entire congregation, particularly for its young people if Christ's command is to be carried out. The biblical principle of leadership in God's mission as it relates to good governance focus on proclaiming the good news of the kingdom set within a very holistic understanding of God's mission to the world. It is a leadership to guard and guide the unity of the pilgrim people of God in a particular place, and to raise, commission and nurture others in Christian service. The church's concept of what it means to exercise leadership is that ministers should make their ministry proceed from Jesus' model of ministry.

5.3 Good Governance and the Christian Church in the Context of Human Right, Justice and Peace

The church as Christian community has a moral duty to protect civil virtue in society of which good governance is the basic ideal of power relations and delivery of public goods.

From our chapter three and four we have seen so far the total picture of Nigerian society in general and Benue State in particular that all sorts of ills abound. What cannot be over-emphasized is that our poverty and other social ills in the state and Nigeria at large are man-made, by products of man's greed, over-reaching ambition, injustice, insecurity, classism and structural exploitation. Lack of good governance has caused many to

become poor and suffer underserved social ill against their will. They are simple victims of power-gamble and social political structures created by the rich and the powerful. The situation, as we have seen, cries for liberation and development. Since development is enhanced by peace, it does mean that the church in Benue State and Nigeria at large have to be committed to peace. Peace as we know is inseparable from justice; it takes up the fact that the church and state must be totally committed to peace, human right and justice. In the book of Exodus (3:7) God was fully committed to the peace, right and justice of His people when he states that, “I have seen the affliction of my people I have know their sufferings. I have come to deliver them”. The church for the sake of people’s welfare, is not just struggled against personal, individual sins but social sins, institutionalized or located in socio-political structures. Paul VI (1967) put it clearly thus:

It is not just a matter of eliminating hunger nor even of reducing poverty ... It is a question rather of building a world where every man, no matter what his race, religion or nationality, can live a fully human life freed from servitude imposed on him by other men or by natural forces over which he has no sufficient control. (p. 47).

The Christian church must find the ways and means of leading the state in such a way as to improve on governance capacity in the state. The building of the kingdom of Justice and Peace is the commission and mandate Jesus left for His church and followers. This mission calls for conversion on the personal level, a spiritual revolution in our behavior and attitude to life. It calls for a response at the societal level, challenging all Christians to play their parts to ensure that truth and justice prevail so that our society can live in peace and tranquility. Gotan (2007) also states that:

It is also the task of the church to challenge her members to make faith relevant in action and translate the “good news within their own milieu. Mt. 25 will then become not just a bible passage but a ‘magna carta’ for life: seeing Christ hungry and feeding him, naked and clothing him, thirsty and providing him clean water supply, sick and lessening the occurrence of disease with preventive health care, good medical service; without shelter and working to provide decent housing for all; seeing him imprisoned and working to such institutions unnecessary or humanly tolerable. (p. 8).

In this extreme challenging circumstances of social, economic and political inequalities and mismanagement of resources such as we have in Benue State and Nigeria at large, we need the church intervention in God’s name on behalf of our distressed people. Gotan (2007) also maintained that:

In a country where many of its professors of political science, for whom democracy is an article of faith, legal luminaries who hold the title of “Senior Advocate of Nigeria” and who have sworn to defend the rule of law, and even some respected to hold truth a sacred have failed our people by bowing to our feudal Lords, the church must be the conscience of the nation by courageously highlighting the evil of society which constitute the obstacles on the way to peace and prosperity. (p. 8).

When the church does this, she is only putting herself at the service of her Lord, Jesus Christ who is the light of the world and salt of the earth, but also promoting the kingdom of God here in Benue State and the country at large. Our state needs a kind of a church if our crises of governance are not to become a disaster. Such a church will be an agent

which will bring our human community to stand under the judgment of the enduring values of the gospel of Jesus Christ to criticize what is fundamentally inhuman and anti-human in our system of governance.

