

MANAGEMENT OF MONORAIL PROJECTS AND DEVELOPMENT IN RIVERS STATE, NIGERIA, 2007-2016

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Abstract

The study offered an integrated analysis of implementation of monorail policy and development in Rivers State between, 2007 and 2016. Principally, the study examines whether the implementation of monorail has accounted for transport development in Rivers State between the period under study, and to ascertain whether the implementation of monorail has addressed the perennial traffic gridlock in State. Theoretical explanation was based on postcolonial state theory. Research design was anchored on ex-post facto and the goal was to determine the relationship between the independent variable X (implementation of monorail policy) and dependent variable Y (development in Rivers State, 2007-2016). Data for the study were sourced from documentary methods via books, journals, magazines, among others. Similarly, content analysis was used to generate and analyze data. The study argued that monorail is not an effective medium of mass transportation system rather a supportive or a complementary measured in urban transport drive. However, the study ascertained that implementation of monorail has not accounted for an improved transport development in the State. In this light, government failure to actualize the 19KM monorail policy have not resolved perennial traffic situation in the state among others setbacks; rather the abandoned monorail has deepening development crises in the State between the period of the study. Therefore, the study recommended privatization of the monorail policy as obtainable in the developed countries and construction of more roads as well as expansion transportation facility in the State.

Keywords: Monorail, Underdevelopment, Concessionaire, Class Analysis, Public Policy, Privatization.

Introduction

Human society is ordered, steered and directed towards desired ends or goals by the state through policies. This can also be referred to as act of governance in the allocation of values amongst conflicting interests of the state. It is on this premise that various development policies of government had manifested in their numbers. To this end, government policy is imperative and instrumental to the development or under development in any given state. In light of the foregoing, the Rivers State government in 2009 initiated the monorail policy as part of its developmental stride to expand the frontier of transportation in the state. Monorail is an improved means of transportation that mostly connect busy subway, airport terminals, and amusement parks within strategic locations in metropolitan cities in the world. However,

monorail had been in existence since 1820, with the world's first monorail was constructed in Russia; built for military purposes and developed by a military engineering unit led by Ivan Elmanov. Also, the first monorail to convey passengers was the Chesnutt line, made in Hertfordshire Britain; an effective monorail system that was operated in 1825 (Monorail Society, 2013). In 1956, the first monorail to operate in the United State began test operations in Houston, Texas. Notable, cities such as Wuppertal (1901), Tokyo (1964); Shanghai, Mumbai (1920), Sydney, Los Angeles, Kuala Lumpur and others have these transportation facilities. However, in recent times, the quest for monorail varies considerably as the need arises (Svensson, 2007). The Los Angeles government in 1963 rejected a proposal by ALWEG Consortium to build and manage a major monorail within the city. As posits in (Martinez, 2016, p.7) that:

The city authorities after considering the high cost of the project and the terms of the concession plan had argued that within the time frame covered by the proposed concession plan, a subway project will rather serve the city better in terms of finance and management of the transport situation in the city.

Consequently, the authorities opted for the city subway project which opened up the city for other settlements.

On the other hand, Marathe & Hajiani (2015) noted that India transportation demands in urban areas continue to increase rapidly as a result of both population growth and changes in travel patterns. Thus, monorails are the cheapest way of adding grade-separated, high-capacity public transport over the congestion on the ground. This system of transportation is safer, more efficient, and more cost-effective. They further observe that the monorail system in the city of Mumbai is part of a major expansion of public transport in the city. This system operates for 14 hours, from 6 am to 8 pm daily. Hence, this transportation facility has reduced the need to travel by personalized modes and boost the public transport system.

The above implied that monorail is a supportive means of transportation that enhances decongestion and the flow of traffic in large cities in the world but expensive to build as well as to managed. Therefore, it is on this premise that this study seeks to x-ray the implementation of monorail policy and development in Rivers State, 2007-2016.

Statement of the Problem

Rivers State is on a gloomy path due to several political and economic challenges. Nevertheless, the strategic importance of the state in the economic equation of the country cannot be overstated. The state capital is among the largest city and is economically significant as the centre of Nigeria's oil and gas industries. However, in spite of the high allocation accrued from the federation account to the state as well as huge chunk of internally generated revenue, the state still suffers poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructures among others. These have crop-up insecurity, youth restiveness, and other challenges (Jack-Akhigbe & Okouwa, 2013). The census figure of 2006 put the state population, above five million people making it the sixth-most populous state in the Nigeria (NPC, 2006). It is awful that at 50 the state is yet

to have realized its full potential in terms of basic infrastructures such as roads, transportation, power, among other facilities considering her economic viability. The State has fascinated immigrants from within and outside the shores of Nigeria. The resultant effect is serious traffic congestion within the city. Kio-Lawson & Deekor (2014, p.7) put it that:

The state is not only a theatre of political crises but has been beset with oil conflict, poverty, unemployment, relocation of companies, insecurity, militancy, oil theft and artisanal refineries, traffic congestion, poor transportation scheme, bad roads among others challenges.

These have given rise to an excruciating situation among the populace. There is a huge increase in the vehicular population on the urban corridors with limited access roads, without alternative mode of transportation. Traffic congestion or jam is a major challenge in most big cities in the world, especially cosmopolitan and densely populated cities such as Tokyo, New York, Beijing, Lagos, among others. Although these cities have well laid out road networks, some having up to six or eight lane roads and computerized traffic management systems to effectively and efficiently control vehicular traffic. They have also been able to develop other modes of transportation namely rail, water, sub-way or tube and air transport system. All these have gone a long way to reduce and check the incidence of traffic congestion in most of those countries.

From the foregoing, the previous administration resolved to create a people-mover system for the state capital. The purpose of the system was to provide alternative means of travel pattern not subjected to traffic, in order to improve travel times and facilitate urban redevelopment, that would meet the highest international standards of technical excellence, harness the energy and efficiency of the private sector, widening social cum political acceptance and facilitate economic growth viz-a-viz urban renewal in line with the greater Port Harcourt city development plan. Consequently, the state monorail construction was muted in October 2009 by the former administration, they posit that:

One quickest and surest way of coming out of the quagmire of the horrible traffic gridlocks now part of our daily social life is the provision of a whimsical train flying above our heads (Iyalla, 2012, p.4).

Furthermore, in order to reposition the state as major hub in South-South, RSG (2010, p.8) submitted that:

The monorail project is a well-considered option after exhaustive analysis of all other options. For instance, the National Railway is comatose and also there is an extent to which you can expand the roads. The policy to construct the Rivers Monorail Project was jointly adopted by the Rivers State Executive Council during the first tenure of Rotimi Amaechi as Governor of the State.

Considering the above, monorail is not a recent phenomenon but is new to this part of the globe. However, scholars have considered the relevance of this mode of transportation in towns and cities globally. Svenson, (2007), Stone (2004), Marshall

(2009), Sui (2007) among others noted that the construction and general maintenance of monorail were cumbersome but varies from one society to another depending on their transport needs and economic viability. Edozie (2014) argues that most Nigeria States were not ripped for monorail construction largely to milieu peculiarities such as finance, inadequate energy, poor maintenance culture, and others.

From the submission of scholars, namely; Ikelegbe (2006), Makinde, (2005), Eminue (2005) Ihonvbere (2002) Nwabogro, & Duke, (2012) Nosike (2009) Ajulor, (2013) Essenwa (2004) Adedeji (1998) Opara (1986) argued that most government policies fail as a result of over politicization of projects, party interest, bureaucratic bottle neck, meagre resources, ethnicity, nepotism, corruption, among other factors. Furthermore, Ake, (1989) Frank (1967), Rodney (1972), Okereke & Ekpe, (2002) Okolie (2015), Jaja (2004), Shola (2015) Aarron & Ibaba (2004) among others had extensively analyzed development quagmire in the Nigeria State from internal and external perspectives. Similarly, Jaja (2008), Okorobia (2008), Owugah (2000), and others have made copious analysis of development crises in the Rivers State, which is mostly orchestrated by the activities of multinational corporations. Having rigorously and systematically x-rayed the submission of scholars, it is observed that implementation of monorail policy and development in Rivers State, 2007-2016 has not been given much attention.

The broad objective of this study is to examine the implementation of monorail policy and development in the Rivers State, 2007-2016. Equally, the specific objectives are to:

1. Examine whether the implementation of monorail has accounted for an improve transport development in Rivers State between 2007 and 2016.
2. Ascertain whether the monorail policy has addressed the perennial traffic gridlock in Rivers State, 2007-2016.

