

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF REGIONAL
ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ON GHANA**

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA - LEGON



BY

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
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DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Juliana Appiah. All sources referred to in the study have been acknowledged and that no part has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose.

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DEDICATION

I firstly dedicate this dissertation to the Almighty God for His abundant grace and, mercies. Secondly to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ampong, for their unfailing support and encouragement. Finally, to my Grandpa, Mr. Benjamin Kwamena Asomatse Ampong, who has always motivated me to aim high and to achieve more.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FP	Foreign Policy
AL	Arab League
AU	African Union
AfDB	African Development Bank
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
EU	European Union
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ILO	International Labor Organization
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
NAM	Non- Alignment Movement
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UK	United Kingdom
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Force
ACPP	African Conflict Prevention Pool

ACOTA	African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference for Trade and Development
VAT	Value Added Tax
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WAS	West African States
WTO	World Trade Organization

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ABSTRACT

The inspiration for the creation of ECOWAS came from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), which had divided Africa earlier in the 1960s into regions for purposes of economic development. The ECOWAS Treaty seeks to establish an economic and monetary union based on the removal of duties and equivalent taxes, the adoption of a common external tariff, and a harmonization of economic and sectoral policies. In 1993, ECOWAS revised its Treaty to introduce among other measures, the principle of supra-nationality concerning the application of its decisions. The ratification of the ECOWAS regional economic integration protocols and frameworks, like other various international community agreements, places both problems and benefits on the various nations in West Africa. This study identified the different Protocols and Frameworks of integration within the West-African sub-region, explored how these protocols and frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana, and sought to analyze the negative effects of regional economic integration on Ghana. Economic Integration Theory was the theory that guided this study. The study is purely qualitative and depended on both primary and secondary data. The findings discussed the ECOWAS protocols on free movement, the harmonization of economic and fiscal policies such as the CET and EPA, and how they have negatively impacted Ghana. Based on the findings, the work concludes and recommends that ECOWAS, the Ghanaian Government and Civil Society Organizations put greater effort into making integration work, eliminate differentiated regulatory schemes and trade standards, improve regional industrial policy, regional infrastructure and build strong regional institutions and policies.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 Background to the Study

For centuries, nations have sought to build relationships on various levels of endeavour, to establish collaborations and to explore avenues to create opportunities for the mutual benefit of their populations whilst finding ways to achieve greater harmony with neighbouring countries (Aning & Pokoo, 2014). According to Macaringue (2016), one of the ways nations seek to achieve these objectives is through regional integrations. The formation of regional integrations has been posited to enable nations to voluntarily defer their individual sovereignties to intergovernmental or supranational bodies in the pursuit of better conditions achieved through cooperation (Kabia, 2017). The aims of any regional integration policy, however, can be myriad varying from cultural, political, security, or economic.

Globally, regional trade membership has led to the formation of blocs such as the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the South African Development Community (SADC) and many others worldwide. In West Africa, in spite of the existence of the CFA franc zone, ECOWAS stands out as the prominent organization of national unification in the region (Addo, 2016). ECOWAS' objectives, as outlined in the constitution of the body, are to foster collaboration and development, contributing to an economic union being formed in the region. This, in effect, will increase their peoples' living standards, sustain and strengthen economic stability, enhance bonds between Member States, and lead to the African Continent's advancement and growth.

To order to attain the ECOWAS goals, Rosamond (2016) asserts that member states must have to fully adopt the protocols and frameworks of the organization. According to Soderbaum (2017), some of these protocols encourage cooperation and collaboration in various areas, including but not limited to industry, energy, Research and technology, food and livestock, climate and natural resources, travel, communications and tourism, commerce, taxes, taxation, estimates, income and transactions. Some researchers have touted the benefits of these protocols and frameworks on the economic environments of member states, whereas others have sought to bring attention to its negative effects. In his empirical investigation of ECOWAS ' effect on the intraregional trade flows of member states, Deme (2018) argues that the organisation enabled member states to achieve collective self-sufficiency for their citizens. Coulibaly (2018) claims that by building a full economic and trade union, ECOWAS establishes a single larger trading block. This gives West Africa a common voice in world trade and helps build economic resilience against external shocks.

