

**ECOWAS PROTOCOLS ON FREE MOVEMENT, TRADE
LIBERALIZATION
AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA,
1990-2018**

BY

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NSU/SS/Ph.D./003/10/11

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE
STUDIES, NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY KEFFI, IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D.)
IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY, KEFFI, NIGERIA**

DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that this thesis ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons, Trade Liberalization and Regional Integration in West Africa, 1990-2018 has been written by me and it is a report of my research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for any diploma or degree in any university or other institutions of learning. All quotations are indicated and sources of information specifically acknowledged by means of references.

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CERTIFICATION

The thesis ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement, Trade Liberalization and Regional Economic Integration in West Africa, (1990-2018) meets the regulations governing the award of Ph.D. in Political Science (International Relations) of the School of Postgraduate Studies, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God who kept me all this while to successfully complete the work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I lack words to express my propound gratitude to a group of reputable and eminent personalities without whose guidance and assistance this work would not have been successful. First on the list, is Professor H. Assisi Asobie who was not only a supervisor but a mentor to the core. Your wealth of experiences and mentorship guided me throughout this study without which this work would not have been a success.

I am also indebted to Professor S.A. Ibrahim, Professor Eugene T. Aliegba, Professor Abdullahi Nuhu Liman, Professor Haruna Bonaventure, Associate Professor Yahaya Adadu, Dr. Mohammed Bello Baban'umma, Dr. A.S. Modibbo, Dr. Canice Erunke and Dr. Jacho David Sunday all of the Department of Political Science. The extension of this gratitude goes to late Professor Dogara Gwamna of blessed memory, Professor Gideon Amuga, Professor and Dr. Mrs. Kwon-Ndung, Federal University, Lafia for their encouragement and contributions to this work.

My unflinching appreciation goes to my beloved husband, Pastor Paul Yusuf who stood by me throughout the work. Equally appreciated are my children, Mr. Abraham O. Yusuf, Mr. Moses O. Yusuf, Mr. Emmanuel O. Yusuf and Miss Faith O. Yusuf for their encouragement throughout this work.

My unreserved gratitude goes to my siblings, Chartered Accountant Omusa Baba Ohyoma, Mrs. Zainab Musa Ugya, Dr. Yahaya Adamu, Barrister Shuaibu Baba Ohyoma, Mrs. Patu Oyoyo, Dr. Isah Baba Ohyoma, Mr. Adamu (Yerima) Baba Ohyoma and Dauda Baba Ohyoma for their moral and financial support.

ABSTRACT

West African countries designed and launched the protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme as strategies for achieving regional integration, but the level of its implementation by ECOWAS member states is below expectation. The aim of this study is the assessment of these protocols with a view to identifying a neglected factor that adds to the challenges inhibiting the proper implementation of these protocols. Data was collected through interviews conducted on the respondents drawn through purposive sampling technique, while the secondary data were drawn from textbooks, journals, official documents, published reports and internet materials. The study found that: (1) there is a positive connection between the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization on one hand and on the other hand the regional economic integration. (2) There is no negative connection between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS member states and the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols. (3) The rest of ECOWAS member states are discouraged by Nigeria's not-too impressive level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols. (4) The attempt to apply neo-functionalist theory which is not very relevant to the socio-economic environment of West African region in part contributes to the obstacles militating against the practice of regional integration in West Africa. The findings indicate that the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols need to be improved by all member states if successful regional integration is to be achieved in West Africa. The study recommends that: (1) Theoretical model that fits the socio-economic conditions of the region be adopted (2) member states should be more pro-active in the implementation of ECOWAS protocols (3) Policy implementers should be well informed on the provisions of the protocols through seminars, workshop and conferences.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Regional integration has been advocated by many development scholars across the world. They base their arguments on the potential benefits that can be derived from such an arrangement. The Charter of the United Nations, Article 13 (1) (b) of 1945 gives a strong endorsement to regional integration. Contained in the provision is “the promotion of international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields” (Khann, 2007:558).

European Union has been a pioneer in regional integration since the early 1950’s (Council on Foreign Relation, 2010). In the same vein, Eschborn (2008 para 1), affirmed this in the following words:

Over the past few decades Europe and its institutional backbone – the European Union (EU) have emerged as the prime example of what seems to have become a general trend towards the regionalization of the world economy. Since the 1990’s there has been a steady expansion in the number and depth of regional integration initiatives worldwide.

It therefore means that the European Union represents a success story that stimulated the establishment of regional integration institutions all over the world. According to Cameron (2010), “there have been several attempts to achieve regional integration outside Europe. These include the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), African Union (AU), Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and Mercosur in South America.” Later attempts at the establishment of regional integration bodies were made in Africa. These waves

of regionalism spurred West African leaders to move for the establishment of ECOWAS in May 28, 1975, a group comprising of 16 member states which includes: The Republic of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d' Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. Mauritania however opted out of the union in 2000 (Europe World Year Book, 2000 in Butu (2013:48). The aims and objectives of ECOWAS are contained in the Revised Treaty of 1993, Chapter II, Article 3, No. 2 (a) as follows:

to promote cooperation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standard of its people, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations-among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent' (ECOWAS Executive Secretariat 1993:5).

The final objective of ECOWAS is the achievement of an economic union, a stage of economic integration where economic policies of Member States are harmonized in an attempt to eliminate differences within the economies of these countries. According to Carbaugh (2004), this is the stage of integration where economic policies such as monetary, fiscal, social and countercyclical policies are harmonized and in which a Supra-national authority oversees these policies, and whose decision are binding on Member States. A study of ECOWAS shows it is quite some distance from this arrangement. It is hoped that achieving the above aims and objectives will be made possible among others through:

the harmonization and coordination of national policies and the promotion of integration programs, projects and activities, particularly in food, agriculture and natural resources, industry, transport, and communication, energy, trade, money and finance, taxation, economic reform policies, human resources, education, information, culture, science, technology, services, health,

tourism and legal matters. (ECOWAS Executive Secretariat, 1993:5).

In order to achieve the above stated aims and objectives, the Community shall by stages ensure the establishment of a Common Market. This is a stage of economic integration which is achieved when Member States permit: (1) “the free movement of goods and services among Members; (2) the initiation of a common external trade restriction against non-members; (3) the free movement of factors of production across national borders within the economic union (Carbaugh, 2004). The best way to achieve this is to make sure that all tariff and non-tariff barriers in respect of goods originating from member states are removed. This translates to healthy competition among industries. In other words, cut throat competition is totally absent. This is practically expressed through the following:

the liberalization of trade by the abolition, among Member States, of customs duties levied on imports and exports, and the abolition, among Member States, of non-tariff barriers in order to establish a free trade area at the Community level; and the removal, between Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment. (1993 ECOWAS Revised Treaty, Article 3 (2) b pg 5)

A fundamental objective is also to gradually achieve a state of perfect market competition and eliminating monopolistic tendencies among firms over time. In other words, cut throat competition is avoided because of the prevailing atmosphere of a perfect competition. In order to attain this level, the community will ensure the establishment of a Customs Union. This level has the characteristics of the FTA and in addition, all countries within the union charge the same external tariff against the non-members.

It can be averred from the above that ECOWAS journey to full integration is based on Balassa's (1961) four typology of economic integration, i.e. Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market and Economic Union. Presently, it can be said that ECOWAS has moved to type two when it adopted a common external tariff regime in 2015. By this, it means there has been a migration to the Customs Union which was planned to be achieved 39 years ago. As usual with ECOWAS, when pronouncements are made, implementing such policy statements becomes a different ball game.

In an attempt to realize the objectives of market integration, decision was taken by the leaders of ECOWAS to remove all forms of economic barriers (both tariff and non-tariff) operating among Member States. On the basis of the above, two of the ECOWAS initiatives of integration which are: ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme were all launched in 1979. According to UNECA (2012), free movement of persons is the nexus of an African Common Market because it is critical for the supply of goods and services, the right of establishment and the movement of capital. Kristina (2007) observes that free movement of people is indispensable if continental integration is to be achieved. Free movement as captured in Article 3 and 27 para. 1, is therefore, a corner stone or a building block for West African development. Said differently, "free movement of persons is essentially a contraption aimed at the realization of the economic integration agenda of the region as set out in Article 3 of the ECOWAS Treaty (ECOWAS Vanguard, 2013:1). The 1979 protocol (A/P.1/5/79) has undergone some legal transformation with the introduction of the Supplementary Protocol in 1985 (A/SP.1/7/85), (A/SP.1/7/86), (A/SP.1/6/89) and, a final phase, (A/SP.2/5/90. (ECOWAS Vanguard, 2013:1). These efforts

were meant to consolidate ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme "as an instrument for the advancement of regional economic integration in West Africa (ECOWAS Commission, 2015:1). The rationale for the establishment of ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme can be summed as the desire to achieve complete removal of all forms of trade restrictions, for example, all kinds of customs duties and taxes of similar effect within the West African sub-region, the establishment of common external tariff and of free trade area that will subsequently transform to a customs union (Nigerian Customs Service, 2018).

A review of some literature reveals that these protocols and or instruments that are put in place by ECOWAS have not been implemented as expected; nation states are reluctant to commit themselves to the provisions of the protocols, thereby making the implementation process weak. Many reasons have been advanced by some scholars to be responsible for the low implementation of these instruments. Among these are: language barrier, inadequate infrastructural facilities, multiple membership, francophone and Anglophone divide among others.

Despite these challenges, some relative progress have been made in the area of free movement of persons. "All ECOWAS Members abolished their visa and entry requirement" (Akinrinsola, 2004:498). On ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme, there has been increase of enterprises and products registered under the scheme by Member States. ECOWAS Vanguard (2013:4), gives data on enterprises so far approved during the period from 1988-2012 below:

about 3,721 industrial enterprises were approved and notified to Member States by the ECOWAS Commission. Six (6) Member States have recorded 3,660 approved enterprises representing 98.36% of the total of the approved enterprises, out of which Togo has 141 enterprises or 3.79%, Benin 175 enterprises or 4.70%, Senegal 393 enterprises or 10.56%, Cote d' Ivoire 768 enterprises or 20.64%, Ghana 918 or 24.67%, Nigeria 1,265 or 34.00%.

The enthusiasm shown by Member States in the implementation of ETLS protocol through the registration of industrial enterprises is a sign of commitment and hopeful beginning. This is an indication that in the nearest future, the programme will be elaborately implemented.

This study is, therefore, motivated by the desire to make a holistic appraisal of the level of implementation of these instruments, (free movement of persons and trade liberalization) identifying their challenges and suggesting ways of eliminating them, and consequently proposing ways for full implementation for the realization of effective regional integration in the region.

1.2 Statement of the problem

ECOWAS protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization Scheme were launched, signed and ratified in 1979. However, their level of implementation has fallen short of expectation. This state of affair has been recognized by scholars like Clark (2014); Adepoju (2005; 2006); Ibeanu (2007); ECOWAS Advocacy (2013); Agyei and Clottey (2012) among others. They went further to identify several factors responsible for this situation which include: infrastructural deficit, political instability, lack of adequate funding, corruption, harassment at the borders, multiple membership, non-harmonization

of laws, criminal activities at the borders, weak institutional framework, bureaucratic bottlenecks, weakness of compensation mechanism, xenophobic attitude and others. This study is not arguing that the factors enumerated by the scholars above are not very much useful. However, they have ignored a more fundamental obstacle responsible for the slow rate of implementation of these protocols. Listing and discussing obstacles without establishing the linkages between them and also without addressing the issue of primacy of causality is unhelpful in understanding the foundation of the problem.

What the extant literature has adequately ex-rayed is the status of regional integration in West Africa today. It is clear that the pace of integration is slow and low, that many of the Member States are not faithfully and rapidly implementing the ECOWAS protocols which they had signed and ratified. What the extant literature has not satisfactorily provided is a coherent explanation founded on both empirical evidence and appropriate theoretical framework on why the rate of implementation of the protocols is not only low but actually differs from country to country and thereby, explaining why the level of regional integration in West Africa is low.

1.3 Research questions

To address the problem stated above, the study raised the following research questions:

- (i) Is there positive connection between the rate of Implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization and the level of regional integration in West Africa?

- (ii) Is there a negative connection between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols?
- (iii) How does Nigeria's rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols provide a basis for explaining the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols by all other Members of ECOWAS?
- (iv) Is there a gap between the integration theories based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies and the theoretical assumptions underpinning the practice of regional integration in West Africa and how does this gap partly explain the slow rate of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols?

1.4 **Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of the study is the assessment of ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization with a view to identifying and addressing the challenges faced in the implementation on the realization of a full customs union. The specific objectives of the study are:

- (i) To assess whether there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization and the level of regional integration in West Africa.
- (ii) To demonstrate whether there is a negative connection between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols.
- (iii) To explain how Nigeria's rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols provides a basis for explaining the rate of

implementation of the ECOWAS protocols by all other Members of ECOWAS.

- (iv) To establish whether there is a wide gap between the integration theories based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies and the theoretical assumptions underpinning the practice of regional integration in West Africa; and this gap partly explains the slow rate of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols.

1.5 Propositions

- (i) There is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization and the level of regional integration in West Africa.
- (ii) There is a negative connection between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols.
- (iii) Nigeria's rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols provides a basis for explaining the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols by all other Members of ECOWAS.
- (iv) There is a gap between the integration theories based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies and the theoretical assumptions underpinning the practice of regional integration in West Africa and this gap partly explains the slow rate of the implementation of ECOWAS Protocols.

1.6 Significance of the study

The literature on assessment of the implementation of ECOWAS Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization in the region is luxuriant. It is, therefore, very necessary to identify the areas which the researcher feels that there exists a gap in knowledge in addressing the topic under investigation. The existing studies on ECOWAS especially those that focus on the assessment of ECOWAS initiatives on the free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme are rich in analytical discourse but deficient in empirical evidence.

The study, therefore, complements the existing works on the assessment and obstacles faced by ECOWAS Member States in an attempt to implement the above protocols. In this sense, it will help to deepen the existing knowledge on the subject by offering basic explanations on why the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols has not been very effective. This is the academic significance.

The study is also an attempt to bring to light the need for mainstreaming the provisions of these protocols into national policies, as well as the Member States legal and regulatory frameworks. The Economic Commission for Africa (2013:18) has acknowledged that without an absolute commitment to implementation at the national level through the incorporation into national policy and legal framework there can be little progress at the sub-regional level. It further argued that doing nothing or little to implement agreed programmes at

the national level will result to non-achievement of ECOWAS objectives. Thus, this study also has policy significance.

The study will be of immense benefit to the scholars and policy makers alike. It will contribute to the existing literature on the theory and practice of regional integration in West Africa as well as guide policy makers on the matter.

1.7 Scope of the study

This study employed the use of both primary and secondary method of data collection. It is an assessment of ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization scheme with a view to identifying and addressing the challenges faced in the implementation on the realization of a full customs union. Considering the nature of the subject matter, the study cannot cover all the protocols that have been enacted by ECOWAS since its inception, therefore, only two out of these protocols were studied. These are the ECOWAS market integration schemes, viz, ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme and Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment. They are chosen because they provide the means for achieving ECOWAS Common Market agenda. The study also looked into the impact of these protocols on the economic integration of West African states. In addition, the obstacles militating against the implementation of these protocols were the heart of this study.

The study covered the time-frame of 1990 to 2018. This period is considered because it is believed that the actual implementation of these protocols started in 1990 after their earlier ratification by all Member States.

The study is based in Nigeria; this is because it hosts all ECOWAS institutions, namely, ECOWAS Commission, Court of Justice and the Parliament. In addition embassies of all Member States are located in Abuja-Nigeria. Out of these embassies, four were be contacted in addition to the Department of Integration of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in Abuja, National Association of Nigerian Traders, Departments of Customs and free movement of the ECOWAS Commission, all located in Abuja.

1.8 Definition of Operational Terms

Citizens:	A person who has full rights as a member of a country that is a member of ECOWAS.
Community:	Countries sharing and having things in common.
Entry:	Is a process of coming or going into a country.
Establishment:	Is an act of forming an economic enterprise.
Framework:	A legal guideline to be followed by countries to an agreement.
Member States:	These are countries that have agreed to form an economic community.
Migration:	Movement of people from one place to another.
Protocol:	Is a system of rules and obligations to be implemented by Member States.

Residence:	Living in a particular place as a result of economic, political, educational, and social engagements.
Treaty:	An agreement signed by two or more countries in political, economic, social and other aspects of life.
Visa:	This is an authority given to one by foreign country to legally enter or leave a country.
Commitment:	It is a condition of dedication and devotion to a Particular cause.
Region:	Refers to an area, especially part of a continent Demarcated through boundaries on the basis of some Characteristics.
Theory:	Refers to a set of principles, ideas on which the Practice of an activity is based.

1.9 Acronym

AFRODAD	African Forum and Network Debt and Development
ASYCUDA	Automated System for Customs Data
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CAC	Corporate Affairs Commission
CAMA	Companies and Allied Matters Act
CFA	Franc
CERPAC	Combined Expatriate Resident Permit and Alien Card
CGI	Control General of Immigration
CO	Certificate of Origin
DCSL	Corporate Services Limited
EBID	ECOWAS Bank of Investment and Development

EC	European Commission
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ETLS	ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme
EU	European Union
EVD	Ebola Virus Disease
FMITI	Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment
FMP	Free Movement of Persons
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GM	Gravity Model
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
HREA	Human Right Education Associates
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRTG	Improved Road Transport Governance Initiative
RO	Rule of Origin
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food and Drug Administration Control
NANTS	National Association of Nigerian Traders
NAN	News Agency of Nigeria
NIPC	Nigerian Investment Promotion Council
NOTAP	National Office of Technology Acquisition Programme
NPC	National Population Commission

NUTAG	Nigerian Union of Traders Association, Ghana
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
REC	Regional Economic Community
ROE	Right of Establishment
ROR	Right of Residence
SADC	South African Development Company
SFG	Swiss Federal Government
SON	Standard Organization of Nigeria
SZW	Netherlands Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Commission for Trade and Development
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Clarification

2.1.1 Regional Integration

There are many definitions of regional integration as there are many scholars. Definitions given by these scholars are to a very large extent based on either their personal experiences or the prevailing circumstances. The definitions given by some eminent scholars throw more light on this assertion. For example, Haas defines regional integration as "a process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states" (Haas, 1958:16). As for Haas' contemporary, Deutsch (1968) defines regional integration as "a process leading to a condition in which a group of people attain within a territory a sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough to assure, for a long time dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population." On the other hand, Mattli (1999) argues that integration is a voluntary cooperation in economic domain of two or more formally independent states to the extent that authority over key areas of domestic regulation and policy is shifted to the supranational level.

A look at the above definitions starting with that of Haas reveals that integration is conceived as a process that brings states into a political union. The emphasis of this definition is on the political, putting less emphasis on the economic and security. Political integration cannot take place in isolation; cooperation in one

area has a tendency of developing a spillover (as believed by Lindberg (1963) effect to other sectors. Haas definition lays too much emphasis on the political institutions which within a space of time will graduate to a supra-national entity. This is to say, according to Haas, regional integration emphasizes the coming together of independent states bordering one another for the purpose of improving their economic wellbeing through economic cooperation controlled by supra-national authority that formulates binding decisions with the consent and approval of the contracting states.

Deutsch, similarly conceives integration to be a condition and not a process that motivates foreign states to form economic union guided by institutional rules and processes for the purpose of achieving corporately set objectives. 'Condition' as stated by Haas and Deutsch is also observed by Balassa (1961:1) who defines regional integration as a process and a state of affairs. The term 'process' by Balassa means steps taken by states to eliminate discrimination among states to the union. The definition above depicts some sort of contradiction because the word 'formally' indicates that the countries forming such a union have lost their sovereignty in total, but again, he said this union is only in key domestic regulations and policies which means transfer of sovereignty is dismally limited. More so, these key areas have not been identified. Another definition is that given by (Biswaro, 2015:17). According to him, "Integration can be described as both a process and an end state where by an inter-governmental organization (IGO), representing three or more countries, pool their resources together with a view to creating a larger and more open economy expected to benefit member countries." A comprehensive and

encompassing definition is that given by Eschborn (2008: para 3). According to him, “Regional integration can be seen as a multi-dimensional process where constituent states interact in different policy areas, including not only economic cooperation, but also foreign policy and security issues, social sectors and a cultural dimension.” This definition is most acceptable because it covers all aspects of economic, political, social and cultural activities which form the basis for countries coming together in the first place. It sets the aim or the objectives of the union. Despite the differences found in these definitions, they share a common ground of thinking. Integration is a voluntary union of independent states; it is viewed as a process. There is the coming together of states propelled by a common interest, bounded by a legal framework for the purpose of advancing the development of the integrating states. Also in these definitions, there is a common assertion that there is the shifting of sovereignty or loyalty to the central authority. Based on the above definitions, the study sees regional integration as a process as well as a condition and an end state. Regional integration can therefore be defined as the process of coming together of the like-minded independent states for the purpose of advancing and reaping the dividend of economic, social, political, cultural, technical, and scientific development through a recognized supra-national authority.