The biblical justice is profoundly concerned about good governance as it relates to inter-personal relationships as much as it is concerned about government to people relationships. For justice sake God instruct the people of Israel not to accept a bribe, for a bribe blinds those who see and twists the words of the righteous. (Ex. 23:8). For the purpose of true justice and good governance the bible has always been diametrically opposed to bribes (Deut. 10:17; 16:19; 27:25; 1Sam. 8:3; 12:3; 2Chron. 19:7; Ezra 4:5; Job 36:18 and so on). A theology of governance leans heavily on such passages for very good reason.

These passages make it abundantly clear that injustice, lack of peace is firmly linked to dishonesty for self interest. And this is essentially why. God has a universal hatred for bribery because it puts personal interest or gain greed above the common good. Also bribery and corruption invariable oppress those who are already poor. The church is therefore, a universal moral authority which exercises her prophetic office in the interest of human promotion and salvation. The church exists for the promotion of justice, freedom, peace and human rights.

It is important to note that, justice, peace and human rights are essential criteria of human life in relationship with God as individuals and in community. Respect for human being, civil and social order, rights of everybody is essential for justice in any society.

5.4 The Christian Church in Search of Common Good

The church as the people of God is no doubt in the world. Gotan (2007) states that, “she exists in the world, living and acting with it. She forms a society in the world composed of men, that is, of members of the earthly city who have a call to form the family of God’s children during the present history of the human race” (p. 4). The church therefore has a visible association and a spiritual community, constituted and structured as a society in this world but primarily on behalf of heavenly values. According to Gotan (2007) the task of the church on earth is, “to serve as a heaven and as a kind of soul for human society as it is renewed in Christ and transformed into God’s family” (p. 4).

The church hold on the teaching that, during the earthly life of our Lord and savior Jesus Christ, he went about healing the sick, feeding the hungry, giving sight to the blind and raising the dead to life. The church must continue to give witness to Christ by involvement in man’s social welfare. This involvement can take one form or the other according to people, place and period, and according to possibilities in differing world situations. It is important to note that the political community exists for the common good in which the community finds its full justification and meaning. The common good according to Dwyer (1994), “is thus a good in itself, as well as a social reality in which all persons should share through their participation in it” (p. 193).

In the preaching of the gospel with its love of neighbor, on practice, on universal brotherhood and fundamental human rights could not fail to have immediate influence on the social sphere. The church retains the duty of show concern for man’s social welfare. Taking the political situation and the level of poverty in Benue State, if they does take the mission serious to search for the common good of all she would be unauthentic if she

retired into the sacristy and engaged in close circuit television of self entertainment in sacred liturgy, splendidly isolated from the world of today. The church must refuse to be made to look like an interesting relic from the middle ages. The church must actively involved seriously in a search for the common good of her members and the society in general. Gotan (2007) put it clearly thus:

Our religions should continue to open the world of today and emphasis; the positive development of these followers in the betterment of the earthly city. They should share the joys and hopes, the grieves and anxieties of the men of this age, especially of the poor or the those who are in any way afflicted in the Nigeria today; a Nigeria of breath-taking economic potential; a Nigeria of salary increases and high prices; a Nigeria of about 140 million people with rich cultural values, and materialism, exploitation of the weak mismanagement, urbanization, unemployment, inadequate development of agriculture, constant failure of water and electricity in cities and widening gap between the rich and the poor. (p. 6).

In this context, common good stands in opposition to the good of rulers of a ruling class. It implies that every individual no matter how low has a duty to share in promoting the welfare of the community as well as a right to benefit from the welfare. The idea is common good which the church is called to promote is all-inclusive. Common good in this understanding cannot exclude or exempt any section of the population if any section of the population is in fact excluded from participation in the life of the community even at a minimal level, then that is a contradiction of the concept of the common good and calls for ratification.

In search of common good Christians are called to follow Jesus by identifying with the victims of injustice, by analyzing attitudes and structures that cause human suffering, and by actively supporting the poor and oppressed in their struggles to transform society. During his earthly ministry Jesus calls us to show love for our neighbor in our everyday life to be mutually supportive because we are interdependent, we are also responsible for our brothers and sisters for they are people of God (see Matt. 25:40-45).