In sharp contrast, Amponsah (2017) in his treatise illustrates the impact of free markets on individual countries' global trade environments by reducing or abolishing tariffs and other costs, the elimination of import duties on industrial goods, the opening of borders and markets to member states and other protocols and frameworks have significant negative effects on various economic indices (like inflation) of member states. According to Briet (2018) in his exposition on European Union (EU) support to regional integration in Africa, open markets allows all sort of cheap importations in, crippling the manufacturing base of some member states.

In spite of all these studies, a targeted study on the negative effects of these protocols and frameworks of regional economic integration on Ghana in the areas of jobs and enterprise growth, social stability and diplomatic relations is lacking.

1.2 Problem Statement

The quest of rapid development of post-independent African countries in a socio-economic and political climate of calmness fuelled the pursuit of economic integration of nation states. In West Africa, discussions towards the integrations on various levels began shortly after independence. The expectation for the pursuit of economic integration was to create preferential zones where member countries can commit each other to mutually grant preferential conditions for trade in specific goods, work towards free trade by eliminating existing barriers, and create common customs tariffs, common markets and a host of other benefits. These benefits were to be ensured through treaties, protocols and frameworks. Decades later, popular views on the union cite several negative economic consequences for member states. In Ghana, some stakeholders cite ratification of some ECOWAS protocols for the perceived increasing inundation of foreigners in Ghana, dealing in forex activities and putting pressure on the cedi. Others cite perceived negative effects of ECOWAS on other sectors of the economy, like job creation and enterprise growth, social stability and diplomatic relations. However, these opinions have not been backed with empirical investigation to determine the veracity or otherwise of public opinion. This study is therefore necessary to fill the literary void.

1.3 Research Questions:

1. What are the protocols and frameworks of the organ(s) of Regional economic convergence in West Africa?
2. How do these protocols and frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana?
3. What are the negative effects of these protocols and frameworks of regional economic integration on Ghana in the areas of: jobs and enterprise growth, social stability, and diplomatic relations, and the measures that can curb them?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. Identify the protocols and frameworks of the organ(s) of the global economic convergence in the region.
2. Determine how these protocols and frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana.
3. Assess the negative effects of these protocols and frameworks of regional economic integration on Ghana in the areas of: jobs and enterprise growth, social stability and diplomatic relations, and the measures that can curb them.

1.5 Scope

Contextually, the research is limited to the analysis of the negative outcomes of economic integration on Ghana. However, references will be drawn from other relevant areas and periods to buttress the discussion and ensure clarity of information. The study is limited to primary and secondary data collected through personal interviews as well as documentary analysis.

Conceptually, the study focuses on identifying the protocols and frameworks of the organ(s) of regional trade convergence in the sub-region of West Africa (ECOWAS), examining how these protocols and frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana, analyzing the negative effects of these protocols and frameworks of regional economic integration on Ghana in the areas of Jobs and enterprise growth, Social stability and Diplomatic relations. The report further seeks to define steps that can be taken to prevent the impact of regional trade development on Ghana. Geographically, primary data will be taken from purposively selected staff of government agencies here in Ghana (the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Economic Planning and Trade and Industry), as well as from academia.

1.6 Rationale

In addition to aiding in research on Ghana`s regional policy, this paper aims at adding to the many already written scientific research. Researchers such as, Evans (2007), Rodrigo (2011), Herbert (1996), and others have all touched on similar topic. While such efforts by recognized groups and entities have, in some cases, yielded positive results, there is still much work to be done to ensure that the grey areas in the literature concerning Ghana`s contribution to the peace, stability and security and economic enhancement of West Africa. Although, the earlier works that are related to this paper were largely accepted, this paper aims to analyse Ghana`s Foreign policy course in the sub-region of West Africa and how this correlates with its role in achieving the goals and values on which ECOWAS policy is based. This study, therefore, seeks to contribute to filling in the empirical gap by reviewing the adverse effects of regional economic development on Ghana.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Economic Integration Theory is the theory that will be used to undertake this study. In the past, academics were quite sceptical about the economic value of the establishment of customs unions, as it was perceived among others to be a second best policy. When intra-industry trading grew in the mid-1970s, new light was shone on the use of regional trade liberalization. More light was shone on the role of economic integration in studying the consequences of eliminating non-tariff barriers instead of customs duties (Tovias in 1991). El-Agraa (1988) posits that, “almost all existing cases of economic integration were either proposed or formed for political reasons even though the arguments popularly put forward in their favour were expressed in terms of possible economic gains”.