2.1.2 Free Movement of Persons

Gerald (1997:48) tries to clarify this concept by referring to Article 13(a) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which asserts that “a citizen of a state in which the citizen is present has the liberty to travel, reside in, and/or work in any part of the state where one pleases within the limits of respect for the liberty and

rights of others.” Similarly, Gilbert (2014:73) says the concept encompasses the right of individuals to travel from place to place within the territory of a country and to leave a country and return to it.” For Groenendijk, Guild and Correra (2013:206), “freedom does not only amount to the right to travel freely, to take up residence and to work, but also involves the enjoyment of legal status characterized by security of residence, the right of family reunification and the right to be treated equally with nationals.

The general principles of free movement as contained in ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons provides that “every community citizen has the right to enter, reside and establish his business in the territory of any other member state of the community (Gasiokwu, 1998:107). Art 2(1) clarifies this. It was further expressed that “the protocol (Art. 2(3) envisages that the right will be accomplished in three phases over the transitional 15 year period (Gasiokwu, 1998:107). This will be achieved through the following phases:

1. Right of Entry and Abolition of Visa (1980-85)
2. Right of Residence (1985-90) ;and
3. Right of Establishment (1990-95)

From the position of these scholars, free movement is a right conferred on an individual citizen to travel, reside and work in any country he or she desires, without discrimination, but this right is upheld as long as it does not affect the rights of others. However, different regions of the world have come up with their own type of legal frameworks and this may specifically apply inclusively to their citizens. Other people from outside the region may not access such rights.

Against this backdrop, everyone has the right to move to any country of his or her choice and to live there without discrimination. Violating this right will attract unpleasant consequences on the person concerned as this will have a profound effect upon other basic rights as outlined in the various treaties. Without the right to leave one's home, an individual may be politically, economically and socially repressed, preventing one from practicing a chosen religion, enjoying the basic right to marriage or family life, or blocked from a job or education that may ultimately enhance quality life. Thus, while free movement may seem on the surface to be fairly minor and obvious human right, it is actually one of the basic rights that many nations around the world, when violated, causes numerous problems and cases of suffering.

2.1.3 Trade Liberalization

Pettinger (2017) defines trade liberalization as the “removing of barriers to trade between different countries and encouraging free trade. This involves the reduction of tariff; reduction and elimination of quotas and the reduction of non-tariff barriers. Similarly, Beyza (2008:2), refers to trade liberalization as “significant reduction or removal of trade barriers that restricts a country's international trade. These trade barriers include tariffs, non-tariff barriers (such as quotas and other government-imposed regulations), subsidies (such as those on production and exports), and other restrictive trade instruments”. For Bhagwati (1988), trade liberalization is an important component of economic liberalization and includes the removal of trade barriers, such as tariffs and non-tariff barriers, as well as internal restrictions such as directed credit and preferential purchasing. Trade liberalization therefore, refers to trade policies

adopted by members of an economic union to remove tariff and non-tariff restriction which helps facilitate imports and exports amongst them with a view of achieving economic development and self-reliance.

2.2 Empirical Review/Review of Previous Studies

2.2.1 Free Movement and Trade Liberalization as drivers of Regional Integration.

Migration is a key strategy adopted for achieving regional integration all over the world. Today, there are contending perspectives on its contribution to the development of societies. For quite some time now, scholars, stakeholders, organizations have written extensively on this subject matter and their discussions are focused on the positive effects. Said differently, there are many extant literature with convincing evidences that free movement can guarantee skilled labour to areas they are most needed, it brings about structural transformation of the economy, promotes tourism among others.

Gandhi's (2018), study found that there is a link between migration and structural transformation. Similarly, UNCTAD (2018:147-148) draws on the existing knowledge on the theoretical and empirical underpinnings that link migration and structural transformation. The study compiles diverse studies of highly aggregated and micro level household data, using a range of analytical tools both qualitative and quantitative to prove an account of how intra-African migration can contribute to socio-economic development in origin and destination countries. This study found that migration can positively impact on structural transformation, leading to increased labour productivity and socio-

economic development which is expressed through taxes and consumption in destination countries.

West African Economic Outlook (2018) and IMF (2001) findings link free movement to socio-economic growth and economic success respectively. In this case, the contracting states experience increased market value of goods and services within the region. This is made possible by adopting institutional reforms and capacity building strategies. An empirical evidence from the studies of David (1980); Steven and David (1999); ECOWAS Commission (2007); Beyza (2008) and ECOWAS Advocacy (2013); Wambila, Benneh, and Atim (2014) have similar results, they found that free movement and trade liberalization can increase the production of goods and services, achieving economies of scale, reduces cost of doing business leading to increase in real gross domestic product (GDP), increased consumer satisfaction and employment generation.

Other empirical studies that assess the overall impact of trade on economic growth include Iyoha and Okim (2017) who analyzed the impact of trade on economic growth both from theoretical perceptive and using econometric evidence from ECOWAS countries. Testing the hypothesis of positive relationship between trade and economic growth in ECOWAS countries during the 1990-2013 period. The study use the data for the 15 ECOWAS countries done through panel data regression analysis. The study found that trade has a significantly positive impact on economic growth in ECOWAS countries.

Yelwa and Diyoke (2013) examined the export-economic growth relationship amongst some selected ECOWAS countries. Their aim was to examine whether or not export-led growth is indeed potent enough to drive her economic growth as an alternative to foreign direct investment during the period from 1980 through 2011, using panel model analysis. They found a stable export-driven growth among these selected countries, and showed that export-led growth in the region was potentially able to drive growth, most especially, aggregate net transfer and trade on exportable goods and services.

This studies have the same focus as they all examine the potential of export led strategy on economic growth. Though the results of these studies vary, the general findings and conclusions are similar because these variables are connected, for example, structural transformation involves a shift of labour from lower to higher productivity and invariably it determines productivity resulting in further economic growth (increase in the market value of goods and services produced by a country over a period of time) which is measured by GDP. All these lead to economic success which is determined by both GDP and profit at the organizational level.

These results have limited application, because most of the countries of West Africa are yet to move away from agriculture which is the dominant sector. Furthermore, manufacturing and innovation are at the lower ebb and therefore, yet to get a sound footing in West Africa. Secondly, despite structural transformation, increase in GDP, economic growth and other similar variables, West Africa still faces significant challenges where many people are wallowing in abject poverty. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening in a geometric progression. This is because the benefits of free movement and trade

are enjoyed by negligible few. Except these results are given practical application where citizens can feel the impact of the successes so reported, it will not be different from a highly exaggerated report.

These findings are not an end in themselves but means to an end. These findings per se are not to be celebrated except for their trickling down effect expressed in the upgrading in the life of ordinary citizens. The findings through coherent public policy should create atmosphere for per capita consumption, creating job for the teeming youths and the provision of life changing infrastructural facilities.

Furthermore, it was concluded by these studies that export led growth has a potential for bringing about economic growth, this does not happen in a vacuum. Other strategies must be put in place to trigger its manifestation by promoting technical and investment flows. In addition markets need to be accessed where a country has comparative advantage over the other. This strategy is more beneficial when manufacturing activities becomes the mainstay of the economy. This is because this type of economic condition generates aggregate demand and critically supported by production of unprocessed goods. Also, the success of export led growth strategy depends largely on the economic success of other partner countries and if peradventure their economies fail, the dependent economy equally suffer the same failure.

While it is acknowledged that there is a general way of measuring the standard of living through real gross domestic product per capita, using it to measure

quality of life (how well we live) has some limitations. For example, how is the wealth of the nation distributed? What happens to inequality? What happens to poverty? What happens to the quality of goods produced? These areas have been given little attention. Yet, they form the bed-rock of what Regional Economic Communities were established for. Therefore, GDP, structural transformation, economic growth, economic success etc should not be seen as a primary score-board of a nation's economic health and wellbeing. It is a mere measurement of products and services bought and sold without proving the difference between those variables that contributes to well-being and quality of life.

Secondly, while the above studies provide valuable information regarding the benefits of free movement and trade, yet there is another very important and commonly overlooked benefit of free movement and trade which is the ability to promote regional and international peace. Trade and free movement have the ability to reduce the tendency of regimes and pressure groups with societies to support war. The interdependence arising from these instruments provides robust motivation to avoid conflict and war. As trade and free movement result in the establishment of common market where people meet to exchange goods and services including healthy ideas, there is tolerance and accommodation of each other's differences. In this circumstance, no nation will like to engage another into war, because doing this will spell doom on the level of the nation's hard earned economic progress since industrial locations which are the mainstay of the nation's economy are always the target for enemy's bombing and

destruction. Trade is the cheapest instrument for settling disputes instead of employing cost ineffective way of doing so.

There are several reports indicating incessant crisis and violence that was prevalent among West African countries before the introduction of protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme. But with the coming into force of these instruments, crisis and conflicts were drastically reduced to the barest level translating to relative peace in the region. If these instruments are the necessary magic wand contributing to the attainment of peace in the region, it demands therefore that they should be sustained and improved upon. To do this, ECOWAS Member States should put more effort in facilitating the implementation of these instruments by making sure that all obstacles militating against their implementation are eliminated. The more people are allowed to move and trade without restriction, the more the region becomes peaceful. This is possible through proper and periodic monitoring by appropriate committees and sanctioning of erring Members. National and regional peace forum should be established principally to sensitize the citizens on inculcating desirable attitudes that will promote regional peace as they trade with one another and move from one place to the other.

Nwangi and Jessica (2012); UNECA (2012) and the report of Aggad (2018) on the study just released by the African Union and International Office of Migration which Maendeleo Group contributed observe that free movement of people across boundaries allow for optimal utilization of human capital as skills go to regions, industries and countries where they command the highest need.

While this may be so, it can also be a source of industrial crisis. As skilled labour becomes saturated in the receiving country, it leads to labour mismatch. The native who may be less skilled are thrown out of jobs thereby creating structural unemployment which may take a very long time to fix. Nigerian example is a case in point. The establishment of Ajaokuta Company along with the Steel Rolling Mill in Oshogbo, Jos and Katsina which its installation and production were specifically handled by the German engineers blocked the employment of Nigeria engineers who are seen to be less skilled. When the contract of the German engineers ended, Nigerian engineers could not successfully handle the technicalities of automated or computerized production particularly when there was breakdown in operation. The only alternative then was to send for the German engineers to come and fix the problem. This became a vicious cycle of event creating further technological skill dependency.

ECOWAS Advocacy (2013); International Office of Migration (2018) believes that free movement enhances cultural integration. This is to say that free movement of persons can lead to exchange of culture (acculturation or cultural diffusion). As people move with their culture, life style, they meet with the receiving community that may have different life style from theirs, as they integrate; they now adapt and blend to each other's culture. People of different tribes, languages, races and regions who live together learn from one another. There is socialization, re-socialization and new socialization amongst the people.

While the position of these scholars is not in doubt, in some instances it can lead to cultural mismatch. There are tendencies that some cultures will not want to be

swallowed by the so called superior cultures, therefore they will do all it takes to make sure they preserve those aspects of their cultures they hold in high esteem. Anything less may lead to cultural and social confusion. For example, those that feel that their cultures are more superior may tend to reject other cultures. These manifest in prohibition of intermarriages, glaring rejecting the foods and the mode of dressing of other cultures. To a great extent, it may degenerate to the rejection or suppression of agitation for leadership position by people from other cultures.

The benefits of free movement are better concluded with the phrase captured by Philippe (2016:103), ‘why freedom of movement is the right policy’ He says:

Migration is an essential element of economic development. People need to move to where the jobs are. And by coming together in diverse cities, dynamic people create new ideas and businesses. In our globalizing world, where the economy is forever changing and opportunities no longer stop at the national borders, it is increasingly important for people – be they British business people or Polish plumbers – to move freely, not just within the country but also internationally.

If implemented properly, free movement and trade will help boost West African integration by deepening and promoting trade. In addition, there will be advancement in economic, social, political and cultural rights of the people thereby guaranteeing robust standard of living.

2.2.2 Foreign Aid and External Trade and the Implementation of ECOWAS Protocols.

Investigating the link between acceptance of foreign aid and trade between donor and recipient countries has been the focus of some researchers (Petterson and Johanson, 2011; Huhne, et al 2013; Kim, 2017). The focus of the study is to confirm or reject the view that aid acceptance strengthens bi-lateral trade between donor and recipient nations and its effect on intra-regional trade. For instance, Petterson and Johanson (2011), employing gravity model for 184 countries between 1990 and 2005 found that bilateral aid is not only positively connected with donor export, but also positively associated with recipient export to donors.

In a related study, Huhn et al (2013), simultaneously estimated and compared the effects of Aid for Trade in both directions (recipients versus donors) found that Aid for Trade increases recipients export to donors as well as recipient's imports from donors. In quantitative terms, their baseline estimation suggests that a doubling of total Aid for Trade would imply that recipient export increase by about five percent and recipient imports increase by about 3 percent. Whatever may be the implication for the figures, one thing stands out, that there is a positive connection between aid and trade of donor and recipient countries.

Berthelemy (2006) provides an overall empirical assessment of the motivations of official development assistance granted by developed countries to developing countries as they are revealed by their aid allocation behaviours. Using a three-dimensional panel dataset, combining the donor, recipient and time dimensions,

the study finds that export-related self-interest drives the donors' aid allocation by ranking various donor countries according to the elasticity of aid with respect to bilateral exports of the donor to the recipient country. Adom (2012) undertook an investigation on "whether Aid for Trade Assistance from EU and USA influence intra-regional trade of selected African integration. In the study, reported by Udvari (2014:6) narrows his analysis on the official development assistance. The result indicates that external financial resources did not foster the establishment of trade infrastructure but strengthened dependence on donors. In a similar empirical study by Udvari (2013), Lew (2015), concludes that though there are good objectives from receiving external financial resources, economic, political and strategic interest are more important for the donor countries than the real needs of the receiving countries. Similarly, Younas and Yopadhyay (2009) established from a different perspective that aid is not allocated to recipient countries to compensate them for loss of trade revenue, nor is it allocated to reward them for adopting "freer trade regimes". In other words, aid allocations by donors are motivated by factors that do not necessarily incorporate recipient's country's interests.

The literature reviewed above concentrated on how Aid for Trade increases recipients export to donors as well as recipient's imports from donors but failed to establish whether there is a negative connection between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols. Furthermore, these studies lacked theoretical guidelines in respect of the impact of the bi-lateral trade on both the

donor and the recipient countries. Some of these studies made a blanket analysis thereby failing to do so on specific countries.

The findings by some of these scholars indicating that most donor countries are driven by self-interest and this exclusively two way trade traffic between two countries may not be strictly so, due to some emerging trends in international trade because many African countries trade more today with the emerging nations of South East Asia. Furthermore, many developing countries have declined in the receipt of foreign aid lately and some that received such foreign aid were able to channel it properly thereby boosting their economies. As a result, such donor countries have also declined to give further aid, because their expectation of a bi-directional trade is cut short. This is an indication that if initial aid is properly channeled into trade and trade related sectors within a reasonable short time it will stimulate the economy, thereby avoiding the negative effect of prolonged dependence on external aid.

The perpetuation of dependency of these recipient countries on the donors countries is made possible through misappropriation of foreign aid and domestic resources by the leaders who enrich themselves with reckless abandon. These stolen public wealth is sent abroad and banked in some of these countries thereby servicing their economies at the expense of recipient nations. This trend should be discouraged by giving mandate to honest, prudent and progressive leaders through the ballot. This leaders must take the bull by the horn by establishing anti-corruption institutions that will squarely fight corruption to the minimum. Furthermore, these countries should evolve homemade strategies that

will help harness both human and natural resources to achieve full economic integration. Revenue accruing from this effort should be judiciously allocated to the various sectors of the economy.

On the whole, studies on the impact of what external trade, aid dependence by ECOWAS Member State has on the implementation of ECOWAS protocols is generally constrained by dearth of data. The few available ones seems to dwell on very few isolated cases. It is therefore suggested that there should be further research on this subject matter.

The attitudes of some of the ECOWAS Member States are not healthy for the realization of the gains to be derived from guaranteeing free movement and trade liberalization. Trade liberalization and free movement are known to be an essential tool that guarantees regional integration. If they are pursued with all sincerity of commitment, in no distant future there will be unprecedented dividend.

2.2.3 Nigeria's Status of Implementation of ECOWAS Protocols.

When countries agree to form an economic union, they set for themselves objectives to be achieved through some programmed initiatives like protocols, conventions and decisions. It is incumbent therefore that all member states should make sure they put in efforts (commitments) to see to the realization of the objectives by signing, ratifying and implementing all initiatives. Commitment demands that all Member States remain dedicated and focused towards achieving regional integration in West Africa” (Sanghor, 2007:147). He

goes further to state various sources of commitment. According to him “one source of evidence on the extent of commitment is the status of ratification of the Revised Treaty, the conventions and decisions of ECOWAS legislative organs.” Secondly, commitment could be the rate of active correspondence of the member states with the secretariat. Lastly, the level of representation of delegates in ministerial and technical meetings or the financial contributions of member states (Sanghor, 2007).

For the purpose of this review, the attention is focused principally on Nigeria’s level of implementation of the two protocols viz ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme and free movement of persons and some integrative initiatives. Before then, a quick look at the rate of protocol ratification by ECOWAS Member States as ex-rayed by the former President of ECOWAS Commission, Ambassador Kadre Ouedraogo at a presentation on the state of affairs of the Community during the Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Parliament in September, 2013 in Abuja is a starting point of understanding the level of Nigeria’s commitment towards the implementation of the ECOWAS protocols. He noted that the level of implementation can be explained first, from the point of view of signing and ratifying of the protocols. A look at the 15 member states shows that there are differences regarding their commitment at the regional level with regards to ECOWAS protocols noting that member states were yet to ratify some of the existing protocols and conventions. This can be seen from the table below.

Table 2.1: Member State Ratification of ECOWAS Protocols and Conventions.

S/N	Country	Status of Ratification of ECOWAS Revised Treaty	Number of Protocols and Conventions Ratified	Proportion of Protocols and Conventions Ratified in %
1.	BENIN	Yes	38/54	70%
2.	BURKINA FASO	Yes	51/54	89%
3.	CAPE VERDE	Yes	27/54	50%
4.	COTE D'IVOIRE	Yes	31/54	57%
5.	GAMBIA	Yes	42/54	78%
6.	GHANA	Yes	43/54	80%
7.	GUINEA	Yes	39/54	72%
8.	GUINEA BISSAU	Yes	25/54	46%
9.	LIBERIA	Yes	25/54	46%
10.	MALI	Yes	42/54	78%
11.	NIGER	Yes	43/54	80%
12.	NIGERIA	Yes	40/54	74%
13.	SENEGAL	Yes	42/54	78%
14.	SIERRA LEON	Yes	42/54	78%
15.	TOGO	Yes	43/54	80%

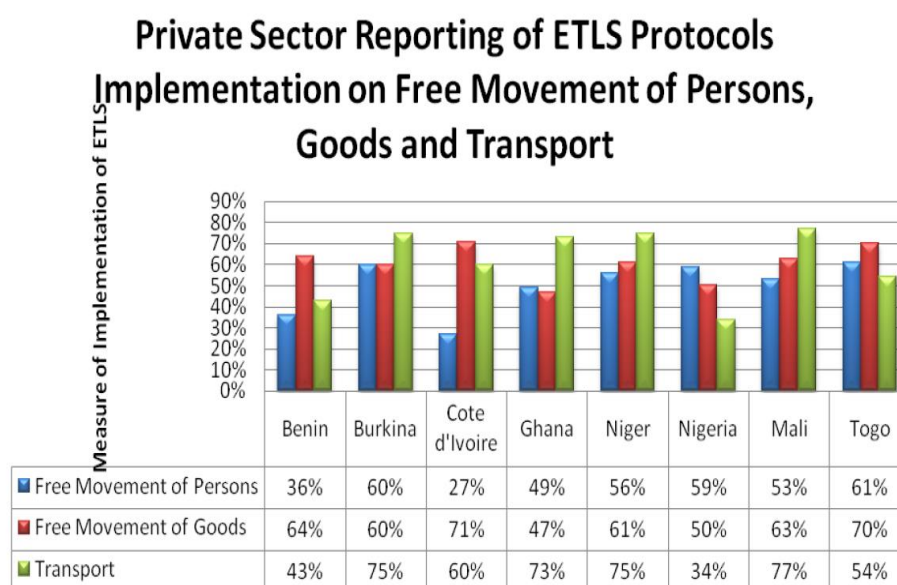
Source: Computed by the Researcher from the speech of Ambassador Kadre Onedraogo, President of ECOWAS Commission to ECOWAS Parliament. (2013)

From the above table, it is clear that Nigeria is on the 9th position on the ladder of ratification of ECOWAS protocols. In view of Nigeria's economic position, it is expected that it should have done better than Burkina Faso that have ratified 51 out of 54 protocols. This picture might send negative signals to the weaker states that are looking unto Nigeria to set the pace in all integration processes in West Africa.

A study conducted by West African Trade Hub (Gap Analysis, December 2009 with USAID highlights more on the issue of ETLs implementation by identifying which aspects of the ETLs protocols *are* being implemented in the following Member States: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Togo) and which aspects *are not*. This study also

examines the public and private sector stakeholders' view as regards the obstacles to implementation. A total of approximately 200 private representatives were interviewed, based on the availability of companies familiar with the processes of cross-border trade, including producers, transporters and forwarding agents. The diagram below shows implementation status of the countries studied as at December, 2009.