Policy Implementation

Public policy has to do with actions and inaction taken by public authorities. Hence, it is a product of governmental process and activities; it affects a large spectrum of issues and sectors of the society which government have central responsibility to exercise. These include the economy, housing, defense, transportation, health care, education among others. Public policies are in essence designed to resolve societal problems. Similarly, public policies can be categorized as been distributive redistributive, regulatory and constituent respectively in accordance with the purpose they are created to serve in the society (Anderson, 1975). In a nutshell, Ezeani (2006) define “Public policy as the proposed course of action which government intends to implement in respect of a given problem or situation confronting it”.

Ikelegbe (2006) opined that a policy is “a course of action or a programme of actions, which is chosen from among several alternatives by certain actors in response to certain problems”. He further argued that the implementation of comprehensive public policies has been associated with developed countries which are able to painstakingly implement them with few complexities. While Africa is stem with milieu factors, in other words policies take place with much difficulty if not total failure and are usually affected by the politics of the day. As examined in Makinde (2005) the ego of most politicians in Africa leads to the twist and turns of policies

usually for political survival and perpetuation of party interest. Mostly, new government comes into office and discontinues with the policies of the previous opposition government. In rare cases, the best they can do is to change the name of the policy or enlarge it to cover other extraneous societal issues. On the other hand, politicians in their effort to quickly satisfy the demands of the people formulate policies that provide short-lived solutions and fail to address the actual problem in the long run. Therefore, winning an election is held as more important than the sustainability of policies and the attainment of their core goals.

He further noted that bribery, corruption, and lack of participation from the target group which the policies are meant for are given no room to contribute in policy formulation and implementation. However, only high officials of government and policy actors are made to participate. The policy so defined therefore fails to be client-oriented and gets out of touch from the local people. In this line of thought, this study corroborates the above assertion, with the standpoint that Rivers Monorail idea was not people-oriented project. Furthermore, Ihonvbere (2002) asserted that one of the major challenge of politics and statecraft in Africa, have been the inability to generate, package, and implement viable and effective public policy, although there are very few exceptions. It is embarrassing to note that there is no area of politics, economy and society where any African states could be said to have been successful. Even where the issues, contradictions, and needs are so glaring, the post-colonial states in Africa and its custodians have managed to snatch failure and confusion from the palms of success. He further explicated that:

Failed policies have "developed" the pockets and bank accounts of a tiny class of political elites and their hangers-on. Foreign profit and hegemony seeking transnational corporations have also made good for themselves and their home countries by taking full advantage of our poor policy making, monitoring and implementation processes. For the majority of Africans who are suffering from grinding poverty and hopelessness, what has passed for public policy since so-called political independence, has been nothing but pain, hunger, marginalization, exploitation, domination, and impoverishment. Death by government or death by public policy has become 'the outcome of numerous half-baked and poorly thought-out policies that have been unleashed on Africans (Ihonvbere, 2002, p.4).

In this light Eminue (2005) noted that most government lacks adequate finance, manpower, technical resources, institutional and organizational capabilities and the necessary political will for implementing fundamental policies. He further argues that:

Policy failure in Nigeria is disregard or oversight of recurrent cost implications of capital projects expenditures, undue reliance on external sector in revenue projections, poor monitoring, fiscal indiscipline, and irresponsible public investment, insufficient and unreliable data, dearth of skilled manpower, unexpected economic disturbances, institutional weaknesses, resistance to change and innovation, unhealthy inter-ministerial rivalry, political cum bureaucratic corruption, lack of national

interest, lack of commitment and political will to implement policies, and inadequate consultation (Eminue, 2005, p.4).

To this end, the state must be committed to making and enforcing pertinent projects, Nigeria is today the graveyard for abandoned and uncompleted infrastructure. Thus, it is best to commence a project and complete it satisfactorily before starting another.

The examination of Nosike (2009) noted that we have had well-articulated plans on how to make the economy grow but the problem has always been in the area of implementation. In most cases, the state has had good policies and government starts to implement them, something would happen along the line and government would derail. Unfortunately, the policy capacity expected to be used for development has been comatose by leadership crisis tied to policy matter in Nigeria. This therefore suggests that unless the issue of leadership crisis is critically addressed, there cannot be meaningful infrastructural development in Nigeria. That is why Hendrickson (1989, p.57) observed that:

The resolution of political power is central to the corporate existence of any group of people, no matter their primitivism or civilization. In traditional Africa, power was conceived as essential in non-material terms, except in those few places where primitive accumulation bequeathed privileges on the wealthy and powerful or where a subject group wallowed under the suzerainty of a more powerful group.

Hence, public policy formulation and implementation systems have continued to deepen. In the finding of (Nwabogro, & Duke, 2012) they demonstrated that clumsy and corrupt leadership affect not only service delivery to the Nigerian people but adversely affect the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria as a sovereign state. In light of the above, Achebe (1983, p.1) noted that:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. He pointed out that there is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character, there is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else, but leadership.

Therefore, Gardner (1978) argued that greed, corrupt and uncommitted leaders have contributed immensely to the socio-political and economic predicaments facing Nigeria today.

Ajolor & Omoniyi (2013) argued that the target beneficiaries are not involved at the policy formulation stage in order for them to have an input in what affects their lives. As a result of this, there has been no sense of belonging and commitment by the citizens towards government policies. Hence, they noted that policies are often forced on people and since the people are not consulted for their input to public policy, they in turn distance themselves from the government's genuine programme meant to improve their lives and can even go as far as sabotaging such programme. In other words, non-inclusion of the target beneficiary in the formulation and implementation of policy have serious implication on policy failures in Nigeria. However, the reality remains that though it is the responsibility of the government in developing countries like Nigeria to provide the critical infrastructure

needed by different sectors of the society, but the consent of her citizens must be sought directly or indirectly.

Consequently, scholars such as Essenwa (2004) Adedeji (1998) Opara (1986) are in agreement that poor planning, inadequate finance, bankruptcy of the contractors, variation of project scope, incompetent project manager are some factor that endanger police failure in Nigeria. Similarly, Aluko (2008) Omoniyi (1996) Onikute (1988) Ayodele (1998) argued that since, we lack leaders with vision and commitment; we remain at risk of politics of underperforming and underdevelopment. Therefore, in order obviate policy failure in Nigeria; policy makers should seek requisite synergy between the government and the organized private sector. In order to buttress the above assertion Aluko (2008, p.7) posit that:

It is a fallacy to expect government alone to build the national infrastructure. Government's role remains that of regulator and partner in operating the Nigerian economy and creating the enabling environment. But consortiums and private investors also do have a vital role to play; which is to say that there exist crosscutting niche sectors where government, consortiums and individuals can collaborate in Public Private Partnership.

It is explicitly clear that scholars had analyzed why government policies, programmes, and projects in Nigeria fails. The rationale is predominantly an internal dynamic that is rooted in the politics of the day. These factors stunt development, in the analysis of Ugoh & Ukpere, (2011) argued that by and large, governments at all levels in Nigeria have been increasingly active in developing public policies, unfortunately the outcome is a large volume of laws that flows from the national, state and local legislative bodies with minimal impact on her citizens.

Policy failure in Nigeria is linked to the inability of the government to identify the needs of its citizens before initiating the need policies. A close look at the statement indicates that the inability of any government to successfully manage its policy process, encounters grave challenges of development. Holistically, policy failure in Nigeria emanates mostly from the ruling class as principal actors that direct public policy formulation and implementation (Ugoh & Ukpere, 2001).

Monorail Development

In contemporary time, the quest and drive for monorail has increased considerably despite the high cost of the project and difficulties in general management (Svensson, 2007). The monorail society (2013) noted that monorail transportation of people and light freight is characterized by the combination of two words, "mono" (one) and "rail", meaning a transportation system that is supported and stabilized along a single rail, which is commonly called a beam way for an elevated system. Monorails can be constructed over existing roads, parks, squares, rivers, railroad tracks, among others.

Primarily, most monorails are elevated (run above ground) and are electrically powered. Today, there are several monorail designs which are

commonplace; perhaps the most common is the beam variant, which can be seen in many cities across the world such as Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), Tokyo (Japan) Las Vegas (USA) Calabar (Nigeria) and others.