The theory is linked to scholars like Bela Balassa (1928-1991), as well as Jacob Viner (1892-1970). It notes that the fundamental requirement of any form of integration is to do away with obstacles barring trade between two or more countries (Hosny, 2013), bringing the field of free trade and the customs union at the forefront of unification. It involves steps to eliminate prejudice among administrative units belonging to different individual countries when viewed as a method; and when viewed as a state of affairs, it can be reflected in the absence of particular forms of prejudice within national economies. (Balassa, September 1994)

Economic integration cannot be spoken of without making reference to the work of Balassa (1961), which is deemed to be a seminal piece upon which several works on economic integration have been based (Hosny, 2013). In his book, "The Theory of Economic Integration", he speaks of his

own concept, and stresses on four levels of economic integration: The Free Trade Area, the Customs Union, the Common Market and the Economic / Monetary Union. He goes further to point out that due to the disparities between and among member states, the gains derived from integration are never equal. Therefore, this theory will be concerned with the “economic effects of integration... and with problems that arise from divergences in national monetary, fiscal, and other policies” (Balassa, p. 3)

In paragraph (8) of article (XXIV) of the GATT, a free trade area is defined: "... A free-trade area shall be understood to mean a group of two or more customs territories in which the duties and other restrictive regulations of commerce are eliminated on substantially all the trade between the constituent territories in products originating in such territories.”. The paragraph goes further to define a Customs Union (CU) as "... the substitution of a single customs territory for two or more customs territories, so that (i) duties and other restrictive regulations of commerce are eliminated with respect to substantially all the trade between the constituent territories of the union or at least with respect to substantially all the trade in products originating in such territories, and, (ii) subject to the provisions of paragraph 9, substantially the same duties and other regulations of commerce are applied by each of the members of the union to the trade of territories not included in the union".

The Common Market is a free trade area which allows the free movement of labor and resources among Member countries. Typically, this is termed as "factor integration". Lastly, the Economic Union, where Member States' economic and financial strategies are harmonized, and in some

cases, entirely coordinated. At an advanced stage, the economic union is referenced as a Monetary Union (MU). (Hosny, 2013) E.g. the EU, which uses a single currency, the Euro.

Unlike Balassa, Viner insists on the initial part of the integration process rests in theoretical economic thinking. The analyst notes that, among other things, the world economy is expected to have the reverse effect of trade development and trade perversion. Nevertheless, studies carried out by Meier (1960), Abdel Jaber (1971, p.256), and Andic, Andic, and Dosser (1971, p.25) suggested that Viner's work into economic integration has little, if any, relevance to developing countries. More critique of the theory reinforces this in that the findings previously reached by Viner (1950) and Lipsey (1960, p.499) on the merits of economic integration for productive rather than complementary countries are not at all important for developing countries.

The argument proposed that the larger the number of nations joining the union, the greater the integration gains. Hosny cites the argument made by Abdel Jaber (1971, p.262) that if Gross National Product is used as an economic size metric, the benefits of inclusion for developing countries will definitely be minimal or even negligible. Nonetheless, as Balassa (1961, p.38) states, global free trade gains rely not only on the scale of the bloc, but also on its growth rate.

It is shown that commerce between developing countries has generally been very limited over the years compared to commerce between developed countries, Trade between developing nations has traditionally been very small over the years compared to trade between developed countries, indicating that state benefits from structural reform among developing countries will most likely

be poor as Lipsey argues (1960, pp.508-509), which suggests that welfare benefits from economic integration amongst developing countries will most likely be low as asserted by Lipsey (1960, pp.508-509). Research conducted by Balassa (1965, p.32-34) and Bhambri (1962, p.237-238), however, concluded that eliminating such barriers that hinder trade between developing countries would result in increased commerce between developing countries negotiating a trade agreement.

This theory was chosen for the study because it provides a framework, as well as certain standards which can be used as a measurement to assess the economic progress of ECOWAS's integration process and to explain how that would in turn affect Ghana's economic environment. Additionally, it will prove whether these effects can be prevented, in order for ECOWAS as a whole to graduate to higher levels of integration.

1.8 Literature Review

This section reviews literature on the topic at hand.