The church in Benue State is called to preach and promote justice in our public policy making, we must take pity on the weak and the needy, rescue them from oppression and violence (Ps. 72:12-14) we must also act for the good of our neighbor, then we will live and our nation or state will be bless (Ps. 33:12). The Christian response to challenges of governance in connection with common good is based on the notion that governance is a vehicle to ensure that such rights are implemented and enjoyed by all. It is thus also important for those in governance to take into account the interest of the marginalized in society. Vandezande (1983) puts it clear in the following words:

That Christians are called to be involved in struggles for economic justice and participate in the building a new society based on Gospel principles and that they should do so in the realization that this requires personal and collective prayer combined with vital public action. These gospel principles include the preferential option for the poor, the afflicted and the oppressed and the special value and dignity of human work in God's plan for creation. (p. 98).

This call to do justice to the God-given rights and responsibilities, the basic needs and freedom of all people is entirely in keeping with God's command to love our neighbor. The Prophet Isaiah reminds us; "woe to those who make unjust laws, to those who issue

oppressive decrees, to deprive the poor of their right and rob my oppressed people of justice, making widows. They prey and robbing the fatherless” (Isa. 10:1-2).

In light of discussion on the Christian church and common good we can affirm with biblical teachings that God has a special concern for the good of all, especially the weak and the needy, therefore, we, our churches, governments, corporations, political parties and trade unions have a special responsibility towards them, also in the development and implementation of our economic policies and strategies.

Like the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:25-37) all of us need to show genuine love and accept social responsibility for the victims of exploitation and oppression in Benue State and Nigeria at large. Biblical concern and solidarity with the well-being of others should also be a basic premise of our economic policies and practices, especially when so many needy neighbours face such difficult times and when there is such a deplorable tendency to pass them by the other side because of rampant individualism and selfishness. The Christian church must search for the common good of all people through an alternative economic vision and strategies that could lead to more development and social justice for all. Our response will show what kind of people we are and what we as Christians will for our neighbor.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This research work has focused on the Christian response to challenge of governance in Nigeria with a particular attention on Benue State. In doing so, it took into account the general understanding of the concept of governance. Governance in general is really about people. It is often presented as being about structures and processes of direction and control. Governance is all about trying to bring about the common good that will benefit all citizens in the community. Thus Shaminja (2010) states that:

Central to politics is the idea of governance aimed at directing and reconciling human affairs in the society. Human needs are insatiable, but it is believed that with governance, individual would at best utilize the dividends. This is the reason why politics since its inception, has been seen many as capable of assuaging the pains and suffering of the people in all societies of the world. (p. 2).

The principles of good governance therefore, include participation, equality, the rule of law, transparency, and accountability, as well as the effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of public services. The work also considered good governance as been against social and economic problems like social exclusion, failure of the state to solve problems of health, housing ethnicity, migration and demographic mobility power, crime, drugs, over population among other social problems culminating in making the society ungovernable. To Nwabueze (2003) “the exercise of political power is to promote a nation’s affairs so as to secure and promote the welfare of the people or the public good” (p. 39). This is what Kukah (1999) calls “common good” (p. 214). To Shaminja (2010):

The idea of public good or common good or welfare of the people at heart operates within the confines of accountability, transparency, and rule of law, equal presentation, orderliness, and the general welfare of the people which covers the entire concept of good governance. Good governance in essence, is more or less the same idea connoted by the modern republicanism as a concept of government which sees governance as the exercise of power, not for its own sake for selfish aggrandizement or the rulers but for the welfare of the people as a whole. (p. 69).

Benue State since its creation in 1976, it yet to experience good governance, this is because the kind of politics in the State characterized by political instability, and insecurity which often manifest in political assassinations, thuggery, blackmail, manipulation rigging and many other social vices. However, the citizens in State anticipate good governance that would alleviate the suffering of the masses and would bring about positive development for all. The work for a better analysis focuses on the concept of the body of Christ (the church or Christians) with different but unified members as the concept of discussion. This is so because Christians believed that by sovereign appointments, they are earth keepers and caretakers, they are therefore, call to economic social and political and other stewardship issues as commanded by the creator, God Almighty. That is as we are saved in Jesus Christ, it gave us new life and a new opportunity to act responsibly.

