



Political Elites and Socio-Economic Development in Rivers State: A Study Of 2007-2021 Administrations

Okparaibea Freedom¹, Akujuru, Chukwunonye Abovu²

^{1,2}Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Rivers State University, Nkpolu-Oroworukwo, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

Abstract

This work examined political elites and socio-economic development in Rivers State, a study of 2007-2021 Administrations. Four objectives and four corresponding research questions were raised for this study. Elite theory and political economy approach were used as the theoretical framework. A sample size of 220 respondents was drawn from the study population. The data were gathered using primary and secondary technique. The study made use of political elites and socio-economic development questionnaire as an instrument for data collection. Data generated were analyzed using arithmetic mean. Any item found equal or above 2.5 was accounted as "agreed" while item with a mean less than 2.5 was interpreted to be "rejected". The study identified some of policies and programmes of Amaechi and Wike's administration. The study found that Amaechi and Wike (2007-2021) have implemented some of their policies and programmes in Rivers State. The study found that, there are significant difference between Amaechi and Wike's administration in terms of health, education, employment. The study found that Wike has encouraged road construction and security more than Amaechi, While Amaechi's administration made more contributions to educational, health, scholarship, employment than Wike. The study found differences in terms of performance in area of health, education, employment, security and road in Rivers State. Therefore, werecommend that socio-economic development should be the paramount target of political elites as it stands as the compass that measures the implementation of their policies and programmes. This should go in conjunction with town hall meetings with the people, to enable smooth relationship and inclusive government in Rivers State.

Keywords: Political Elites, Socio-Economic Development, Policies, Programmes, Amaechi's Administration, Wike's Administration, Rivers State

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, the crisis of socio-economic development and its implementations are the most thoughtful problem facing Nigeria which is also applicable to Rivers State as a whole where the study was designed (Blanda, 2001). This is because the state has remained largely underdeveloped despite the presence of huge mineral and human resources. Several decades after the end of the white rule over the country (Blanda, 2001). A situation whereby the funds meant for the people and the development for the state, will be embezzled by those that control government for their selfish interest. According to Kiikpoye and Dawari (2010), hinted that the crisis of development in the country is the crisis of insecurity (Blanda, 2001). In all parts of the economy, the society is faced with crisis of high poverty rate, unemployment, high mortality rate, political instability, insecurity of lives and property, lack of portable water, good roads, etc. The government of every State, therefore, ensures the protection of societies against outside aggression (Anthony Egbueze, 2020). The political elites (Governors) are unwilling to provide all these socio-economic development to the state, it means that the state is a failed state and need an urgent restructuring.

In Nigeria today, the rate at which the expectation for rapid development of underdeveloped communities is gradually fizzling out; the accelerating pace of socio-economic and political crises; the over-widening division as a result of marginalization which leads to agitation on the resources control and confrontations between the people and state apparatus within the country; the threatening spread of war and war-prone technologies, all these in the face of ever-increasing human needs for the foods, security, peace and comfort. In most cases, from the fact that projects are being initiated and executed by the political elites without proper consultation with the benefiting Societies. In this regard, projects that are not needed by the People (Citizens) are sometimes executed (Nna and Ibaba, 2011).

The Nigeria Bureau of Statistic adopted that the fourth quarter unemployment rate for the year 2020 was 33.28% and annual poverty rate was 17.5%, while the poverty rate last updated by the statistical agency was in 2019 with a record of 40.1%. The 2021 poverty rate recorded by World poverty clock was 41% (Ibraheem, 2021).

Good governance is felt on the extent to which the expectations of the electorates are met by elected/appointed political office holders. Thus, the electorates expect public officials to meet up with certain expectations which are considered essential to their wellbeing. In difficult circumstance, the expectations range from the provision of food, clothing, shelter, employment, social infrastructure, economic development, medical facilities, agriculture, education, modern market, loan, award of scholarship, modern health center, electricity, portable water, ICT center for learners, industrial development, security of

lives and properties. Unfortunately, the expectations are not often met. According to Anyadike and Emeh (2014), most public office holders loot and embezzle public treasury and could not be said to be serving the public. For example, the list of looters released by the federal government in March 2018 contained names of prominent public office holders (elected and appointed) who had once served the country (Sahara Reporters, 2018).

This research looked into the operations of Political Elites in relations to Socio-Economic Development in Rivers State, a study of Amaechi and Wike's Administration, on how they have been able to use their governorship office to provide social amenities like good roads, free and basic education, security of lives and properties, free medical care, health centers, equity, social justice, employment, empowerment, shelter, accountability and transparency bridges, flyovers, etc, in Rivers State.

Objectives of the study

The purpose of this study is to examine the political elites, and efforts made towards socio-economic development in Rivers State while assessing Amaechi and Wike's Administration from 2007 to 2021. To achieve this purpose, the following specific objectives were scrutinized:

1. Identify if there are significant differences in policies and programmes of health, education, employment, road and security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State.
2. Examine whether Amaechi and Wike's Administration have been able to implement the policies and programmes made with regards to health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State
3. Assess whether there are any significant differences in efforts made between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State.
4. Examine if there are significant differences in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration.

Research Questions

1. Are there significant differences in policies and programmes of health, education, employment, road and security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State?
2. Have Amaechi and Wike's Administration differently implemented most of their policies and Programmes in regard to Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State?
3. Are there significant differences in efforts made between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State?
4. What are the differences in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration?

Research Hypotheses

Based on the above research questions the following null hypotheses are drawn.

Ho₁: There are no significant difference in policies and programmes of Health, education, employment, road, security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State.

Ho₂: The Amaechi and Wike's Administration have not differently implemented most of their policies and Programmes in regard to Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State.

Ho₃: There are no significant differences in efforts made between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State

Ho₄: There are no significant differences in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

This study focuses on political elites and social economic development like health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc in Rivers State, a study of Amaechi and Wike's Administration. In view of this, the research made use of elite theory in analyzing the study.