Svensson (2007) argued that the high cost of construction and general maintenance of monorail cannot be generalized largely to the fact that some States are more viable than the others in term of policy action, finance and technological advancement. However, the Los Angeles government in 1963 rejected a proposal by ALWEG Consortium to build and manage a major monorail within the city in return for the right of operation (concession). The city authorities after considering the high cost of the project and the terms of the concession plan had argued that within the time frame covered by the proposed concession plan, a subway project will rather serve the city better in terms of finance and management of the transport situation in the city. Consequently, the authorities opted for the city subway project which opened up the city for other settlements (Davor, 2013). As differently noted (Edozie, 2014) criticized the proposed idea of monorail in Abia State as unnecessary and fictional, that the State lacks pliable roads, security, and other basic amenities and receives fair sum as statutory monthly allocation, as against other states like Rivers that is financially robust but yet it is today gasping to complete the monorail project it had started. He further argues that the proposed monorail where mere sham as well as a conduit pipe to siphon State funds, and that most States in Nigeria were not ripe for monorail, considering the poor road network and epileptic's power supply.

Stone (2004) posited that before 1950s many monorail variants were proposed and experimented with but rare saw the light of day except as prototypes. Gyro monorails and Lartigue high-speed monorail were proposed in 1901 to run between Liverpool and Manchester but was never built. Brennan gyroscopic monorail was proposed for use in a coal mine in Alaska in 1910 but was also never built. New York City planned its monorail system but they gave up on that idea in the early 1930s. But not all monorail ideas remained on paper. Wuppertal Suspension Railway in Germany was built between 1898 and 1901 and it works still today. While in India, monorails are the cheapest of high-capacity public transport over the congestion on the ground.

Furthermore, Medellín, (2013) observed that monorail became more popular from the 1980s, with rise in urbanization and traffic congestion most countries like Japan are one of the earliest users and has one of the busiest monorail system. Tokyo monorail, serves over 127,000 passengers per day and since it began its operation in 1964 it has served more than 1.5 billion passengers. Presently, modern monorail systems are built in China, India, Malta, among other cities. Monorail systems today enhance city development by exploiting an easy urban integration allowing cost-effective and fast turnkey mass transit applications. In light of the foregoing, the urban monorail is an ideal mode of transportation adaptable to intermediate distances and capable of satisfying moderate transportation demands. The principal advantage of the monorail is energy-efficiency, that significantly reduce emissions per person and mostly safer in larger urban areas (Martinez, 2016).

Pertinently, Martinez (2016) argues that the escalating demand for public transportation in metropolitan areas had challenged transportation authorities to select the technology that will satisfy the often-conflicting demands of high capacity and

reliable service, that fit an urban centre, minimized environmental impact and cost effective. He further argued that although the costly underground tunnelling or obtrusive elevated metro systems requires extensive infrastructure disruption. Thus, the public planning authorities often face conflicting demands to provide reliable and accessible high capacity public transportation. In the past, city planners have provided this kind of service by specifying metro systems. He further observed that installing metro systems are typically very costly and often involved extensive relocation and destruction of valuable existing infrastructure.

Davor (2013) observed that many cities around the world today like Las-Vegas, Tokyo, Mumbai, Indiana, among others have well-established infrastructure such as water, hydro and electric services that have been developed and expanded over time making tunnelling or surface transportation solutions very costly. Many older cities have valuable or cultural sensitive historical buildings that are often in the path of preferred public transportation routes. Hence, transit systems must be structured to accommodate existing facilities and to minimize land acquisition. He further argued that elevated transit systems avoid the need for costly tunneling and minimize the need to relocate existing utilities; however, elevated metro systems typically require wide visually obtrusive deck construction and often requires extensive destruction of existing infrastructure. As with any elevated mass transit system, passenger safety must be a key consideration through specified mass transit industry safety standards including specification of emergency evacuation walkway along the entire elevated guide way.

Put differently, Martins, Portugal, & Nassi, (2009) argues that monorail does not require a large of overland area because it is suspended in the air, so it creates spaces available for human activities such as nature trails or bike paths, which is beneficial to the community. It is necessary to do a proper planning of nearby urban panorama for the construction of monorail, this is imperative in order to avoid destruction of public facilities; where nature and style of the environment may be preserved. Marshall (2009) argues that monorails have been built in various parts of the world over the last decades use as short tracks in amusement parks or gardens or run through busy urban centres. In line with urban planning for core regional cities Hitachi (1997) examines the feasibility of monorail systems with relatively small carrying capacities that can be constructed at modest cost. Hitachi has developed and deployed monorail and linear metro systems as viable means of medium-capacity transportation that can be deployed at a relatively modest outlay of construction costs in urban areas.

Siu (2007) merely focus on measurement of monorail distance in various part of the world. He posits that monorail distance had not exceeded twenty kilometres range on like the conventional trains and metros that run distance of hundreds of miles. The monorail world map indicates that Osaka monorail at (23.8. km) as the longest in world, followed by Tokyo monorail (16.9 km), while, Tama monorail (16 km) and star monorail in Kuala Lumpur is (8.6 km) respectively. He further observed that when comparing cost, it is central to note that not all systems are constructed in similar economic contexts, in other words a monorail implemented in Japan compared to a system implemented in Colombia may have different price points per km of right of way due to different overarching economic conditions, not just due to

the technologies being used and their respective right of way requirements but by other milieu factors. Arising from the above, this study opined that monorail is not an effective medium of mass transportation system rather a supportive or a complementary measured in urban transport drive.

Contemporary economic order, advocates privatization and commercialization of most public facilities. In view of this policy, the Japan railway group (2015, p.2) posit that the best railway system in the world is not run by government. The majority of the companies that form the JR Group are privatized.

We cannot develop our infrastructure fully, if we continue running them as social welfare entities". Equally, we may not advance our national infrastructure, if the motive behind privatization is rent seekers who masquerade as investors but lack the capacity and will to grow and sustain the infrastructures.

Nwogwugwu, Ajayi & Iyanda (2010) argues that in Nigeria only 10 per cent out of the companies privatized so far were assessed to be on relative sound footing. Moreover, unending bottlenecks, poor infrastructure are inimical to economic growth. We have not only encountered these bottlenecks in Nigeria, but we certainly contend daily with exchange rate volatility, energy cost and epileptic power supply.

Similarly, as contend in (Kay, 2002) Public Private Partnership seems more appropriate for construction and operation of major projects like monorail. Government uses PPP delivery approach to obtain time and cost savings and better-quality projects with reduced risks to the project sponsor. PPP format may vary according to the scope of responsibility and degree of risk assumed by the private partner. For example, private sector may be better equipped to handle the risks associated with design quality, construction costs, leveraging, finances and adherence to the delivery schedule while the public sector may be better able to manage the public risks of environmental clearance, and right-of-way acquisition.

Corroborating the above, (Kay, 2004) argues that the Design-Build-Finance-Operate-Maintain and Build-Operate-Transfer approach offers increased incentives for the delivery of a better-quality plan and project. These enable contractors responsible for all or a major part of the project's financing and transfers the financial risks to the private partner during the contract period. Under the Build-Own-Operate approach, the private partner owns the facility and is assigned all operating revenue risk and any surplus revenues for the life of the facility. In this light, this study contends that since Nigeria is commonly faced with policy failure the PPP would be the better option especially in construction of monorail with such Design-Build-Finance-Operate-Maintain (DBFOM) approach.

Nwkonkwo (2014) posit that Rivers monorail project is among the foremost monorail construction projects ever embarked upon in this part of the world. He however, maintained that it was an alternative means to decongest the high traffic volume on the highways of Port Harcourt and its environs, and also attract tourism to Port Harcourt metropolis. In his speculations about 40,000 passengers are estimated to be conveyed weekly with six seventy-seat capacity coaches. In Nigeria for instance (Ayodele and Alabi, 2014) most government construction projects are not completed at the agreed time and costs but at considerably good quality, which are as a result of

variations and poor cost control techniques. He also emphasized that durability with respect to construction materials, construction methods, quality of construction, environmental exposure, and maintenance accessibility could also be key circumstances affecting the success or failure of a construction project. Atkinson (1999), cost and time are factors that can be calculated even before the commencement of the project, whereas quality is a phenomenon that is determined by the attitudes and inputs of the individuals working on the project, throughout the project life-cycle.

