

Impeachment as a Crude Weapon to the Sustainancy of Democracy: The Nigeria Experience

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Abstract: This study titled “Impeachment as a Crude Weapon to the Sustenance of Democracy” The Nigeria Experience, focus to establish how impeachment has promoted or negated the success of democratic governance in Nigeria since the Fourth (4th) Republic, 1999-Date. The study adopted the theory of Rule of Law and the Classical Elite theory as a theoretical framework of analysis. The study established that the overbearing influence of godfathers, the quest and greed for power by the executive and legislative arm have impacted negatively on the democratic principles of Nigerian democracy. The implication of the study is that much as the principle of impeachment is abused by legislators, it will be difficult and painstaking for the leadership of the executive arm of government and legislative arm to provide effective representation to the electorates, that the synergy that exists between the executive arm and the legislative arm as independent organs of the government will be blurred. Recommendations were made that though as separate and independent arms that the synergy is encouraged to promote a healthy democracy and provision of democratic dividends by the executive and legislative arm that are the true representatives of the people.

Keywords: Impeachment, Crude Weapon, Legislators, Democracy, Republic, and President.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The legislature in any democratic system of government is supposed to be the watchdog of the people against the authoritarian, and indeed, predatory tendencies of the executive, which is the most powerful arm of government, given it's capacity to control and deploy state funds and coercive forces. The legislature is supposed to check these tendencies and to generally operate to protect the interest of the people. They are supposed to be the grassroots arm of government. But this has not been the case. On the contrary, at least, at the national level and with respect to some state governments, the legislature has jettisoned the interest of the nation for selfish interest. Instead of serving the people of this country, they are engaged in pursuit of selfish interest to a degree that can only be regarded as shocking [1]. This can be demonstrated by a quick examination of legislative activity at the state and national level with regard to flagrant display of impeachment notice to the chief executives (Governors, deputy governors, president and vice president) the leadership of the legislative arm (senate president, deputy senate president, speakers and deputy speakers of the House of Representatives and State House of Assembly).

Impeachment was enshrined in sections 170, (1-11) and 132(1-11) and section 143(1-11) and 188(1-11) of the 1979 and 1999 constitutions respectively, is both a constitutional and political arrangement meant to remove an erring public officers from office for gross misconduct or grave violations of the constitution. There are several definitions given to the concepts “Impeachment” by different authors to include, but not limited to these.

Impeachment is a weapon to check the abuse of political office by elected political office holders. It is a measure meant to checkmate arbitrariness on the part of immune political leaders.

[2] cited in [3], impeachment is both legislative and political arrangement designed to remove public office holders after being found guilty of gross misconduct. He explained that impeachment has to do with: the method by which government officials may be removed from office when they have been formally accused of crimes on misconduct.

Furthermore, impeachment is a potent weapon usually employed by the legislature to ensure effective control over the chief executive or his deputy by removing him from office for gross misconduct in the performance of the functions of his office.

In line with the above explanations of impeachment, suffice it to say that the principle and tenet of impeachment have been greatly abused by our legislators at both the state and national level. The legislative arm

and all other arms of government in Nigeria have witnessed so much chaos in the second (1979-1983) and fourth republic (1999-Present). The legislators have turned the legislative hallowed chambers into motor park touts and touting as they frequently engaged themselves in unorthodox, arm-twisting welfare that makes no sense of legislative decorum.

These and many other factors not mentioned formed the opinion of this study.

II. EMPIRICAL REVIEW

[4] in a study, "Judicial Review and Impeachment: A Conceptual Clarification" emphasized that the idea of separation of powers as advocated by a French philosopher, Montesque, was to ensure that each arm of government performs a distinctive functions in order to avoid consolidation of powers of governance into one hand which is capable of promoting tyranny and accentuate human rights violation. Hence, Montesque advocated that legislature must make the law, executive executes the law made by legislature and the judiciary to interpret the laws. In case of ambiguity between the makers and the implementers of the law. It is in this arrangement that human right can be protected and good governance guaranteed.

In related study, [5] "The idea of Water Tight Separations is non Practicable and Visible in Modern Democracy, hence a complementary concept: check and balances was suggested by another scholar, A.V Decey". Nnaemeka states that the doctrine of "Separation of Power" cannot operate as a weapon against tyranny, he further states that the only remedy to abuse of power and safeguarding of human rights and prevent tyrannical use of power is through effective supervision of the administration. He was suggesting that each arm of government must be a check on the other. Here lies the power of judicial review granted to the judiciary. Therefore, he describes judicial review as the judicial control of administration adjudication or of administrative bodies and their powers, actions and inactions generally.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored on two theories, theory of Rule of Law and the Classical Elite theory.