The Elite Theory Perspective

The pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria has to be examined from the nature and character of the ruling elites that emerged after the country's independence. Fundamentally, the position of elite theory runs contrary to tenets of democracy (equality of individual). The elite groups believe that they are the chosen minority elements of the population who by virtue of their education, wealth, economic and political status must dominate and rule perpetually. The elite groups cut across all facets of human endeavor and their goal is to dominate and create two sets of classes in a society. The position of contemporary Nigerian elites is at variance with fundamental tenets of democracy which prescribed equalities, liberties and fundamental human rights among other attributes. This however, explains the self-centered orientation inherited by Nigerian elites in post-independence period. It is therefore, not surprising that many theorists of African politics trace the problem of political corruption to debauchery of colonial rule (Ekeh, 1975). The first generation of Nigerian elites that took over state apparatus of governance from the colonial masters was heavily dependent on western countries for economic support and political mentorship. As the country's economy became a reinter one, the structure of neo-colonialism was thus established. With little or no idea on art of governance, Nigerian elites assumed power but lacked material base to develop. The new elites took over power, developed and propagated all forms of primitive accumulation; through kickbacks, looting of state treasury and other forms of corrupt practices. This in consequence led to series of contradictions into political life of the first Republic which translate into systemic corruption and pillage of state resources and among other factors culminated into the collapse of the Nigerian first Republic. Therefore, the struggles of emerging elites for state power and primitive accumulation are the underlying factors for grand corruption in Nigeria. Odinlilu (2010) observed that political mentality in Nigeria presently is that politics is a means of acquiring wealth and that the end justifies the means. Thus, corruption is rampant at the corridors of power than private establishment with several Governors, Permanent Secretaries, Senators and House of Representatives members are under the watch list of EFCC. On this note, Ibrahim and Odekunle (2001) observed that the Nigerian state has been transformed into a patrimonial and reinter one in which those who are in control of state power and strategic bureaucratic offices used their positions for private gains.

Elite theory, Osai (2006) said that public policies like health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc may also be viewed as the preferences and values of the governing elite. Although it is often asserted that public policy reflects the demands of "the people" who are, generally, apathetic and ill-informed about public policy, elite theory holds that "elites actually shape mass opinion on policy questions more than masses shape elite opinion". Thus, public policy really turns out to be the preferences of elites. The socio-economic development like health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc, move "downward" from elites to masses; they do not arise from mass demands.

Elites Theory can be summarized as follows:

1. Society is divided into the few who have and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society, the masses do not decide public policy.
2. The few who govern are not typical of the masses that are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socioeconomic strata of society.
3. The movement of non-elites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. The out group, non-elites, who have accepted the basic elites consensus, can be admitted to governing circle.
4. Elites share consensus in behalf of the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system. In America, the bases of elite consensus are the sanctity of private property, limited government, and individual liberty.
5. Public policy like health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc, does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values of the elites; changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.
6. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites.

The implications of Elite theory

First of all, elitism implies that public policies like health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc, does not reflect demands of the people; so much as it does the interest and values of elites; therefore, change and innovations in public policy come about as a result of redefinitions, of their own values. Because of general conservation of elites, change in public policy will be incremental than revolutionary.

Second, elitism views the masses as largely passive apathetic and ill-informed; mass sentiments are more often manipulated by elites, rather than elite values being influenced by the sentiments of masses flows downward. Therefore, popular elections and party competition do not enable the masses to govern. Policy questions are seldom decided by the people through elections or through the presentation of policy alternative by political parties.

Third, elitism also asserts that members share in a consensus about fundamental norms underlying the social system, that elites agree on the basic "rules of the game" as well as the continuation of the social system itself. The stability of the system, and even its survival, depends upon elite consensus will be given serious consideration.

Conceptual review

The Concept of Elites

Ekeh (1983) has defined elite as small minorities who play an exceptionally influential part in the affairs of society in specific fields. He further described political elite as decision-makers whose power is not subject to control by any other body in the society. Nnoli (1981) maintains that political elite are those who have an influence over the fate of the society because of their superiority.

According to Almond (1960) the elites are now termed 'power elite' for the political elite who monopolies power and rule the country. Blander (2001) has called them 'governing elite', Marx, referred to them as 'ruling class', Riesman as 'veto group', and Floyd Hunter as 'top leaders'. This shows that elites are the determinant factor that play a major role both in political scene and economy of the state.

An elite is as elected and small group of citizens and/or organizations that controls a large amount of power and the resources. Based on the social distinction with regard to other groups of lower strata (Dalo, 2010), most of these selected groups are constantly searching differentiation as well as separation from the rest of society. Normally the concept of elite is used to analyze the groups that either control or are situated at the top of societies. The creation of an elite is also the result of their evolution throughout the history of humanity. Several groups are constantly seeking different social resources in order to define their specificity.

Elites and social distinction have along vibrant history. Since the beginning of the Greek society and the Roman Empire social status has been relevant. Whereas Greek society was mainly broken up between free people and slaves, the social structure of ancient Rome was based on property, wealth, citizenship and freedom, with a significant importance of heredity. Even though in both societies social stratification existed, in the case of the latter social status was established through objective norms (Grant, 1978). Later on, in both Middle Ages and in Modern Times this form of distinction through the social status prevailed, and probably it could be considered as the main principle of social organization currently. Research in social sciences has emphasized the tendency of elites to persist and reproduce their power overtime at "political and economic levels, potentially undermining the effectiveness of institutional reforms. For instance, one specific form of elite persistence is illustrated by the existence of dynasties, a particular form of elite persistence in which a single or few family groups monopolize either political and/or economic power" (Querubin, 2011:2).

Political Elites

Historically, elite height of politicians is more and more involved in full-time careers in or put up the shutters to politics, often preparatory as student political leaders and then serving on leading politicians' staffs or holding paid positions in parties; they may also draw closer from politically relevant careers as a leader, journalism, public relation, and think tanks, etc.

Political Elites are group of people, corporations, political parties and/or any other kind of civil society organization who manage and organize government and all the manifestations of political power: "elites may be defined as persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organizations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially" (Higley, 2008). Social class and elites are linked. Scholars have shown that one of the main aspects in the conformation of elites is given by social class patterns (Moore, 1966; Huck felid and Kohfeld, 1989; Lane, 2007). The most influential perspectives in sociological research historically have been provided from Marxism and Functionalism (Wright, 2005). Max Weber's sociology developed a strong theoretical frame work for understanding the connection between social strata and political action in modern societies influenced by Marx's ideas, Weber created a theory of social stratification arguing that power could take a variety of forms in the social inters play. He emphasized the idea that besides class, there were other sources of power in modern societies, such as the status, which was defined by consumption (Weber, 1946, 1964, 1978).

Since the 1970s, a wide range of sociological empirical research has mainly focused on explaining social determinants on ruling elites. Considering topics such as social origins, type of education, socio economic status, social and political capital among others, several scholars has analyzed what factors explain the creation of elites as well as how they evolve in time. The main principle of this kind of research was the Weberian sociological concept of "elective affinity" (Weber, 1958), which define the association between certain variables defined by beliefs, actions, and/or unknowing or unexpected consequences of social action (Howe, 1978).

The Concept of Development

Development seen as a process which creates growth, progress, positive change or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social and demographic components. The idea of development is a rise in the level and the quality of life of the population, and the creation or expansion of local regional income and health, education, employment opportunities, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc, without damaging the resources of the environment. It is noticeable, useful, and meaningful, not necessarily straight away, and includes an aspect of quality change and the creation of situations for a continuation of that transformation.

Though the desirability of development is not in doubt, the path to development is one that attracts a lot of quarrels and disagreement among scholars, statesman and multilateral aid agencies. Rogers (1969), cited in Obi and Nwanegbo (2006.p3), explain that development has been seen as a social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capital incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization.