Consequently, Africa presents a pathetic picture of development quagmire when compared to other regions of the world. Mene (2002) posit that no group in history, not even the Jews suffered more than the Africans. Africa is the only continent that was subjected to slave trade both of Arab and the Atlantic version. The term underdevelopment is very synonymous with third world. What ranks the nations of the third world is the fact of their poverty level. Thus, underdevelopment does not mean absence of development; it is also not a state of being, but a process, one that is characterized by untransformed economic, political and social structures. It is more or less a condition of relatively very low level of development; a situation in which the necessary qualitative social transformation has not yet taken place. One in which the productive forces (the quality of techniques and technology of production) are poorly developed and inadequate for harnessing the resources of their natural environment and so the people's standard of living and social environment has not been transformed qualitatively (Jaja, 2004). As a result, the quality of life of the people has not improved over historical time or is improving at a very low rate or may, in fact, have stagnated or even deteriorated. As Rodney (1972, p.1) stated that "development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being." He further noted that, at the level of social groups, development implies an increasing capacity, to regulate both internal and external relationship. Equally, a society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment that is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science), on the extent they put that understanding into practice by developing tools (technology) and on the manner in which work is organized. He however argued that there is no society that has not experienced development in one form or another (Rodney, 1972). The south commission (1993) viewed "development as a process, which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process, which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic or social oppression. Development therefore implies growing self-reliance, both individually and collectively.

Similarly, Aaron & Ibaba (2004) argues that underdevelopment denote societies that are backward in terms of development, hence it depicts low standard of living, low productivity, high rate of population growth, high and rising rate of unemployment and overdependence on primary produce for exports, low level of infrastructural development, vulnerability in international relations, low level of scientific consciousness, political instability, stifling of market mechanisms, ethnicity, corrupt leadership, capital flight among others. Pertinently, there is an intense

scholarly contestation between modernization and dependency theorists on development and under development. Their argument explicates underdevelopment in third world countries as consequences of internal factors to them. This implies that certain structures and indices are absent such as lack of capital for investment and the capitalist values, overpopulation, cultural practices that are out of sync with civilization, lack of good governance are held culpable for underdevelopment in the third world. Therefore, in order to develop, they need key into capitalist values and maintained the capitalist path to development (Jaja, 2004). On the other hand are the dependency theorists which posit that underdevelopment is the consequence of the incorporation of third world countries into world capitalist system. It is the aftermath of unequal exchange between the third world and capitalist societies. Thus, development is seen as two side of the same coin, resulting from the exploitative relationship promoted through slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism (Frank, 1967, Rodney, 1972).

As equally illustrated by United Nations (2004) “underdevelopment connote persistent or constant rise in poverty level, an increase in unemployment, low saving, high consumption level, low standard of living and decrease in gross national product (GNP) precipitated by deformed culture and tradition of a society. This can also be described as “vicious cycle of poverty”. The concept of underdevelopment by liberal scholars denotes cultural deformity and disjointed-traditions inherent in the African societies. The liberal school of thought believed that capitalism is antithetical with the operations of African traditions. In other words, underdevelopment is as result of the opposing nature of the African culture against capitalism (Boyd, 2011). In this light, contemporary scholars argued that development is a function of a nation’s traditions and cultural values coexisting with other values. Development is meaningless without the promotion of a nation’s cultural values. In other words, there is no development without the development of a nation’s way of life (Okereke & Ekpe, 2002).

Conversely, the downside and weakness of modernization theory sparked the thinking of scholars in the less developed economies to offer a pathway for development in the less developed societies. However, scholars such as Lenin, Key, Nkrumah, Rodney, Gunder among others have criticized the modernization school of thought in view of its woeful failure, its ethnocentrism and incompatibility in African societies and other developing economies (Jhingan, 2005). The convergent of these thoughts of radical scholars give birth to the Marxian paradigm. This new thinking and ideal prompted the belief that there is asymmetrical relation that exist between countries in the world which has created stagnancy and retarded countries that ought to develop into perpetual underdevelopment situation. The genesis of this proposition is basically applauded and tied to the problem of slavery and colonization of the African countries, the exploitation of the African States by the European powers (Boyd, 2011). Corroborating the above, Jaja (2004, p.10) posit that:

An important fact about underdevelopment is that it is a peculiar feature of the third world. It is an expression of a relation of inequality between the developed capitalist states of Europe, America, and the exploited economies of the third world. More significantly, underdevelopment expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely, the exploitation of one country by another. All of the countries named as

“underdeveloped” in the world are exploited by others, and the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation. So unacceptable to the west is this indictment that some of them prefer the euphemism “developing” and “less developed” to the term “underdeveloped” when referring to the underdeveloped world.

Furthermore, underdevelopment is a paradox, many parts of the world that are naturally rich are actually poor and parts that are not so well off in wealth of soil and sub-soil are enjoying the highest standard of living (Jaja 2004). Ake (1989) argues that the following indices namely; poverty, dependency, dehumanizing authoritarian regimes, disruptive social conditions, and irreparable and degraded physical environment among others are reflections of underdeveloped society. He further noted that psychological element, which is described as the “cult of inferiority” is western ideology of development foisted on us. An ideology which presents western society as the ideal condition of being while African society as thoroughly bad and needs drastic change. All this translates to lack of appropriate leadership capable of mobilizing the people in the right direction, for as the south commission report has well noted that true development has to be people centre.

Shola (2015) Umez (2000) blame Nigeria development crisis on three factors, colonial legacy, corrupt leadership and democracy. The colonial legacy perspective argues that the problem of underdevelopment is traceable to the origin of colonial authority and the exploitative nature of Nigerian colonial and post-colonial experience. While, the concept of leadership believes that corrupt and mismanagement on the part of leadership has been the bane of development in Nigeria. The so-called democracy of this time is nothing short of glorified Oligarchy with a government firmly vested in the hands of a few individuals, just a privileged minority class in which wealth defines right, status and power; such is bourgeois democracy especially in third world (Jaja, 2007).

In light of the foregoing, development crisis of African states cannot be divorce from it historical experiences, however, most social scientist holds sway to the fact that underdevelopment emanated from the imperialism a colonial legacy and leadership quagmire. Ake (1989) noted that political repression, and over politicization of social life are inimical to development. These are some of the complex and deep-rooted problems that stand in the way of Africa’s development. However, their assertion is not out of place but within the context of this study, underdevelopment or development crises is purely an African creation. In order to buttress this standpoint, Okolie (2015) argued that basic challenge of African states is not so much with its colonial history but with the incongruence existing between the productive forces and social relation of production. Although, he never diminishes or dismissed the saliency of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the explanation of underdevelopment and low development of the state, but his contention is that African leaders, who appear to enjoy and benefit from the present low development of the State, consistently reproduce development policies that further vitiate the autonomy of States in Africa. He further noted that:

The colonial thesis failed to explicate why countries like Britain, United State, Italy, and most of the Asian Tigers etc, who were colonized at one point or the other, are today leaders of industrialized capitalist State. Recall that during the empire years much of these advanced capitalist States were conquered, annexed and fused with other empires and yet they subsequently overcame the obstacles to advance the course of development in their respective States. What then is particularly peculiar to the African situation? Hence, holding tenaciously to this colonial excuse and doing virtually nothing to improve and transform the production base under the guise of colonial affliction is in itself criminal, defeatist and amounts to barefoot “scape-goatism” (Okolie, 2015, p.7)

Arising from the above, this study observed that development crises is rooted in the political structures, feeble institutions, policies of elite disposition, exploitive regime, politicization of public interest among others. These predominantly emanates from the political environment. Therefore, Rivers State as a microcosm of the Nigerian State, she is not immune to these identifiable mirage such as low standard of living, low productivity, high rate of population growth, high and rising rate of unemployment and overdependence on primary produce for exports, low level of infrastructural development, vulnerability in international relations, low level of scientific consciousness, political instability, stifling of market mechanisms, ethnicity, corrupt leadership, capital flight among others (Aaron & Ibaba, 2004). This study, observed that the State lacks the opportunities to stimulate the needed growth that is expected to trickle down to the rural communities. The implication is that while the State will continue to boast of astronomically rising population, there is no corresponding infrastructures improvement to measure or accommodate the population increase as treasure base of Nigerian wealth.