The principle or the theory of rule of law as applied on this study states the supremacy of the law. The theory was propounded by a British articulate writer, Professor A.V. Dicey in 1885. The term "Rule of Law" is the idea that the law of a state is supreme. It does not offer special protection to an official, be he a soldier, a policeman or even a minister or state. It also means that all citizens are given equal protection by the law.

Furthermore, the "rule of law" is the idea not only that every citizen shall be equally bound by known fair laws enforced by known and impartial judges, thus protecting each individual's right against those of other individuals, but also that the government itself shall equally be bound by these laws, so that the relationship between the government and every individual shall be controlled in the same way as those of individuals with each other. Only in this way can the rights of the individual citizens be protected and asserted against tyranny on the part of government. The phrase or term "rule of law" means that the law is supreme, superior and generally acceptable as the mode of determining and dispensing justice in a given state. The "rule of law" is a negation of arbitrary power and whims and caprices, if everyone is placed in equal position before the law, then that the country is governed on the basis of rule of law.

So, when this principle of "rule of law" is applied to this study, "Impeachment as a Crude Weapon to the Sustenance of Democracy", the Nigerian Experience, it emphasize these principles as enunciated by the rule of law thus;

- I. The principle of impartiality of supremacy of the law. This means that no man should be punished or made to suffer breach of law unless established by a court of law. One should only be punished for breaking the law when he is found guilty by a court of law. Any given government is to dispense justice and exercise its authority in accordance with the dictate of the laws of the state;
- II. The principle of equality before the law. This means that nobody is bigger than the other before the law. Everybody is equal before the law and is not a respecter of any person. As the law treats Mr. A, so will it treat Mr. B, every person irrespective of position or rank is subject to the law of the land and the jurisdictions of the law courts;
- III. The principle of the liberty of the individual or the rights of the individual. This principle gives certain rights of the individual in the society. These rights which are entrenched in the constitution of the country are often referred to as the inalienable rights of the individuals. They include such rights as; Right to life, Freedom of association, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of speech, Freedom of expression, Freedom of Peaceful assembly and association.

To substantiate this, during Impeachment, whether against the executive arm (President, vice president, governors or deputy governors) or at the legislative chambers of the national assembly (Senate and House of Representative, deputy Senate president, Speakers and deputy Speakers House of Representatives, Speakers of state House of Assembly and Deputy Speakers of State Houses of Assembly) these principles of rule of law

should and must apply before any principal officer of government at the two capacities mentioned (executive or legislative) should be considered impeached if found guilty.

On the second note where the classical elite theory is adopted, the theory as propounded by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941). Elite theory developed in part as a reaction to Marxism as an ideology rather than objective analysis of social systems. According to elite theory, men can never be liberated from the subjugation of an elite structure. Elite theory argues that all societies are divided into two main groups, the ruling minority and the majority that are ruled. These situations according to the theorists are inevitable. When this revolution occurs, it results to distrust, disobedient or absence loyalty to the superior authority [6]. When these happens, it goes to support the postulation by Pareto and Mosca that two main groups exists in the society, the ruling minority and the majority that are ruled. The ruling minority constitutes the powerful in a given democratic system (godfathers, party stalwarts) who determines the place and fate of governance and the majority that are ruled which constitutes the electorates. When this fallout happens, disobedient, distrust and absence of loyalty to godfathers and party stalwarts by those who control the machinery of governance at the executive or legislative arm, what usually follows is rift between godson and godfathers, and so for the powerful (godfathers and party stalwarts to have their way is to plot their impeachment [7]. A notable case is the case of Alhaji Rashidi Ladoja (former governor of Oyo State) and Dr Chris Ngige (former governor of Anambra State) and his mentor and godfather (Chief Chris Ubah).

The Legislature as the Eye of the Electorates and Watchdog of the Executive Arm (The Power to Make Approvals and Conduct Investigations).