Rodney (1972) sees development both from the level of the individual and that of the society as a whole. At the level of the individual, development implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. On the side of the society, development cannot be seen purely as economic affairs, but rather as an overall social process which is dependent upon the outcome of man's efforts to deal with his natural environment.

Rostow's seminal work (1971), reclaims Social Darwinism to explain development as a process of evolutionary succession in stages, where human societies leave a rudimentary model until they arrive at a western industrialized civilization consumption model, which is considered unique and universal. In Ribeiro's approach (2005, p.11), the sense of the word development, in various areas of knowledge, converges to "a state, process, well-being, progress, economic and human growth or ecological balance". The South Commission [SUD] (1990, p.10) defines the term as "a maturing and development process of self that frees the population from fear and exploitation". Both understandings seem to diverge and advance in relation to the idea by the most traditional students of the theme to whom development is usually seen as a phenomenon that fundamentally interests developed countries (Ribeiro, 2005). An international institutional vision such as that of United Nations Development Program [UNDP] (1991, p.77), on the other hand, also suggests an interpretation of what development is: "expanding the range of choices for the population that allows development to become more democratic and participative. (...) access to (*sic*) income... participation in of human, economic and political liberties".

The Concept of Socio-Economic Development

Socio-economic development are those social amenities that are meaningful to the people, such as health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment like loans, skill acquisition, scholarship, etc. Socio-economic development is the change in the society in relation to social and economic proportions. It incorporates public concerns in developing social policy and economic initiatives. The aim and objective of socio-economic development is to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual, groups, family, community, and society at large. It also involves provision of social amenities to the people, like shelters, roads, schools, medical health care, security of lives and properties, recreational centers, loans, portable water, scholarship, airports, railways, markets, building of industries, etc.

In this work, it can be measured with an indicators like assessment of efforts of administrations, identification of policies and Programmes, the level of implementation of those policies, and Programmes, and challenges for non-implementation of policies and Programmes in regards to socio-economic development in Rivers State.

Many terms in the social sciences suffers general acceptability in times of definition or meaning of each ward and the concept socio-economic development is not left out in this saga. Socio-economic development, therefore, is the process of social and economic development in a society. For a better understanding of socio-economic development, we may understand the meaning of social and economic development separately. Social development is a process which results in the transformation of social institutions in a manner which improves the capacity of the society to fulfill its aspirations. It implies a qualitative change in the way the society shapes itself and carries out its activities, such as through more progressive attitudes and behavior by the population, the adoption of more effective processes or more advanced technology. As you see in the illustration below, there is a close relation among environments, ways of living and technology. Economic development is the development of the economic wealth of countries or regions for the well-being of their inhabitants. Economic growth is often assumed to indicate the level of economic development. The term "economic growth" refers to the increase (or growth) of specific measures such as real national income, gross domestic product, or per capital income. The term economic development, on the other hand, implies much more. It is the process by which a nation improves the economic, political, and social wellbeing of its people (Jatinverma, (2020).

Socio-economic development, thus, is a process of improvement in a variety of ways. It has to influence all aspects of human life in a country. Its major indicators are health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties are specific measures of socio-economic development in the society. The variables are focused on the overall quality of life that people enjoy in a country, the opportunities they have and the freedoms they enjoy. (Jatinverma, 2020).

Health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, etc, are the process that never transpires outside of definite social environments. The particular strength and weakness of certain development forces and structures inherent in stat formation which development actors' purse is one option but elites overriding concern have a powerful influence, if not the determining factor on course of national development. Development has in fact been theoretically linked with elite theory since the heyday of modernization ideology when it was assumed that suitably committed elites would hopefully be agents of modernization in less developed or backward countries once they had their reckoning with traditional elites, (kia and Vurasi, 2013).

The concept of sustainable development is related to the need for the institutionalization of best business practices by companies, corporations and sundry business concerns as well as governments in processes of production, distribution and consumption, vis-à-vis their economic, socio-political and environmental spheres of activity. According to World Development Report (2003), sustainability is an evolving framework. It stated that societies will continue to transform overtime and since significant social stress and crisis is likely to lead to a break down in the development and preservation of all assets, inter-generational well-being is bound to be jeopardized sustainable development has been described as that development that meets the needs and aspirations of the Present generations, without compromising the ability to meet the need of future generations. Sustainable development strategy may therefore be seen as facilitator for balancing the conservation of nature's resources with the need for industrial and technological development and advancement put differently, it connotes the capacity to improve the quality of human life while living within the Carrying capacity of the supporting ecosystem (Agagu, 2008).

Rivers State

Rivers State is located in the Delta region (South-south zone) of Southern Nigeria. Rivers State covers 11,077 square kilometers. Rivers State is constrained on the North by Anambra, Imo and Abia States, the south by the Atlantic ocean, the west by Bayelsa and Delta State and the east by Akwa Ibom state. Rivers State has topography of the fairly flat plain caught in the web of 72 rivers, creeks, and tributaries, creating what Okonny (2002) denotes to it as a water environment. Foremost of these rivers include New Calabar, Orashi, Bonny, Sombrero, St. Bartholomew and Suntan Barbara Rivers. There exist a balance between these and the land as Okonny (2002) noted that “these is either gaining on the land mass or the land is gaining on the sea.” The 23 Local Government Area of Rivers State also has their different and broadly similar geo morphemic and Geo technical zones. The zones include, salt water, freshwater, Transitional and freshwater upland salt water (marine) coastal. These zones constitute the major environmental zones of the Eastern Nigeria Delta (Bell-Gam 2002). The monthly rain fall in Rivers State is almost expectable and follows a temporal order to rise towards July-August before reducing in the dry season months of November-February. Oyegun and Ologun (2002) noted “the weather and climate of Rivers State is a function of its geographical location within the humid tropical environment, the short distance away from the Atlantic Ocean, the urban factor of pollution and the prevailing Tropical Maritime (Tm) air mass which blows over the state at different times of the year.



Fig. 2.1: Showing Rivers State Map

Source: Researchgate.net, 2022

The Roles of Political Elites (Elected and Appointed) in Rivers State

The political elites mastermind lots of intrigues and manipulations. Thus, the roles of individual representatives who act as intermediaries between the citizens and their rulers become crucial (Osibanjo, 2021). But again, if those rules are not properly defined, some of those representatives eventually become rulers and invariably elite members.

According to Schmitter (2021), instead of being ruled by a few politicians’ or ‘polito-crazy’, which is typical of Nigeria democracy. Osibanjo (2021) also notes that it is the political elites that will determine what will take place and every conflict is a result of elite’s failure, the elite failure to speak up and tell the truth to their communities, which is the course of every one of their civic conflicts. In this regard participation should be in choice irrespective of tribes, ethnicity, or gender. Ezeani (2003), also state that there is need for a shift in sovereignty. This shift will enable us deal with official corruption among elites and strategic policy formulation that will take the influence of these elites. This will help to reconfigure Nigeria state in such a way that its transaction will be transparent to both the citizens and the political elites.