Several observational work on the relationship between economic integration and development in the resulting economies has shown significant results in the developed world in general and to a lesser extent in Africa. In 27 EU Member States, the partnership between European economic integration, economic growth and national scale, was examined by Konig (2015). The study was carried out based on conceptual assertions that there are sizeable impacts that benefit large countries, whereas the smaller countries may resolve the hindrances of fragility by greater international market penetration. Information derived through his research found that convergence phase of countries in Europe is being driven by economic integration, and additionally that nation

size is linked to economic development. As a result of EU membership, there is a vital growth-enhancing outcome, suggesting that integration into the EU will stimulate development. The report also suggested that the effect of size often differs according to the stage of individual countries' economic development, indicating that there are several transformation phases in the long-term growth path.

Mann (2015) studied the effect of the cycle of Economic integration on economic expansion in 10 countries in Central and Eastern Europe using the improved Solow Model. The report measured European integration as a proportion of total trade as trade with other EU members. Results from the research revealed that unification has fairly significant medium-run impacts on development and surmised that member countries are in favour of European integration. Klofat (2017) studied the interaction between economic convergence and corporate tax rates in the EU and Eurasian Economic Union. The study concluded that radical national convergence contributes to falling levels of corporate tax that are capable of boosting economic growth.

With respect to institutional progress, Schonfelder and Wagner (2015) analysed the effect of membership within the EU on institutional growth, which possesses the potential to stimulate development in the economy within 33 European countries. They examined the theory that potential European Union members are at the topmost rate of organizational growth, followed by EU members planning to authorize the Euro, while institutional progress is slowing, and somewhat reversing in EU members who have accepted the Euro. The complex data review group results backed the theory. They find that prospective membership of the EU has a positive impact on

institutional growth, while being an EU member has no effects on institutional progress. They also discovered evidence of significant structural decline, particularly with regards to the misconduct of EU nations who accepted the euro.

Likewise, in the wake of the extreme eurozone crisis, Eichengreen (2012) analysed some advantages of European monetary integration and concluded that the European economic integration theoretical study was not inadequate given the inability to anticipate the crisis. Nevertheless, the study noted that within the fiscal union, as well as evocative political considerations, the normative framework did not consider successful banking and financial processes. The report, focused on optimum currency theory, illustrated the reasons that are responsible for the crisis, including labour inactivity, poorly developed fiscal social democracy, huge resistance from strong-income countries, limited budgets that are overwhelmingly devoted to services and agriculture, etc.

In addition, Roy and Mathur (2016) explored the global trade arrangement between the EU and India, since the UK (India's largest partner in trade) took the decision to leave the EU. The report concluded that EU-UK foreign trade expenses will escalate due to new tariff and non-tariff obstacles impacting economic activity among trading partners and implicitly influencing their rise in earnings. The study revealed that if the latter stayed within the EU, India and the UK would have better outcomes, but the scale at which the EU's GDP grows would decrease from 0.1% to -0.5%, while India's would drop from 1.1% to 0.5% if the UK were to leave the EU.

In Africa, Geda and Kebret (2016) studied African regional economic integration with particular emphasis on the Common Market for East and South Africa (COMESA) merits and demerits. They indicated that the main problems affecting Africa's regional economic integration are problems with implementation (political, institutional, and economic constraints) and perspective limitations (menu of integration options). The researchers compared the factors that contribute to imports and exports and recorded the basic variables that describe trade and investment flows between regional divisions, showing that global convergence has negligible effects on bilateral flows of commerce. The report illustrated the restrictions of regional integration progress as policy regulation, conflicting membership, low involvement in the private sector, and absence of versatility. They surmised that although regional integration is necessary as a result of growing globalization, their progress in Africa is hampered by these problems.

Mevel et al. (2016) also studied some impacts of regional commerce integration, in the North African region, on reindustrialization by free trade agreements and trade enablement. Free trade agreements were found to boost exports from many major industries from the North part of Africa. Soete and Hove (2017) studied the trade consequences of the EU's Integration Agreements and concluded that economic integration has an overall trade-promoting influence, although asymmetrical, on European commerce. The report stated that agreements on free trade are stringently enhancing EU market import competitiveness, but have complicated consequences on exports. Nonetheless, over time, the overall effect for both imports and exports is favourable.