In a way to ensure good governance, especially the one that bequeaths public trust and recognition, the legislature share certain roles and functions with the executive in a wide range of subjects. The legislature scrutinizes and possibly rejects nominees for top government positions by the executive arm. The legislative arm ensures that the requests sent to it by the executive are properly examined, debated before they are approved. The request may include: approval for loan credit, approval to carry out or embark on some policies especially the ones that may not have been provided for in the constitution, example, the ban on street trading and hawking, the ban on indecent dressing among ladies, phasing off motor bike on major cities and towns etc, approval of nominees for cabinet and diplomatic positions, ratification of treaty or bilateral agreement between countries, the approval to name some important institutions after nationalist, approval to pass appropriation bill or supplementary appropriation bills and approval to embark on the establishment of developmental projects.

On the other hand, the power to conduct investigations by the legislative arm is a very good means of not only ensuring, but empowering the legislature to carryout effective legislation. In section 82 and 120 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the national and state assemblies have power to direct or cause to be directed or investigated into:

- I. Any matter or thing with respect to which it has power to make laws;
- II. The conduct of affairs of any person, authority, ministry or government department charged with the duty or responsibility for executing or administering laws enacted by the national or state assembly and disbursing or administering the money appropriated;
- III. To make laws with respect to any matter within its legislative competence and to correct any defects in existing laws;
- IV. To expose corruption, inefficiency or waste in the executive or the administration of laws within its legislative competence.

It is therefore no doubt, that it is an established democratic practice for the legislature to conduct investigation for the good governance of the country. It is apparently based on this, that the legislature embarks on the constitutional duties as enunciated above with some humiliating and dehumanizing consequences "Impeachment" which is usually been sponsored by the executive, godfathers or party stalwarts and in some cases the legislature without justifying cause or action. The following are some of the highlights of the impeachment that have been carried out in Nigeria political system, either masterminded by the executive arm, godfathers or party stalwarts or the legislative arm over leadership squabbles.

Retired Commodre Murtala Nyako, (the former Governor of Adamawa State) and the Impeachment of July 2014.

The former governor of Adamawa State and a onetime Chief of Naval Staff, Rtd Comdr Murtala Nyako was on 15th July 2014 impeached by the state legislature for an alleged gross misconduct and financial improprieties. He was alleged to have fraudulently mismanaged and diverted about fifteen billion naira (₦15b) belonging to the state. How justifiable that allegation may be is what ordinary Nigerian citizen may and cannot establish. If the allegation is correct, then the impeachment is justifiable, and then the accused should have been arrested by the law enforcement agency, but if it is false, it is ill winds that have negative consequences to the sustenance of democracy.

Recall that he was elected on the platform of Peoples Democratic Party (P.D.P) in 2007 governorship election, but prior to the 2015 general elections, knowing fully well that All Progressive Congress (APC) have put all machinery in place to take over power from the ruling People's Democratic Party come the 2015 general elections, so he quickly defected to All Progressive Congress (APC) and this did not go down well with him, the legislative arm, the power that be (Party Stalwarts) so the impeachment was initiated and subsequently impeached on 15th July 2014. However bad or disgraceful this might be, his eldest son, Alhaji Abdulazeez Murtala Nyako was on 28th March 2015 elected a senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the platform of All Progressive Congress (APC) in Adamawa state.

The Fate of Chief Sunday Onyebuchi (2014) to actualize his dream of gubernatorial ambition.

Chief Sunday Onyebuchi was the running mate of Barrister Sullivan Chime in the 2007 governorship election of Enugu state and was subsequently elected governor and deputy governor. There were no traces of political bicker and acrimony, hence when the governor (Sullivan Chime) was ill for upward of one year oversea, the deputy governor, Chief Sunday Onyebuchi stirred the ship of Enugu State government during the period. He was however fingered for destruction when he indicated interest to replace his boss (Sullivan Chime) as he (governor) had other candidate in mind for the Enugu State Government House in May 2015. To ensure that the dream of his deputy was not realized, he was accused of growing chickens (Poultry farm) in his official resident. The question one would ask is whether he grew chick in his official quarters or not, but was it when he indicated interest to contest governorship position of Enugu State that the governor remembered that he was growing chicken in his official residence? Having alleged this allegation, the House of Assembly immediately swing into action by initiating impeachment proceeding against him on the ground that he was using his official residence for growing chicks (Poultry farm), hence was subsequently impeached and then replaced by Rev. Nwoye in 2014.

Impeachment at the Legislative Houses: The Case of Ebonyi and Enugu State.