Gap in Literature

Existing scholarship on policy implementation in Nigeria unambiguously indicates that the manipulative influence of political actors has largely undermined policy implementations. Hence, scholars like Ikelegbe (2006), Makinde, (2005). Eminue (2005) Ihonvbere (2002) Nwabogro, & Duke, (2012) Nosike (2009) Ajulor, (2013) Essenwa (2004) Adedeji (1998) Opara (1986) censured policy failure on over politicization of projects, party interest, bureaucratic process, meager resources, ethnicity, among other environmental factors. While Achebe (1983) Aluko (2008) Omoniyi (1996) Onikute (1988) Ayodele (1998) among others tenaciously hold sway to leadership structure as responsible for policy failure in Nigeria.

Furthermore, extant literature on monorail systems has demonstrated the relevance of this mode of transportation in towns and cities globally. Svenson, (2007) Stone (2004), Marshall (2009), Sui (2007) among others noted that the construction and general maintenance of monorail were cumbersome but varies from one society to another depending on their transport needs and economic viability. While Stone, (2004) noted that various monorail that were proposed never came to fruition largely to policy factors. Meanwhile (Marshall, (2009); Medellin (2013) noted that monorail is energy-efficient and environmental friendly but Marshall

(2009) posit that monorail were used either as short tracks in amusement parks or gardens or run through busy urban centres. Davor (2013) opined that monorails should not be constructed as to avoid destruction of existing public facilities while Martins, Portugal & Nassi (2009) posit that since monorail is elevated over land there is convenience for other activities. Sui, (2007) argued that distance was the determinant factor for the cost of monorail, noted that 23.8km was the longest distance. Kay (2004) argued that metro was cost effective and rides thousands of miles than monorail which is highly expensive with few kilometers mileage. Edozie (2014) argues that most Nigeria States were not ripped for monorail construction largely to it internal problems. The Japan Group (2015) & Kay (2002) noted that a better option for construction of monorail was via privatization or at most the public private partnership approach

Scholars, have provided two dimensions to development crises in Nigeria, external and internal, Ake, (1989) Frank (1967), Rodney (1972), Okereke & Ekpe, (2002) Okolie (2015) Jaja (2004) Shola (2015) Aaron & Ibaba (2004) among others do agree on both dimensions but (Okolie 2015 & 2002 shola 2015) argued that fundamentally the unresolved internal challenges of Nigerian state have hinder development largely to the fact that the political class are beneficiaries of the status quo.

Extrapolating the above, it is undoubtedly, that the aforementioned scholars have studied public policy implementation and monorail development from their respective contexts. However, none systematically x-rayed the implementation of monorail policy and development in the Rivers State within the period under study. Therefore, the study intends to address the problem in order to fill the epistemic space in extant literature.

Theoretical Framework

Postcolonial theory involves a conceptual reorientation towards the perspectives of knowledge, as well as the needs to develop outside the west. The proponents of this theory are mostly associated with the Marxian orientation. In explanation to the study, the theoretical framework is place in perspective; however there are other scholars Smith, (2009); Goulbourn, (1979); Osaghae (2005); Nzongola-Ntalaja, (1999); Beall and Hassim (2005) who have come up with different perspectives and descriptions of postcolonial state theory. However, Ake (1975) begins his theory of postcolonial state with the development of productive forces, which made the state to have very limited autonomy and the limited autonomization of the state reflects the rudimentary development of commodity production and exchange. To him the development of the state in Africa remains at a low level of the primitive accumulation with massive intervention of force in the labour process. Consequently, because of the low level of the development of the state, it is unable to mediate the struggle between classes and the struggle within the dominant class.

Thus, the struggle to control, and the use of state power, becomes more central in post-colonial state; this determines the development trajectory of the state (Ihonvbere, 1989). Due to the intense and norm less nature of political competition, the political class becomes preoccupied with politics, while the processes of transformation relegated. As noted by (Ekeke, 1986, p.23):

They appeared not to bother about the abject conditions of their people and the inherent injustice which colonialism had created in the societies. The petty bourgeoisie now in position of political authority focused more on relations of distribution and were more desirous of imbibing the life style and privileges of colonialism than in abolishing its injustice and oppression of the Nigerian masses.

Thus at independence the common enemy was eliminated and the masses were confronted with an indigenous ruling class which was content to inherit the colonial economy with no aim of transforming it.

The above manifestation is the crises of development in the state; furthermore, two phenomena are pertinent in explanation of the postcolonial state. First, because the Nigerian society had just begun the process of state formation, the dominant class split into factions to struggle for state power and second, state power became the most useful instrument in the society with which to acquire and wield control. The Nigerian post-colonial state immediately after independence lacked internal cohesion and, also, with no enduring institutions to form the basis of a stable regime. Consequently, factions had to struggle for power and whichever faction won power privatized the office. Those who won political power used it as a private tool. They pay less attention to societal transformation and progressive change in the state while power becomes focal point of concerned to African leaders.

Application of the Theory

In application of above theoretical explanation to the study, it is obvious that the structure of governance remains contestable. Thus, it has become problematic and very difficult to implement credible programmes of social development. The political class rather focuses on project that provides the perfect opportunity for corrupt enrichment. The Rivers monorail policy is a clear example of such development mirage. Similarly, the successor of the office of governor rather than continue policies inherit from the previous administration they concentrate on politics that will enable them secure their tenure in office. The political class make governance less important; while public policies persistently fails due to government uncertainty in proper policy administration.

Approval of Monorail Appropriation by State Assembly and Discrepancy of Facts and Figures

In democratic regime, legislature and executive organs are in synergy in term of appropriation. On this premise, the monorail appropriation 2010 was compromised during legislative consideration largely to the fact that the thirty-two (32) members parliament were all of the same political party precisely Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). In 2010 the former governor merely announced to the state house of assembly during budget presentation that the monorail project had started and that the State government had already committed N11 billion to it. This was a complete aberration of the process and negation of legislation as well as violation of the principle of separation powers. However, the State house was silence over the monorail policy; the governor had consistently interfered in the affairs of the legislative chambers of

the State. Most legislative bills were altered to suit the governor parochial interest before being signed into law. On this note, 40 billion naira was approved for the Rivers monorail project out of which about 19 billion naira was released (Henshaw, 2013).

It is noteworthy, that in presentation of the 2010 Appropriation Bill to the Rivers State House of Assembly, the former Governor captured the relevant policy thrust of the Government as follows:

- The Budget is to ensure the timely completion of all on-going projects, as we do not intend to leave any project uncompleted within the tenure of this administration.
- This Government has never been reckless in managing the resources of the State as we continue to make transparency and accountability our guiding principle.
- We will always put the interest and well-being of the State first above politics.
- We will continue to fulfill our electoral promises and meet citizens expectations even at this time of enormous political, economic and social challenges.

Therefore, we are prepared to do much more even in the remaining years in the life of this administration (RSG, 2010, p.28).

In light of the above, there was controversy on the actual amount of money involved in the project. The former governor had, on several occasions, quoted different figures for the project, at one point he said the project was awarded at a sum \$9,350,000, at another occasion he said the project was awarded at N74m. Hence, the variation in the figures has generated criticism across the State with the governor's opponents describing the monorail project as a nest of fraud. As Kuranga (2016, p.4) noted that:

The present Governor blame the previous administration for had expended over 400 million dollars of the states funds on a monorail that they never completed. The monorail project in Rivers is similar to the monorail that was constructed in Moscow Russia for 240 million dollars by the same monorail manufacturer. In fact, the Moscow system that connects to the Moscow subway is arguably more extensive than the Rivers system with more frequency of traffic sophistication (Kuranga, 2016, p.4).