In theoretical section, the theory of behaviouralism which focuses on the greater knowledge about the working of political institutions, deal with issues of personality, sentiments, interaction, motives derives attitudes and values. The new public

management theory, Global theory, subsidiary theory all focus on directing and controlling of resources for the welfare of all members of the society. The evolutionary theory also developed by other governance theories sees governance as institution that involved in collective action. The Christian philosophical and theological ideals that have helped to shape more these theories include, the Existentialism, process theology, liberation theology and the concept of the two kingdoms theology. Existentialism emphasizes the value and respect for human existence in the society, while process philosophy sees the world as changes and as such changing for the good of all.

Liberation theology strongly call on all Christians to have concern for the poor and the oppressed in the society, which and emphasise of good governance that takes into account the equality of all. The two kingdom theology opens Christian to the understanding that, they too are to fully participate in the world affairs, by arguing strongly that this world belong to God.

Chapter Three takes a critical look at Benue State with much attention on the four democratic regimes with their achievements and shortcomings: occasioned by their different political circumstances and as such each is evaluated or assessed based on above factors stated above. For Aper Aku despite the criticisms leveled against him, all political scholars and even leaders after him viewed his landmarks in the state as glaring evidence of the beginning of dividends of people of Benue State. For each regime, the work provided a careful directory of achievements for easy evaluation and assessment. The chapter also saw with Shaminja (2010) that:

Benue socio-political terrain is today suffering from the tensions arising from the propensity to more towards issue-specific advocacy and the over rising

temptations on the part of some militants to sharply utilize the moral authority of that advocacy in the pursuance of Partisan objectives. (p.37).

Other challenges of governance in Benue State include, ethnicity and tribalism property, unemployment, ignorance (that is, many people in state are ignorant of their environment and even what is their benefits in the state), corruption, instability and insecurity, the imposition of leaders by the political class or elites on the people, and hostility and antagonism among the political class. These and many others factors have vigorously retrogressed the state in all ramification of human development.

However, one can still admit that, despite these challenges there exist peace and stability in Benue State as well as elements of good governance among some of our leaders which need to be developed and encouraged.

In Chapter four the researcher discussed the biblical position or perspective for Christian's responsibility to a democratic system. Here the research stressed the origin of government as been instituted by God Himself. The research emphasized that, the leader in democratic system is God's servant or minister for the enhancement of God's creation and for bringing peaceful and harmonious relationship between human beings who are created in His image and likeness, rather than for making life burdensome for them. The chapter also put forward some values and models to assist Christians to be more effective in their responsibilities to the world. Christians are expected to do all things for the glory of God.

Chapter five which is mainly on Christian response to challenges of governance as it concern Benue State strongly call on Christians to take seriously their responsibility to

world created by God. The church believe that God. The church believe that God's image control over global powers and dynasties is rooted in his personal care for each person made in his image and likeness (Gen. 1:26,27) who he made stewards over his created order (Gen.1:28). Right from creation openness, transparency and responsibility which are characteristics of good governance were the central features of God's ideas for us (Gen.2:15-17). The chapter emphasized that the biblical concept of justice is profoundly concerned about good governance as it relates to interpersonal relationship as much as it is concerned about government to the people relationship.

A Christian theology of good governance learns heavily on the understanding that, from a biblical perspective agitation for good governance is not political action; it is written into God's moral code. This is the only way in which a just God can really be understood to be good in his own world. A critical reading from Isaiah 9:6,7 gave a type of government or leadership God wants for his world. The work call on Christians in Benue State ad Nigeria at large to see politics as the science and art of everyone's accountability to everyone, as the stewardship and responsibility of all for all: caring for everything that God cares for. The work therefore calls for a revisiting of the gospel as a source for the re-evangelization of the word. Since governance is about people it also affects people. Christians are then call to use their salvation or liberation proclaimed for all people in the word of God as a means to create transformation, a transformation that realizes the common good.