In relation to West Africa, Jones (2016) studied the relationship between economic integration and per capita income convergence in the sub-region using cross-section and time series data, and illustrated that ECOWAS states form a convergency group. Citing examples from West Africa, namely West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and ECOWAS, Anyanwu (2013) explored how integration is related to commerce and production. The study revealed positive effects of monetary union on bilateral trade and economic development. It concluded, however, that the need for reform is greater, particularly with regards to increased intra-trade, fiscal responsibility, and price stability. Peretto (2013) looked at the development and welfare consequences of economic integration and concluded that economic integration has a relationship with a rise in development and welfare. Integration then creates a wider and more competitive market where companies could have exposure to greater innovative spill-over that facilitates faster growth. The study concluded that, owing to globalization, the arrival of foreign firms balances the departure of domestic businesses, thereby growing development and welfare.

1.9 Methodology

This section reviews the methodology and sources of data collected for the study.

1.9.1 Sources of Data

The study made use of both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected mainly through the use of interviews with individuals who are knowledgeable in the field, and who would serve as credible sources.

Secondary data was obtained from journal articles, books, policy documents, newspapers, protocols, laws, reports, dissertations, thesis, and the internet.

1.9.2 Research Design

According to Creswell, research designs are the “plans and the procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis” (Creswell, 2009, p. 3). He further goes on to indicate that there are three (3) main types of research designs, which are: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative research is mostly descriptive and focuses on understanding “the experiences, perspectives and thoughts of participants” (Harwell, 2011). Quantitative research, on the other hand, is based on quantified variables and is more deductive in nature (*Ibid.*). The mixed method employs the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative method was used; this method was selected for this study because it permitted the researcher to gather data in a flexible but in-depth manner.

1.9.3 Target Population

As mentioned earlier, the target population that was consulted for this study comprised of experts who have studied and have some experience in dealing with issues pertaining to regional integration in West Africa, as well as economic knowledge of how the Ghanaian environment would be affected. A total of nine (10) respondents were identified and consulted. These respondents comprised academics, researchers and experts from— Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (3); Ministry of Trade and Industry (2); Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (1); School of Business, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (3); an official from the Bank of Ghana.

1.9.4 Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling was adopted to enable the study target specific respondents deemed to possess requisite levels of information to aid the study and also to increase representativeness and generalization of the study. This selection method corresponds with Yin's (2005) assertions that, if a researcher knows the population of a study purposive or deliberate sampling is a better option for selecting the most relevant elements.

1.9.5 Data Collection and Analysis

To collect data from the respondents, personal interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide. The interviews were recorded, and thereafter, transcribed. Secondary data relevant to the study was also gathered, and for this research, thematic content analysis was used for both primary and secondary data; the researcher drew different themes to analyze. Through the analysis, relevant conclusions and recommendations were subsequently arrived at.

1.9.6 Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of this research is that it was considered very difficult by the researcher to get interviews with respondents on time. Respondents had busy schedules, so it was quite difficult to reach them for interviews. Given these problems, the analysis was not compromised because sufficient information was obtained in relation to the research questions.

1.9.7 Ethical Considerations

Before the interviews were carried out, consent was sought from the respondents and permission was also requested for recording the interviews. Prior notice was given before the interviews.

1.10 Chapter Arrangement

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: Overview of Ghana's involvement in West-African integration
- Chapter 3: The negative effects of regional economic integration on Ghana
- Chapter 4: Summary of findings, conclusion, and recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF GHANA'S PARTICIPATION IN ECOWAS FROM 1975 TILL DATE

2.1 Introduction

Regional integration is a rapidly spreading global phenomenon, and Ghana has contributed in West African regional unification since the inception of the Economic Community of West African States; different West-African countries came together to seek out economic, political, social, and security benefits in a collective paradigm. This chapter focuses on Ghana's participation in regional integration efforts, from the inception of ECOWAS (1975) till date; it chronicles the historical trajectory of ECOWAS, Ghana's Participation in Regional Integration and ECOWAS, the basis for Ghana's regional involvement, Ghana's involvement in ECOWAS peace-making, ramification of Ghana's involvement in ECOWAS protocols, and presents a conclusion to the chapter.

2.2 The Historical Trajectory of ECOWAS

The creation of an economic Union in the sub-region have preceded several events. The former president of Liberia, William Tubman, was the first to talk about sub-regional integration. His proposal of an economic union led to an accord signed by Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea in 1965 (Adepoju, 2015). Yakubu Gowon and Gnassingbe Eyadema reintroduced the idea in April 1972. The two Heads of States drafted proposals and treaties for the new community which was later reviewed in Lomé, Togo in December 1973 by potential members. Finally, in Monrovia, Liberia in 1975 the draft formed the basis for the Lagos Treaty. ECOWAS came to being on the 28th of May 1975 (Ademola, 2016).