Figure 2.1:



Source: West African Trade Hub: Gap Analysis, ECOWAS Free Trade Area.

Average Performance	47.6	65	52.6	56.3	64	47.6	64.3	61.6

Source: The Researcher

The table above shows the performances by eight countries studied in the three dimensions of free movement of persons, free movement of goods and transport. Under the free movement of persons, Benin and Cote d' Ivoire are the least performers with 36% and 27% respectively, while at the extreme is Togo, the highest performer with 61%. The rest of the countries stood between 49% and 60%. On free movement of goods dimension, the performance is more impressive, Ghana is the least performer with 47%, while the rest of the seven countries are high performers with scores ranging from 50-71%. On the last

dimension, (transport), Nigeria and Benin are the least performers with 34% and 43% respectively, while other six countries are high performers with scores ranging from 54-77%. The cumulative average scores for each dimension show free movement of persons with 50%, free movement of goods 61% and transport 61% respectively, bringing the overall average to 57%. This shows that all the eight countries studied during this period have performed moderately well. Cumulative average for all the dimensions shows that Nigeria and Benin are the least performers with the score of 47.6. It is therefore believed that Nigeria should have done better minding its position in the region. However, it shows again that other Members States are not necessarily influenced by Nigeria's implementation rate since some of the weaker states did better in most dimension.

Despite the agreement on the list of products approved for ETLIS implementation, Nigeria on its part came up with a list of products that are not permitted to be traded in. This non-compliance may be emulated by other Member States thereby infringing on the agreed decision. Nigeria like any other country in West Africa, any time it flagrantly violates an existing agreement gives reason(s) for doing so. In this case, the reason may not be unconnected with the desire to protect domestic industries or prevent dumping or both. This behavior is reflected by Ugochukwu (2014: para 2), that "Nigeria is always seen as a country with the longest import prohibition list in the world." According to him, "many analysts see this practice as one at variance with modern day international trade. ECOWAS Commission (2014) confirms that Nigerian is still lagging behind in the implementation of the convention relating to inter-state local transit (ISRT) because of the multiple check points in existence. In

addition, axle load limit of 11.5 is not observed by the truckers and the non-existence of mobile weight which is meant to determine the load of the trucks is another added problem. However, the “Federal Government of Nigeria signed treaty obligations within the West African sub-region and beyond to regulate the amount of load any goods vehicle can put on an axle and by extension on the road in order to do business within ECOWAS and beyond” (Adegboye, March 2018 para.1). To worsen the situation, where the truckers are able to meet all specifications and with all required necessary documents and were able to pass through the first check point, they may be asked to pass through the same process again at the next check point thereby making the experience unbearable. This practice shows that the officers at the check points see every trucker as a prey for extortion because it is not about meeting the requirements as stipulated by law, but about single kobo they may realize into their personal accounts.

In defiance of Article 13 of the 1986 Supplementary Protocols on Right of Residence prohibits expulsion en masse, Nigeria in West African history has the largest case of mass expulsion of undocumented aliens which took place 1983 and 1985 informed by economic meltdown experienced by Nigeria as a result of dwindling oil revenue coupled with political upheaval in the country. According to Nwanolue and Iwohoa (2012), this action was at variance with Articles 4 and 27 of the Protocol to expel between 900,000 and 1.3 million illegal aliens, mostly Ghanaians. In June 1985, about 2 million illegal aliens were again expelled as domestic economic crisis deepened. This development triggered suspicion among ECOWAS Member States who saw this as a betrayal. For

many, Nigeria, recognized as a pace setter of integration process in West Africa went against one of the Market integration pillars in a covert way.

Nigeria has not domesticated essential part of ECOWAS provisions on free movement protocol into national laws. Where ECOWAS and national laws agree, it is just a matter of coincidence. Large portion of Nigerian national laws are at variance with the ECOWAS provisions. Even with the coming into force of the 2015 Immigration Act, the story has not changed much. Taran and Youtz (2015:3) observe that “It appears that lacunae in Protocol domestication regarding existing immigration law, regulations and policies particularly the laws dating from 1963-are not yet resolved in the current immigration bill.” They then suggest that “effort is needed to fully domesticate these protocols to provide the necessary national-legal foundation for full and effective implementation of the ECOWAS free movement regime.” As long as ECOWAS provisions and regulations on free movement of persons are not domesticated into Nigerian national laws and regulations no meaningful implementation can be expected.

The study conducted by the International Office of Immigration (2014), further found that Nigeria’s attempt in domesticating ECOWAS provisions in the national law had a significant number of provisions that concern the immigration law and regulations were left out or produced vague explanations to Nigeria’s Immigration Act. This is very much expected because the Immigration Act in force and its accompanying regulations date back to 1963. It is as a result of this deficiency that Nigerian government decided to review the immigration law of

1963. Some parts of this Act which were deemed obsolete and unable to meet the demand of modern immigration management were repealed. (Advocaat, September, 2015).

Despite some of the changes in the new legislation (Immigration Act of 2015), there are some very important areas of the 1963 Immigration Act that need to be revisited and repealed to achieve best practice of the present day immigration realities. However, this effort cannot be adjudged fruitless; at least there have been some improvements over the outdated 1963 Immigration Act. But, again, more clumsy, outdated and gray areas of the 1963 Immigration Act still remain and should be flushed out for better immigration management.

It can be said that despite the huge efforts Nigeria has committed to ECOWAS right from its inception in terms of budgetary allocation, the housing of its major institutions and initiating most of the programmes, its level of ratification and implementation of ECOWAS protocols and conventions, especially ETLS and protocol on free movement of persons needs much to be desired. Its present level of implementation can send a negative signal to other weaker states that sees Nigeria as the pace setter of the West African integration process. This can be summed up in the words of John Mahama, Ghana's former President while addressing an audience at the London School of Economics in April 2014: that he found it befuddling that Africa's most populous country is not respecting the trade liberalization scheme of ECOWAS." (Nigerian Bulletin, nd.) His reason was that "Nigeria's tall list of trade prohibition has stunted regional trade and by extension, frustrated economic integration in the sub-region" (Nigerian Bulletin,

nd.). This accusation came as a result of Nigeria's long prohibition list on certain goods.

The signing and ratification of ECOWAS protocol on free movement by Nigeria in 1979 should not be considered as an end in itself, but a means to an end. It should be seen as a starting point. However, no matter how complex the implementation of this protocol may seem, it must be a task that must be done, if integration of the region is to be achieved.

In a slim contrast to the studies reviewed above, Osondu (2015), found that Nigeria's contribution to ECOWAS outweighs the contribution of other member states put together. But he has not been able to indicate areas of these contributions. One important point he made that is worth thinking about is that other member states should not expect Nigeria to always lead as regards the implementation of ECOWAS protocols. According to him, other Member States must remember that provisions of the Treaty which established ECOWAS provides for (legal) equal membership which means that members have equal voting right and presumably equal duties/benefits. This is to say that when contracting states obliged to form a union, they must be equally committed to its obligations without always waiting for an ascribed leader to make the first move. The first move by every member state will always make the best impact. If this position is not changed, a situation will arise where there will be a queue for the first, second and third country implementation order amongst Member States.

There are concrete evidences from the available studies indicating that Nigeria has not impressively performed in the implementation of ECOWAS protocols

and this affects the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by other Member States.

There are concrete evidences from the available studies indicating that Nigeria has not impressively performed in the implementation of the ECOWAS protocols and this affects the level of implementation of protocols by other Member States.

However, Nigeria's not-too impressive performance in implementing ECOWAS protocols should not be seen as the only factor that explains why other ECOWAS Member States seem not to be implementing these protocols as expected. Other factors may include the following: (1) Nationalistic interests or prevailing domestic pressures which is more of a priority over international agreements; (2) Regime type, for example, if a country's new leader does not subscribe to international agreements signed and ratified by his predecessors, such a leader may be reluctant to honour or respect its corporate decisions.

2.2.4 Factors Responsible for Low Implementation of ECOWAS Protocols.

Some scholars believe that integration in West Africa is low because of some obvious factors. For example, Olofin et al (Chapter 8) in Diery (2013), evaluates the determinants of effectiveness of ECOWAS in promoting regional trade in West Africa between 1995-2010 by estimating a modified gravity model (GM) that allows for the inclusion of country specific and country-pair characteristics in addition to the traditional GM variables (Income and Distance). They found that economic size, distance, geographical factors such as common border, land

mass, land-lockedness of countries and social economic variables like common languages, political stability and availability of infrastructure significantly influence intra-regional trade within the region.

Looking through the lens of other contextual dimensions, Jacob and Jouanjean (2015) notes that some authors have pointed to the significance of the different French, British and Portuguese colonial and in turn linguistic traditions in the region therein as critical factors influencing the level of integration. This is re-echoed by Metzger (2008:25) who refers to the well-known antagonism between English-speaking and French-speaking West Africa. Here is a summarized example of these constraints; Inadequate hard and soft infrastructure and connectivity within the region, heterogeneity in terms of size and economic structure of ECOWAS member countries, differences in colonial and linguistic traditions, strong ideational push of European Union (EU's) sequential model to integration (Vanheukelom et al, 2013).

Other explanations to these results despite the introduction of ETLS and ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons combined with the effort of eliminating both tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade among Member States, are hinged on some factors. Benjamin, Steven, and Ahmodou (2015) notes that intra-regional trade is low in West Africa because informal trade is pervasive. It accounts for about half of GDP and 90% of employment in West Africa. However, recent record reported by ECHOES Newsletter of June, 2015 shows that "Today, total ECOWAS trade is increased by an average of 18 percent per year between 2005 and 2014 which is dominated by mining commodities.

The studies of Limao and Venables (2000); Nwabuzor (2002); Njinkeu and Fosso, (2006) and UNCTAD, (2007) equally found that intra-regional trade is low, because, the size of most African markets are small, thereby increasing transaction cost and absence of economies of scale; small scale infrastructure and competition; structure of production and the composition of exports constitute mainly of primary goods (Geda and Seid, 2015).

Similarly, Shams (2003) asserts that the relatively low level of intra-regional trade in ECOWAS is explained by the high dependence of most member countries on export of primary commodities and by a trade liberalization scheme that has very strict rules of origin. Many of these countries depend heavily on the production of primary goods because of the level of economic development. Therefore, they produce complementary goods and this makes it difficult for them to buy from each other. You don't buy what you produce. Contrary to the findings of the above is the evidence from the study of Adom (2012) showing that the prevalence of aid creates a culture of permanent dependency on foreign donors that may reduce incentives to conduct and implement viable microeconomic and trade policies. As argued earlier, the emerging trends have disputed this proposition. ECOWAS countries are trading with themselves than before particularly if informal trade that is pervasive along border crossings is taken into consideration. This is revealed in Joachim (2018) study who finds that most of the studies conducted on intra-regional trade depends on estimates based on partial survey or on accounting exercises.

However, their concluding remarks indicates that a substantial share of Africa's regional trade is informal on the range of 30-40 percent. Imagine that these figures are added to the recorded 12 percent of intra-regional trade official record, the total trade volume will rise to about 42-52 percent which is substantial. Harris, et al (2011) cited by Jacob and Jouanjean (2015) summarize some of these factors which include improper charging of duty to value-added goods, the application of seasonal restrictions, unrecorded and arbitrary bans, as well as the imposition of quotas. Many countries additionally have high unbound tariffs, further contributing to policy uncertainty. Despite the promise made by Member States to implement agreed decisions, most of them have refused to eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers. In many cases, there are bans on products which the trade policy does not account for.

The studies reviewed above listed a number of factors responsible for the low level of integration in West Africa. This study is not arguing that these factors are not important, but they failed to interrogate one fundamental factor that in part play a key role in this state of affair. It has been established by some scholars that neo-functionalist theory underpins the establishment of regional integration in West Africa and therefore dictates the practice of regional integration in West Africa. Ogbeidi (2010) acknowledged this, when he asserts that ECOWAS embodies the theoretical approaches of functionalism and neo-functionalism as well as the traditional approach of economic integration with the EU. Asobie (2010) notes that some nations particularly in the third world have tried the communications theoretical perspective as an alternative to classical integration theories. In contrast to neo-functionalism, the

communication theory takes a bottom-up approach that emphasizes cultivating a sense of community and peoples rather than states (Asobie, 2010). It can be argued that if ECOWAS founding fathers had the neo-functionalist theory in mind when they established ECOWAS, this has not been reflected clearly and unequivocally either in their speeches or actual practice in designing steps for West African integration. This is integration theory which was based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies (Europe). In short, there is a gap between the theoretical model guiding the establishment of ECOWAS and actual practice of regional integration in West Africa. This gap is informed by environmental differences, employing an alien approach to the practice of regional integration in West Africa will definitely not yield the expected economic and social dividend. The only viable option left in the hands of regional integration practitioners in West Africa is to adopt an approach that is very much appropriate to the region's reality. This study believe that it is only when the right step is taken can there be the assurance that, in the process, the dream of the founding fathers can be achieved. This study is not saying that the supposed theory adopted by ECOWAS should be discarded, but can be reformed to make it relevant to regional realities.

2.2.5 Gaps in Literature

- i. The literature review shows that there are links between trade/migration and free movement and structural transformation, economic growth, production, economic success and integration among others. A closer look at the literature reveal a number of gaps and limitations. There is a surprisingly little in the literature that examines the connection between

trade and free movement of persons and quality of life and the most common and overlooked variable which is regional peace. Research is further needed to address whether a link can be established between trade, free movement of persons and regional peace.

- ii. Most of the early studies as well as current work reviewed focused mainly on direction of trade between donor and recipient countries. While dependency may be undoubtedly real as a result of the trade relationship, there are limited empirical evidence and data to suggest that this affects the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by Member States. In this study, it has been proved that many developing countries no longer find it fashionable to accept aid from advanced donor countries and some that did have instead channeled it productively resulting in economic growth contrary to the position of the literatures reviewed. Today, trade to a greater extent have shifted from the traditional donors of Europe to the emerging economic powers of China and other Asian Countries. New trends also indicate that ECOWAS Member States have over the years improved in the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols resulting in the upgrade of ECOWAS from the status of Free Trade Area to Customs Union.

More research is needed on the effects of the relationship between aid dependence and trade on the level of ECOWAS Member States implementation of protocols.

- iii. Majority of the previous studies evaluated the performance of Nigeria's implementation of ECOWAS protocols with mixed results. Most of

these are more historical and analytical. They concentrated so much on the impressive or not so impressive level of performance of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols by Nigeria. They were short in the investigation into why the assessment is so. The assertion that Nigeria should always be the protocols implementation hegemon is a misplaced assumption. There was no time in history that Nigeria appended her signature to that effect. Nigeria remains one state among all other Member States of ECOWAS with equal votes like others. Countries or persons that blame Nigeria for a non-existent breach in this direction do so because of their failure to do the needful. Nigeria becomes their scape-goat for their inaction.

- iv. Though, the studies reviewed are very informative, they however ignored the important role the theoretical approach adopted by ECOWAS could play in determining the effectiveness of implementation of protocols. In addition, the background information of previous studies on the subject rarely discussed this, but instead discussed other factors which they hold so sacrosanct. While the consequence of these factors on the level of implementation of these protocols cannot be denied, the study argues that there is a more fundamental obstacle that in part is of greater effect than those enumerated by the scholars above. They fall short of probing the theoretical approach underpinning the practice of regional integration in West Africa. It was on this ground that the study explored the distinction between the integration theories based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies and the theoretical assumptions

underpinning the practice of regional integration in West Africa, and how that difference partly explains the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols. There is the need for more research on more contextual factors responsible for the discouraging implementation of ECOWAS protocols

2.2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts neo-functionalist theory of regional integration as a guide expounded by Ernst B. Haas (1924 – March 6, 2003), a German born American political scientist (Hyman C. Media Relations, 2003:3-11) and his associate, Leon Lindberg, an American political scientist. The theory of neo-functionalism is built around the concept of ‘spillover’. First, is functional spill-over “occurs when an original objective can be assured only by taking further integrative actions.” (Lindberg, 1963:10). This principle can be pictured in Johan Galtung’s stair case hypothesis which states that “integration project starts with small (functional) scope and narrow (geographic) domain. Then, proceed by deepening the scope before expanding the domain. Take the next steps incrementally, following the same logical sequence; deepened before you expand.” (Yomi, 2010:29). It states that cooperation starts with a limited area and expands into a deeper and deeper cooperation. In other words, “it involves the process of beginning with limited domain (or membership) and limited scope (or sectors or areas of cooperation) and gradually deepening the scope before extending the domain. Deepening the scope here could be referred to as moving from the initial areas of cooperation to other related areas of cooperation by bringing in new sectors, whereas, extending the domain means admitting new

members” (Aniche and Okeke, 2012:7-8). This is reminiscent of the life of EU only, but, recently Britain opted out of the union in 2016.

Political spill-over on the other hand occurs when elites within a country conclude that their problems, needs, desires and aspirations can no longer be met by the national government and therefore, transfer their allegiance to the supranational authority for which they believe will be in a better position to solve their problems. Political spill-over is an example of a core idea of neo-functional theory which is loyalty transference. As the integration process continues to pick up and assume an increasing dimension in a heterogeneous domestic society of member States; private sectors; civil society groups and non-governmental organizations shift their loyalty from the States to the supranational authority when they are so convinced that their interests, aspirations and needs are comparatively taken care of by the latter. The third type of spill-over is ‘cultivated spill-over’ This states that as the integration process heightens, the supranational institutions or agencies will set the pace in advancing further integration as they become independent of Member States. According to Bergmann and Niemann (2015), it “concerns the role of supranational institutions that by increasing their own powers, become agents of integration because they are likely to benefit from the progression of the process.” These institutions when created deserve the required mandate that will make them function maximally for the purpose of achieving their set objectives.

A number of criticisms have been leveled against neo-functionalism by various scholars including Haas himself, but for the purpose of this study, only two (of the criticisms) will be briefly discussed.

Aniche, Okeke and Ukaegbu, (2009) argue that neo-functionalism is narrow in its submission, because it lacks universal application. This stand is in line with the self-criticism of Haas, who eventually faulted its applicability to other parts of the world. Secondly, it is deficient in the realm of predictability. The theory fails to predict the outcome of such a union. In other words, the events which the theory predicted will happen did not take place as expected. On this note, Haas opines that better theories need to be propounded to overcome these limitations.

Despite the limitations or the criticisms leveled against neo-functionalism, the theory is still relevant if some of the obsolete part, of it are removed and new ideas incorporated. This will help to reposition neo-functionalism as a theory that provides better understanding of regional integration process.

2.2.6.1 Relevance of the theory to the study.

Here, the researcher shows the relevance of the chosen theoretical frame work to the practice of regional integration in West Africa. The creation of various institutions or agencies to undertake various functions of the community as contained in Article 6 of the 1975 Treaty is in line with the provisions of neo-functionalist theory. “The idea behind redesigning the Executive Secretariat into a quasi-independent Commission (Revised Treaty, 1993) was to make ECOWAS a supra-national entity” (Lokula and Osuntogun, 2010). The idea of

spill-over as asserted by Haas can be seen in Article 12 of ECOWAS Treaty which states that: There should be progressively established in the course of transitional period of fifteen (15) years from the definitive entry into force of this Treaty, a Customs Union among the Member States. This implies that the Treaty of ECOWAS is aimed at creating a Common Market amongst the people of West Africa.

A very popular assumption of neo-functionalism is that integration of particular economic sectors across nations will create functional pressures on the integration of the related economic sectors. This can be seen in practical terms in ECOWAS, for example, in order to achieve common market agenda in the region, ETLS and the protocol on free movement of persons were launched. Furthermore, to achieve the level of Customs Union within ECOWAS, common external tariff was adopted. In addition, the adoption of common industrial and agricultural policies is also in line with the ideals of neo-functionalism. Therefore, the planned journey of ECOWAS to full integration which is based on four typology of economic integration of Balassa (1961), that is, Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market and Economic Union are in line with the spill-over tenet of neo-functionalism.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Interview survey was employed as the basic approach of this study. This is a survey where interview “constitute the major technique for gathering relevant information” (Emalku, 2010:48). This research design is adopted, because, it is a data collection strategy that provides a high response rate because people find it more difficult to turn down personal request for an interview.

3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Technique

The population of this study is 39 persons consisting of the following: Senior officials of four ECOWAS Member States’ diplomatic missions located in Abuja, namely: Ghana High Commission; High Commission of Sierra Leone; Embassy of Togo and the Embassy of the Republic of Senegal. Also included are: The Senior Officials of ECOWAS Division, Nigeria’s Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Departments of Free Movement and Trade of ECOWAS Commission, Manufacturers Association of Nigeria and National Association of Nigerian Traders, all located in Abuja.