6.2 Conclusion

In fashioning the way forward out the challenges of good governance in Benue State, Christians in the state must take seriously the responsibility of caring for the poor and speaking for the poor and the neglected. They are to do this not just because it is morally right to do so but because such advocacy is a part of the essence of knowing God and making him know (Jer.22:16) the mission to declare God's goodness is integral to our mission in the world and integrated in our light shining task. As stated before, from whole biblical understanding the agitation for good governance is not just political action, but it is directly written into God's moral code.

Christians are call to be fully involved in shaping the politically selective in using theology to decide when to speak up. The Christian church all over world has made good use of the Bible in becoming politically engaged on pro-life and health of our children and families. As stated by Bandezande (1983):

If the church is to assume its responsibility to be Christ in the world, if Christians believe that Christian values and Christian centred life are good and Christian centred life are good and salutary for all people, then the church must model and reassert the strength and goodness of those values by demonstrating that they represent much more than one set of competing values in our increasingly value-complex society. (p.159).

From the above Christians are call to move into full participation in social, political, and educational decision making of all citizens in the state and the country at large created an erroneous impression where those who go in see political office as an avenue to feather their nest instead of instilling confidence into the populace with people oriented

programmes is worrisome and destructive to the min ideal behind good governance. This is clearly seen in our leaders, the attitude of our leaders has continually threatened the very existence of progress, unity and development of the citizen who have become victims of state affairs rather than being active participant and partners in progress. With good leadership that is free of corruption in Benue State and Nigeria at large, the present situation which has made many people poor, farmers productive in the agricultural sector, small business entrepreneurs and other related problems would be a thing of the past. The church is called to take after Christ to liberate the poor form their economic difficulties, and make them live worthily in anticipation of their eternal place of rest. Government alone cannot and should be expected to meet all the needs of its citizens. The church must come on board for economic development of every people and nation.

It is important to note that, if Christians are apathetic about expressing their views to take into account in making laws and regulations that affect how everyone lives. Vandezande (1983) put it clearly thus, “if society falls apart, voters will hold our political leaders responsible but God holds Christians responsible, for, for they are to be sacked and light in this perverse world of ours” (p.191).

The Christian church particularly have a leadership responsibility to people in the state assess the mechanistic model that dominates our social structures, to come to realize how imprisoned we are in these increasingly hardening institutions, and to use gospel values to humanize this machine that seems to run so many aspects of our lives. Vandezande (1983) also noted that, the “church is in a special position to achieve this because the church has a social memory or tradition that recalls the lasting values that society must preserve” (p.172). taking from the prophets of the old must gave offense by

insisting on values and objectives which are never particular with those in power, such as, justice which rolls down like waters, and righteousness like an overflowing stream (Amos 5:24) the church (Christians) must always give authentic witness to God words by rejecting all forms of evil government that do not consider the value of human beings as equally created in the image and likeness of God.

Finally, Benue people and the Nigeria at large must acknowledge that, God has no doubt been kind to us. He has blessed the state and the whole country with wonderful climate and abundant natural and human resources, wonderful people, resilient and hardworking. Our people are deeply religious and God fearing. Our ethnic and culturally diversity is a blessing yet to be fully realized. The work therefore calls for all of us for a self-critical examination of our different roles in and duties as Christians to this state (Benue State) and the nation to which most of us here belong as sons and daughters. Christians as people of God must fulfill their vocation on earth by announcing the good news of Jesus Christ, forgiveness and hope, a new heaven and a new earth; to denounce powers and principalities, sin and injustices; to console the widows and orphans, healing, restoring the broken-hearted, and to celebrate full life in the midst death.