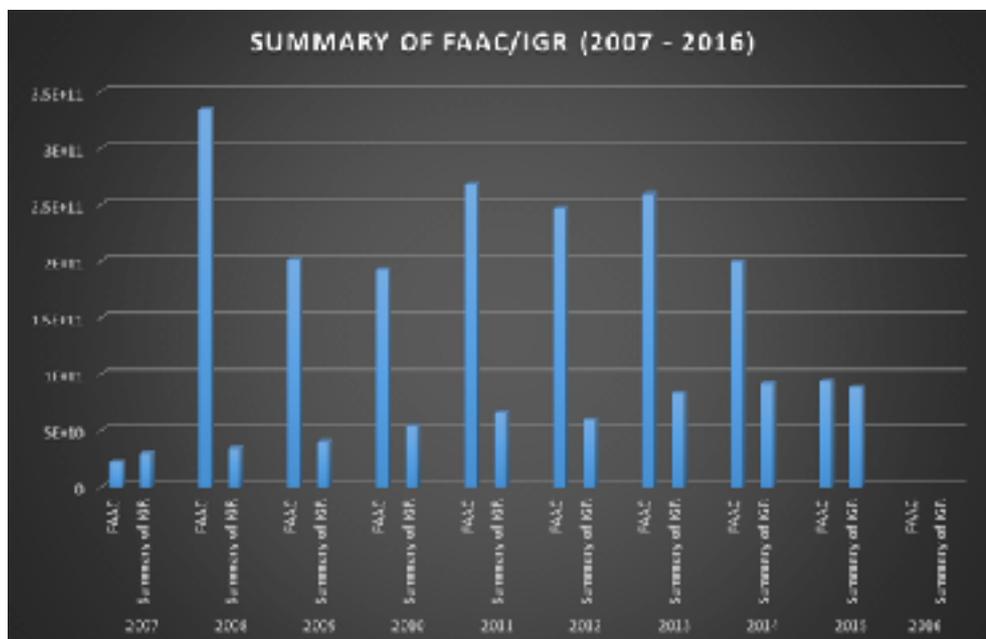
He further noted that in a letter to the State government through the ministry of transport, in April 2016 a six-point recommendation on how to unbundle the monorail project in such a way that the State government can salvage some financial benefits out of the N33.9bn so far invested in the project. The monorail project was originally estimated to cost about Euros 2250m. The technical partner suggested to the State government to approach the manufacturers of the mechanical components and rail tracks in Germany and exploit the possibility of reselling components at a lower price to the manufacturers Intamin Transportation limited which was responsible for

preparing the route alignment, providing advisory role, engineering services, as well as manufacturing and supply of the tracks and trains.

However, several non-governmental actors raised criticism on the construction of such inconsequential project, especially now that the State economy has nose-dive, several abandoned projects litter all over State with the meager resources; it was benighted to invest in such a white elephant project (NDCBP, 2014). Similarly, there is nothing to show that the amount so far released was judiciously used for the project as the project remains comatose. The more assurances were given concerning its completion, the more the people continue to disown the project, describing it as a drain-pipe that guzzles the resources of the State. Hence a waste of public funds; unfortunately, government did not make extensive consultations before embarking on the project. The worries now, is that having sunk fabulous amount of money on the project, it should have been utilized in other areas that would benefit the masses. Therefore, the Marxian analysis thus exposes the class character of politics; it reveals those in charge of the authoritative allocation of values and those that benefit from such allocations.

Monthly Allocation from FAAC/IGR 18-24billion and Uncompleted Model Schools, Poor Health Facilities across 23 LGAs

The Rivers State government now collects as low as N5bn to N7bn monthly as against the initial N18bn or N24bn between 2007 -2015 first quarter. This is due largely to the economic recession however it is incumbent on the State to think out of the box by exploring other areas of the economy. Consequently, the bar chart diagram below is a reflection of funds received by the State government between the periods under investigation.



Source: Rivers State Ministry of Finance: Annual Reports (2007-2015)

The bar chart above, numerically pictured the State allocations, specifically revenue received from both FAAC and IGR. The chart expressed significantly the monies received each year, which shows that between 2008-2014 the State had ample of funds, while in 2015 there was a significant drop in allocations and internally generated revenue of the State; from the left wing of the chart, the figures $3.5E +11$ is expressed in mathematical form, meaning that since the figures have long digits, it automatically put the values in exponential form; which means that the State received fabulous amount of cash in trillions during the period under examination.

In order to buttress the above, an audit by Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI, 2014) revealed that the State recorded N1.510 trillion as revenue between 2007 and 2011. The analysis of the various revenue heads indicated that the highest receipts came from the 13 per cent derivation with N639.747 billion, the excess crude account receipts accounted for N252.973 billion; internally generated receipts N222.997 billion; the statutory allocation N141.697 billion; the loan receipts accounted for N110 billion; while both the NNPC refunds and Akwa Ibom refunds accounted for the least receipts N1.602 billion and N1.532 billion respectively. Despite this huge chunk of money, the previous administration was unable to adequately finance the monorail project, rather created financial burden and disservice to the people in several areas such as uncompleted model schools across the 23 LGAs, Poor health facilities, and unpaid foreign scholarship fees among others.

The few pictures are just least of the challenges faced in the State in terms of infrastructural deficits. The fence building is the model schools built by the past administration that need maintenance; some are uncompleted, while orders are abandoned.

Equally, the few people with placard are students that were trained overseas by the State government demanding their tuition among other fees. The overseas scholarship programme was initiated by the Rivers State Sustainable Development Agency (RSSDA) which had gulped more than N23.7 billion since its inception in the 2008/2009 academic session and had a target of sending 300 students overseas annually. The State government paid the entire bill of the students, including airfare, tuition (school fees, laboratory, and books), accommodation, feeding and monthly upkeep. However, shortage of funds saw a situation where the students were abandoned to fend for themselves as the former administration owed them for several months before leaving office. When the current Governor was sworn in May 2015, he vowed that despite the shortage of funds, he would ensure that those already abroad would successfully complete their studies but that new scholarships would not be awarded. However, in a letter dated 6 February, 2016, to parents and guardians of the students, the government made a U-turn on its initial position and said it would no longer pay the tuition and allowances of the students due to paucity of funds. This are development setbacks to the State Premium times (2016, p.2).

Bond of 250 billion from Stock exchange and abandoned Roads, Fly-over and Moribund Songhai Farm Project

The State applied for N250 billion Bond; this was being sought from the capital market before October, 2011. As a result, the State House of Assembly announced an approval of N250 billion bonds to be raised from the capital market. The first tranche of N100 billion was expected to commence in October 2011 and has a time frame of three years. The money would be coupled to supporting definite developmental projects in the State. These include the Greater Port Harcourt City, the Port Harcourt Monorail project, the new Rivers State University of Science and Technology Phase 1, Monte@Rivers (an entertainment complex), the Port Harcourt Ring Road that would connect the old city and Greater Port Harcourt city, and a new M-10 Highway; a beltway that would link the Port Harcourt International Airport to the Onne Sea port.

The former administration claimed that it was ready and determined to transform the State into a commercially viable entity, since the N250 Bond will help finance the State's capital projects being part of dividend of democracy to its people. They said that it has become germane as its Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) and facilities from banks cannot finance the projects they want to deliver to the people, and which make the State stand out among its peers in terms of infrastructural development. On the contrary, the pictorials below proved otherwise:

Equally, the moribund Songhai Farm in Bunu-Tai, Local Government Area of the State is situated about 45 minutes from the heart of Port-Harcourt. The road from the East/ West expressway to the farm is in good shape, probably due to low vehicular traffic on the route. The earthen and concrete ponds are in deplorable state.

Sadly, about 100 beneficiaries from the State were sent to Songhai Farm in Port Novo, Benin Republic to understudy the best practice in integrated farming. They are back and the facility is not being supported; hence the deplorable state it has fallen into.

Onwumere (2012) attributed some of the projects on the menu being the reason the State government applied for the N250 billion bond as unfortunately, these are not new projects; the University is an existing entity, the monorail is under construction from previous allocated budget which now looks like it's been pocketed or mismanaged.

Corroborating the above, the Niger Delta Citizens and Budget Platform (NDCBP), a coalition of non-governmental organizations interested in transparency and accountability, had in 2014 expressed concerns over the constant recourse to borrowing and the rising external and domestic debt profile of Rivers State. The coalition had previously advised the State government against predicating a significant percentage of its programmes and projects, specifically the monorail project on funds expected to be derived through borrowing either, as bonds, grants, domestic or external loans. They observed that since 2008, Rivers State has experienced a steady rise in the amount it owes external creditors. For instance, in 2008, Rivers State owed \$32.3 million, which increased to \$33.7 million in 2009. By 2010, it rose to \$35.5 million and decreased to \$33.8 million in 2011, only to rise again to \$36.6 million in 2012 and \$42.6 million as at the end of 2013. Hence, this group argues that the growing loan profile of the State and its inability to pay workers has a direct corollary to the unrealistic ambitious infrastructural strides in the State.

Accordingly, the debt profile is as a result of an attempt to drive the infrastructural stride of the State at a pace that its finances cannot handle especially the unfinished monorail construction in the State. The pictures below are the current position of the monorail construction.