In this regard, it explains why health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment, electricity, water projects, and all other infrastructural facilities in Rivers State are collapsed. This as well, explains widespread in security of lives and properties in Nigeria (the May 2021 killings in Owerri, Imo state and Oyo are recent instances). Violence and corruption are the political resources now (Transparency international, 2000)

According to Iyekekpolo, (2020) said they sponsored insurgences directly and indirectly, such as Boko Haram and herdsmen insurgences currently affecting Nigeria's security.

Political elites, both elected and appointees are those officials whose responsibilities are for high-level decision making in government. These categories of persons had received revenue, manage, direct and are in-charge of day-to-day affairs of public administration at any level. They are mainly politicians elected into public positions of trust and their appointees. Every political office holder is a public servant but every public servant is not a political office holder. (Charles and Amobi, 2020).

The executive branch is headed by the Governor, assisted by the Deputy Governor, both elected. The governor appoints the heads of parastatals, state-owned bodies, judicial officers, permanent secretaries and members of the Executive Council with the exception of the deputy. The political office holders such as the Governor, etc, makes the direct policies, decisions, programmes, monitor, and ensure that all are implemented by the civil service in the state. The civil service is administered by the head of service, a career civil servant, with each ministry managed by a permanent -secretary. The commissioner is responsible for policy, while the permanent secretary provides continuity and is responsible for operations.

Having known the political elites in the previous articulation herein; a selected candidates, appointees etc. here, we want to look at various reports of authors about the elections, economic manners of the political elites and the perception of the masses to see if they met the target of the people or what true democracy meant in present day as to tell the level of the aforementioned state under study its social economic development status. Paul, (2016) opinions in his article that All Progressives Congress (APC) government should come out and define the corruption they said it claims to be fighting. This is very important because what happened in some parts of Rivers State last weekend is, to say the least, he said, was very unfortunate and embarrassing. To him, the bedrock of corruption is electoral fraud. There is basically no moral justification for still keeping the likes of Nnamdi Kanu, Sambo Dasuki and others behind bar if what happened in some parts of Rivers State during the rerun could still happen in this 21st century, in the world's most populous black nation.

He further asks the essence of sending platoons of security agents to Rivers State before the election as if there was an external aggression? I am aware that there might be few lapses in the elections conducted during the PDP era, but I am also aware that CHANGE means that there would be improvements and turn around in the way things used to be done. What we saw in Rivers State shows that this change is indeed a backward change. In Abonema there were about 600 security men in one unit but the tension could not allow election to be held. Why? The forces against rigging were more than those for rigging. That is a big shame to the so-called anti-corruption fighters,

What is the moral justification for imposing a candidate on the people? When has it been mandatory that one particular candidate must represent a particular set of people? If we can easily rush to congratulate Ghana and pledge to work with the opposition candidate that just won the presidential election, why is it then difficult in this part of the world to allow the opposition thrives? If it is not arresting members of the opposition parties over trumped up corruption charges and running them down on the pages of news papers, it will be refusing to release them when a court of competent jurisdiction grants them bail (Paul, 2016). This is just to review the social development standard in Rivers state as similar occurrence likely occurred in various places in Rivers state elections.

Rivers State is made up of 23 Local Government Areas and Human Rights Watch has found that furthestmost part their performance has been a shocking and disastrous failure. This view is widely shared among residents of Rivers State, academics, civil society groups and even government officials. Although their budgets have grown dramatically in recent years, most have not made any serious effort to meet their most central obligations. (Hrw.org/reports/2007).

Similar opinions were voiced by many state government and foreign donor agency officials. One official with a foreign donor agency who had overseen arrange of development projects in Rivers State told Human Rights Watch that local-level corruption in the state“ is so ingrained that people do not even expect to receive any services from the people who are paid to deliver it. ”Inemeh Friday, Rivers State's Auditor General for Local Government, was more reserved but spoke of the need to “restore sanity” to the state's local governments.

In fact, in many cases such sentiments do not exaggerate reality at all. Many local governments throughout Rivers State have become mired in patterns of corruptions pervasive and so debilitating that, with the exception of paying civil service salaries, they have virtually ceased to perform any of the duties assigned to them. Some local government chairmen do not even reside in their local governments, returning there only to pay salaries and give out the remainder of their monthly allocations as patronage. The problem has become so widespread that exceptions to the dismal norm are rare. An official of the Federal Economic and Financial Crimes Commission based in Port Harcourt told Human Rights Watch that, “To say that [local government] everywhere is a disaster is not affair assessment, but it is not far from the truth.”(Hrw.org/reports/2007). Davies (2020), Reported that the Legislative Assembly of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of Rivers State has impeached the Executive Chairman of the Council, Hon Victor Odili, over alleged embezzlement of N150 million project funds. The Assembly which effected the impeachment process during its sitting on Tuesday said the money was meant for the building of a market in the area.

The Policies and Programmes of Amaechi's and Wike's Administration

This is to study the policies and programmes made by the former Governor of Rivers State, Rt. Hon. Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi and the present Governor of Rivers State, Chief Barr. EzenwoNyesom Wike's Administration, 2007-2021.

The Policies and Programmes of Amaechi's Administration:

The former Governor of Rivers State, Rt. Hon. Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi in 2007 made a lots of promises and policies as soon as he took oaths of an office, as the Governor of Rivers State. The economic policies includes the construction of Obiri Ikwerre inter-change flyover, building of 250 model primary school and health Centers all the 23 LGAs in Rivers State, construction and dualization of the Owerri/Airport road which is one of the federal roads in Rivers State, investment in agriculture like, Buguma fish farms, the Ogoni Banana farm, Songhai farm in Ebubu Eleme. Also assure the people of Rivers State that his administration shall tackle insecurity, that will attract the investors and make the state safe Haven for them. Furthermore, promised to run transparent and accountable government, recruit 3,000 Non-indigenes into the state the work force, reconstruct more roads in the rural area and urban cities like Elekahia road, Trans-Amadi road, expansion of Ikwerre road, bridges, award scholarship to the youth and indigenes of Rivers State to study Abroad, Greater Port Harcourt, reposition of Rivers State University (RSU), create wealth, jobs, etc.

Achievements of the Amaechi's Administration 2007-2015

* Dualization of Rumuokwuta- Choba East-West Road; Construction of Eleme Junction flyover; construction of Omofo-Agaba Ndele Road; Dredging Works/Roads at Opobo New layout; construction of Ozuzu to CDC Isu-OgidaOwuegbu; dualization of Airport-Isiokpo/Omereluroad; dualization of Ada-George phases 1 and 2/ Choba phase 2 NTA/ Choba Airport; dualization of First Bank/Rumuomasiroad; dualization of Rumuola/Rumuokwutaroad; dualization of slaughter-trans Amadi/Rumuobiakaniroad.