The Embassies/High Commissions listed above are selected because they all represent their various governments in Nigeria. Secondly, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Sierra-Leone are among the most developed Member States (ECOWAS Vanguard, Vol. 2, Issue 3. 2013:2) that are playing vital roles in the integration process of the region while Togo, though not among the developed

Member States, is selected because of her role in the formation of ECOWAS. On the other hand, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria is involved in the production of goods and trade matters, while officials of National Association of Nigerian Traders are involved in free movement and trade matters within and outside Nigeria and have vast experience in intra-regional trade. It is an umbrella organization of traders in raw materials, industrial and finished goods (locally made and imported) in Nigeria. (ECOWAS Vanguard, 2015: 15).

For the purpose of this study, purposive sampling technique was adopted in selecting the sample size of 18 respondents out of the target population of 39 senior officers from all the above units. These respondents comprise; Ambassadors/High Commissioners from the Embassies/High Commissions and Directors/President of other selected Departments and Association respectively and their various Desk Officers on integration matters. These respondents were selected, because they possess characteristics and knowledge that meets the need of this study. “It is the respondents’ relevance to the topic rather than their representativeness which determines the way in which the people to be studied are selected” (Flick, 1998:41). Secondly, a random sampling technique will not be suitable for the exploration of the central phenomenon of the study in question. This is because, the essence of the study is not to ascertain the opinions of a representative population sample and use the study to generalize in relation to other cases for the purpose of constructing a general theory. According Creswell (2005:203), “the intent is not to generalize to a population, but to develop an in-depth exploration of a central phenomenon” which can be attained by employing purposive sampling technique .The purpose of the work is to

assess the level of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and Trade Liberalization scheme leading to effective integration in the region. Below is the table showing particulars of the respondents interviewed.

Table 3.1: particulars of respondents interviewed.

S/N	Organization/Department	Population of the Senior Officers	Number of Selected Desk Officers from all the units and their heads.
1.	Embassy of Senegal, 12 Jose Marti Street, Asokoro Abuja.	6	Desk Officer on integration matters (1)
2.	Ghana High Commission, Plot 301, Olusegun Obasanjo Way, Garki, Abuja	7	High Commissioner and 2 Desk Officers on Economic and Diaspora and immigration matters (3)
3.	High Commission of Sierra Leone, Plot 308, Mission Road (off Ministry of Defence/ship HQ Diplomatic Zone, Central Business District, Abuja, Nigeria.	7	High Commissioner and 2 Desk Officers on ECOWAS Affairs (3)
4.	National Association of Nigerian Traders, Plot 19 Suleiman Crescent, Utako, Abuja. Mbor, EFAB Estate, Abuja.	6	The President and Desk Officer on Trade matters (2)
7.	ECOWAS Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tafawa Balewa House, Central Business District, Federal Secretariat, Abuja	5	Director and Desk Officers on ETLs and free movement matters (3)
8.	Department of Free Movement, ECOWAS Commission Abuja.	4	Desk Officer on free movement matters (1)
9.	Department of Customs, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja.	4	Desk officer on ETLs matters (1)
	Total	39	14

The interview was conducted based on the selected number of respondents from the institutions contained on the table above. However, the researcher was not able to access the respondents from the Manufacturers' Association of Nigeria due to their relocation. All attempts to trace their new location since January last year (2018) proved unsuccessful. Similarly, Togo Embassy was discovered to be

reluctant in granting the researcher audience even after the assurance during the first visit and several others that the interview was to be held with the desk officer on ECOWAS Affairs and the Ambassador after the receipt of an invitation letter either by phone or e-mail. Up to the moment of this write-up, no invitation has been received even after several calls. This limitation, therefore, has affected the sample size of the respondents earlier arrived at, as a result, the researcher was able to interview 14 out of 18 respondents. Arising from this, the response rate is 80%.

3.3 Methods of data collection

For the purpose of this research, two methods of data collection technique was adopted. These are the primary and secondary sources of data collection .For a study of this nature, primary data are of prime importance because such data consist of first-hand information drawn directly from the people involved in policy making and implementation.

Under the primary method of data collection, interview technique was chosen in order to elicit the desired information from the selected respondents because of its flexibility. Furthermore, it created a chance to clarify questions and answers on the part of the researcher and the respondents respectively. This source provides a lot of details and the respondents being interviewed could throw more light on issues that may help the researcher to generate needed data. All interviews were conducted with the help of already prepared interview guide. The interviews were conducted in the offices of the various respondents with a specified time limit of approximately 20-30 minutes. The interview guide contained five major questions with some of them having sub-questions. This

procedure was followed to allow for reliability and validity of the study. To achieve this, the researcher made sure that precise and concise research questions and objectives were well stated and measurable. Also, the gathering of data were well articulated with appropriate sample size and sampling technique in relation to the population adopted. The researcher made sure that data were extracted from the original source, taking care of their accuracies in terms of form and context with constant comparison. Furthermore, the scope and analysis of data were comprehensive and inclusive. Finally, the interview questions were properly scrutinized and approved for administration.

In terms of secondary data, the researcher relied on official documents from the Departments of Free Movement of Persons and Customs of the ECOWAS Commission and National Association of Nigerian Traders as well as textbooks, journals, press releases, research papers, internet materials and other relevant materials of high quality standards and scholarly evidence.

3.4 Technique for Data Analysis.

This study adopted descriptive Analysis. According to Cheryl (2009), “descriptive analysis are numbers that summarize the data with the purpose of describing what occurred in the sample.” It can also be viewed as the “transformation of raw data into a form that will make them easy to understand and interpret; rearranging, ordering, and manipulating data to generate descriptive information.” It involves reviewing the information, identifying links, patterns and common themes, arranging the facts in order and presenting them as they are. The subjects’ responses for each individual were added together to get the highest frequency of occurrence. This is to say the number of

times that a particular response occurs. These responses were quantified, followed by their presentation on a tabular form expressed in percentages.

3.5 **Justification of Methods**

Here, the researcher justifies the rationale behind all the methods adopted under research methods. This followed the trajectory below:

- i. This research design was adopted because a high response rate can be achieved. In addition, it is a flexible approach providing for probes when the need arises in the course of the interaction.
- ii. Purposive sampling method was adopted for this study because information rich, ability to communicate appropriate experiences and opinions expressed in a reflective manner was needed to validate the research phenomenon. It was on this premise that these respondents were selected.
- iii. The study adopted both primary and secondary sources of data. This hybridization provides for comprehensive, complementary and reliable information which can be validated. The primary source is very important because it provides a fresh and first-hand information needed for the study. On the other hand, secondary sources complement the first-hand information elicited from the subjects.
- iv. The study adopted descriptive statistics, because it enables the researcher to present the data in a more meaningful way, which allows simpler interpretation of data.
- v. Interview instrument as a source of data collection was adopted because: It helps to provide quality and highly personalized information; It

provides avenue for the research to probe more into the answers that comes from the respondents. Said differently, it is a flexible instrument that creates understanding between the interviewer and the interviewee.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Data Presentation

In this chapter, the data collected are presented in tables and described in alignment with the questions and the research problems earlier stated in chapter one of the study. This is followed by analysis of the results and the discussion of findings.

4.1.1 Table 4.1: Connection between Implementation of ECOWAS Protocols on free movement/trade liberalization and Regional Integration in West Africa

S/NO	RATING	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1.	There is a positive connection	10	71
2.	There is no positive connection	4	29
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

The respondents were asked whether there is a positive connection between the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme and the level of integration in West Africa. In an attempt to get answers to this question, 14 informants participated in a face to face interview. Table 1 above shows that 10 respondents representing 71 percent said that there is a positive relationship between the level of implementation of the two protocols and the rate of regional integration in West Africa. On the other hand only 4 respondents representing 29 percent said there is no positive connection.

4.1.2 Table 4.2: Level of Regional Integration in West Africa Compared to the Period before the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 and the coming into force of the protocols in 1979.

S/N	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1.	The level of Integration is much higher	1	7
2.	The level of integration is moderately higher	2	14
3.	The level of integration is moderate	8	57
4.	The level of integration is low	3	22
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

The respondents were asked to evaluate the level of economic integration of the West African region compared to what it was before the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 and the coming into force of the ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization in 1979. The table above reveals that 1 respondent representing 7 percent said the level of integration is much higher, 2 respondents representing 14 percent said the level is moderately higher, while 8 respondents representing 57 percent said the level is only moderate, 3 respondents representing 22 percent said the level is low.

4.1.3 Table 4.3: Acceptance of aid by West African States and dependence on Europe and North America for imports and exports.

S/N	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1.	They are heavily dependent	4	29
	They are not heavily dependent	10	71
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

The table above shows that 4 respondents representing 29 percent agreed that West African countries are heavily dependent on Europe and North America for the sale of their export products, their imports of manufactured goods, external

loans and grants. On the other hand 10 respondents representing 71 percent said no.

4.1.4 Table 4.4: Impact of Aid Dependence on ECOWAS Member States willingness and freedom to implement policies and measures that demand a redirection of their trade

S/N	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1.	There is no negative impact	9	64
2.	There is negative impact	5	36
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

A look at the table above shows that 9 respondents representing 64 percent said that despite the dependence of West African countries on Europe and North America for the sale of their export products, their import of manufactured goods and aid, this had not stopped them from implementing policies and measures that demands a re-direction of their trade. On the other hand, 5 respondents representing 36 percent said that there is a negative impact.

4.1.5 Table 4.5: Influence that exists between Nigeria's rate of implementation of ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization Scheme and that of other ECOWAS Member States

S/N	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Yes, there is influence	11	79
2	No, there is no influence	3	21
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

The respondents were asked whether there is influence that exists between Nigeria's rate of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme and that of other Member States. The table indicates that 11 respondents representing 79 percent agreed that Nigeria's rate of implementation of these protocols has influenced the level of implementation of other member States of ECOWAS while only 3 respondents representing 21 percent said no.

4.1.6 Table 4.6: European theoretical model that underpins the practice of regional integration in West Africa

S/N	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Neo-functionalist theory	8	57
2.	Theory of Change	1	7
3.	Neutral	5	36
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

The table above shows that 8 respondents representing 57 percent said that Neo-functionalist theory underpinned the establishment of ECOWAS and also, the practice of regional integration in West Africa. On the other hand, 1 respondent representing 7 percent said it was the theory of change, while five (5) respondents had no idea (neutral) of any theory that underpinned the establishment of ECOWAS.

4.1.7 Table 4.7: Adoption of European model has created a gap in the practice of regional integration in West Africa, thereby leading to low implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme.

S/N	Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Yes	9	64
2.	No Idea	5	36
	Total	14	100

Source: Field Work, 2018

The table above reveals that 9 respondents representing 64 percent agreed that there is a gap in the practice of regional integration in West Africa as a result of the adoption of an alien theoretical model. This gap consequently led to the low level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme. On the other hand, 5 respondents, representing 36 percent were not aware of any gap nor the consequence of it on the implementation of ECOWAS protocols.

4.2 **Data Analysis and Results**

This section analyzes individual interviews of the respondents. The information collected was presented in a narrative form that involves the description and analysis of data. This reflects the results of the interviews conducted with interviewees and Analysis from their verbal responses in line with research questions.

4.2.1 **Connection between the Rate of Implementation of ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement, Trade Liberalization scheme and the Level of Regional Integration in West Africa?**

In response to this question, 10 respondents agreed that there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols and the level of regional integration in West Africa. From these, the Director of the ECOWAS Affairs Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ogunsonya said:

these protocols have done a lot. For example, most of the plywood used in Nigeria are imported from Ghana because, they are better and when you go through the border, Dangote supplies most of the cement in West Africa now and he is not being harassed, so in that situation, I believe that we still have a hicough, but not disturbing trade and you know under ECOWAS Treaty, we have free movement and free relocation. You can relocate to anywhere without harassment. You can just spend 3 months and see that the place is okay for you, you can request to be a resident you are going to be integrated. From here, you can conclude that there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization scheme and the level of regional integration in West Africa.

In response to the same question, one of the respondents, Mr. James Ebbie, the First Chancellor at the Sierra-Leonean Embassy said the initiatives – Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization Scheme are not effectively implemented. He contends that, obviously, there are some obstacles like corruption, harassment, bribery and delays at the borders, the level of integration

is moderate because ECOWAS citizens especially the Sierra-Leoneans are moving about in Nigeria without harassment.

In his words:

There is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization. This is because without the implementation of these protocols there cannot be regional integration. So, regional integration is tied to the implementation of these protocols. The level of integration is moderate because ECOWAS citizens especially the Sierra-Leoneans are moving about in Nigeria without harassment.

In response to the same question also, Mrs Aissata Kofi-Yameogo, the Program officer, Free Trade Area with the Department of Customs, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja said:

If you want to export yam from Nigeria for instance, you just need to present a certificate from Nigeria to prove that the yam is from Nigeria, so when you reach Benin they will just check that one and confirm. Is it not that one that is gathering us, is that not integration. Actually, what Dangote is doing is having a cement factory in all the member states, we have one in Nigeria which is the Headquarters, Cote d' Ivoire which is my country and is going to other places. From Nigeria he can export his products (cement) wherever he wants duty free because everything, raw materials are from here, he process it here, so it is made in ECOWAS. It is the same with PZ Cursions, Colgate Nigeria etc. You have different, different products even coming from Cote d' Ivoire, Kapan Oil coming from Cote d' Ivoire, beans from Burkina Faso, palm nuts from Liberia. This is basically the integration we are talking about. You can now see that the rate of integration so far achieved in West Africa is made possible because of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization.

Seven (7) other respondents that want to remain anonymous share the position with the above respondents. According to them, this relationship is not arbitrary, because achieving this is hinged on the proper implementation of these

protocols. In contrast to the position above, three respondents said there is no positive connection between the rate of implementation of free movement of persons, trade liberalization scheme, and the level of regional integration in West Africa. According to some of them:

ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization does not automatically translate to enhanced regional integration. It can only be achieved if there is a well-coordinated and proper implementation of these protocols in question. Meanwhile, I have not seen evidence to confirm this.

Another respondent in this category also said:

I cannot see any positive relationship because, there is no proper implementation that lead to increased level of integration.

Yet, another respondent contributed by saying that:

I do not want to be seen as one not appreciative of some fair achievement so far recorded by ECOWAS. The truth of the matter is that theoretically, positive relationship can be said to exist between these variables, but in reality that positive relationship is not quite glaring in West Africa.

Implementing these protocols is an important platform as to channel the achievement of high level of integration in the region. Looking at the level of regional integration in West Africa, some respondents argued that it is quite debatable whether the implementation of these protocols is well enough to bring about the expected integration in the region. On the other hand, most of the respondents agreed that there is a positive relationship between the rate of implementation of these protocols and the level of regional integration so far achieved in West Africa. It can therefore be concluded that this relationship moderately exist (see appendix A,B and C rate of performance of member states).

4.2.2 The Level of Integration in West Africa is Much Higher, Moderately Higher, Moderate or low.

In response to this question some of the respondents have these to say, for example, Miftau Suleimana, the First Secretary on Economy and Diaspora at the Ghana High Commission, Abuja. According to him:

No, may be not to a large extent. The integration is moderate I know we trade; my Antie comes to Lagos from Ghana. To buy lace materials, my sisters and my friends also come to Lagos to buy certain things and also come with certain things to sell in Lagos. We buy mobile phones here in Lagos because they are cheaper here than in Ghana. Also, Shadda are cheaper here than in Ghana. There are a lot of Nigerians in my neighbourhood, we are even beginning to complain small, small. We are integrating. My barber in Ghana is a Nigerian, my tailor is a Nigerian. The owner of the house that I occupied before coming to Nigeria is a Nigerian.

An anonymous respondent said:

I will say the level of integration is much higher. You will know this when you compare what is happening in ECOWAS with other regions of Africa. ECOWAS is the first regional integration institution in Africa to implement visa free regime. You will definitely appreciate ECOWAS, it has done a lot.

Similarly, another anonymous respondent remarked that:

I will say we have chalked some achievements over the years as a regional body. Therefore, I will score ECOWAS performance as moderately high.

Others also pointed out that a citizen can request to be resident in any member state and can be allowed to migrate and settle briefly. In other words, there is free relocation. Today, with these protocols, the size of the region's market is enlarged. Raw materials are well harnessed, thereby increasing the region's incentive for enhanced productive capacity. The resultant economies of scale transcend to more goods moving freely among member countries. There is also

the harmonization of custom procedures. One of them remarked interrogatively, “Is it not the integration we are talking about?”

Other respondents stressed that scoring ECOWAS performance is not an easy assignment. However, judging from things they see on ground and to be fair to ECOWAS, they concluded that ECOWAS has performed moderately.

The above statement is an indication that integration is taking place in the region because there is trade and free movement going on, though the level may be low or below expectation but at least there is progress. On his part, Barrister Ken Ukaoha, the President of the National Association of Nigerian Traders remarked that he cannot out rightly ascertain the level of integration as a result of the implementation of the protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme but his analysis of the situation will give a clue to his personal judgment. He said:

I am not going to answer that question with moderate, low and all that. What I will like to do is to give an analysis and you will do the judgment yourself. ECOWAS was established in 1975, with ETLs protocol in 1979 and then till today, ECOWAS is about 40 years and we have been implementing this but the question is what value has it added in terms of capacity? That is where your judgment now will be based. Now intra-regional trade, I mean, trade within the region has always been fluctuating between 10-12%, so if you compare this with other regions that are doing 46%, 50% and 60% your guess is as good as mine, you will do the judgment. So, but then, it is not as if there is a total failure.

Toeing the same line as above, three respondents said that:

ECOWAS has not done as expected in view of the fact that it was created 43 years ago and the launching of these

protocols is 39 years ago or there about. Based on this, I will score ECOWAS below average.

From the above excerpts and quotations, it shows that all the respondents agreed that there is a significant positive link between the level of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols and the level of regional integration in West Africa. In addition most respondents believed that ECOWAS has achieved moderate level of integration in West Africa. In other words, most respondents believe that there is integration in the region as a result of Implementing ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme. ECOWAS, to them, has achieved a good deal of integration. A lot of things are happening in the region, for example, people move from one country to another without visa, goods move duty free for as long as they meet the rules of origin criteria. Free movement is a precursor to free trade, without movement of people there can be no free trade, because goods cannot always move on their own. Consequently these two protocols are the bedrock of integration in the region. The higher the rate of implementation of these protocols, the higher the level of integration will be. Conversely if the rate of implementation is low, the reverse will be the case.

Some of the respondents' position is quite different from that discussed above. These participants are of the view that the level of integration is low, particularly if the period of existence of ECOWAS is taken into consideration.

4.2.4 West African States are Heavily Dependent on Europe and North America for the Sale of the Export products, their Imports of Manufactured Goods, External Loans or Grants.

In response to this question, one of the respondents, Miftau Sulemana said that acceptance of foreign aid and too much attachment to former colonial masters no doubt have slowed down intra-regional trade in West Africa but has not stopped ECOWAS Member States from implementing their programmes. In his words:

On the aspect of intra-regional trade, my view is that, yes, we may be dependent to certain level, not as much as before. Our intra-trade volume has increased over the years.

Reacting in the same way to this question, another respondent has this to say; “Eh, that is true, but I want you to understand the fact that the level of trading within the sub-region is very low.”

In the same vein, Mr. James Sylvanus Lebbie, the Acting Chancellor of the Sierra-Leonean Embassy in Abuja said:

It is a fact that we trade with Europe and other advanced countries of the world, this is because they have goods that we cannot manufacture, for example, machinery or capital goods and some luxury goods like cars, television, etc. Conversely, we produce raw materials that they need so much. However, we trade with one another especially if informal trade volume is considered.

According to Barrister Ukaoha, the president of NANTS,

We trade more with Europe because the volume of our production within West Africa is too low and that is why the basket of our commodity is too small to be traded with.

In response to the same question, a respondent, Adama Mbaye of the Senegalese Embassy stated that ECOWAS Member States low level of internal trade can be explained from the angle of trading more with the outside world. According to him:

Intra-regional trade is low because ECOWAS countries trade with the outside world than they do with each other. Economic concession is never a help because if a country is given for example, N1,000 the country will be expected to pay N1,000 for the period of ten years, so instead of a country paying N1,000, the country will have to pay a total cumulative interest of N10,000. But note that this has not totally stopped us from implementing our programmes. We are trying in Africa, our region is the best. Thank God, we are gradually changing from this kind of tradition.

Five other respondents were of the opinion that ECOWAS Member States are not heavily dependent on donor countries as speculated from many quarters. Such dependency has reduced in recent years.

Other 4 respondents were very emphatic that ECOWAS Member States are very much dependent on Europe and other advanced countries for both imports and exports of their primary goods. This is because the industrial base of these countries are incapacitated to produce what the citizens demand. Therefore, there is this dependency on industrial goods from abroad at an increasing rate.

4.2.5 Impact of Dependence on the Willingness and Freedom of ECOWAS Member States to Implement Policies and Measures that Demand the Re-Direction of Their Trade.

Despite the position of all the respondents that there is directional relationship between West African countries with Europe in terms of trade, majority of them said, this has not stopped them from implementing policies and measures that demand the redirection of their trade.

According to anonymous respondents:

ECOWAS Member States have rejuvenated their efforts towards implementing policies that benefit them trade-wise. Most countries are implementing trade facilitation strategies

to boost intra-regional trade. If informal trade is officially recognized and recorded, you will know that we are trading.