6.3 Recommendation

Benue State is among few states across the country that are abundantly blessed with human and natural resources. This is capable of making the state rich thus making the citizens happy. However, since its creation the quality of life of the citizenry has not improved in line with the resources the state is blessed with. One concern of this research is that many Christians in the state believe that political governments that produce governance is not a Christian matter and even those who believed in Christian

participation are not actively involved to shape the situation for the common good. The writer, therefore, put forward the following Recommendations for Christian response to challenges of governance in Benue State.

1. Political re-orientation Religious leaders in state from all denominations need to give a better orientation to members on the need to get involved in political activities of the state. The ultimate goal should aim at achieving a new political order that is genuinely committed to justice, accountability, transparent political behaviour and good governance that focus on compassion especially for the poor needy and helpless.
2. Christians who are in any political position must take their responsibilities more seriously. They are to serve as examples to others on morals and values. The moral crises in our political activities or contemporary society are what breed bad governance. The earlier the church takes upon itself responsibility to re-address our value system the better our society will be. This according to Odediji (2005) who rightly observed that:

The participation of true Christians in Nigerian politics should be driven by the need to instill the fear of God into all public office holders through relentless pressure to advance and uphold positive values, habits, norms, mores, high leadership performance, high level of productivity and other patterns of productivity and other patterns of political behaviour that are consistent with building an enduring foundation for democracy and the presidential system of government. (p.50).

3. For good governance to be witness in the state there is ever need for Christians to preach and live on the teachings of Jesus on love of neighbour. They are to help in fostering the integration of the diverse ethnic group in state for peaceful-co-existence in state. With genuine integration of all members of the state good governance will be achieved.
4. Religious teachers in the educational sector. The church as a whole has a rich heritage that will educate the people on issues of integral development and common good. The challenge is that those teachings are not available in the primary and secondary schools which are the foundation for our future development. Even the religious teachers in our schools need some level of training to understanding theological meaning of some of these teachings in order to teach others. The church can make more efforts to post trained personnel (that is, seminary graduates) to teach at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels for education. The church can do it through seminars and workshops for religious teachers already in the field.
5. The church must preach against Ego politics: the historical development of politics in Benue State shows that politician in the end find it difficult to forgive and forget-wrongs among themselves. But many of these politicians profess Christianity and Jesus Christ as their Lord. According to Jibo (2014) these politicians are ego-driven. He States:

When a political actor's ego is unusually subsumed in his politics, every "wrong" done to him becomes magnified in his mind and it leads to deep feeling of bitterness and he only sees revenge as the next move. The Tiv Political elite needs to be more analytic in the moves he makes. Not all

disagreements should be taken to heart and made the basis of subsequent political calculations. (p.476).

When this is done it will bring about co-operation among politicians. And co-operation is considered important for good governance to take place.

6. Another recommendation for good governance is prayer: Christians need to pray and intercede for those in authority in governance for divine wisdom knowledge and understanding so that, peace, stability and prosperity could ultimately prevail. Christians must also pray that our state and nation will repent of its evil ways and that we, too, will increasingly become sensitive to the cry for peace that rises from the people being martyred by war. We and our churches and other Christian organizations must become channels of peace and servants of justice where we live and work. We must open ourselves and our neighbours to the renewing power of the gospel and help to break down the wall of selfishness, of arrogance and hate. The Christian church can also respond to challenges of governance by working patiently and persistently to show people through preaching on worship days the cause of mass poverty, and must do what it can to convince people that one of the fundamental criteria by which all political and economic institutions and practices must be tested in just this, what do they do to the poor and the general development of the society?
7. Increased role of the church. The church must re-establish itself in the fabric of society and reassert its moral and spiritual authority in the management of human affairs. The church must strike a balance between “Undue theological radicalism” that places material salvation at the core of its mission and a theological rigidity that

denies the necessity of constructive engagement with political power. It would be wrong theology to insist that politics is outside God consuming interest and concern; therefore, Christians have to be involved in politics as Christians, just as the church has to be concern about the state because the church is God's representative institution on earth.