ECOWAS is a regional economic bloc with the aim of attaining collective self-sufficiency by creating a single trading bloc for its member states through the integration of its member states into a single market area (Agyei & Clotey, 2017). The Community is to improve the standard of living of its people, maintain and enhance their economic security and foster inter-state economic cooperation. ECOWAS originally comprised sixteen members, made up of five Anglophone states; Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, and nine Francophone states; Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Togo, and two Lusophone nation states; Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde which later joined in 1976. Mauritania, however, withdrew its membership in 2000 (Antwi-Bosiakoh, 2012), but recently signed a new membership agreement in 2017. Morocco formally asked to join ECOWAS in February 2017 and its request was certified in June 2017 at the summit of Heads of States.

According to Awumbila, Benneh, Teye and Atiim (2014), the fundamental principles of the ECOWAS as found in its Treaty is “to promote equality and interdependence of member states, inter-state cooperation, solidarity and collective self-reliance, harmonization of policies and integration programmes, non-aggression between member states, maintenance of peace; stability and security; peaceful settlement of disputes; promotion and protection of human rights; promotion and consolidation of democracy and accountability; and economic and social justice.” These principles were borne out of the realization that even though its member states share different historic trajectories (colonization, language, and administrative cultures) they have similar socio-economic conditions. There was, therefore, the need for their economies to be integrated in order to be globally competitive (Ayamga, 2014).

Regional integration was, therefore, seen as the way to achieving development and improving the living standards of people (Devillard, Bacchi & Noack 2015). ECOWAS, however, fell short of its aspirations of integrating the sub-region economically because it encountered myriad of challenges. The 1980s was a period of great economic and political recession in Africa (ECOWAS, 2008). Many scholars refer to it as the lost decade. During this period, the sub-regional body was confronted with several political crises ranging from civil wars, armed conflicts to coup d'états. These challenges caused major set-backs to ECOWAS from realizing its set goals. The conflict landscape was changed from inter-state to intra-state conflict. Subsequently, ECOWAS redefined itself as a security community organization given the link between security and development (Fayomi & Adeola, 2015).

2.3 Ghana's Participation in Regional Integration and ECOWAS

The difficulty of some countries to unilaterally act in responding to external issues such as security, economic diplomacy and international cooperation, has somewhat led to the formation of various organizations in the world. These organizations play a significant political role and devote attention on socio-economic and other developmental activities. As a result, West African countries have come under one economic bloc – the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) – to optimize their ability and promote the development of economies of scale benefits (Evans, 2007).

Ghana's regional integration agenda began in the 1950s. This was preceded by the Lagos Treaty of 1975, which was formed for its member states to gain a large trade avenue through an economic and trade union and to act as a peacekeeping force in the region as well. Conflicts in the region

have largely been triggered by post-election results and coups. The many peacekeeping operations Ghana has been involved include Congo in 1960, and the crises in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the early 1990s. Ghana has retained part of its current foreign policy of Pan-Africanism from its first leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Geographic location may also be the explanation for their presence in regional relations. Ghana is positioned in the sub-region of West Africa along the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean. Regional developments and African politics in general have always been Ghana's Foreign Policy focus (Yakohene, 2009), hence its participation and funding for the OAU (now AU) and ECOWAS (ECOWAS, 2008).

Dr. Nkrumah's Pan-African ideology whose vision was to have a United States of Africa has continually been part of Ghana's foreign policy agenda, as far as West Africa and the rest of Africa are concern. This has become a key element of development since it fosters cooperation among Africans through regional integration such as ECOWAS. Series of developmental strategies in the early days of independence led to many initiatives devoted to liberating the continent did not yield much success. Felipe Herrera (1963) contends that, "economic integration is a response to political challenge, a political response that is also a political process" (Herrera, 1963).

The success of integration is essential for Africa. This explains why a regional organization such as ECOWAS, is a key developmental avenue for member states. The external policy goals of Ghana include: resistance to any military alliance, apartheid arms race, creation of foreign military bases on member states' territories, strengthening of the United Nations, Democratization of international relations, socio-economic development and the reorganization of the international economic structure, along with fair international collaboration. The above mentioned, hence,

defines the policy and ideology of Non-Alignment (Bluwey, 2003). This policy is one of the variables which influence Ghana's foreign policy, and since the days of Dr. Nkrumah, different regimes have pursued the policy of non-alignment in various ways. The external priorities of Ghana, therefore include maintaining good ties and partnerships with any nation that may be involved in such cooperation and ideologies.