According to Miftau Suleimana

Do you know today, most West African countries seem to have abstained from collecting aid and loans from their traditional donors? Furthermore, the direction of trade is presently not tied to Europe and North America as usual, but now shifted to the emerging nations of Asia, India and China. It can be affirmed that our relationship with the rest of the world has not stopped ECOWAS Member States from implementing their own policies. What make sense, is that certain inhibiting factors stand against the effective implementation of some policies which, I think, with time, ECOWAS will overcome.

Some respondents were of the opinion that ECOWAS Member States are not heavily dependent on donor countries as speculated from many quarters. Such dependency has reduced in recent years. As a result, they implement their programmes and policies unhampered. According to them what makes sense here is that other factors are responsible for the realization of these programmes rather than blaming it on aid dependency.

Other interviewees said: If ECOWAS fail to implement her policies and measures, it is not because of dependence on Europe or other nations, it is because Member States have refused to make things work. They are suspicious of one another. They want Nigeria to be the first to kick the ball in every integration process. Things don't work that way. ECOWAS Member States must learn to play like a team so that they can achieve together. As a result, they implement their programmes and policies unhampered. According to them what makes sense here is that other factors are responsible for the realization of these programmes rather than blaming it on aid dependence.

While, the above respondents agreed that we trade less within ECOWAS because West African countries produce complementary goods, therefore, slowing down the level of intra-regional trade in West Africa, other factors in part are also responsible for this. For example, Ken Ukaoha listed seven point package of challenges to include the following:

- i. The poor knowledge of the protocols among the citizens. A lot of traders do not know about the existence of these. In fact I am sure if you look within your own constituency consisting of persons that are supposed to be educated, the intellectual constituency, you will see that perhaps only about 20% are aware.
- ii. The second reason is that beyond awareness, the people are not carried along in the decision making process. Essentially, how many traders have been part and parcel of the ETLS process? How did it come about? So how many traders make inputs?
- iii. Number three, even among those who are supposed to be implementers of the policy, namely, the customs, immigration and other law enforcement agencies, regulatory agencies as well, Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) etc, only a few of them have come in contact with the policy itself, not to talk about knowing the details.
- iv. Four, we have a lot of hurdles as you move: there are delays caused by corrupt practices, harassment, and intimidation along the border roots. Take for instance the ETLS protocols provide for two checkpoints: customs and immigration; but you know, let's take example of my tour to Seme border, you find sometimes not less than 59 checkpoints.
- v. There was lack of proper monitoring mechanism; but of late, the Heads of States of West Africa set up a seven man eminent persons committee to monitor the ETLS implementation in West Africa.
- vi. The sixth challenge is the absence of sanctions in ECOWAS laws. If a country defaults, it suffers little or no penalty.
- vii. There is lack of jurisdiction of the ECOWAS Court of Justice; if you like the absence of a regional court for adjudication or redress for such anomalies on the issue. So the ECOWAS Court of Justice is there quite alright, but the jurisdiction and the powers do not cover economic issues.

According to James Ebbie, the First Chancellor of the Sierra-Leonean Embassy, Abuja the initiatives – free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme are not effectively implemented. Obviously, there are some obstacles, like corruption, harassment, bribery and delays at the borders. Another respondent, Miftau Suleimana, the First Secretary on Economy and Diaspora at the Ghana High Commission, Abuja also comments on the challenges militating against effective implementation of ECOWAS protocols. He said:

our roads, rails, and other infrastructural facilities are in bad shape. For example, I went to Ivory Coast from Ghana by road, the stark difference was, right after leaving Ghana, few kilometres to Ivory Coast, everything changed; the road was certainly different, bad, language difference. I could not communicate any more. Before I could cross, I had to pay my own Ghana people bribe, by that time I was not a diplomat and reaching Ivory Coast, I had to put something in an envelope before I was allowed to get in. Left to me all these are inhibiting factors why we cannot trade as expected with one another.'

Three respondents believe strongly that infrastructural deficiency is a major challenge militating against the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme. They concluded that where there is lack of adequate transport facilities, the result is missed appointments opportunities. It is a major obstacle to trade and movement of persons, goods, services and capital and therefore affects overall development of the region.

Five other respondents listed various challenges to include among others: marked differences in development, corruption at the borders which include bribery, extortion and harassment; and criminal activities at the borders.

James Ebbie on his part said:

Implementation of ECOWAS protocol is not encouraging because there is Francophone and Anglophone Divide. There is no cooperation between the two blocs. Policies are not easily implemented because the French officials outnumbered The Anglophone officials and that usually causes a serious setback.

Today, ECOWAS membership is made up of 8 French colonies, 2 Lusaphone, 4 British colonies and 1 American colony. In voting for particular issues, the French always have the upper hand because of the advantage of their number. This trend has generated a kind of cold war thereby affecting the corporate entity of ECOWAS to certain extent.

This result confirms that intra-regional trade is low among ECOWAS Member countries first, because they trade more with the outside world, not that ECOWAS Member States are not trading with one another, but because, we are much dependent on them on capital and luxury goods that we cannot produce. However, trading with these countries has not stopped ECOWAS Member States from implementing agreements. The rate of implementation is appreciating. In other words, there is no negative connection between external trade, foreign aid and the implementation of ECOWAS protocols.

However 5 other respondents collectively remarked that because of dependency of some of the ECOWAS Member States on aid from Europe, they have not been able to implement corporate agreements particularly ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme. According to them, the lackadaisical attitude of most

members towards the implementation of ECOWAS protocols is well determined by a two way trade traffic of donor influence and recipient subservience.

Therefore, majority of the respondents- 64 percent said, there is no negative connection between external trade and aid dependence and the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols. This study reveals that despite some obvious challenges militating against the practice of regional integration in West Africa, this has not stopped ECOWAS Member States from implementing protocols and programmes. Today, ECOWAS operate, a visa free regime, the first in Africa to do so. Goods, people and services move from one state to the other with less restriction. Trade facilitation strategies have been implemented by most Member States. Registration of firms and products under the ETLS regime has reached an unprecedented level in recent years.

4.2.3 Influence of Nigeria's implementation rate of ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Trade Liberalization on other Member States' Implementation Rate.

Responding to this question, Adama Mbaye of the Senegal Embassy in Abuja said that Nigeria has fallen short of expectation in this regard. He said:

Nigeria as the number one economy is like a trailer truck that carries everybody but Nigeria is not doing it.” He further asserted that if Nigeria is not involved in a program it wouldn't work.

In the same vein, Miftau Sulemana, The First Secretary on Economy and Diaspora of Ghana High Commission, Abuja contends that Nigeria has not done as expected. In his words:

Absolutely not, that is where the problem lies. Nigeria has not done, I don't want to use the word "anything" because Nigeria has obviously done something. The level at which Nigeria should have been leading the sub-region integration falls far below. Nigeria should be driving the integration in West Africa: unfortunately, this has not happened. I discussed with other Ambassadors of the High Commission, they were unanimous in their opinion that Nigeria is doing something but not at the level that is expected. Particularly, there was expulsion of ECOWAS citizens by Nigerian government of which my country was largely affected.

Similarly, Aissata Koffi-Yameogo (Program officer, Free Trade Area) painted a clear picture why Nigeria is not leading as expected in its integration process.

She said:

My Director used to say that he told one of his heads, to go to the market in Bamako, Mali and not find a product made in Nigeria, is not possible. You cannot go to any market in my country (Cote d' Ivoire) and you will not see products made in Nigeria. But in Nigeria it is difficult to have a product in Utako market, Wuse market that is from Senegal or from another ECOWAS member state. Nigeria is close; they close their market. The product from Senegal is very difficult to come in. But now we are working with customs sensitizing them to let them know that if you don't allow goods to come and to respect the rules of origin, they will stop coming and when you start going to their country they will stop you too. They will tell you that you don't want us to come to your market and you are coming to our market and you are telling people that you are not benefitting from the ETLS.

Another respondents said:

Nigeria is recognized not only as a regional leader, but also a continental one too. She has proved that in many ways, particularly in West Africa. Firstly, she initiated the establishment of ECOWAS. Secondly, contributing more than 32 percent of its fund. Thirdly, housing ECOWAS headquarters. If Nigeria has taken this burden to make sure ECOWAS survives, then it will not be too much if she equals this performance by leading in the implementation of ECOWAS protocols. However, Nigeria is seen to a step less in the implementation of these protocols if compared to other commitments.

For some respondents, Nigeria as the colossus needs to take leadership role in protocol implementation. Doing this, will make her command respect and prestige, setting a pace for other Member States to follow. Nigeria has not been proactive in curtailing the excesses of corrupt officials located at the borders for example, Barrister Ken Ukaoha, the President of NANTS shared his personal experience when he visited border checkpoints at Seme. He explained that:

the ETLS protocol provides for two checkpoints-customs, immigration but you know, let's take example of my tour to Seme border, you find sometimes not less than 59 checkpoints, so that tells you the kind of hurdles and the reasons why we cannot grow up intra-regionally in terms of trade.

This multiple checkpoints are much more than two check points per country as stipulated by ECOWAS. These of course, are theatres where harassments, intimidation and extortion and all forms of illegal fees that are not in any way recognized by ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons are being collected by security men at the post

Respondents are of the view that Nigeria is the giant in the geographical space of West Africa; it should lead in all aspects of regional integration process in the region. Nigeria is the biggest economy in the region. It has 2/3 of the region's population. One of the respondents likened Nigeria as a "trailer that carries all the nations behind." It behooves therefore that when the head does not lead well, the rest will behave in like manner. In a similar vein, another respondent said, "If Nigeria is not involved in a programme, it will not work."

When consideration is made as it concerns the implementation and non-implementation of ECOWAS protocols by Nigeria, its performance is beyond expectation. Although, Nigeria is one of the first to ratify these protocols, it should be noted that ratification is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. It is one thing to ratify the provisions but implementing same is another different ball game.

This therefore shows that majority of the respondents representing 79 percent said Nigeria has not implemented ECOWAS protocols enough to attract corresponding performance from the rest of the Member States of ECOWAS. This finding indicates that Nigeria is proactive in the provision of physical structures like the housing of ECOWAS headquarters and other institutions and funding most of its activities but correspondently less active in the implementation of the necessary protocols that are very instrumental or foundational to the realization of effective regional integration in West Africa. For this reason, several ECOWAS member states are appalled by Nigeria's disappointing performance. This illustrates a wake-up call for Nigeria to re-examine its position as a regional hegemon to fast track the implementation rate of the protocols. This will stimulate and motivate all other Members of ECOWAS who are looking unto her (Nigeria) as the regional pace setter to queue in at a monumental rate.

On the other hand three of the respondents have a very contrasting view of Nigeria's protocol implementation. They believe that Nigeria has done relatively well bearing in mind that Nigerian government cannot expressly ratify and adopt

international agreements without recourse to the constitutional provisions. Barrister Ken Ukaoha, the President of National Association of Nigerian Traders Secretariat Abuja, made an elaborate explanation on the process of domesticating international agreements into national laws in Nigeria. In his words:

Nigeria should lead when it is beneficial to the system. Every country has its sovereignty in its pocket. In the light of this, the Nigerian government must underscore all available components which include: economic, political, social, democratic, GDP contribution, job creation, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and sustainable development before she can move for any express implementation of any ECOWAS protocol. These variables must be taken into consideration totally; what is their impact on the domestic policies and law. Implementing ECOWAS provisions in isolation of these variables may likely put the government into domestic crises. In addition, Section 12 of the 1999 constitution stipulates that no international agreement shall come into force unless it is ratified by the parliament. It is, therefore, meaningful that relevant government ministries and agencies coordinate and examine the cost-benefit analysis before the government can go into agreement, ratification and subsequently the implementation of any provision. However, in many respects, the level of West African regional integration process is being dictated by attitudes, decisions, and non-decisions in Nigeria, therefore, Nigerian must have this at the back of its mind and move forward.”

According to some respondents, the cost incurred by Nigeria in sustaining ECOWAS is enormous and wholesome compared to the benefits derived. They reiterated that the provision establishing ECOWAS provides for equal membership, meaning that each Member State have equal voting right, suggesting equal obligation and commitments. According to them, what Nigeria is doing by overstressing her resources is playing the role of a big brother. Therefore, Nigeria should not be crucified, because somebody somewhere believes that Nigeria must always be compelled to take certain actions even when it hurts. They suggested that Nigeria should do the needful and concentrates on pressing domestic issues.

From the view of the respondents above, Nigeria has however done well in the implementation of the first phase of ECOWAS free movement protocol. It is a known fact that Nigeria has abolished visa requirements for ECOWAS citizens coming into the country. As for the second and third phases (rights of residence and establishment) aliens are engaged in small and medium scale industries in Nigeria, including textile production and food processing. They are also highly represented in the construction industry, where many have been engaged in the building of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. ECOWAS citizens are also heavily represented in the service sector of Nigerian economy. ECOWAS citizens from other countries come into Nigeria as business partners, industrialists, consultants, doctors, nurses, engineers, and technologists. Lastly, some are engaged in lowly jobs as labourers, domestic servants, guards, drivers, bus conductors, hotel and supermarket attendants and waiters.

They argued that before Nigeria ratifies and implements an agreement, many factors must be considered, particularly domestic issues before implementing an agreement. That because Nigeria is great regionally does not mean that she will blindly rush into ratifying and implementing a policy that may hurt her later. It may be for this reason that Nigeria is mistakenly portrayed as an average performing regional leader.

4.2.7 Which of the Regional Integration Theoretical Model do you think underpins the Practice of Regional Integration in West Africa (ECOWAS).

Below are quotes from the respondents with regard to the statement above. One of the respondents Miftau Sulemana, the First Secretary of Economy and Diaspora, Ghana High Commission Abuja remarked that:

I did a study on this back in Ghana while I was doing my M.Sc. programme. I suggested that neo-functional theory is the underpinning approach to ECOWAS establishment. You know we copied this model of integration from EU and we didn't leave anything behind. We lifted all the accessories including the integration theory which was theorized based on EU experience.

One of the respondents was very emphatic with his answer to this question. Mr. James Sylvanus Lebbie, the Acting Chancellor of the Sierra Leonean Embassy remarked that:

ECOWAS copied the theoretical approach from the EU and because the environment is not the same, it will not work well. So ECOWAS need an approach that will fit into the realities of the region.

In responding to the same question, few respondents said that there is a kind of triangulation of theories underpinning the establishment of ECOWAS. One of the respondents, Mr. Adama Mbaye, the First Chancellor of the Senegal Embassy, Abuja in this group said:

I might not say totally that neo-functional theory is the underpinning approach to ECOWAS establishment. There may be some chips from other theories of regional integration at play. Why I may think that neo-functionalism has the upper hand, here, is that there was some kind of neo-functional cooperation among the countries of West Africa before the establishment of ECOWAS and this may have influenced its adoption by the founding fathers.

Five other respondents are of the view that there is no regional economic integration established in the world today that is not founded on some

assumptions of one or more regional integration theories. As for ECOWAS there are more traces of neo-functionalist tenets than others. They averred in conclusion that neo-functionalist theory is the approach that underpinned the establishment of ECOWAS.

This result supports the position that neo-functionalist theory of regional integration that underpinned the establishment of ECOWAS. As a result of the adoption of this approach a gap is created between it and the practice of regional integration in West Africa. This means that neo-functionalist theory became the prototype approach adopted by the ECOWAS founding fathers in the integration process in West Africa.

In a contrasting position, a respondent Barrister Ken Ukaoha, the president of the National Association of Nigerian Traders agreed that ECOWAS is guided by a particular approach but certainly not the neo-functionalist theory but the theory of change. He said:

I guess what you want to talk about is the theory of change, and let me put it clearly, every concept comes with its theory of change and that the theory of change rallies around your objective and your goals. Why was ECOWAS formed in the first place? As explained earlier, ECOWAS came into being because of the need for free movement and trade between member states and citizens that will need to move from one country to another.

This means that the purpose of establishing ECOWAS is to achieve a particular objective and theory of change is an approach that unveils the steps to be taken to achieve these objectives. Essentially, the focus is on the “missing middle”. That is planning what to do to get there.

Other respondents indicated that they do not have idea of any integration theory underpinning the establishment of ECOWAS, let alone the gap it has created in the practice of regional integration in West Africa. What they are sure of, is that some of the challenges that have formed a wall of barrier to the practice of regional integration in the region include corruption at the borders, the structure of the economies of ECOWAS Member States among others. In line with this position, one of the respondents remarked that:

I would rather say that there are more obvious and glaring challenges that are looking at us in the eyes that need to be dealt with urgently than the theory version of it. Just think about corruption, bribery, delays, intimidation and so many others. I don't subscribe or see theory underpinning the establishment of ECOWAS as a problem.

Three (3) other respondents said it may be some sort of hybridization of theories. Therefore, they cannot say for certain which of the theories underpinned the establishment of ECOWAS.

Most of the respondents re-emphasized severally that neo-functional theory is the approach that underpinned the establishment of ECOWAS. This assertion is based on the fact that in its attempt to establish a regional integration scheme, the founding fathers went for the EU prototype. This theory, of course was propounded based on European experience taking into consideration its socio-economic background which to a very large extent is at variance with that of the West African regions.

It may be averred that ECOWAS founding fathers had the neo-functional theory in minds, when they established ECOWAS, though this has not been

reflected clearly and unequivocally either in their speeches or in their actual practice in designing steps for West African integration. However, there is an obvious gap between the presumed theory and actual practice in West Africa. This finding indicates that adoption of foreign theoretical model in part add to the challenges militating against regional integration in West Africa. However, for better result, the imported theory should be refined, transformed to suit the environmental realities of West African states. The finding therefore, interrogates the neo-functionalist assumptions and pave way for a different, possibly new theory of integration.

4.2.8 Gap between the presumed theory/model and the practice of regional integration in West Africa that in part add to the challenges leading to low implementation of the protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization in West Africa.

Below are quotes of the respondents with regards to the statement above. One of the respondents Miftau Sulemana, the 1st Secretary/Economic and Diaspora Matters of the Ghana High Commission, Abuja remarked that:

What we did was to apply the theory meant for different environment, different people and different circumstance that is to a very great extent different from ours economically, socially and culturally. Operating at the same level will not give us the desired result. And this is the gap we are talking about. Just as we aspire for appropriate technology for our development, we need appropriate theory to drive our integration.

Mr. Adama Mbaye, the First Chancellor of the Senegal Embassy, Abuja in this group said:

Whether we believe it or not these foreign nomenclature of theories are quite foreign and this is making us toe the line of their development with its own pace and rapidity which we cannot cope with, bearing in mind the structure of our economies, the level of our development and so

forth. I think we need an approach that is accommodating and environmental friendly.

An anonymous respondent also remarked:

Just like the argument for the support of transfer of technology as against appropriate technology which the former failed the developing countries. The adoption of an alien theory goes the same way. A gap is created. Imagine a child of 9 years given a size 12 shoes to wear, is a great disservice to him. The child needs the shoes of his size and this he can go to the market and choose for himself.

Similarly, another respondent remarked that Haas, the propounder of this theory had observed that neo-functionalism which was tailored on the conditions of Europe failed to predict the expected outcome. It will be unrealistic for such theory to work in West Africa where socio-economic conditions are not the same. Five other respondents were of the view that the socio-economic background of all ECOWAS Member States are unsupportive of the theory so adopted.

From these narratives, it is evident that the adoption of a theory based on European experience will not produce the right result. What is needed is to panel beat and reform or reconstruct alien theory to suit the region's environmental realities.

In contrast to the above position, five respondents are of the view that the challenges militating against the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme are varied and enormous which obviously is different from a singular theory-gap argument speculated. It

will be a distraction if there is no focus on the crux of the matter rather than waste time on trivial issues. They said the theory-gap paradox is just a piece of an ice-berg among other huge challenges.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

This section is devoted to summary and discussion of the study propositions and to a discussion of the pertinence of the results to the issue under investigation.

4.3.1 Connection between the Level of Implementation of ECOWAS Protocols and Regional Integration in West Africa.

The findings reveals that there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of people and trade liberalization scheme and the level of regional integration in West Africa. The first research objective investigated the extent to which the level of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization scheme is positively related to the level of integration in West Africa. The (b) part of the objective is to assess the level of regional integration in West Africa, whether it is much higher, moderately higher, moderate or low. A lot of conclusions can be drawn from the result which pertains to the first research objective.

The in-depth interview revealed that there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme and the level of regional integration in West Africa. This is to say, regional integration is hinged on the rate of implementation of

ECOWAS protocols by Member States. This supports the proposition that ‘there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols and the level of regional integration in West Africa’. This, therefore, means that the two protocols are the bedrock for achieving regional integration in the region.

The outcome of the efforts of ECOWAS in driving the process of integration in West Africa is far more significant than it is generally acknowledged in the extant literature. The West African region is far more integrated, economically today than it was in 1975 when ECOWAS was created. Secondly, the implementation of the protocol and the scheme has been the main strategy for raising the level of regional economic integration in West-Africa. They have proved to be a fairly successful technique for promoting regional integration.