The list of impeachment in the legislative houses are endless, both at the state and national assembly. It must however be noted that some of the impeached legislators (speakers and deputy speakers) were to pave way for the eventual impeachment of the state governors or their deputies, or for possible emergence of new leadership in the legislative house when the synergy or relationship between the leadership of the legislative arm and the executive arm have gone soar.

In Ebonyi State, June 6th 2011, Hon Ikechukwu Nwankwo representing Ebonyi North West constituency was elected as the speaker of the fourth (4th) assembly. Six months later, precisely on 23rd December 2011, he was impeached. He was accused of high handedness, non accessibility to him by staff of Ebonyi State House of assembly and fellow honourable members of the state assembly, worst still of all the allegations leveled against him, was selfishness, he was accused of withholding and diverting of money meant for colleagues into private pocket (citizen advocate, 2011). Other allegations leveled against him were that he was not loyal and obedient to the constituted authority. By constituted authority, we refer to all the influential, power to be, and party stalwarts from his constituency, local government party level and state that were instrumental to his emergence to the number three (3rd) positions in the state. To these effects, he was fingered for destruction and was finally impeached on 23/12/2011, by 2/3 majority of members.

Emergence of Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku- Sequel to the impeachment of the former speaker, Rt Hon Ikechukwu Nwankwo on 23/12/2011, Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku of Ebonyi North East emerged as the new speaker on the 23/12/2011, following the support he gathered from the P.D.P stalwarts and the leadership of Ebonyi Youth Assembly. He enjoyed the support of colleagues, party members and the executive family (governor). However, trouble started for him in the exotic position in July 2014 when the immediate family of the governor perceived that he was pitching tent with the deputy governor, Chief Engr Dave Umahi who was interested in becoming the governor come May 2015, and for himself the speaker (Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku) to return to his position come May 2015, but this was unknown to the governor (Chief Martin Elechi) as he felt he was still with Hon Nwazunku, the speaker. This perceived act of the speaker did not go down well with the immediate family of the first family of the state (governor) as impeachment was initiated against him (Speaker) by the legislators close to the immediate family of the number one citizen of the state (governor), was impeached by 13 out of 24 members of the state house of assembly on the early hours of Monday morning 21st July 2014, and subsequent installation of Hon Mrs. Helen Nwobasi as the new speaker. Since the governor (Chief Martin Elechi) felt he was still in the good books of the speaker (Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku) he ordered the reinstatement of him as the speaker, that it is a party affair, which the P.D.P stakeholders have resolved that Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku be recalled as the speaker of the state assembly (Elechi 2014). This did not go down well with anti-Nwazunku legislators especially when the matter was still in court.

More trouble started for the speaker prior to the P.D.P primaries in preparatory to the 2015 general elections when the governor had realized that the position of the immediate family in July 2014 was correct that

he (Hon Nwazunku) had pitched tent with the deputy governor (Engr Dave Umahi) to realize his second term bid. All efforts to impeach the speaker so as to impeach the deputy governor by the legislators loyal to the governor proved abortive as they could not meet the constitutional requirement of 2/3 majority to enable them impeach him. The resultant effect of the political crisis, rancour and acrimony between the legislators loyal to the governor and those loyal to the speaker and the deputy governor are itemized thus;

- I. The legislators loyal to the governor defected to the labour party (L.P) to enable them secure their second term to the house of assembly, while those loyal to the speaker and deputy governor remained in P.D.P to secure their second term to the house of assembly. Consequent upon the president and national assembly election and governorship and state assembly election held on 28th March 2015 and 11th April 2015, all the loyalists of the deputy governor (P.D.P, members) secured their second term to the house of assembly, while the speaker (Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku) was elected to represent Ebonyi / Ohaukwu in the house of representatives, while all those loyalists to the governor (L.P, members) lost in the race;
- II. The inability of the state to secure approval from the state assembly for another bond from the capital market meant for the completion of on-going projects in the state embarked by Elechi's administration;
- III. The inability of the state (Elechi administration) to secure approval from the legislature to pass the 2015 appropriation bill submitted in December 2014. The appropriation bill which was over eighty billion naira (N80bn) was slashed to seventy-five point eight billion naira (N75.8b) by Engr Dave Umahi's administration to accommodate economic realities, it was sent back to the house of assembly on 22nd June 2015, passed and assented by the governor (Dave Umahi) on Monday 29th June 2015;
- IV. The acrimony led to the breakdown of law and order, such as setting a section of the house of assembly (accounts department) ablaze on 24th February 2015, intimidation and harassment of government functionaries loyal to the former governor (Elechi), such persons include; Elechi Nnanna Elechi (the governor's son) Hon Celestine Nwali (former Commissioner) for public utilities, Hon Celestine Igberi Nweme (former Chairman, Ikwo L.G.A) Mr. Edwin Igbele (former accountant general) Ebonyi State [8]