* Construction of bridge at Bolo Creek with approaches; shore protection and land reclamation of Egbomung/Oluk-Ama; dualization of Eneka-Igbo Etchelink road; construction of Apani internal roads; construction of Nyokhanalink road with bridge from Luuwa to Bere; Construction of Odiolugbani-Enito 1 and 2 - Oshie Road; Expansion of Mbiama-Akinimaro; construction of Okeh-Ihie-Apani Omereluroad; construction of Bori internal roads phase; construction of Abua/Okobaclose Rumuibekwe with extension to Elelewo; construction of Ikuru town Atlantic ocean road; construction of Okeh-Mba-Umuaturu-AkpokuObite 21km with bridge.

* Reconstruction of town market; dualization of Rumuokwuta-Eneka-Igwurutaroad; construction of Abuloma-Wojiroad bridge; construction of Akpajo-Wojiroad/bridge; construction of Ada-George/East West roadjunction flyover with rotary turning and service lanes; dualization of Azikiwe road (UTC) junction-Lagos bus stop; completion of Airport-Igwuruta-Rumuokororoad.

* Reconstruction of Wojiroad in GRA phase 2 with drains and construction of Sani Abacha/ Ntanwogba storm water drainage; reconstruction of Ikwerre road from education to Agipflyover; reconstruction/AS halt overlay of Igwuruta-Ohokoho-Okohiroad; reconstruction of Ken Saro Wiwaroad and flood control works around Ken Saro Wiwa Road/Ezimgbulink road- aba road; expansion/resurfacing of Kpopie-Bodo city road; Shore/protection Works at Ndoni; Dualization of Isiokpo-Ubima-Omareluroad; construction of Okrikaring road; construction of unity road Ogoni-Andoni-Opboroad; expansion of Okpororoad; reconstruction of Edeoha-Ikata-Ochigbaroad; reconstruction of Ozuoba-Ogbogoro-Rumuoluminiroad.

* Dualization of Chief G.U. Ale road; construction of Nyowii-Dae-Lueku-Bagha-Seme Lueku-School to land road; expansion of Amadi-Ama Abulomaro; expansion of Olu-Obasanjo road to six lanes and rehabilitation of Omoku street, Okomoko street and Okomoko street spur; dualization of Epirikom-Rumuoluminiroad; construction of Elioparanworoad; construction of dual carriage access road to the Airforce base flyover; reconstruction of Omuanwa-Elele road and Elele internal roads; reconstruction of eastern bypass, Amadi-Ama Oginigbaroad; construction of East/West bypass and Ahoada town link roads; Construction of Or Ekpo Odolu/Awabia and Chinda street; construction of Timothy lane, Rumuola/Ohiaminiaccess road; construction of Omuanwa internal roads; construction of Rukpokwu-Eneka/Eneka- Eliozulink road.

* Construction of Model Health centers in all the wards in 23 LGAs, with fencing, landscaping, furnishing, generator, and deployment of doctors and nurses; construction of 513 model primary school, fencing, landscaping, furnishing, ICT, and deployment of teachers; construction of 24 model secondary schools in 23 LGAs; construction of 3 model junior secondary schools.

* Scholarship abroad of 309 rivers students studied in malaysia while 95 studied in russia, 28 students were sent to germany, 8 retrained as instructors; equipment of vocational school; deployment of educampsolution; education management information system (EMIS) collection and procession of all education data

* Induction of 13,201 teachers and internship programmes and annual training and training of teachers, payment of teachers of salaries as at when due; free books distribution project to primary and secondary schools, provision of school chairs to pupils; Rivers State education quality assurance agency

The Policies and Programmes of Wike's Administration:

Governor Nyesom Wike while addressing the people of Rivers State on campaign rally in 2015 elections, made a promise to create an environment that promotes balanced economic growth, thriving private investments secure environment, and good jobs; to build a state of shared prosperity and proper consultation with the people if necessary; a place of bundles opportunity for all residents; and a state we can truly call our native home, our pride, our heritage, while looking in to the future with optimism.

Wike's Administration also vowed pledge that every local government area will be impacted with at least one legacy project and that he will not leave any uncompleted project behind for his successor, including Amaechi's abandoned projects in the state. The Governor support to build more roads, bridges, said that the money belongs to the people of Rivers State therefore will run transparent and accountable government, reduce unemployment and create more jobs for the youths; tackle insecurity, reconstruction of government house jetty and build new convocation arena for the University of Port Harcourt, moreflyovers; Trans-Kalabari Road; Bori-Kono Road; Aluu-Omagwa Road, new Campuses of RSU at Emuoha ,Etche and Ahoada, as well as projects at Nigeria Law School. Other projects are, Government Secondary School, Kpor, Gokana; Ogbunabali/Eastern Roads; Omerelu internal Roads and Abonnema /ObonomaSandfilling; Woji-Aleto-Alesa Road; Okochiri internal Road, Omuma and the Rehabilitation Centre, and Iriebe road. Further pledge to build National industrial Court, Judges Quarters; Rivers State University (RSU) Senate Building; Isaiah Odolu street, GRA; Herbert Macaulay /Nzimiro Streets; Rumuigbo Streets, William Jumbo /Ernest Ikoli/Elem Streets, Old GRA, Community Secondary Schools at Obiagu, Oyigbo and Eteo, Elem; National Union of Rivers State Students Secretariat and pabod Breweries/Oginiba Roads, etc. (guardian.ng)

All these and many more are the campaign promises and economic plan Governor Nyesom Wike's Administration to the people of Rivers State. Using the taxes, revenue and allocation meant for the state to accomplish all of these promises. The aim and objectives of this study will be to hear from the people of Rivers State if all these policies and Programmes have been implemented.

Achievements of the Wike's Administration 2015-2021

* Upgrade and expansion of secondary schools across the state, such as Enitonnahigh school and government comprehensive high school, Borikiri in Port Harcourt LGA; upgrade of facilities at the Rivers State University (RSU) and the campuses of the institution in Ahoada, Emohua and Etchelocal government areas, like construction of faculty building, hostels, offices, libraries, auditoriums, lecture halls and address other needs required for the campuses to operate maximally.

* Scholarship schemes, for Rivers indigenes studying at PAMO University of Medical Science in Rivers State; the Rivers State cassava processing plant, with over 3,000 local cassava farmers, at Oyigbo; the real Madrid Football Academy; Building of labour House for the Nigeria labor congress (NLC), and the Secretariat Building of the Trade Union Congress (TUC); Mother and Child Hospital, Rumuomasi.