8. Given the realities of bad governance facing the state churches (denominations in the state) are called to harness mutual capacities to work together because our vocation is derived from the moral imperative of our unity in diversity. Jesus is the embodiment of God's historical presence in the world and he is the one in whom we are offered new life and are united to the mystery of the Triune God.
9. Okedifi (2005) also recommended that "there is the need for Christians to constitute a strong interest or pressure group whose goals is the repeal of obnoxious act in the constitution and to help in sponsoring bills aimed at achieving good governance through elected member". (p.52). this is to help Christians to raise the level of awareness about their civic and political responsibilities. This will also increase political education to a largely illiterate group in a specialized area of immediate concern for their well-being.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

The way most Christians look at the world created by God and the way many of these Christians relate to reality is not so much the expression of a strictly Christian outlook as the extension of a more fundamental worldview.

In short, a specific system of theological thought hold by many Christians is more the effect than the cause of the fundamental categories that Christians use to integrate their theistic belief with reality in a given socio-political and economic context. Many values attitudes orientation and biases that are often presumed to be part of a distinctively Christian outlook simply stem from the conditions of material life of a particular social class in a dualist society. Christians historically live and first belong to a particular class with all its attending material condition, like the one we have in Nigeria today. This class position determines the basic understanding and outlook of many Christians on issues and realities round them. This class position forms the basic framework within which even leaders interpret the Christian faith and integrate it with socio-political and economic context. Thus, the dualist world view of these Christians belonging to the ruling class provides them with the categories to interpret religion, dogma, and the Bible in a manner that justifies the present socio political and economic order and perpetuates their privileged position in that order. Since the Christian institute is also part of the propertied ruling class, it protects its vested interest against the challenge hurled at the system by Christians themselves and the ruling class. All these are done in the name of upholding sound Christian doctrine.

This explosive insight can be further investigated by plunging deeply into the hard core economic, political, and cultural realities of life in the post modern Nigerian context. Another important area for further research is on the nature and lifestyle of most church leaders. They need to change their lifestyle so that, without being more identified with the privileged and elite, they can be more one with the poor and the oppressed- shedding their image of wealth, ridding themselves of surplus property, privileges, and

symbols of high living, and accepting the legal limitation of property and implication of labour laws. The issue of public justice and structural pluralism also call for a further research. Justice, reflecting the word of God, demands that governments must recognize and deal justly with diversity of beliefs, convictions, cultures and lifestyles that actually exist in its jurisdiction.

Government may not be an agent for enforcing adherence of particular religious beliefs, whether Christians or otherwise. It must protect the ability of different groups, especially minorities to live in conformity with their convictions. It must allow for the expression of diversity of such convictions in church and other confessional bodies. In economic, politics, education, cultural and personal life.

The natural environment is currently treated in our contemporary Nigeria as a collection of raw materials which are just objects for human domination or indiscriminate use. But we do not possess the world, we are only appointed by God to be its steward. Animals, plants and geographic areas have their own integrity. Christians must response to this altitude to ensure that nature is protected from undue exploitation or pollution, so that this integrity is respected when development is needed.