The picture of the section of the Ebonyi State House of Assembly set ablaze

Enugu State- In Enugu State during the tenure of Dr Chimaroke Nnamani (1999-2007) and Hon Cletus Enebe (2003-2005) witnessed similar legislative crisis as the speaker, Mr Cletus Enebe was on 25th November 2005, overwhelmingly impeached by 20 out of 24 legislators. The motion to impeach him was introduced by Mr. Nsude Hyacinth who relied on section 92(c) of the 1999 constitution which provides thus;



EBONYI HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY COMPLEX AFTER THE FIRE OUTBREAK ON TUESDAY 24TH FEB. 2015

The speaker or deputy speaker of the house of assembly shall vacate his office if he is removed from office by a resolution of the house of assembly by the votes of not less than (2/3) members of the house.

Hon Hyacinth Nsude submitted that the speaker no longer enjoyed the confidence of the legislators and that the speaker contravened the provisions of the constitution and the draft rule of the house of assembly. The house adopted the motion and was seconded accordingly, it was put into voting, 20 out of the 24 honourable members of the house, voted in favour of the motion and the speaker was impeached.

Furthermore, just as this paper posits at the beginning of this study, that the list of impeachment is endless in the legislative houses. Some speakers who are perceived to be loyal to the governors are impeached to eventually create room for the impeachment of the governors and in some cases deputy governor of the states. Bayelsa and Oyo states are relevant examples [9].

Impunities associated with the Impeachment of Legislators (speakers/deputy speakers) and the Executives (Governors/ deputy governors).

The legislative arm and all other arm have witnessed so much chaos, not only in the first and second republic (1960-1966, 1979-1983) but also in the fourth republic (1999-Date), the legislators have turned the legislative hallowed chambers into motor park touts and touting, as they frequently engaged themselves in unprecedented mayhem, exchange of blows on a free for all fight, chairs, wood, roads etc were reportedly employed as weapons, the mace revered as a symbol of authority of the House was either carted away or broken into pieces. A notable free for all fight were witnessed in the following legislative chambers, River State House of Assembly in 2013, Hallowed Chambers of the House of Representative in 2011 involving Hon Dino Mellaye from Kogi State, who was later elected a Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to represent Kogi West in the senate (2015-2019) after introducing free for all fight in the green chambers in 2011, on Thursday 25th June 2015, the House of representatives witnessed another pandemonium as the house engaged in another show of shame that later brought the days sittings to an abrupt end and the house adjourned sitting till Tuesday, July 21st 2015.

The show of the shame in the green chambers on 25th June 2015 by members of House of Representatives in Abuja, Nigeria



Legislative Duties in Hotel Rooms

Other mess that characterized legislative business is the abandonment of legislative proceedings in the hallowed chambers only to be carried out in hotel rooms and premises. A notable example was when in 2005, eighteen (18) members of Oyo State House of Assembly sat in a hotel at Ibadan known as D’Rovans to impeach the governor, Alhaji Rashidi Ladoja following a dispute between him and the house of assembly. In a similar incidence, the House of Assembly in Awka, Anambra State, on 2nd November 2006 impeached Governor Peter Obi in a hotel at Asaba, Delta State. Accompanied by representatives of former president Olusegun Obasanjo and armed mobile policemen, the speaker Mr. Mike Beluonwu arrived the state capital Awka and announced that the governor, Mr Peter Obi has been impeached and directed the Chief judge of the state to swear in the deputy governor, Mrs. Virgy Etiaba as the governor, though she (deputy governor) declined been sworn in. Governor Peter Obi was accused of impropriety by the house of assembly as reason for his impeachment. In a related development, trouble began for the former speaker Ebonyi State Hon Chukwuma Nwazunku when he supported shifting power to Ebonyi South and subsequent suspension of Hon Frank Onwe, Hon Eni Uduma and Hon Blaise Orji, contrary to the interest of her excellency and wife of the governor, Chief Mrs. Josephine Elechi who wanted her elder brother, senator Chris Nwankwo to take over from the husband Chief Martin Elechi. The speaker was purportedly impeached on 21st July 2014. Subsequently, the new speaker Hon Mrs. Helen Nwobasi held meetings and sittings of the house at her Nna Street residence and the Women Development Centre Abakaliki respectively. Other allegations leveled against the purported impeached speaker include; Incompetence, gross misconduct, misappropriation of public fund and embezzlement of about one hundred and twenty million (N120m) approved to them by the governor [9]. The impeachment was however reversed by the governor on the grounds that it is a party affair.