Consistent with this finding is the study of Benik and Yoonus (2012) in Milton and Ajan (2017:34) which examines whether the ECOWAS Member States have favourable characteristics to undertake deeper economic integration that is moving towards an economic union status from the period of 1963 to 2005. They found that an increase in trade which results from deeper economic integration in the ECOWAS region can compensate for fall in trade between ECOWAS and the rest of the world. They further ascertain that an increase in trade in ECOWAS region generates resources to increase aggregate demand to meet fiscal requirements of development expenditure. This study provides evidence of the important role of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization has on achieving regional integration in West Africa.

It goes to say that the higher the implementation of these protocols, the more effective the level of regional integration will be. Conversely, low level of implementation of these protocols will translate to low level of integration in the region.

The process of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by Member states and the machinery for coordination need to be evaluated to identify comprehensively the major obstacle to the effectiveness of the protocols and the prospects of spill-over from their impact. Some of the issues in this area were thrown up by this research and have been discussed in this chapter.

The result further indicates that the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme has led to moderate level of integration in West Africa. The result in table 2 reveals that 93 percent of the respondents rated the level of regional integration in West Africa as moderate. This is in comparison with 7 percent which indicates that the level of integration is low.

The researcher believed, that the position of the majority is based on the tangible gains achieved by ECOWAS since the introduction of these protocols. It is a common knowledge that ECOWAS is the first REC to introduce visa free regime in Africa, Member States have created posts at each official entry points to facilitate the movement of people, there is the existence of ECOWAS passport, adoption of biometric identity card in place of ECOWAS travel

certificate, access to employment in Member States, harmonization of immigration procedures, reduction of non-tariff barriers at border posts, free movement of local goods and handicrafts between Member States exclusive of duties and taxes.

Certain measures have been taken making it easy for people travelling either by private or commercial means by the harmonization of policy decision that guarantees temporary residence in Member States for up to 90 days and fifteen days respectively. In addition, the recent introduction of Common External Tariff (CET) is another milestone in the integration process in West Africa. This is an indication that ECOWAS has moved a step further on the ladder of economic integration from free trade area to level of customs union.

The level of integration so far achieved in West Africa as result of the implementation of the ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade can be beamed from the statements made by late Adebayo Adedeji and Retired General Yakubu Gowon respectively. Adebayo Adedeji on the occasion of ECOWAS at 40 said:

free movement of its 340 million citizens across the region has been made easy. The legendry women traders of West Africa have taken advantage and acted as motors of regional integration while 68 percent of West Africa's international migrants remain in the region enjoying one of the most impressive world's mobility rates.

Retired General Yakubu Gowon in a similar response to interview questions conducted by ECHOES, ECOWAS Newsletter (September-December, 2015.

Vol. 5/15) on the level of integration in the ECOWAS sub-region, remarked that:

Not quite fully met. I think we are still growing, for example, like the ECOWAS Common Tariff which is supposed to come into force this year is still not a reality. I think we have achieved quite a lot but there are still areas of common monetary system etc that are yet to be achieved. Now we have achieved quite a lot. Now we have ECOWAS Common Passport. There is free movement of people and goods from one country to another without visas.

The views expressed above suggest that the level of integration in West Africa is moderately high. This confirms one part of the proposition that the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization scheme has a positive connected with the rising level of integration. The data from the interviews indicate that the level of integration in West Africa is moderate, which is attributed to the level of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols.

The level of integration so far achieved in West Africa is principally hinged on the measures put in place by various Member States on the implementation of the provisions of the protocols on free movement of persons. (See table 4.8 below) and the status of ETLs implementation by ECOWAS Member States on page 96 (table 4.9). This is not to say that ECOWAS has arrived, there are a lot to be covered. Achieving an effective regional integration can only be realized if challenges militating against the provisions are alleviated. The table below shows the status of ratification of ECOWAS free movement protocol, specific actions taken by member states.

Table 4.8: Adoption status of instruments on free movement of persons by ECOWAS Member States (as at June 2014)

Country	Status of ratification of ECOWAS free movement protocols					Abolition of visa & entry requirement for stays up to 90 days	Specific actions taken				ECOWAS Brown Card Scheme	Reference to Specific residence permit for ECOWAS nationals,
	1979 protocols	1985 suppl. Protocol	1986 suppl. protocol	1989 suppl. Protocol	1990 suppl. Protocol		✓ Implemented	✱ Not Yet Implemented				
Country data ratification of 1979 protocol							ECOWAS travel certificate	ECOWAS passport	Nat. Comm. for monitoring FMP and vehicles	Harmonized immigration and emigration forms		
Benin 4 Jan. 1981	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	Specific residence permit for ECOWAS nationals, rights attached are not identified
Burkina Faso 6 Apr. 1982	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	No, no specific residence/stay permit is in place. However, in practice they do not have to apply for the common stay permit (plus family members can join and enjoy full access to the labour market).
Cape Verde 11 June 1984	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓		-			N/A (Island State)	Negotiations of the relevant ECOWAS protocols may occur as Cape Verde argues that their specific situation requires regulation of admission.
Cote d'Ivoire 19 Jan. 1981	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓			✓	Not requested to obtain a residence permit (only identification document is needed).
The Gambia 30 Oct. 1980	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-		-	✓	Yes, specific residence permits for ECOWAS nationals.
Ghana 8 Apr. 1980	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	-	✓	Explicit reference to the absence of visa requirements.
Guinea 17 Oct. 1979	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	No specific status is defined.
Guinea Bissau 20 Aug. 1979	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓		-	✓	No.
Liberia 1 Apr. 1980	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓		-	✓	No. (The draft national policy on Migration provides for an amendment of the immigration law).
Mali 5 June 1980	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	No, but administrative practices respect the right to enter and establish.
Niger 11 Jan. 1980	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	No.
Nigeria 12 Sept. 1979	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	No, but administrative practices grant ECOWAS nationals an ECOWAS Residence Card, valid for 5 years and renewable. (The Draft National Migration Policy envisions a review of the immigration law).
Senegal 24 May 1980	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	No.
Sierra Leone 15 Sept. 1982	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	No. (drafting a new immigration legislation is considered).
Togo 9 Dec. 1979	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	No.

Source: ECOWAS, Awumbila et al., country chapters. Pp 45
An Assessment of Progress towards Regional Integration in ECOWAS, 2015 p. 104

The table above indicates the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons by ECOWAS Member States. From the table all the 15 countries have ratified the protocol on free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment. All the 15 countries abolished the requirement for visa and entry requirement for stay up to 90 days for ECOWAS citizens. ECOWAS travel certificate has been implemented by 8 countries; representing 53 percent performance. These countries are: Benin, Cote d' Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone and Togo. ECOWAS passport has been implemented by 11 countries, representing 73 percent. They include; Benin, Cote d' Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and Togo.

The formation of National Committee on free movement of persons and vehicles is done by 10 countries; representing 67 percent. They include; Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and Togo. All Member States are yet to introduce the harmonization of immigration and emigration forms. Here, there is 0 percent implementation. ECOWAS Brown Card has been introduced by 14 Member States representing 93 percent; only Cape Verde is yet to do same, reason being that it is an Island state.

With reference to Specific residence permit for ECOWAS nationals, 11 countries have no specific residence permit in place. These countries are: Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and Togo. Benin does not identify specific residence permit. In Cote d' Ivoire, ECOWAS citizens are requested to have a residence permit. On the other hand, Nigeria and Gambia request specific cards from ECOWAS nationals.

From all the analysis above ECOWAS has done relatively well on the first phase of the protocol which is the Right of Entry, particularly, the requirement of Visa for ECOWAS citizens has been abolished. One disturbing evidence is the fact that none of the Member States has been able to harmonize the immigration and emigration forms 39 years after the introduction of ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons. This is not a healthy development if effective integration is to be achieved in no distant future.

The second phase, which is the right of residence that principally guarantees the right of residence for ECOWAS citizens that came into force in 1989 has not been implemented as desired. Community citizens that want to reside in another member state usually face harsh conditions to actualize such intentions. Discriminations against intending residents have been widely reported. The wrangling between Nigeria and Ghana is a case in point. There are glaring disparities of fees charged for residential permit by ECOWAS Member States.

The third phase, (The Right of Establishment) though not captured on the above table, which came into force in 1992 has not been well implemented. There abound a lot of discriminations against intending businessmen and workers that may like to establish businesses and take up employment respectively. Some lines of businesses are exclusively for the nationals. In some cases, community citizens that may want to reside in another Member State may be forced out of that intention because of the high business registration fees introduced in disguise to discourage non-nationals. Ghana and Gambia are good example of this unfortunate behaviour. This is at variance with the aspirations and the dream of the founding fathers of ECOWAS.

Table 4.9: Status of ETLS implementation by ECOWAS Member States.

Country	CET	Products Approved				Facilitation Measures Implemented	Harmonized Customs Documents	Elimination Of Barriers to Trade in unprocessed and industrial products.
		1988-00 Grand Total	2001-05	2006-11				
Benin	✓	64	18	66	148	✓	✓	✓
Burkina Faso	✓	2	3	10	15	✓	✓	X
Cape Verde	X	3	0	0	3	X	✓	X
Cote d'Ivoire	✓	196	551	77	824	✓	✓	X
Gambia	X	0	0	19	19	✓	✓	✓
Ghana	✓	243	363	232	838	✓	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
Guinea	X	3	61	12	76	✓	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
Guinea Bissau	✓	X	X	x	x	X	✓	X
Liberia	X	X	X	x	x	X	✓	X
Mali	✓	3	0	1	4	✓	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
Niger	✓	3	0	0	3	✓	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
Nigeria	✓	466	495	231	1192	X	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
Senegal	✓	89	118	152	359	✓	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
Sierra Leone	X	4	0	0	4	X	✓	✓
Togo	✓	67	16	31	114	X	✓	Lifted, but not for industrial products
	10	1,147	1,625	831	3,603	9	15	3

Source: Collated based on data from ECOWAS website

Daily Post, Nigeria. www.dailypost.ng>Business

ECOWAS Vanguard.ISSN 235-3698. Vol. 3, Issue 6. pg. 6-7

Computed by Noah Olasehinde from ECOWAS Data Base. www.academia.edu

ECOWAS Executive Secretariat. <http://ecowas.int/sitcedeo/pays/web>

ECOWAS Common External Tariff which was adopted at the Heads State summit in October 2013 in Dakar has been implemented by ten out of the fifteen Member States of ECOWAS. CET can be seen as an important landmark to the achievement of a customs union in West Africa. In an attempt to realize this noble objective, 10 ECOWAS Member States are now implementing the project with 8 from the UEMOA and 2 Anglophone countries of Ghana and Nigeria being the main actors . The implementation of CET is not new to the countries of UEMOA because they have been implementing it within their bloc before now. The two blocs coming together to implement this project is commendable. To have ten countries out of fifteen implementing CET at the same time indicates progress in the integration process in West Africa. This will be a source of encouragement to others that are yet to start the implementation. The five countries left out of the implementation of CET were deterred by some issues on ground then. For example, Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Guinea had Ebola crises while Gambia's issue concerned the country's customs administration causing the delay in the enforcement of CET. Cape Verde on the other hand is yet to implement the CET project. At the time that all the five countries come on board to implement the CET in conjunction with the 10 (the early starters), there is the hope to reap the dividend of custom union in the region.

In respect of products registered under ETLs for the period under review, the table shows that there is a steady increase over the years of products registered under the scheme by various states, despite the decline experienced in 1988 and 2011. Nigeria registered 1,192 products, Ghana 838 products, Cote d' Ivoire 824 and Senegal 359 representing 33.1 percent, 23.2 percent, 22.9 percent, and 10

percent respectively, Nigeria and Ghana have the largest number of approved enterprises and products representing over half of the total approvals. This is an indication that there has been a reasonable progress in this aspect of ETLs. However, some of the serious challenges militating against increase in the registration of enterprises and products rest essentially on the ground that some enterprises were unable to fully appropriate the opportunities made available by the scheme. This was due to lack of awareness. Besides, the cumbersome procedure inherent in the registration of enterprises and products was another hindrance.

Table 4.9 above also shows that 9 out of 15 ECOWAS Member States have been able to implement some measures concerning trade facilitation. This is an encouraging record. For example, Benin in 2015 made trading across borders easier by reducing the number of documents needed for imports. Also, Cote d'Ivoire in the same year made trading across borders easier by simplifying the processes for producing the inspection reports and by reducing port and terminal handling charges at the port of Abidjan. Ghana in the same year also, made trading across borders easier by upgrading infrastructure at the port of Tema. On the other hand, Togo in 2014 made trading across borders more difficult by granting monopoly control of all port activities at the port of Lome to a private company. Guinea in 2014 made trading across borders easier by improving port management system. In 2013, Niger reduced the time to import by expanding and optimizing the use of an electronic data interchange system for customs clearance. Gambia in 2012 made trading across borders faster by implementing the automated system for customs data (ASYCUDA). In 2011, Mali eliminated

redundant inspections of imported goods, reducing the time for trading across borders. Burkina Faso in 2010 reduced the time needed for trading across borders by creating a one-stop shop for commercial trade documentations. Senegal, in 2010 made trading across borders easier and less time consuming by introducing improvements at the container terminal at the ports of Dakar and increasing the number of agencies involved in trade facilitation. This is a commendable performance exhibited by these countries. (ECOWAS Vanguard, 2016:6).

Table 4.9 above, further shows that all the countries of ECOWAS have all harmonized their customs documents attaining 100 percent performance. On the other hand, the aspect of eliminating barriers to trade on unprocessed and industrial goods was only implemented by three countries. Seven countries eliminated barriers on unprocessed goods but not on industrial goods while five countries are still adamant on making improvement in this direction. However, the overall performance of ECOWAS countries under ETLS is moderately .high.

From the survey, the responses are not the same. Some respondents said that the rate of integration in West Africa after the introduction of protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme is very much high, while some said that the rate is much higher and the last group said the rate is moderately higher. The respondents that said that the rate is very much higher may have reasoned from the direction of comparative analysis of the performance of ECOWAS with that of other RECs in Africa particularly on the dimension of free movement of persons. Other respondents that indicated low

integration may have reasoned from the point of view that ECOWAS ought to have achieved higher level of integration than this after 39 years of the protocols coming into force.

The overall result is that integration is indeed taking place in ECOWAS. While there may be a disagreement or uncertainty about its level, the consensus is that it is significant enough to be noticeable. Most of the responses indicates also that the implementation of ECOWAS protocols is bringing about integration in West Africa. This study suggests that further studies should be conducted to statistically test the existence of a significant relationship between the rate of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme and the level of regional integration in West Africa.

There can be more gains if the level of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols is enhanced. In other words, the more effective the rate of implementation is, the more effective the level of regional integration will be. The reverse is the case if the level of implementation of these protocols is low.

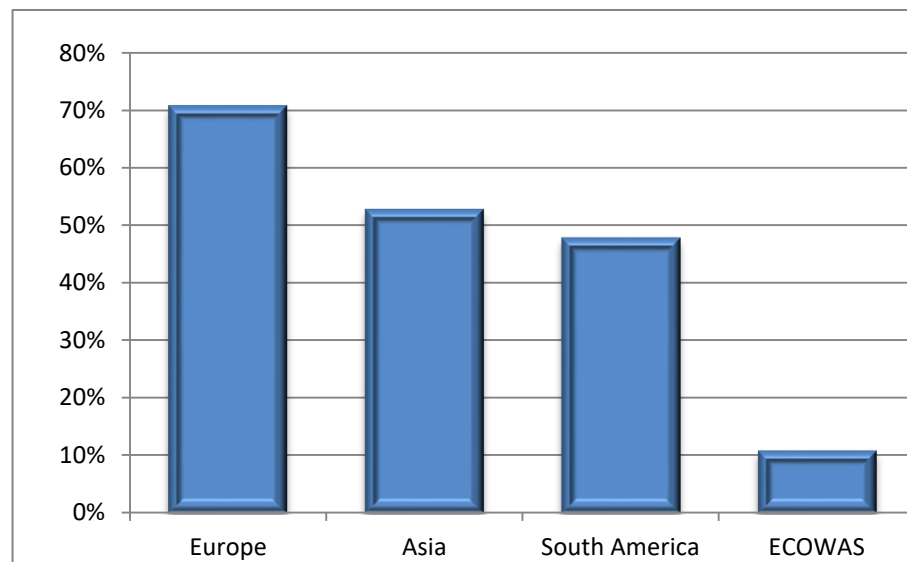
4.3.2 Connection between the Degree of External Trade and Aid Dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the Rate of Implementation of the ECOWAS Protocols.

The findings suggest that there is no negative correlation between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols. However, evidence has also been adduced mainly through primary sources to indicate that ECOWAS Member States trade more with Europe and other nations of the world than they trade

within. This result shows some consistency with some extant literature. The figure below produces empirical evidence asserting this:

This figure shows the level of ECOWAS intra-regional trade as low compared to other regions. Very importantly, the ETLS that could have improved the volume of trade has not been fully complied with by most member states. (40 Years of ECOWAS, Summarized Version, 2015).

Figure 4.1: ECOWAS Intra-regional Trade in Relation to other Regions.



Source: 40 Years of ECOWAS, Summarized Version, 2015

The figure above shows that trade between ECOWAS Member States and Europe is at the region of 72 percent, Asia 53 per cent, South America 48 per cent while ECOWAS intra-regional trade is as low as 11 per cent.

However, despite the picture painted above, the study reveals that this position has not stopped ECOWAS Member States from implementing policies and measures that demand the redirection of their trade, the places their people go to and the sources of their external aid and foreign investment. This is because,

over the past three decades non-traditional donors such as China has emerged with aid policy premised on equality between partners, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, respect for obligations and enhancing self-reliance of Chinese aid recipients. (Kafayat, 2016). This is asserting that aid from China is not a tied one, therefore, recipient countries are free to implement policies that will help them achieve economic development and self-reliance. ECOWAS is the first regional economic community with visa free regime. However, the second and third phase of free movement protocol is at advanced stage of implementation. Therefore, the seemingly low implementation of ECOWAS protocols cannot be solely hinged on acceptance of foreign aid by West African countries. This study reveals that there are other challenges militating against the effective implementation of ECOWAS protocols. One of these factors is the poor knowledge of the protocols itself. There is an adage that says you cannot give what you don't have. Most traders in West Africa are ignorant of the provision of the protocols under investigation and because of this, they act outside the frame of the provision. This of course has a negative impact on the level of intra-regional trade in the region. Worse still, the traders who are the actors are usually relegated to the background in a decision that affects them as a pivotal agent in the realization of the aim of ECOWAS.

Added to these challenges is dearth of infrastructure. No meaningful trade and movement of people can take place except there are adequate and efficient transport facilities that will upgrade the transaction flow in the region. There is no doubt, ECOWAS has gone a long way in making sure that these essential factors are provided but on record it has not been adequate. A very outstanding

challenge also is corruption at the cross border points where the security agents entrusted with the maintenance of law and order have turned around to be the perpetrators and accomplices in collecting bribes, intimidating and harassing traders that refused to compromise with their demands. In short, they made these checkpoints their goldmines for enriching their personal treasury. Some have blamed this on the lack of proper orientation and sensitization on the details of these protocols. It is also believed that lack of proper sanction particularly on the defaulting officers has allowed this racketeering to continue unabated. Furthermore, no proper sanctions have been meted on defaulting member states who blatantly refused to implement agreed decisions. These and other challenges have become a serious threat to the achievement of effective regional integration in West Africa. This is to say that no meaningful regional integration can be achieved within a space of time, except these challenges are surmounted by the cooperation and commitment by all the member states.

Among the explanations that have been adduced to be responsible for the low official recorded rate of intra-regional trade in West Africa is the pervasive trend of informal trade. It is believed that if the flourishing record of informal trade is added to the formal, the rate of trade generally in West Africa should be doing around 20-30 percent, which is a wholesome performance. Whether aid is collected or not, trade between ECOWAS countries and the outside world will ever continue because we consume what we don't produce and we produce what we don't need. The way out of this jinx is to intensify commitment to industrialization strategy and diversify other sectors of the economy in order to increase production capacity in West Africa. Secondly, goods produced in West

Africa are complementary. This is to say, Member States produce similar commodities and then who will buy from the other. When these countries adopt the principle of the law of comparative advantage, it is then the trade volume will increase as needed. Added to the excessive crave for European made goods, ECOWAS member states import what they do not produce.

There is no gain saying that despite these challenges the pursuit of regional integration through the implementation of ECOWAS protocol on free movement and trade liberalization is in top gear. This is an indication that aid acceptance and external trade has no negative impact on the implementation of ECOWAS protocols and that Member States of ECOWAS are implementing these protocols. The table below shows the implementation status of ECOWAS provisions by Member States.

Empirical evidence on the state of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by Member States is shown with the picture of how these countries fared on both free movement and trade dimensions with overall classification.

Table 4.10 ECOWAS Member States Implementation Scores and Rankings.