* Opobo/Nkoro Road; Odufor-Umuoye Road Etche; Umueze-Umuogberi-Eberi Road; Omuma and the Rehabilitation centre, Iriebe; National Industrial Court; Judges Quarters; Rivers State University (RSU) senate building; Isaiah Odolu street, GRA; Herbert Macaulay/Nzimiro Streets; William Jumbo/ Ernest Ikoli /Elem Streets; old GRA; community secondary schools at Obiagu, Oyigbo and Eteo Elem; National Union of Rivers State students secretariat and pabod Breweries/Oginibaroad; Aluu-Rumuekini Road; Aluu- Omagwa Road; Omuokiri, Omuoko, OmuiechiAluu Roads; Obiri Ikwerre Airport Road; Rumuepirikom Overhead bridge; Rumuola flyover; Rumuokoro flyover; GRA flyover; 1st and 2nd Artillery flyover; Garrison flyover; Ogbunabalisandfilling reclamation.

* Trans-Kalabariroad; Bori-Kono road; Nigeria Law School at Agip; government secondary school, Kpor, Gokana, Ogbunabali/Eastern Bypass Road; Ogbakiri internal roads; Omerelu internal roads and Abonnema/ObonomaSandfilling; Woji-Aleto-Alesa Road; Mgbuitanworoads; Okochiri internal roads; OkrikaSandfilling; reconstruction of Government House jetty; Cancer/Cardiovascular Disease Diagnostic and Treatment Centre ongoing, etc.

Source: Vanguardngr.com/2021

Empirical Review

Blanda,(2001)hascalledthepoliticalelite,'governingelite', Karl Maxreferred to themas'rulingclass',Riemannas'vetogroup'andFloydHunteras'topleaders'. It is observable that political elites in rivers state where this study was designed are group of people that organized government in order to determine the political powers, the policy making, revenue allocation and means of production in the state. In a civilized society the connection between the political elites such as the governor and other political office holders to the people (masses) is close, cordial and ready to spark development in that society. According to elites theory, it argued that the elites, the Blanda (2001) called "governing elite", took over power, developed and propagated all form of primitive accumulation, through kickbacks, looting of state treasury and other forms of corrupt practices. This in consequence led to series of contradictions into political life of the first republic which translated into a systematic corruption and pillage of resources and among other factors culminated into the collapse of the Nigeria first republic. Therefore, the struggles of emerging elites for state power and primitive accumulation are the underlying factors for grand corruption in Nigeria.

Allen, (2011) argued that the problem of public policy failure in Nigeria has engaged and will continue to engage critical minded scholars and activities for a long time. Further said that a lot of citizens in Nigeria are quick to point out that most Government policies and programmes that are not able to meet people's quest for basic condition of life such as health, education, employment, food, security, clothing, shelter, and clean environment. In Fedelis Allen assertion in policies and programmes failure in Nigeria, policies and programmes should be peoples program orientate in the society. The masses should be given free hands and opportunity to be meeting with their leaders in town hall meetings to express their views towards the public policies and

programmes. Anderson (2003) argued that policy is a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by all actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern. It means that when a public policy or promises are made and formulated, but not fully implemented, the implication is that such policies or promises have fail to produce expected results.

Lane (2000) argued also that ethnic power relations involved in the policy process, the absent of elites that contribute to a positive political transformation makes decision making and implementation of policies in Nigeria complex, chaotic, uncertain, unpredictable, and sometimes, solutions not always being aligned with national realities as the main actors bureaucrats and politicians are concerned either with the ethnic interest or with their own parochial interests. In this concept, policy making and campaign promises is an incremental process in which adjustments are continuously made to deal with development problems related to complexity, uncertainty and ignorance about the major issues influencing the trajectory of the development process. Therefore, development problems in Nigeria states centers around the political elites abuse of development policy process, which comprises a set of four elements namely: The constitution of power, The distribution of power, and control of power.

METHODOLOGY

Descriptive research design was used in conducting this study. The data used for this study were collected through two main sources namely primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was obtained through questionnaire which was designed and distributed to respondents by the researcher. The secondary source of data was obtained from the view of related literatures. In order words, the researcher used textbooks, internet sources, published works, journals/periodicals and official documents with relevant ideas. The researcher made use of Rivers state University library to mention but few.

The area under study is Rivers State. It has a population of 5,198,716 as of the 2006 census; Rivers State is the 6th most populous state in the country.

Given the large population of citizens (respondents) in Rivers State and their widespread in the state against time and financial constraints faced by the researcher, it is practically impossible to cover all the (23) local government in Rivers State. In this study, Arithmetic Mean was used to determine the level of socio-economic development in Rivers State.

In this study, the responses on the items of the instrument were collected and analyzed using the arithmetic mean and frequency counts to determine the degree of agreement of the responses. The responses on the items of the instrument were collected and analyzed using the arithmetic mean and frequency counts. For the purpose of finding the criterion mean, the calculation was made by adding all the points (4 +3 +2 +1) and dividing by the number of weights (4). Thus, $(4 + 3 + 2 + 1) \div 4 = 10 \div 4 = 2.5$ (acceptance level).

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This section is concerned with the presentation, analysis and discussion of the raw data collected from the field. As earlier stated in 3.3, two hundred and twenty (220) sets of questionnaires were sent out; (200) correctly filled and returned, nine (9) were incorrectly filled but returned, five (5) were lost completely, four (4) were blankly returned, four (4) were indifferent to the study.

Research question 1: Are there significant differences in policies and programmes of health, education, employment, road and security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State?

Table 1: Differences in policies and programmes of health, education, employment, road and security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State

| Identifying the policies and Programmes | SA (4) | A (3) | D (2) | SD (1) | Total | X | REMARKS |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Health, education | 47 (188) | 63 (189) | 50 (100) | 40 (40) | 200 517 | $\frac{517}{200}$ =2.59 | Accepted |
| Employment and Empowerment | 90 360 | 81 243 | 9 18 | 20 20 | 200 641 | $\frac{641}{200}$ =3.21 | Accepted |
| Road, security | 120 480 | 10 30 | 40 80 | 30 30 | 200 620 | $\frac{620}{200}$ =3.1 | Accepted |
| Grand mean | | | | | | 2.97 | Accepted |

Source: Field Work, 2022

Table 1 seeks to know some of the policies and Programmes of Amaechi and Wike's Administration as it relates to socio-economic development in Rivers State. The respondents accepted ($X = 2.59$) health and education were the policies and Programmes made to the people of Rivers State. The respondents also accepted ($X = 3.21$) that employment and empowerment were still one of their policies and Programmes. They also accepted ($X = 3.1$) that road and security have been given proper attention in the State. Analysis of the above table shows that all three items had a grand mean of ($X = 2.97$), which is above the criterion mean of 2.5.

Research Question 2: Have Amaechi and Wike's Administration differently implemented most of their policies and Programmes in regard to Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State?