In light of the above, it is arguably that the Nigerian political class is mostly not prudent in management of State funds, this breed the culture of poor governance which stem from the corruption that is rooted in the system. Given heighten financial crisis facing the State, as result of loss of the States Assets such as, oil wells in Soku and Etche, which were ceded to neighbouring States of Abia, Bayelsa by the National Boundary Commission, (2014) the drop in crude oil price, and general economic decline are major factors. However, the present administration justified it action of monorail discontinuation on paucity of funds specifically the shortfall from FAAC-IGR that accrued to the State based on prevailing circumstance.

Needam (2014) queried the rationale for abandoning the supposed equipment for the monorail project at Onne sea port where it is incurring huge demurrage at the expense of the State government. He further argued that the monorail project has only succeeded in creating jobs for political jobbers with little or no technical knowledge of such dream project but who flood the board as members and technical crew. If the government had opted to put the train on the ground, a train service could have been constructed for less than 3% of what the government had actually spent. The monorail project is a product of blurred vision and complete waste of public funds. The political propaganda to convince the Rivers people on the frugality of the Amaechi administration had been one story or the other, often conflicting with earlier statements of the actual cost of the project.

Pertinently, monorail does not run on petrol or diesel, it needs constant and steady electricity, regrettably; this is something the State does not have as necessity. The 24 hours power supply which the former governor promised will be available in 2012 remains mirage. In the interim the State does not have the capacity to generate the required megawatt that would operate and sustained the monorail system. Also, considering, amount of destruction of properties carried out so far to make way for the project and the huge amount of money it has spent on first phase, which has not reached 50% completion is a fabulous waste and not solved the desire transportation availability and convenient.

Okobi (2016) observed that no single project in the recent history of the State had received so much condemnation and bashing as the monorail. The implication of this is that the monorail project is as good as abandoned. This suggestion becomes even more plausible when it is realized that the present administration have promised to complete all projects started by the past administration but has so far been silent on the case of the monorail. It is not clear whether the governor will pull down those gigantic pillars lining the street of Azikiwe road or would continue with it. He further posit that the present administration will be morally justified to dump the project because the allocation accruing to the State with the biting economic recession and the price of oil at its historic low rate.

The above analysis had impedes monorail policy and has failed to improve transportation system in the state. In this light, implementation of monorail has not

accounted for an improve transport development in Rivers State between 2007 and 2016.

Government failure to actualize 19km Monorail and subversion of Public benefit

In regulatory policy impact analysis, cost-benefit analysis is a framework to assess the merits of an activity (project, policy) from the perspective of society (as opposed to a single individual). It involves: measuring the gains and losses (benefits and costs) from an activity to the community using money as the measuring rod; and aggregating those values of gains and losses and expressing them as net community gains or losses (Pearce 1983). Consequently, the cost benefit of Rivers monorail shows that the initial route segment was structure to run from Sharks Park to waterlines, a distance of 5.4 kilometers but the realizable distance of the monorail is 2.6 kilometers from Sharks Park to UTC by Azikiwe junction. Unfortunately, it is a distance which cost N50 naira by taxicab; it takes 2 minutes and 28 seconds to cover the entire distance of the monorail. Undoubtedly, it is unprofitable that the State monorail is the most expensive advancement in transportation but yet have no congruence to complement the transport challenges and unresolved traffic congestion within State. As against the position of (Iyofor, 2014) that monorail when completed will provide mass transport within the State capital, decongest the roads in the city, provide a competitive mass transport solution to the city and create job opportunities, regrettably the claimed has remain futile or hazy.

The monorail project has been widely criticized across the State; however, this study argued that Rivers monorail does not have any imperative socio-economic value on the State in the interim, largely to the fact that other means of transport have not been fully developed. The location of the project from station bus stop to UTC end of Port Harcourt and its final termination at water lines is very insignificant to traffic management rather the huge amount of money spent on the monorail would have been use to refurbish the abandoned trains line in the State which would have transport passengers to a long distance journey; especially one of the busiest route Port Harcourt Oyibgo- Aba train line or use in moribund Rivers/Sky bank city transport scheme. In order buttress the above position, Wike (2018, p.4) posit that:

As chief of staff, we opposed it. But people have this mentality: I'm the one who brought this concept. So many of us opposed it because, it is of no significance. Where are you carrying passengers from? To where? But when we looked at it, the government had paid not less than N54 billion. I called the contractor and he said he would need something in the neighbourhood of thirty-something billion to complete it, and I said no, I cannot do this. To put thirty-something billion in a project of 1.5 kilometers, I called the stakeholders and said no, it is not important for now. I'm sure that if we had even taken the risk of looking for money for it, they would have said, no, it was done 99 per cent as usual.

So for us, those ones that have direct impact on the economy and on the lives of our people, we said we must continue, whether we awarded the contract or not (Punch newspaper, 2018)

Kio-Lawson & Dekor (2014) noted that there are three very important trunk roads that connect Rivers State from the Aba- Umuahia - Enugu Expressway; the Oweeri-Elele Ikwerre Port Harcourt road and the East-West linking Delta-Bayelsa-Rivers and Akwalbom- Cross-Rivers States respectively. The road drives traffic into aforementioned neighbouring the States. They also and act as backbone of arteries from which ribs or lines of feeder roads that runs off into various directions in the State capital. They further posit that there are about four hundred and eighty-three identifiable roads divided within the major classes of roads serving a population of 1.5million persons. With an ever astronomically increasing population and tremendous growth both in industry and commerce, this explains the congestion and terrifying traffic hold-ups experienced on some of the major roads especially at rush hours. This situation is made worse by the poor state of some of these roads.

Ebiri (2015) argues that the monorail policy has no bearing on the lives of the people in the State; it became very obvious that the government largely underestimated the traffic situation in the state by erratically believing that monorail was the answer to the loss of massive man hour and to the perennial traffic problems in the State. Government also failed to extend development to other areas, since Rivers State had been a one city State it will continue to have this problem till the adjoining cities like Oyigbo, Isaka, Elele, Eleme, Okrika and Abonema, and Degema are deliberately developed to check the massive urban migration to the State capital. The worries now is that having sunk fabulous amount of money on the project, it might not see the light of the day, stressing that such huge funds should have been utilized in the aforementioned productive areas that would benefit the masses. Monorails are not designed for city-wide mass transit but manageable distance unlike the Rivers State experienced. The State is in dire need of roads, flyover, satellite towns in order to decongest traffic within the State capital rather went for suspended monorail of 6.2 kilometer, and the money used in building the less than 10 kilometers monorail can build quality roads with such funds. Meanwhile, the people are yearning for job creation, economic empowerment and other entrepreneurship support programmes that would assuage the unemployment and poverty level of the State. It is explicitly clear that monorail policy is a misplace priority which tantamount to infrastructural deficit.

Comparatively, the Calabar monorail, is ready for use, haven been test run by the governor and operators. Akpan (2016) observed the Calabar monorail was at the cost \$36 million (N4.5 billion). This was initiated by the previous Governor Duke, the scheme was conceived since 2005 and was 100 per cent funded by the African EXIM Bank, with assistance from Guaranteed Trust Bank (GTB) however, the project, which has been incorporated, ready and study shows that it would be paid back within 4 to 5 years.

The project, on completion would link the Margaret Ekpo International Airport to Tinapa, covering a distance of 12.9km. However, the first phase of the monorail project took off from Tinapa and will later be extended to Calabar airport terminal. Duke (2016, p. 3) noted that:

The rationale, for building this monorail project was because we dread the traffic that will come to Calabar in future considering tourists and visitors to Tinapa and the number of cars; hence we had to think of

something radical. Further justifying the need for the mono-rail project, the present airport in Calabar would remain a local facility while the new one proposed by the Federal Government will be an International and cargo airport.

Today, the Calabar monorail have seen the light of the day, recently there was maiden ride with its ultra-modern monorail. The 1.1-kilometer, single-track shuttle using an Intamin P8 electric powered passengers shuttle train composed of ten passenger cars and two equipment cars (total of 12 cars per train) and a seventy-eight total seating capacity available at the summit Hills to cater for transport need of residents and visitors to the place.

The above comparison signified dissimilarities between the Rivers and Calabar monorail projects respectively; the Rivers monorail was solely funded by State government, without policy direction like the Calabar system which had a private funding approach of Private Finance Initiative (PFI). The government of Cross River established a doctrine of necessity in the continuation of project by the previous administration without recourse to political rift. Also, the Calabar monorail started with the administration Duke; continues by Imoke and completed in the administration of Ayade (Ugbal, 2016).