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APPENDIX 1

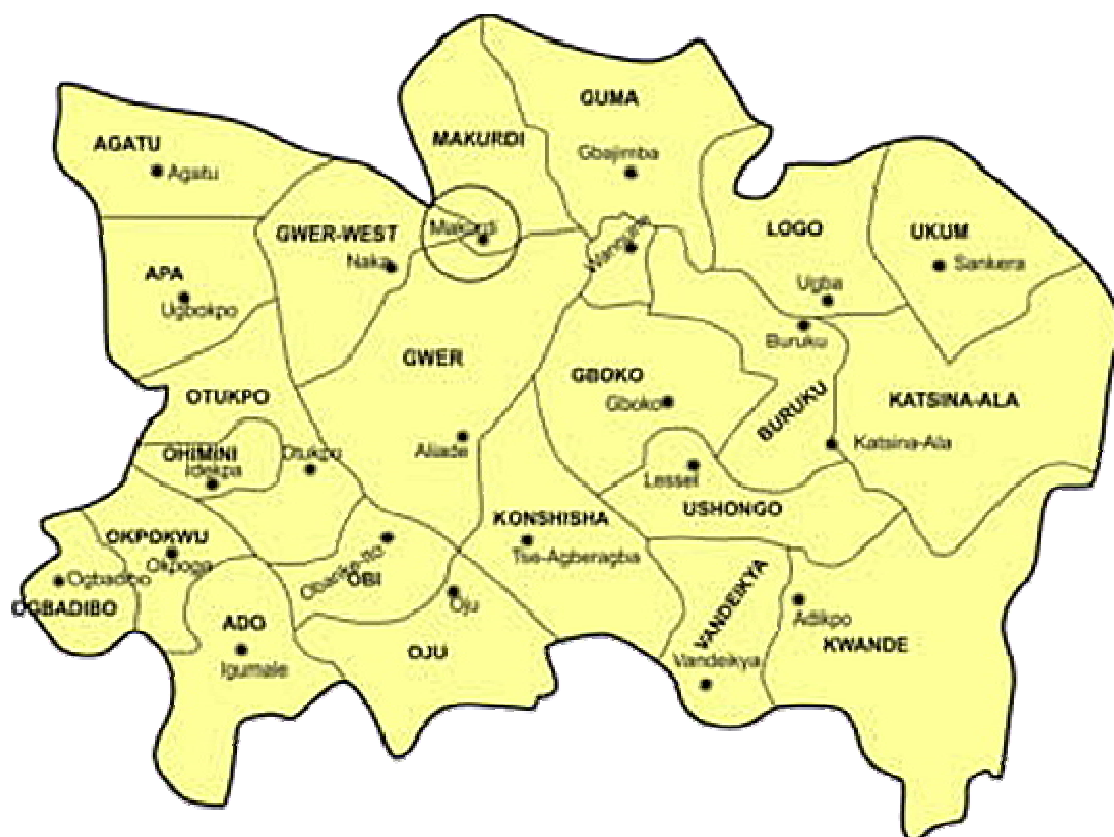
MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING ALL THE 36 STATE WITH FCT ABUJA



1. Anambra	7. Bayelsa	13. Edo
2. Enugu	8. Benue	14. Ekiti
3. Akwa Ibom	9. Borno	15. Gombe
4. Admawa	10. Corss River	16. Imo
5. Abia	11. Delta	17. Jigawa
6. Bauchi	12. Ebonyi	18. Kaduna
19. Kano	26. Niger	33. Sokoto
20. Katsina	27. Ogun	34. Taraba
21. Kebbi	28. Ondo	35. Yobe
22. Kogi	29. Osun	36. Zamfara
23. Kwara	30. Oyo	Federal Capital
24. Lagos	31. Plateau	Territory
25. Nasarawa	32. Rivers	

APPENDIX 2

MAP OF BENUE STATE SHOWING ALL THE 23 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS



LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN BENUE STATE

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Ado | 13. Logo |
| 2. Agatu | 14. Makurdi |
| 3. Apa | 15. Ogbadibo |
| 4. Buruku | 16. Ohimini |
| 5. Gboko | 17. Oju |
| 6. Guma | 18. Okpokwu |
| 7. Gwer-East | 19. Otukpo |
| 8. Gwer-East | 20. Tarka |
| 9. Katsina-Ala | 21. Ukum |
| 10. Konshisha | 22. Ushongo |
| 11. Kwande | 23. vandeikya |
| 12. Obi | |

APPENDIX 3

DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNORS OF BENUE STATE



APER AKU
BENUE STATE GOVERNOR, 1979-1983



REV. FR. MOSES ORSHIO ADASU
BENUE STATE GOVERNOR, 1992-1993



MR. GEORGE AKUME
BENUE STATE GOVERNOR, 1999-2007



RT. HON. DR. GABRIEL TORMUA SUSWAM
BENUE STATE GOVERNOR, 2007-TO DATE

APPENDIX 4

LIST SHOWING GOVERNANCE CAPACITY IN BENUE STATE.

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