Table 2: Amaechi and Wike's Administration differently implemented most of their

Policies and Programmes in regard to Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State

| Implementation of policies and Programmes | SA (4) | A (3) | D (2) | SD (1) | Total | X | REMARKS X |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Slow in implementation of policies and programmes in Rivers State | 140 (560) | 41 (123) | 9 (18) | 10 (10) | 200 711 | $\frac{711}{200}$ =3.56 | Accepted |
| They have implemented some but not all their policies and programmes | 51 (204) | 49 (196) | 48 (96) | 52 (52) | 200 548 | $\frac{548}{200}$ =2.74 | Accepted |
| Both the rural and urban areas benefitted from the implementation of the policies and programmes | 20 (80) | 27 (81) | 72 (144) | 81 (81) | 200 614 | $\frac{386}{200}$ =1.93 | Rejected |
| Grand Mean | | | | | | 2.74 | Accepted |

Source: Field work, 2022

Table 2 seeks to know how Amaechi and Wike's Administration able to implement their policies and Programmes made with regards to Health, education, employment, road, security to the people of Rivers State. In the first option, it was accepted ($X = 3.56$) that there is slow movement in the implementation of policies and Programmes in Rivers State and the second option accepted ($X = 2.74$) that they have implemented some but not all of their policies and Programmes. The respondents however, rejected ($X = 1.93$) the option that, both the rural and urban areas benefitted from the implementation of the policies and Programmes in Rivers State. The grand mean of the three options ($X = 2.74$) was also accepted which is higher than 2.5 (the criterion mean).

Research Question 3: Are there significant differences in efforts made between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State?

Table 3: Significant differences in efforts made between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State

| Assess the Efforts in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security | SA (4) | A (3) | D (2) | SD (1) | Total | X | REMARKS X |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Amaechi's administration encouraged road construction and security more than Wike | 20 (80) | 30 (90) | 50 (100) | 100 (100) | 200 370 | $\frac{370}{200}$ =1.9 | Rejected |
| Amaechi's administration made more contributions to educational development and Hospitals more than Wike. | 70 (280) | 50 (150) | 39 (78) | 41 (41) | 200 549 | $\frac{549}{200}$ =2.75 | Accepted |
| Wike's administration provided ample employment and empowerment opportunities than Amaechi's | 10 40 | 10 30 | 70 140 | 110 110 | 200 320 | $\frac{320}{200}$ =1.6 | Rejected |
| Grand mean | | | | | | 2.08 | Rejected |

Source: Field work, 2022

Table 3 assesses between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State. The respondents rejected ($X = 1.9$) the option that Amaechi's administration encouraged road construction and security more than Wike. They however, accepted ($X = 2.75$) that Amaechi's administration made more contributions to educational development and Hospitals in Rivers State more than Wike. They finally rejected ($X = 1.6$) the option that said that Wike's administration provided ample employment and empowerment opportunities compared to Amaechi's. The result of the grand mean ($X = 2.08$) is rejected suggesting that there's significant efforts made between Amaechi's and Wike's administration in terms of socio-economic development such as health, education, employment, road, security, etc, in Rivers State

Research Question 4: What are the differences in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration?

Table 4: Differences in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration.

| Challenges of Non-implementation | SA (4) | A (3) | D (2) | SD (1) | Total | X | REMARKS X |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| Embezzlement of the Public funds | 120 (480) | 79 (237) | 1 (2) | 0 (0) | 200 719 | $\frac{719}{200}$ = 3.60 | Accepted |
| The Promise and Fail by the governors | 70 (280) | 70 210 | 30 60 | 30 30 | 200 580 | $\frac{580}{200}$ = 2.90 | Accepted |
| Political patronage | 80 (320) | 70 (210) | 20 40 | 30 30 | 200 600 | $\frac{600}{200}$ = 3 | Accepted |
| Grand mean | | | | | | 3.17 | Accepted |

Source: Field work, 2022

Table 4 wants to know what people think could be the challenges of non-implementation of the policies and programmes such as health, education, employment, road, security in Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State. The respondents accepted ($X = 3.6$) that embezzlement of public funds were one of the factors that led to non-implementation of the policies and programmes. They also accepted ($X = 2.9$) promise and fail by the governors was also a factor. The respondents also accepted ($X = 3$) that political patronage is a contributing factor to the non-implementation of the policies and programmes. Finally, the grand mean ($X = 3.17$) was also accepted which is higher than the criterion mean.

Test of Hypotheses

H_{01} : There are no significant differences in policies and programmes of Health, education, employment, road, security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State.

The respondents in the first option accepted ($X = 2.59$) that health and education, are some of the policies and programmes made by Amaechi/Wike's administration. In the second option, they also accepted ($X = 3.21$) that employment and empowerment opportunities are among the campaign promises made by Amaechi and Wike. The respondents accepted ($X = 3.1$) in the third option that road and security featured in the policies and programmes of Amaechi and Wike's administration in Rivers State. Analysis showed that all the policies and programmes like health, education, employment, road and security had a grand mean of ($X = 2.97$) which is above criterion mean of 2.5.

The study therefore rejected the null hypothesis and accepted the alternate hypothesis. Hence, there are significant differences in policies and programmes of health, education, employment, road and security between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in Rivers State.

H_{02} : The Amaechi and Wike's Administration have not differently implemented most of their policies and programmes in regard to Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State.

Some options were design as to get the fact which is used to test the hypothesis. The first option slow in implementation of policies and programmes by the Rivers State Government was accepted at ($X = 3.56$). The respondents also accepted ($X = 2.74$) the option that Amaechi/Wike's administration have implemented some but not all their policies and programmes. They however, rejected ($X = 1.93$) the third option that, both the rural and urban areas benefited from the implantations of the policies and programmes of Amaechi/Wike's administration. The grand mean is ($X = 2.74$) which is above the criterion mean of 2.5.

The study therefore rejected the null hypothesis and accepted the alternate hypothesis. Hence, the Amaechi and Wike's Administration have differently implemented most of their policies and programmes in regard to Health, education, employment, road and security in Rivers State.

H_{03} : There are no significant difference in efforts made between Amaechi and Wike's Administration in terms of Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State

The first option stated that Amaechi's administration encouraged road construction and security more than Wike's administration in Rivers State which was rejected at ($X = 1.9$). The second stated that Amaechi's administration made more contributions to educational development and Hospitals more than Wike's, which was accepted at ($X = 2.75$). The research rejected the option that Wike's administration provided ample employment and empowerment opportunities than Amaechi's administration at ($X = 1.6$). The grand mean of the three options was as well rejected at ($X = 2.08$).

The study therefore rejected the null hypothesis and accepted the alternate hypothesis. Hence:

H_{04} : There are no significant differences in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration..