IV. FINDINGS

- I. One cardinal principle of the rule of law is that of the principle of the individual rights, which connotes among others, the freedom of speech and fair hearing. It is the position of this study that one of the predicaments faced by these impeached governors, deputy governors, speakers and deputy speakers is the absence of fair hearing. The impeached officers are in most cases not given the opportunity to defend the allegations leveled against them that prompt their impeachment. This is usually so because the panel or committee constituted against them are kangora committee with the premonition of the destroying the officers involved [10];
- II. Most impeachments at the legislative chambers especially state legislative houses, are carried out outside the legislative houses, but either in hotels, private residential buildings and government ceremonial buildings. A notable example was in Ebonyi State, Anambra State, Oyo State and host of other states;
- III. Lack of Due Process. This is usually so when the superior authority wants to destroy the officer in question. For example, D.S.P Alamieyesigha, former governor of Bayelsa State was accused of acquiring assets valued over ₦1.7 billion, other allegations include; owning a multi-million U S dollar refinery in Ecuador, Purchasing two properties in London at £2.79 million, acquiring Chelsea Hotel Abuja at ₦1.5 billion, buying three properties at Ikoyi and Allen avenue, Ikeja at N850 million etc. however, the former Chief Judge of Bayelsa State, Emmanuel Igoniware inaugurated a 7 man probe panel headed by Seren Dokunbo. An interim report was prepared based on the fact of the governor jumping bail in the United Kingdom where he was being prosecuted for money laundering. The panel submitted its preliminary report to the house of assembly and as early as 5am on 9th December 2005, 17 out of 20 members present voted in favour of the impeachment, immediately the governor was arrested. The impeached governor (DSP Alamieyesigha) was heard by sympathizers lamenting as he was taken away thus; “this is unconstitutional, this is against due process, even if I am to be crucified, I should be heard”. He accused the presidency under the watchful eyes of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo to be the brain behind his impeachment.
- IV. The impeachment of principal officers of government (executive arm or the legislature) is in most cases instigated or masterminded by selfish, parochial and personal aggrandizement of the political class (godfathers). This they do with the intention of having control of power or have access to the state’s treasury;
- V. It is observed that Nigerians (politicians) harp on the inadequacies of the laws to further their selfish interest. This is because section 143 and 188 of the constitution did not clearly states what amount to impeachment;
- VI. Impeachment has become a political tool for witch-hunting of enemies or as an instrument of intimidation used to coerce stubborn governors to the negotiation table for political gains. Example, the case of the former governor of Ebonyi State, Chief Martin Elechi Vs the Ebonyi State House of Assembly 2015;
- VII. This study established that there has been the consequence of an intra-elite struggle over resources, (control of fund) within the legislative arm;
- VIII. Finally, is the problem of poor representation by the parliamentarian has become a central issue and a growing headache in Nigerian politics and public life.

V. CONCLUSION

This study concludes by requesting that to ensure and enthrone democracy that is devoid of rancour and bitterness, the democratic principles (constitution) be observed to the last letter.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

- I. Elected representatives at all levels of governance should guarantee effective representations to the electorates;
- II. Campaign promises should be adhered to;
- III. The constitution should be strengthened so as to empower the judiciary to wade in legislative affairs during impeachment;
- IV. The constitution ought to expressly provide for what amounts to impeachable offences and not the vague term, “gross misconduct”;
- V. The politicians should learn to eschew politics of bitterness, acrimony and rancor so as to enthrone healthy democracy;
- VI. For impeachable offences “gross misconduct” fair hearing should be given to the accused to guarantee the principle of individual rights;
- VII. This study also suggested that all legislative proceedings should and must be carried out within the hallowed chambers of the parliament;
- VIII. Elections into the principal positions in the legislative houses should be devoid of party interest and recommendations but on the credibility of the candidates;

- IX. Free choice of candidates- There should be independence of candidates aspiring for elective positions in Nigeria, especially in the legislative houses. The idea of “godfathers” should be done away with if we must ensure effective legislation that brings about good governance.

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