Therefore, this study corroborates the assertion of (Wright & Fjellstrom, 2003,) that monorail system is capital intensive, since it is mostly an elevated train, the cost of transportation systems depends on different conditions such as geography, economic challenges, social interests, technology availability, amount of investment, maintenance fees, electrical power/fuel local prices, soil condition and geotechnical considerations, more importantly, available infrastructure facilities, demand and population, people expectations, of system, travel distance as compared with other transportations scheme, raw material and required machinery, Construction cost including the rate of labours, and engineer's wage, environment condition, aesthetics expectation and confidence level of system which varies among cities and countries. Therefore it is huge tasks to make a decision on it especially in the case of Rivers State where the political class decision overrides that of the electorates. To this end, the cost benefit analysis of the monorail is zero since the State was in dire need of other basic amenities.

Fictitious Award of Monorail contract to TSI Nigeria Limited

The former administration specifically in 2009 did inform the public that the proposed monorail was a public private partnership (PPP) innovation with TSI Holdings Nigeria Limited, and that the State will only pay 20% sum (30 Billion Naira) of the total amount (150 Billion Naira) the cost of the project, and TSI Holdings limited paying the remaining 80% which is N120b. Covertly, the government failed to explain the capacity of TSI Holdings to drive home this white elephant development. Apart from the capacity, the State government failed to give primordial details of the agreement with TSI Holdings the number of people that will be gainfully employed by the scheme, and how the ecological factors of the State will be managed side by side with the project to at-least assure the people that their safety will be guaranteed should the project come on stream (Henshaw, 2013). Also,

the deed never specified whether the project plan was Design-Build-Finance-Operate-Maintain (DBFOM) or Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) framework.

The State government was to provide 30 billion naira which is 20 per cent of the total cost while TSI to offer the 80 per cent of the total cost which amount to 120 billion naira. Contrary to the above, the State government thereafter paid the total cost of the project. This was a breach of the equity holding agreement in the partnership deed. This began the long history of crisis with the monorail. It is on record that the government had so far invested over N50 billion into the project in an endless attempt to make the project feasible. The reason for TSI holding to walked out of the monorail project was never made bare to the public. This action corroborates Ogunmefun (2006, p.16) observation “that some members of the political class are failed professionals who are just out to seek job, power, publicity and relevance, while others are political mercenaries that aspire for political offices without service objectives, goals or ideology”. In other words, they are political jobbers cum rent seeker. Consequently, the State government enlisted services of Arcus Gibbs at the cost of N600 million from March 1, 2010 to December 1, 2010, after the memorandum of understanding (MOU) with TSI abandonment option. However, Arcus Gibbs as part of its role as the technical service provider to the Rivers State government on the monorail project was to evaluate and assess the activities of TSI and give an independent opinion to the Rivers State government (RSG, 2013). In a press statement from the previous administration (Iyofor, 2015, p.7) stated that:

It should also be highlighted that after the PPP (Public Private Partnership) partners; TSI Property and Investment Holdings Ltd pulled out of the project because of her inability to contribute her own 80% equity share. The former Deputy Governor Engr. Tele Ikuru headed an Executive Council committee to review and recommended that the State Government should continue with the construction of the monorail project with Arcus Gibb acting as the project consultants.

In this light, the ministry of transport was directed to liaise with relevant government ministries, departments and agencies in the construction of the monorail project. The project was solely funded by the State government. The credibility and integrity initiative project (CRIIP, 2014) in a press statement noted that it appears like a fraud capable of marring the monorail that despite the backing out of TSI, the former private partners, the State government still went ahead to negotiate a handsome pay-off for the company. While government contracted the services of megastar with 50% mobilization paid to megastar.

The group had also sought to know the total cost of the first phase of the project and if what was on ground commensurate with the 17 million dollars that was paid for the first phase to megastar from Sharks Park to Garrison and now UTC Junction which is not more than 3 kilometers. The integrity group also demands to know the role of Arcus Gibbs in the Monorail construction as well as the persons that accompanied the former commissioner of transport to South Africa for a meeting with the company without the consent of due process office.

Ebiri, (2015) noted that ARCUS GIBBS Nigeria limited a technical partners to the State government on the controversial monorail development, do affirmed

before the Justice George Omereji-led Judicial Commission of Inquiry on the sale of valued assets of Rivers State by the Amaechi administration, that the project which has gulped well over N33.9 billion, was no longer tenable, due to paucity of funds to proceed with the construction. However, the management admitted that so far, the consortium had received a total of N22.9bn from the State government through the ministry of transport since March 1, 2010. Therefore, it is regrettable that everything about the monorail construction is shrouded in secrecy, ranging from the actual amount of the project, reasons for the withdrawal of TSI Holdings midway into the agreement, the reason for the snail pace the work, the actual amount paid to property owners, whose property were demolished to make way for the project as all these have raised too many unaddressed questions, complaints and even court threats. In this line of argument, a commentary once read “Nigeria has enough to take care of the basic needs of society, what the nation lacks is the capacity to satisfy the greed of the political class, which unfortunately is more than the collective need” (Nyewusira, 2007, p.31).

Public Procurement Act and Aberration of Contract policy

Bureau Public Procurements (Due Process) is commissioned to monitor projects, ensure proper valuation and costing of contract in line with the market value thereby reducing corruption and inflation in the system and ensuring credible and capable contractors execute government projects in the State. As a followed up to the monorail policy Laz-Nwokea former Executive Director, Rivers State bureau public procurements while answering questions on Bull's Eye 95.9 Cool FM, a live news and current affairs programme on Saturday, June 30, 2012 stated that before we came on board there was no feasibility study, no proper planning and management of monorail policy (Needam, 2012). Equally, a press statement from the former administration Iyofor (2015, p.7) noted that:

When the decision to construct the monorail was taken, there were no Due Process laws in existence in the State. But it should be noted that after the enactment of the Due process laws, the monorail project owner engineers; Arcus Gibb and officials of the Rivers State ministry of transport were constantly briefing and keeping the Due process team up to date on all issues as they relate to the project. These facts can be backed up with several minutes of meeting between Due Process, office, ministry of transport and Arcus Gibb Engineering services.

The above press narrative was a complete violation of procurement act which establishes that all public contracts will be subject to scrutiny from Bureau of Public Procurements (Due Process law) before approval or confirmation by the Governor.

Atta (2014) noted that a good part of the loans collected by States are not spent on projects for which they are collected, as they disappear through procurements corruption, which accounts for over 70 per cent of the total corruption in the public sector. Though the Procurements Act of 2007 was enacted to prevent this malfeasance but implementation has remain a problem, especially at State level, where the Act is yet to be domesticated or poorly implemented. Section 5 of the Act requires government agencies to publish the details of major contracts, but most

States do not comply. However, it is more worrisome that the former administration decided to manage the project as the private property. This is an indication that the secrecy surrounding the construction has further propelled speculations that high ranking government officials have an ‘under hand’ role in the award and execution of the project. Unfortunately those who should be asking questions especially the Rivers State House of Assembly on behalf of Rivers people have strangely remained mute (Edozie, 2014). Hence, the study accepted the second hypothesis that government failure to actualize the 19KM monorail policy have not resolved perennial traffic situation in the state among others setbacks.

Conclusion

The Nigerian State is squarely a reflection of interest of the political class rather than the citizens. Thus, monorail development in this part of the world is certainly not a bad idea but considering our environment; there are several other means of transportations that have not been fully develop neither been sustained; a clear example is the moribund rail system that was constructed by the British colonial power over hundred year ago, till date the government have not been able to put to use the Port Harcourt rail line that connect the south-east and northern Nigeria. While the conventional rail system had suffered by mismanagement the big question now is what is the future of monorail system that is more sophisticate and luxurious to construct, manage and maintain. Hence, this study argues that by the antecedent of public policy management in Nigeria, the state is not ripe for monorail elevated train considering our scientific and technological development architecture.

In the light of the above findings, the following recommendations are put forward to policy makers, government, donor agencies, private sector partners, researchers, multi-national corporations and others that:

- The privatization of monorail project as obtainable in the developed countries may be a better option or it should base on public private partnership framework approach.
- The government should ensure construction of more roads development and expansion of transportation facility in the state.

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