The respondents in the first option, accepted ($X = 3.6$) that embezzlement of the public funds is one of the challenges that led to the non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like health, education, employment, road, security listed among the policies and Programmes of Amaechi and Wike's administration. In the second option, they also accepted ($X = 2.9$) that promise and fail on the side of the governors also contributed to the non-implementation of policies and Programmes in Rivers State. They also Accepted ($X = 3.0$) the third option that, political patronage was one of the option leading to the non-implementation of policies and Programmes like health, education, employment, road, security in Amaechi and Wike's administration in Rivers State. The total grand mean of the three variable is ($X = 3.17$) which is above the criterion mean of 2.5.

The study therefore rejected the null hypothesis and accepted the alternate hypothesis. Hence:

There are significant difference in challenges for non-implementation of the policies and Programmes like Health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State between Amaechi and Wike's Administration.

Discussion of Findings

The study highlighted several policies and programmes made by the Amaechi and Wike's administration including: health, education, employment, roads, security of lives and properties, empowerment (both financial empowerment and skills acquisition). According to the respondents, roads and security have been given proper attention in Rivers state. In separate view, the study through the respondents, said that agriculture has not been given proper attention also. This was buttressed by Ignatius, (2020) in a Business Day Newspaper of June 28, 2020 captioned, "Rivers set for agricultural revolution as Wike's aide lists 12 agric projects for sale". This could be due to Wike's sale off of 12 agric projects it inherited from Amaechi's administration which includes: Songhai farm project in Tai Local government, Buguma fish farm, the Onne fish farm, the Nonwa fish farm, the Andoni fish farm, the School-to-Land Farm at Kpah, the Poultry Breeding farm and Hatchery at Atali, the Lifestock breeding Farm at Elingbu, the Rumudomaya Feedmill; and the School-to-Land Authority Farm at Egbeda (Ignatius, 2020). Analysis however, proved that there are significant policies and programmes made in Amaechi and Wike's administration.

The study discovered a slow implementation of the policies and programmes like health, education, employment, road, security in Rivers State. The respondents also accepted that Amaechi and Wike's Administration implemented some, but not all their policies and programmes. They also rejected the option that both the rural and urban areas have benefited from the implementation of the policies and programmes. This could be due to the fact that Wike's administration carried out majority of their policies and programmes mostly in Port Harcourt and Obio-Akpor local government areas, without extending to some of the rural area. This is however in contrast to Amaechi's administration that extended his socio-economic development to the rural areas. Some of Amaechi's projects includes schools, employment, health centers which built and done in all the wards that made up the 23 local government areas across the state.

The study found that Wike's administration constructed more roads and provided security of lives and properties than Amaechi's Administration although, the road construction of Wike was centered more at urban areas than the rural areas. Wike built more overhead bridges at the state capital and some local governments at the metropolitan areas. In terms of security, the state enjoys relative peace to Amaechi's administration that was bedeviled with disturbances from militants, bandits and cult gangs, that kidnapped and held some foreign investors hostage, which resulted to the relocation of some multinational investors out of State to States like Lagos and Abuja. Amaechi's administration on the other hand, contributed more to educational development and building of hospitals than Wike's administration. This was due to the fact that Amaechi built modern primary schools and health centers in all the wards that make up the 23 local governments in Rivers State. He also gave scholarship to tertiary institution students to study abroad. Added to this was the provision of free education and free medical care to the people of Rivers State. Wike's administration, however, did not do much in terms of educational development and building of hospitals. This was supported by Jacob and Nkatomba, (2022). The study rejected the fact that Wike's administration provided ample employment and empowerment opportunities than Amaechi's administration. This implies that Amaechi's administration exceeded Wike's in the areas of employment and empowerment of the citizens both financial empowerment and skill acquisition.

The respondents accepted in their responses that challenges like embezzlement of public funds, promise and fail on the side of the governors, and political patronage are some of the factors that led to the non-implementation of the policies and programmes endorsed by the Wike and Amaechi's administration. Embezzlement is a serious case as some of the political leaders now follow the indirect way to embezzle public fund by quoting higher amount of money for some sub-standard projects. This they do by entering a league with the contractors whom they urge to sign a contract which might in the actual sense, be triple the actual money awarded for the contract. More so, implementation is also dwindled by political patronage in which the political leaders award contracts to unmerited personnel like their party loyalists who may not possess the necessary skills to execute such contracts. They do that as a way of compensating them for sponsoring and supporting them during their campaign period. This however, leads to squandering and misappropriation of public fund. The projects if however, executed tends be sub-standard since their paramount motive lies in enriching themselves rather than accomplishing the purpose in which the fund was meant for.

Conclusion

The process of meeting the expectations of members of the public by the Government requires adequate priority. Although, expectations are not often feasible because of the insatiable nature of human beings, yet, political actors should strive to provide the public with the basic needs in order to bring about positive changes in their standard of living. Governing process would be meaningful when political office holders genuinely attend to the needs of members of the public. When political office holders take the expectations of the people into cognizance, the polity becomes peaceful, such that the people are not at loggerheads with their political representatives. Paramount to this is the need to meticulously use their policies and programmes as compass to measure their progress. It is pertinent that they set achievable goals every year based on their policies and programmes as it relates to socio-economic development like health, education, employment, road, security, etc, in the state.

The study shows several policies and programmes made by the Amaechi and Wike's administration, such as health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties and empowerment (both financial empowerment and skills acquisition). It also discovered a slow in implementation of the policies and programmes on socio-economic development in Rivers State. The study found that Wike's administration constructed more roads and provided security of lives and properties than Amaechi's Administration although, the road construction of Wike was centered more at urban areas than the rural areas. The study also shows that Amaechi's administration on the other hand, contributed more to educational development and building of health centers than Wike's administration. This was due to the fact that Amaechi built modern primary schools and health centers in all the wards that make up the 23 local governments in Rivers state. He also gave scholarship to tertiary institution students to study abroad. Finally, it shows that embezzlement of public funds, promise and fail on the side of the governors, and political patronage are some of the factors that led to the non-implementation of the socio-economic variables like health, education, employment, road, security, etc, endorsed by the Amaechi and Wike's administration.

Recommendations

The following recommendations can help Government of Rivers State in meeting up with the expectations of the people in order to ensure a smooth governing process.

1. It recommends that the Government of Rivers State should make their policies and programmes like health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment such as loans, skill acquisition, scholarship, etc, as a public document to the people of Rivers State and Nigeria at large.
2. It is recommended that socio-economic development like health, education, employment, road, security, etc, should be the paramount target of political leaders as it stands as the compass that measures the implementation of their policies and programmes. This should go in conjunction with town hall meetings with the people, to enable smooth relationship and inclusive government in Rivers State.
3. It also recommends that the people of Rivers State should learn how to carry out a periodical assessment of their Governor, based on the policies and programmes such as health, education, employment, road, security of lives and properties, empowerment like skill acquisition, loans, etc, made for the development of the state.
4. Finally, it is recommended that the Political Elites, those elected or appointed should embrace transparency and accountability in order to avoid non-implementation of policies and programmes and ensure democratic governing process in Rivers State. Any of them that found one thing should made to face the law.

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