Table 6: Over all Classification				Table 7: Trade Integration				Table 8: Free Movement of Persons			
Over all Classification				Dimension 1 Trade Integration				Dimension 2 Free Movement of People			
Country	Score	Rank	Category	Country	Score	Rank	Category	Country	Score	Rank	Category
Nigeria	1.400	1	❖	Nigeria	1.000	1	❖	Coted' Ivoire	0.800	1	■
Cote d'Ivoire	1.386	2	❖	Cote d'Ivoire	0.986	2	❖	Niger	0.800	2	■
Senegal	1.048	3	❖	Senegal	0.648	3	❖	Mali	0.800	2	■
Ghana	1.004	4		Ghana	0.604	4	❖	Guinea	0.800	2	■
Sierra Leone	0.919	5	✚	Sierra Leone	0.519	5	✚	Burkina Faso	0.800	5	■
Mali	0.885	6	✚	Mali	0.485	6	✚	Togo	0.800	6	■
Togo	0.866	7	✚	Togo	0.466	7	✚	Benin	0.800	7	■
Niger	0.847	8	✚	Niger	0.447	8	✚	Gambia	0.800	7	■
Burkina Faso	0.825	9	✚	Burkina Faso	0.425	9	✚	Guinea Bissau	0.800	9	■
Guinea Bissau	0.813	10	✚	Guinea Bissau	0.413	10	✚	Senegal	0.800	10	■
Benin	0.758	11	■	Benin	0.358	11	✚	Nigeria	0.800	10	■
Cape Verde	0.569	12	■	Cape Verde	0.169	12	■	Sierra Leone	0.800	12	■
Guinea	0.455	13	■	Guinea	0.110	13	■	Ghana	0.800	13	■
Gambia	0.405	14	■	Gambia	0.005	14	■	Liberia	0.800	13	■
Liberia	0.400	15	■	Liberia	0.000	15	■	Cape Verde	0.800	15	■
Average	0.839			Average	0.442			Average	0.800		
*Average /Top 4	1.210			*Average/ Top 4	0.809			*Average/Top 4	0.800		

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Regional Integration Index Report 2016 pp. 44

*Average of top performing countries within REC (with a 95% confidence interval)

Scores are calculated on a score of 0 (low) to 1 (high)

- ❖ Country is a high performer – score is higher than average of countries
- ✚ Country is an average performer – score is within the average of countries.
- Country is a low performer – score is below the average of countries.

The table above rates the performances of ECOWAS Member States in the two dimensions under review. Firstly, is the free movement of person's protocol with three indicators. These include: proportion of Regional Economic Cooperation of member countries whose nationals are issued with a visa on arrival Secondly, ratification (or not) of Regional Economic Cooperation protocol on free movement of persons. Lastly, proportion of REC member countries whose nationals do not require visa for entry.

The second variable is the Trade Integration (table 7), the indicators of which includes: the level of customs duties on import share of intra-regional goods exports as percentage of GDP; share of intra-regional imports as GDP and lastly, share of total intra-regional goods as total intra-REC trade.

The scores of these dimensions are added together for each of the Member States arriving at the average score depicted on the table containing “The Overall Classification” The picture on the overall classification shows that 8 countries performed above average, the least (Liberia) in this category with 0.400 and Nigeria the highest with an average of 1.400. Seven countries on the other hand fall below average score. The overall average score for all the countries combined stands at 0.839. This proved that the performance of ECOWAS countries in the implementation of these dimensions is moderately high and consequently resulting in moderate integration in the region.

The information on the table below indicates that despite the common position by many scholars that intra-regional trade in West Africa is low, this study however, found that there has been relative increase in the level of trade in the region. See empirical evidence, Appendix A and B indicating that despite the challenges faced by ECOWAS, Member States are resolute in implementing policies and measures that demands the redirection of their trade.

**Table 4.11: Intra-ECOWAS Trade as share of total exports and imports
1980-1990/2000-2014 in %**

Year	1980	1985	1990	2000	2010	2014
EXPORTS	3	3	3	8	9	8
IMPORTS	3	7	7	12	10	10

Source: (1980-1990) Lyakurwa et al. (1997);
(2000-2014) IMF (various years), Direction of Trade Statistics.

From the figure above, ECOWAS trade, as a share of total export and import for the period of 1980 to 1990 has low trade performance when compared to the period between 2000 and 2014. The period between 1980 and 1990 the level of intra-regional trade in West Africa was about 5% but between 2000 and 2014 it rose to about 9-10%. Thus, intra-regional trade in West Africa as a proportion to world trade virtually doubled after the commencement of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols under study. But the increase seems to have reached a plateau in 2010.

An overview of trade facilitation measures implemented by countries across West Africa in 2015 reported by ECOWAS Vanguard (2016:6), shows that 9 out of 15 ECOWAS Member States have been able to implement some measures concerning trade facilitation. This is an encouraging record. For example, Benin in 2015 made trading across borders easier by reducing the number of documents needed for imports. Also, Cote d' Ivoire, in the same year, made trading across borders easier by simplifying the processes for producing the inspection reports and by reducing port and terminal handling charges at the port of Abidjan. Ghana in the same year also, made trading across borders easier by upgrading infrastructure at the port of Tema. Guinea in 2014 made trading across borders easier by improving port management system. In 2013, Niger

reduced the time to import by expanding and optimizing the use of an electronic data interchange system for customs clearance. Gambia in 2012 made trading across borders faster by implementing the Automated System for Customs Data (ASYCUDA). In 2011, Mali eliminated redundant inspections of imported goods, reducing the time for trading across borders. Burkina Faso in 2010 reduced the time needed for trading across borders by creating a one-stop shop for commercial trade documentations. Senegal, in 2010 made trading across borders easier and less time consuming by introducing improvements at the container terminal at the ports of Dakar and increasing the number of agencies involved in trade facilitation. This is a commendable performance exhibited by these countries. (ECOWAS Vanguard, 2016:6).

To a great extent, there is a reflection of scarcity of reliable and consistent data on the negative aspect of the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols. More studies need to be conducted in this area.

4.3.3 Nigeria's Rate of Implementation

From the results, the proposition that Nigeria's rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols provides basis for explaining the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by all other Member States is not accepted. The study found that, Nigeria well held in high esteem and recognized by other Member States is to justify this position by implementing ECOWAS protocols but this expectation from other ECOWAS Member States is shattered by the seemingly discouraging level of Nigeria's level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols. It, therefore, follows that Nigeria has not implemented ECOWAS protocols well enough to

motivate other Member States to do same. This assessment is plausible when certain variable are considered. For example, “Nigeria’s trade with the other countries that belong to ECOWAS remains poor just as do aggregate trade flows among all ECOWAS Member States” (World Bank, 2007). This position is more glaring when the following trade statistics are considered. “Nigeria’s export trade in the ECOWAS region, which averaged about 7 per cent of its total exports between 2001 and 2006 summed to 2.3 per cent in 2010. The vast majority of Nigeria’s exports to the ECOWAS are minerals, fuel and oils, which reached 97 per cent and 94 per cent respectively in 2009 and 2010. Comparatively, the share of manufacturing in Nigeria’s total export to ECOWAS region climbed from 1 per cent in 2001 to 5.4 per cent in 2010, while the share of Nigeria’s agricultural exports-which was 3 per cent in 2001-plunged to nearly nothing in 2009 and 2010.

Nigeria stands out in the sub-region as a country that closes its market to other ECOWAS Member States. Nigeria is observed to have closed its door to products coming from other Member States. In contrast, Nigerian products find its way to all the corners and crannies of other Member State markets. There is no market in West Africa that products made in Nigeria cannot be seen. This attitude of Nigeria if not changed will attract negative reaction from other Member States; as a result close their markets to Nigerian products too. When this climax of trade hostility is reached, the region will be affected trade wise. This position is indicating that Nigeria has not opened its market to other member states for mutual trading. The purpose of ETLS and free movement protocols is to allow for trading within the countries unrestricted, allowing

goods flow from one country to another for which no country is a monopoly. This attitude has slowed down the process of integration in West Africa. In addition, Nigeria is observed to have the longest list of product prohibition in West Africa. This is well noted by John Mahama, the former president of Ghana in his address to an audience at the London School of Economics in April 2014 where he accused Nigeria for not implementing ECOWAS trade liberalization as expected of a regional leader (Nigerian Bulletin 2014). He maintained that Nigeria was acting as a barrier to regional trade rather than embracing the greater flow of goods (Etim, 2015).

Furthermore, the expulsion of illegal aliens from mostly ECOWAS countries in 1983 by former President Shehu Shagari is another concrete example of non-adherence to the agreed ECOWAS provisions. This action was condemned by other ECOWAS Member States because such an action was against the implementation of corporate agreed decisions. Proliferation of illegal border checkpoints and corrupt practices at these points is another area that Nigeria has not been proactive enough. Additionally, Nigeria has been in a prolonged courtship with the Immigration Act of 1963 with some of its obsolete provisions and unable to meet the demand of modern immigration management. However, government has reviewed some parts of 1963 Immigration Act and other areas that were deemed obsolete were repealed in 2015. Nonetheless, there are some very important areas of the 1963 Immigration Act that need to be revisited and repealed to achieve best practice of the present day immigration realities. However, this effort cannot be adjudged fruitless; at least there have been some improvements over the outdated 1963 Immigration Act. But, again, more

clumsy, outdated and gray areas of the 1963 Immigration Act still remains and should be flushed out for better immigration management.

Some respondents were of the view that Nigeria should not always rush into implementing policies without first and foremost peruse her domestic front. They mean to say that Nigeria should solve her domestic problems first before displaying a big-brother posture to her neighbours. Moreover, Nigeria level of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols is encouraging going by some recorded assessment. It goes to say that one's house cannot be on fire but takes a priority in putting off the fire on his or her neighbour's house first.

However, it is incumbent on Nigeria to show a leadership commitment in all ramifications of integration in the region. It is only by so doing that other Member States can borrow a leaf from Nigeria by being committed to signed agreements. That notwithstanding, ECOWAS Member countries should inculcate a team spirit in the implementation process of these protocols. They should not wait for Nigeria to always be the one to take the first move or do everything first. It should be noted that countries face different constraints at different times. While it is expected that Nigeria should take the lead in all commitments, other ECOWAS Member States should demonstrate equal commitment to protocol implementation. Members should demonstrate a resolve to adhere to agreed timelines for the implementation of protocols.

It has however been seen concretely from the available evidence, how Nigeria's not-too impressive performance in the implementation of the ETLS and free

movement protocol helps to explain the level of performance of the other West Africa States on these two protocols. There are convincing evidences that several ECOWAS member states are appalled by Nigeria's disappointing performance.

4.3.4 Theory Underpinning the Practice of Regional Integration in West Africa.

The result of the research further reveals that neo-functionalist theory underpins the establishment of ECOWAS and that this has created a gap in the practice of regional integration in West Africa. This gap is predicated on the adoption of integration theory which is based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies. This supports the proposition that ‘the gap created by the adoption of European based theory explains the slow rate of the implementation of ECOWAS protocols. As a result of environmental differences, employing an alien approach to the practice of regional integration in West Africa will definitely not yield the expected economic and social dividend. The only viable option left in the hands of regional integration practitioners in West Africa is to adopt an approach that is very much appropriate to the region’s reality. It is believed that only when the right step is taken can there be the assurance that in the process, the dream of the founding fathers can be achieved. This is not to say that the supposed theory adopted by ECOWAS should be discarded, but can be reformed to make it relevant to regional realities.

Supporting this finding based on the inappropriateness of theory of regional integration adopted by ECOWAS, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (2009:11), maintain that:

Regional integration in the South is an extremely complicated and varied phenomenon which is conditioned by socio-economic and political dynamics that are different from what obtains in the North. Therefore, the theory of regional integration in Africa must recognize the unity of the process of economic integration, political integration, and social integration, and also provide for political weapon as part of the strategies for implementing regional integration programmes.

This therefore mean that ECOWAS should adopt a multi-level approach which will bridge the gap between theory and practice. It encompasses set of interlinking of different parts or structure coordinated into a system that works to achieve the desired objective. This model can be a key factor to ensure better integration. This will help connect actors that have been long excluded in decision making process since their claims are not channeled through institutional representation. This can be corrected by acknowledging and adequately taking into consideration different stakeholders and at different levels for a more encompassing inclusion in decision making.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, data presentation, data analysis, results and discussion of findings were made. Findings from this study are presented below:

- i. On the first research question, available evidence presented in this chapter shows that there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of the two protocols under study and the level of regional integration in West Africa. Secondly, the level of integration is moderately higher than what was before the implementation of the protocols and the rate of implementation of the protocols is higher than average.
- ii. Concerning the second research question, statistical evidence is

not enough to arrive at a conclusion in one way or the other, since the data on the degree of dependence by ECOWAS Member States on external aid could not be ascertained. However, evidence from the interviews indicated that there is indeed no negative linkage between the external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of its protocols.

- iii. With regard to the third research question, the evidence available and presented in the study shows that Nigeria's performance in the implementation of the protocols varied from protocol to protocol. However, over all, most especially to trade liberalization, Nigeria has not necessary provided a leading example to other ECOWAS Member States as it is generally expected to do. Consequently, Nigeria's rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols cannot be said to provide the basis for explaining the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by other Member States.
- iv. As to the issue of theory, there is the evidence from the research, that at least some of the founding fathers of ECOWAS (for example, Professor Adedeji Adebayo of Nigeria) were aware of and informed by neo-functionalist theory and even associated stair case hypothesis which back grounded European Union integration experience. There was evidence also that there was a gap or deficiency in the practical application of the theory and especially the associated strategy to the ECOWAS formation and

consolidation experience. Therefore, the study came to a conclusion that the attempt to apply a theory that is not familiar in the region of West Africa has been one of the obstacles to regional economic integration in West Africa. More generally the failure in West Africa to constantly interrogate the theoretical basis of public policies (in this case, regional integration economic policy) and regularly harmonize theoretical assumptions (much of them un-expressed and inexplicit) is a bane to designing and implementing public policies in West Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This chapter consists of a summary of the purpose, methodology, and results of the study. The conclusions are discussed based on research lessons learned from the study findings. Also, the findings of the study are summarized and based on them some recommendations were made too. The central purpose of this study is to assess the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment and trade liberalization scheme by ECOWAS Member States and establish a linkage between the rate of their implementations and the level of integration in West Africa.

The aspiration of the founding fathers of ECOWAS was to attain economic integration within the sub-region with a view to transforming the region economically with the establishment of ECOWAS on 28 May, 1975. ECOWAS provided a framework for cooperation entrenched in the Treaty of 1975 and the Revised Treaty of 1993. These two treaties form the road map for the achievement of successful integration in West Africa. Some of the legal provisions are ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons, which is meant to facilitate the mobility and integration of persons within the region and trade liberalization scheme as a tool for promoting free intra-regional trade in West Africa, thereby increasing productivity leading to the attainment of economies of scale and optimizing capacities for regional self-sufficiency. All state parties to the agreement are therefore to implement these protocols without reservation.

Despite many factors militating against the implementation of these protocols, the study proved, that integration in West Africa is now moderately higher than it was before ECOWAS was created. This trend has proved that successful integration in West Africa depends largely on the implementation of these protocols.

This study adopted neo-functionalist theory of regional integration as its theoretical framework which is anchored on the concept of spill-over. It states that, in order to integrate in a particular sector, it demands further cooperation in another related sector. The introduction of ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme and free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment follows the principles of spill-over. This is to say that market integration cannot be achieved except there is free movement of persons and liberalized trade. Therefore, ECOWAS is an organization that promotes cooperation in one field necessitating cooperation in another. This is an essential way of promoting economic integration among member states that triggers further integration in other policy areas.

The following four research questions guided this study and each had related objectives. The research questions are: (1) Is there significant positive correlation between the level of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme and the rate of regional integration in West Africa? (2) Is there negative linkage between the degree of external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS member states and the rate of

implementation of the ECOWAS protocols? (3) How does Nigeria's rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols provide the basis for explaining the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols by all other Members of ECOWAS? (4) Is there wide gap between the integration theories based on the experience of the developed capitalist economies and the theoretical assumptions underpinning the practice of regional integration; and does this gap, if it exists, partly explain the slow rate of the implementation of ECOWAS Protocols?

The study is made up of five chapters. Chapter one of this work dwelt on background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, propositions and the scope of the study. Chapter two is the review of extant literature on relevant themes to the research questions. Chapter three contains the methods used in the collection of data for the study and the method employed to analyze the data. Chapter four contains the presentation, interpretation of data and discussion of results, chapter five contains the summary, conclusion and recommendation.

5.2 Conclusion

On the first research question, available evidence, presented in chapter four shows that there is a positive connection between the rate of implementation of the two protocols under study and the level of regional integration in West Africa. And the relationship or correlation is significant because the study found that contrary to what the extant literature claims, the level of regional economic integration is moderately higher than what it was before the implementation of

the protocols and the rate of implementation of the protocols is higher than average.

Concerning, the second research question, the statistical evidence is not enough to arrive at a conclusion in one way or the other, since data on the degree of dependence by ECOWAS Member States on extra-African aid could not be ascertained. However, evidence from the oral interviews indicated that there is indeed a negative linkage between the external trade and aid dependence of ECOWAS Member States and the rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols under study.

With regards to the third research question, the evidence available and presented in this study shows that Nigeria's performance in the implementation of the protocols has varied from protocol to protocols. However, over all, but especially with respect to trade liberalization, Nigeria has not necessary provided a shining example to the other members of ECOWAS as it is generally expected to do. Consequently, Nigeria's rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols cannot be said to provide the basis for explaining the rates of implementation of ECOWAS protocols by all the other members of ECOWAS.

As to the issue of theory, there is the evidence from the research, that at least some of the founding fathers of ECOWAS (for example, Professor Adedeji Adebayo of Nigeria were aware and informed by neo-functionalist theory and even associated stair case hypothesis and strategy which back grounded the

European Union integration experience. There was evidence also that there is a gap or deficiency in the practical application of the theory and especially the associated strategy to the ECOWAS formation and consolidation experience. Therefore, the study came to a conclusion that the attempt to apply a theory that is not familiar in the region of West Africa has been one of the obstacles to regional economic integration in West Africa. More generally, the failure in West Africa to constantly interrogate the theoretical basis of public policies (in this case, regional integration economic policy) and regularly harmonize theoretical assumptions (much of them un-expressed and inexplicit) is a bane to designing and implementing public policies in West Africa.

The study further found that aside from the theoretical puzzle, there are other factors militating against the implementation of ECOWAS protocols. These factors include: attachment to different political blocks, adopting foreign and inappropriate development models, low volume of production, West African countries preference for trade with the rest of the world over trade within the sub-region, Francophone officials that out-numbered Anglophone making agreed decisions difficult to implement; not carrying citizens along in the decision making processes; insufficient awareness of the obligations of the member states, for instance, the customs, immigration and other law enforcement agencies, regulatory agencies, Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) and widespread bureaucratic corruption that manifested most prominently at the border crossings of Member States.

However, at the heart of all these factors and binding them together into a coherent whole is one fundamental variable. This may be summarized as the character, structure and capacity of the states in West Africa. It is a variable which is derived from the structure of the politics, or more appropriately, the political economy of West Africa which requires detail investigation in future research.

Given these findings, it is reasonable to conclude by saying that the two protocols studied have proved to be veritable instruments of economic integration in West Arica, so far. Nonetheless, the level of integration through them instrumentally appears to have now reached a plateau. These suggest the need to rethink the overall strategy for the West African economic integration. There is the need for a deep integration of the theoretical basis of a new strategy. The study shows that integration level is furthered when there is synergy between policy, practice and the underlying theoretical assumptions. There is a general need for Member States not to be too nationalistic in their approach to regional integration issues that may divide the community and instead take the posture of collective responsibility that will help attain the general good of the region.

It is believed that this study has provided guidance for a way forward in terms of ECOWAS policy makers, stakeholders and nation states to respond positively to the challenges militating against effective regional integration in West Africa.

5.3 Recommendations

In the light of the above, the researcher wishes to make some recommendations, which, if taken into consideration will no doubt bring some positive changes to the life and operations of ECOWAS.

- i. ECOWAS Member States should make sure they mainstream the provisions of ECOWAS protocols into their national laws and policies for effective implementation of these protocols and embark on sensitization of her citizens on the provisions of ECOWAS protocols.
- ii. In addition, policy implementers, for example, customs, immigration, other law enforcement agencies as well as Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON), National Agency for Food, Drug Administration (NAFDAC) should go through periodic workshops, seminars and conferences in order to be acquainted with detailed knowledge of the provisions of these protocols. Furthermore, National Monitoring Committees should be rejuvenated to function as appropriate so that any defaulting Member State refusing to implement these protocols as expected will be sanctioned.
- iii. Member States should look beyond indiscriminate acceptance of foreign aid which may possibly hurt their economies and instead look internally by harnessing the God given human and natural resources which through financial and fiscal discipline produce the best growth results. However, if it becomes necessary to accept external aid it should be channeled properly into productive sectors of the economy that will produce the expected economic gains.
- iv. The conception that there is always a big brother who is looked upon as a leader that will pivot all implementation affairs of ECOWAS should be

discarded by all Member States. Instead, they should be equally responsible and committed and jointly implement corporate policies necessary for the survival of the organization. However, Nigeria's performance in the implementation of protocol to protocol should be even and consistent. Nigeria should continue to provide a leading example to other ECOWAS Member States as it is generally expected to do.

- v. New paradigm or theoretical approach for the practice of regional integration that takes care of the socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental variables of the West African region should be adopted. Said differently, a theory or the model that takes the grassroots as a prime mover of integration should be adopted. This is a model that is driven by grass root ethos, grounded in citizen participation which connects them into the entire process of integration should be adopted. The following non-state actors like traders, business networks, private sector, NGOs, civil society groups should be incorporated into the policy process and implementation of regional initiatives and programmes. This is a bottom-up approach to achieving regional integration in West Africa.

5.4 Limitations of the study

This study should have covered more ground in terms of persons contacted; however, only few of them were contacted. This is because the respondents were not randomly selected from the larger population to participate in the study; rather purposive sampling was adopted for the study. Thus, for generalization, primary source is limited. Secondly, among data collection sources, only interview method was adopted. All these may have impacted on the results. However, the study targeted the information-rich respondents capable of

providing the desired in-depth information for the study. This compensated for the narrow base of respondents.

The researcher had to make several trips for data to be collected. Most of the time the officers to be seen were not always on seat. It took the researcher almost six months (October, 2017 to April, 2018) before the interviews were fully held with those officers.

5.5 Areas for further research

- i. More research is needed to address whether a link can be established between trade, free movement of persons and regional peace in West Africa.
- ii. There is the need for more research on other contextual factors responsible for the discouraging implementation of ECOWAS protocols
- iii. More research is needed on the impact of external trade and aid dependence on the level of ECOWAS Member States implementation of protocols.

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Appendix (A)

ECA-WA 2015 An assessment of progress towards regional integration in the ECOWAS Summary of main ECOWAS sectoral policies

Domains	Objectives set out in the 1993 Revised Treaty and commitments made by Member States	Policy Frameworks and initiatives effectively implemented by ECOWAS	Adoption dates	Achievements of ECOWAS programmes	Implementation shortcomings
Free movement of persons	Elimination of obstacles to freedom of movement and respect of the right of establishment and residence	Protocol A/P1/5/79 on the free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment	Dakar 29 May 1979	Creation of special posts by Member States at each official entry point for entry formalities by their nationals and ECOWAS citizens. Freedom of movement and of residence Existence of an ECOWAS Passport Adoption of the biometric identity card as a travel document instead of ECOWAS travel certificate; Suppression of the Residence Card (free establishment for ECOWAS citizens); Free access to employment in the Member States. Setting up of a platform for the harmonization of immigration procedures and planned introduction of ECOVISA (Schengen-type visa)	Persistence of some minor harassment at borders
		Protocol A/P 3/5/82 on the Code of community citizenship	29 May 1982		
		Resolution A/RES/2/II/84 on the implementation of the first stage of the protocol on free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment	23 November 1984		
		Decision A/DEC.2/7/85 portant institution d'un carnet de voyage des Etats membres de la CEDEAO	6 July 1985		
		Protocoles additionnels A/SP2/7/85, A/SP1/6/89 et A/SP2/5/90 on the right of residence and the right of establishment	6 July 1985, 30 June 1989 and 29 May 1990, respectively		
		Decision A/DEC.2/5/90 on the establishment of a resident card (carte de résident) of Member States	30 May 1990		
		Decision A/DEC.1/5/2000 on the establishment of the ECOWAS passport			
		Review of all protocols on free movement	July 2014		

Domains	Objectives set out in the 1993 Revised Treaty and commitments made by Member States	Policy Frameworks and initiatives effectively implemented by ECOWAS	Adoption dates	Achievements of ECOWAS programmes	Implementation shortcomings
Free movement of goods	Trade liberalization by elimination of customs duties on imports and exports of goods between Member States and the abolition between Member States of non-tariff barriers, with a view to creating a Free Trade Area at the Community level. Institution of a common external tariff and a common trade policy towards third countries	Establishment of Free Trade Area (FTA)	1 January 2000	Reduction of non-tariff barriers through control posts on some corridors Free movement of local goods and handicrafts between Member States, exclusive of all duties and taxes Finalisation of the Customs Code The ECOWAS CET will be gradually operational from 2015 Construction of side-by-side border posts Approval of the EPA	Implementation of the ECOWAS liberalization scheme still subject to constraints Multitude of legal texts which are not always in harmony The 60% regional content, as required by the rules of origin, considered too high by the regional private sector Complexity of the approval mechanism for products Red tape at borders
		Establishment of a common external tariff	January 2006		
		Adoption of the Regional Support Programme for the Regulation of Informal Trade in ECOWAS (PARCI)	2013		
Trade promotion	Undertake, through their public and private sectors, trade promotion through actions such as the use of raw materials, goods and factors of production as well as finished products from the Community; and periodically participate in sectoral trade fairs, regional trade fairs and other similar activities.			The ECOWAS fair is held regularly	Trade promotion activities of intra-regional trade are still slow. There is still no updated database of products available in different countries and which could be exported in the sub-region

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, (2015)

Appendix (B) Country Status of ETLS Implementation

Country	Approval Committee	Companies Registered	Products Registered	Goods Exported under ETLS
Benin	Benin has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT). All barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and industrial products have been eliminated, in line with the terms of trade liberalization scheme (TLS). Benin is the only country to accord preference tariffs to ECOWAS industrial products.			
Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form. However, Burkina Faso has not lifted trade barriers, nor has the country exported any industrial products under the trade liberalization scheme.			
Cape Verde	Cape Verde has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form. However, it is yet to lift the tariff barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and industrial products.			
Cote d' Ivoire	Cote d' Ivoire has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and industrial products are still in existence, and Cote d' Ivoire does not participate in the trade liberalization scheme (TLS) for industrial products.			
The Gambia	The Gambia has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT) has not yet been introduced but guarantors have been designated for	Available data indicate that a total of 17 companies have registered with the ETLS. Constraints to	35 products were registered by NAC of the Gambia since the country began	Goods exported under ETLS were laundry soap, iron rod, groundnut cake, oxygen, carbon dioxide, shower

	<p>transit operations. All barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and industrial products have been eliminated. The country does not participate in trade liberalization for industrial products.</p>	<p>effective participation in the ETLS include: high production cost, low capacity of most companies, denial of ETLS treatment to Gambian exports under the ETLS at the border posts and other short comings under trade facilitation procedure of member country trading partners. A specific issue is the border closure by Senegal from time to time. This affects the transit of goods from the Gambia to third destinations.</p>	<p>implementing the scheme. However, 3 of the registered companies have since gone out of business, remaining 14 companies and 32 products.</p>	<p>cream, shampoos and detergents. Main export destinations were Senegal Sierra Leone. Petroleum products, plywood, cement, bottled water, fruit juice were ETLS commodities imported, mainly from Ivory Coast, Senegal and Ghana. The country is yet to create a website exclusively dedicated to dissemination of information on ETLS. However, in the interim, it is using the Ministry's website to disseminate information on ETLS and other related matters. Despite the low level of sensitization activities in respect of ETLS.</p>
Ghana	<p>Ghana has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature (HS), the declaration form. The country has ratified the protocol on Community levy and has designated a national guarantor for transit operations. All barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been lifted but not for industrial products.</p>	<p>The scheme is being implemented and the country has as at December 2010, registered 300 companies.</p>	<p>900 products</p>	<p>List of goods exported not stated.</p> <p>In respect of dissemination of relevant information relating to ETLS to the business community,</p>

	<p>Furthermore, it owes UA 1,250,200 to Benin as arrears contributions to the estimated compensation budget.</p>			<p>Ghana has prepared a national sensitization programme intended for a country-wide coverage and is seeking support from the ECOWAS Commission for implementation. However, in the interim the Ghana Revenue Authority, Customs Division of CEPS have engaged a consultant to redesign its web page with sufficient ETLS content. Although the Ghana Revenue Customs Division is a member of NAC, it has not been assigned a lead role in the screening of applicants in the scheme.</p>
Guinea	<p>Guinea has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin. However, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT) are not in existence. A national guarantor for transit operations had been designated. Tariff barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been eliminated but not for industrial products. Guinea has submitted no industrial products for approval to benefit from the trade liberalization scheme.</p>	<p>It has registered 14 companies but only 10 are active.</p>	<p>Information not available</p>	<p>Currently, products exported include cereals, fish, potatoes, iron rods, wood and plastic materials. Its main trading partners in ECOWAS are Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Ghana, and</p>

				Guinea Bissau. Guinea continues to comply with provisions relating to imports under the scheme. The authorities are making efforts to domesticate both the ETLs and the CET. Sensitisation activities are generally low and the authorities are yet to develop a dedicated website for ETLs.
Guinea Bissau	Guinea Bissau has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form. However, the transit certificates (ISRT) is not in existence and no national guarantor has been designated for transit operations. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and industrial products have not been eliminated. The country has not submitted any industrial products for approval under the ETLs scheme.			
Liberia	Liberia has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature (HS), the declaration form and the log book. With regards to the removal of tariff barriers under the TLS, Liberia has not lifted barriers to unprocessed goods and industrial products.			
Mali	Mali has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT). A national guarantor has been			

	designated for transit operations. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been eliminated but for industrial products.			
Niger	Niger has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT). A national guarantor has been designated for transit operations. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been eliminated but for industrial products.			
Nigeria	Nigeria has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT). Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been eliminated but for industrial products.	As at the first half of 2011, 568 companies were registered	1,145 products were registered under the scheme	In spite of the existence of the ban list, the authorities are progressively reducing the number of items registered under the ban list. It was observed that a number of items under import ban was reduced from 44 in 2008 to 26 in 2010. There was also indications of gradual decline in the number of tariff lines under import ban since 2005 when 1011 HS-tariff lines (or from 19.6 of the total lines) was reduced gradually to 600 HS-lines (or to 11.7 per cent of the total lines) in 2008. The country also has in place export prohibition applied to some products with a view to ensuring self-sufficiency (mainly raw hides and skins, rough and sawn timber, scrap metals,

				unprocessed rubber latex and rubber lumps), and to preserve cultural heritage (mainly artefacts and antiquities).
Senegal	Senegal has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form but not for transit certificates (ISRT) although guarantors for transit operations have been designed. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been eliminated but for industrial products.			
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form but not on transit certificates (ISRT) although a national guarantor has been designated for transit operations. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and industrial products has been eliminated. It owes the sum of UA 75,140 in respect of its contribution to the estimated compensation budget.	Since its inauguration in June 2011, it has so far received applications from three companies. Human and institutional constraints were cited as the major challenges in the execution of its functions. Notable among the constraints for the implementation of the ETLS is access to the required guidelines for the processing of applications. The authorities also expressed concern over the susceptibility of the ETLS certificates to forgery due to weak security features. However, efforts are being made to establish closer links with the ECOWAS Commission to solicit necessary support for the	No company or product was registered under the scheme since the country's adoption of ETLS in 2005. However, records indicate that ETLS goods imported into Sierra Leone originate mainly from Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Cote d' Ivoire. The importation of some ETLS products i.e. plastic wares pose challenges to the local plastic industry as their market share dwindles.	Information not available

		<p>effective functioning of the NAC. The authorities periodically undertake sensitisation programmes to inform and encourage the private sector to take advantage of the scheme. But the authorities are yet to set up an ETLS dedicated website for the information of the public.</p> <p>Institutional coordination and collaboration between the Ministry of Trade and Industry and agencies related to the implementation of the ETLS was weak. The administration of the scheme is steered by other institutions with marginal role for the Ministry of Trade.</p>		
Togo	<p>Togo has printed and introduced harmonized customs documents, such as the certificate of origin, the customs nomenclature, (HS) the declaration form and the transit certificates (ISRT). A national guarantor has been designated for transit operations. Barriers to trade in unprocessed goods has been eliminated but for industrial products. There has been no contribution from Togo to the estimated compensation budget.</p>			
	<p>All information on this column was sourced from: ECOWAS (2000) Annual Report; ECOWAS Executive Secretariat, http://www.ecowas.int/sitecedeo/pays/web/</p>			

Appendix (C)

Status of Implementation of ECOWA free movement of persons

Country: Date of Ratification of 1979 Protocol	Abolition of visa and entry requirement for 90 days	Right of Residence	Right of Establishment
Benin – 4 January, 1981	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Benin has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. However, the ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonized immigration and emigration forms have not been put in circulation.		
Burkina Faso-6 April,1982	The visa and entry permit requirement has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Burkina Faso has introduced the ECOWAS Travel Certificate, set up a committee to monitor programmes on free movement of persons and vehicles and introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card, monitor vehicle insurance scheme. However, Burkina Faso has not yet introduced harmonized immigration and emigration forms.		
Cape Verde-11 June,1984	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. However, Cape Verde has not introduced ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonized immigration and emigration forms or set up committee to monitor programmes on free movement of persons and vehicles. As an island, Cape Verde is not		

	concerned by the Brown Card motor vehicle insurance scheme.		
Cote d' Ivoire-19 January, 1981			
The Gambia-30 October, 1980	<p>The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals, and Gambia has introduced the travel certificate and the Brown Card motor vehicle insurance scheme.</p> <p>However, it is yet to introduce the ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonized immigration and emigration forms and has not yet set up committee to monitor programmes on free movement of persons and vehicles.</p>	Gambia charges discriminatory residence permit fees. The country is yet to adopt common passport	<p>In respect of the Right of Establishment, the GIEPA Act (2010) stipulates that the country encourages and facilitates foreign investment on the basis of mutual benefit and observance of the laws of The Gambia and international treaties to which the country is a party. A person may invest in and operate an enterprise in all fields of lawful economic activity in The Gambia.</p>
Ghana-8 April, 1980	<p>The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals, adopted the ECOWAS Travel Certificate and put in use the ECOWAS Brown Card Schem. On the other hand it has not yet adopted the harmonized immigration and emigration forms or set up committee to monitor programmes on free movement of persons and vehicles. In addition, all vehicles entering Ghana must pay a transit tax in foreign exchange.</p>	For Community citizens wishing to reside in the country, an equivalent fee of US\$28.40 is charged, while an equivalent of US\$57.00 is charged for non-ECOWAS citizens.	<p>In the matter of right of establishment, Community citizens have the right to establish according to national laws. Clause 18 of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act 1994, No. 478, states that the sale of anything whatsoever in the market, petty trading, hawking or selling from kiosk, operation of a taxi service and car hire service (a non-Ghanaian may undertake this service where there is a minimum fleet of ten new vehicles), all aspects of pool betting business and lotteries, except football pools, and operation of beauty salons and barber shops are reserved for citizens and shall not be undertaken by a person who is not a citizen. Fees for registration of companies are same for both national and non-nationals once conditions have been met. Ghana has bilateral investment treaties with a number of countries that provide protection for foreign investors including protection against</p>

			expropriation. It is working on completing a bilateral trade and investment treaty with Nigeria.
Guinea- 17 October, 1979	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Guinea has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. However, the ECOWAS Travel Certificate. However, the harmonized immigration and emigration forms have not been introduced.	ECOWAS citizens are granted, free of charge, the right to stay in Guinea up to the stipulated 90 days under the protocol after which one is required to regularize his stay. Guinea has adopted the common ECOWAS passport.	Currently, the cost of registering a business is the same for both nationals and non-nationals. The investment code of Guinea, passed in 1987 and revised in 1992, authorizes private investment of all types: foreign private, mixed foreign and local, and mixed public and private. The Guinean government provides a guarantee, in the Investment Code, that it will not, except for reasons of public interest, take any steps to expropriate or nationalize foreign or locally held assets or businesses. Foreign investors and corporations receive the same treatment as Guinean nationals in this regard.
Guinea Bissau -20 August, 1979	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Guinea Bissau is yet to set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle It is yet also to introduce the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme produce the ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonized immigration and emigration forms have not been put in circulation.		
Liberia – 11 April, 1980	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Liberia is yet to set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle. It has not introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. Also, the ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonized immigration	Community citizens have the right to reside in the country up to 90 days and thereafter are required to regularize their stay in accordance with the national laws.	With respect to the right of establishment, Community citizens are allowed to establish enterprises according to the laws of the land. However, the country's Investment Act of 2010 has reserved the ownership of a number of selected businesses exclusively for Liberians. These businesses include: supply of sand, block making, peddling, travel

	and emigration forms have not been put in circulation.		<p>agencies, retail sale of rice and cement, ice making and sale of ice, tyre repair shops, auto repair shops with investments of not less than \$500.000, shoe repair shops, retail sale of timber and planks, operation of gas stations, video clubs, operation of taxis, importation or sale of second-hand clothing, distribution in Liberia of locally manufactured products, and importation or sale of used cars except authorized dealership which may deal in certified used vehicles of their make. On the other hand foreign investors may invest in the following activities provided they invest not less than \$500.000. If a Liberian partner maintains at least 25 per cent equity stake. Foreign investors need only to invest \$300.000. These activities include: production and supply of stone and granite, ice manufacturing, commercial printing, advertising agencies, graphics and commercial artists, cinemas, production of poultry products, operation of water purification or bottling plant (especially the production and sale of water in sachets), entertainment centres not connected with a hotel establishment, sale of animal and poultry feed, operation of heavy duty trucks, bakeries, and sale of pharmaceuticals. Furthermore, according to Liberian Medical and Dental Council Act (200) membership shall be open to Liberian physicians and Surgeons practicing within the Republic of Liberia.</p>
Mali – 5 June, 1980	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for		

	ECOWAS nationals. Mali has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. However, the ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonized immigration and emigration forms have not been introduced.		
Niger – 11 January, 1980	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Niger has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. It has also introduced the ECOWAS Travel Certificate. However, it is yet to harmonize immigration and emigration forms.		
Nigeria – 12 September, 1979	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Nigeria has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. It has also introduced the ECOWAS Travel Certificate. However, it is yet to harmonize immigration and emigration forms.	On the right of residence, it was noted that there is reciprocal discrimination in the payment of fees for residence permits by citizens of ECOWAS Member States.	In respect of the right of residence for ECOWAS citizens, the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission (NIPC) Act No. 16 of 1995 stipulates that nay Nigerian or any non-Nigerian may invest and participate in the operation of any enterprise in Nigeria. Any person who intends to establish an enterprise to which this Act applies shall do so in accordance with the provisions of the Companies and Allied Matters Act, 1990.
Senegal – 24 May, 1980	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Senegal has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance		

	scheme. However, ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the harmonization of immigration and emigration forms have not been introduced.		
Sierra Leone – 15 September, 1982	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Sierra Leone has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. It has also introduced the ECOWAS Travel Certificate. However, it is yet to harmonize immigration and emigration forms and set up a committee to monitor programmes on free movement of persons and vehicles.	Any ECOWAS citizen wishing to stay beyond 90 days would be required to pay resident permit fees as determined by the authorities.	On issue of right of establishment, Sierra Leone Investment and Export Promotion (SLIEPA) Act (2007) does not discriminate between her national and ECOWAS Community citizens for business registration fees. Rules relating to setting up and operating a business are applied equally to nationals and community citizens.
Togo – 9 December, 1979	The visa and entry permit has been abolished for ECOWAS nationals. Togo has set up a committee to monitor programme relating to the movement of persons and vehicle and has introduced the ECOWAS Brown Card monitor vehicle insurance scheme. However, it is yet to introduce ECOWAS Travel Certificate harmonization of immigration and emigration forms have not been put in circulation.		

Source: Regional Integration in West Africa: Report Prepared for and Financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands.(2001)

Appendix (D)

Department of Political Science,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Nasarawa State University,
Keffi.
20th January, 2018.

Dear Respondent,

**REQUEST FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ON THE TOPIC: ECOWAS PROTOCOLS ON
FREE MOVEMENT/ TRADE LIBERALIZATION ON REGIONAL
INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA, 1990-2018**

I am a Ph.D student with the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, undertaking a research on the above topic. I, therefore, request you to please respond to the questions contained in the attached interview guide.

Please, be rest assured that the information you will give will be treated with strictest confidence.

Thank you for your anticipated cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Maimuna Paul Yusuf

NSU/SS/Ph.D/003/10/11

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE RESPONDENTS

1. Do you think that there is a link between the rate of implementation of the ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization and the level of economic integration of the West African region today? If you believe that there is please, kindly explain the linkage.
2. How would you evaluate the level of economic integration of the West African region compared to what it was before the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 and the coming into force of the ECOWAS protocols on free movement and trade liberalization? Would you say the level is very much higher, much higher, moderately higher or the same?
Please explain further.
3. What influence exists between Nigeria's rate of implementation of ECOWAS protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme and that of other Member States? Does it encourage or discourage other Member States implementation rate? Please explain further.
4. (a) Most West African states are heavily dependent on Europe and North America for the sale of their export products, their imports of manufactured or finished goods, external loans or grants and foreign direct investment.
(b) How do you think this dependence impacts on their willingness and freedom to implement policies and measures that demands a redirection of their trade, the places their people go to and the sources of their external aid and foreign investment?
- 5(a) What European theoretical model do you think underpins the practice of regional integration in West Africa, I mean ECOWAS?
(b) Do you think that the adoption of the European theoretical model has created a gap in the practice of regional integration in West Africa, thereby leading to the low implementation of the protocols on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme? Please explain further.
6. Are there other factors in your opinion, which can better explain reasons for the slow rate of the implementation of ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons and trade liberalization scheme West Africa? Please explain further.³