Against this background, has Ghana's role in West African affairs can be said to be a neutral one, rather than either positive or negative. To what extent does Ghana's founding ideologies of African unity and non-alignment, manifest into regional affairs? How consistent or inconsistent has Ghana been, in the implementation of foreign policy objectives within the ECOWAS, between the periods of 1992-2016? It is necessary to ask these questions because, on one hand, Ghana's political reforms have reinforced the "role model" status and somewhat established its image as a leader for political change on the African continent.

On the other hand, a number of questions emerge about the position of Ghana in handling West African affairs. In March 1993, the Togolese government accused Ghana for supporting an armed attack on the military camp at Lomé, which led to the killing of 12 Ghanaians, and the arrest of Ghanaian charge d'affaires (diplomat) in Togo (McCakie, 2004). Regional issues such as the Togo crisis in 2005, Niger in 1999, and the Cote d'Ivoire crises in 2010-2011, were met with cautious silence from Ghanaian government.

2.4 Basis for Ghana`s Regional Involvement

Historically, Ghana`s sub-regional policy or relations with countries like Togo, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Nigeria from the period between 1957-1981 has been an interesting case in point. Writing in 1992, Chazan argued that bordered in the south, north, east and west by the Gulf of Guinea, Burkina Faso, Togo and, Cote d`Ivoire respectively, the political history of Ghana has “embraced the most salient themes of the (post-colonial) African experience of instability, ideological experimentation.., and fundamental issues of governance” (Chazan 1992: 300).

Successive governments after Nkrumah did follow some part of Non-Aligned policy which fosters cooperation among Africans through regional integration such as ECOWAS (Debrah, 2002). The 1992 constitution of Ghana could also be the reason for its commitment to international organizations. Part of Ghana`s constitution focuses on treaty obligations and settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, and “adhere to the principles enshrined in or as the case may be, the aims and ideals of the UN Charter, the OAU Charter, the Commonwealth, the ECOWAS Treaty and any other organization of which Ghana is a member”. The inclusion in these organisations provides the opportunity for Ghana to defend some of its rights and to develop itself as a representative on a number of issues of importance to the African continent.

Ghana has managed to participate in several peacekeeping missions through the UN and ECOWAS, for example, which gives Ghana a global credibility as a broker for international unity and guidance in the matters of Africa. It is worth pointing out that while peacekeeping operations come with their own risks (human lives and casualties), Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping roles helps to raise funds for its military because of limited resources. Ghana

dedicates a great deal of importance to this form of foreign policy and also sees it as an internal matter, as regional disputes could possibly cross into its territory and disrupt internal security (Emma, 2007).

Policies such as regional peacekeeping engagement are considered relevant for the country's national well-being and stability. Hebert Howe (1996/97), for example, argues that, “States often lack adequate military and police forces to control many of these conflicts”, and further states that, “Western nations, often hesitate to help police conflicts which do not threaten their own vital interests, and the West and the United Nations have argued that sub-regional organizations and individual states should assume increasing security responsibilities” (Hebert 1996/97).

Under President Rawlings (1992-2000), Ghana was disposed to meddling in other countries affairs. That was a deviation from the Non-Alignment policy of Dr. Nkrumah; his administration believed in the idea of political freedom and social development without interference with the affairs of another nation. For starters, Mr. Rawlings ' government denounced the act in the case of the Cote d'Ivoire coup (1999) and halted collaboration with Cote d'Ivoire. But the Ghanaian government responded differently in the April 1999 coup in Niger. Although they condemned the act, Mr. Rawlings did not establish any strong relations with Niger as he did with countries such as Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria (Nuamah, 2012). Although Mr. Rawlings led his ECOWAS colleagues to establish the ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group) force to enforce and keep the peace in Liberia, for most of his years, Ghana was less inclined to openly denounce military takeovers, but nonetheless, he sought to foster unity and a transition to constitutional rule through regional institutions.

In spite of the ideological position and leadership style, Ghana's response to regional crises has not been as prompt as in other countries. For instance, whilst Ghana remained silent on the Togolese crises in 2005, it was actively involved in the Ivorian peace process in 2002. Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa were at the forefront of the mediation before an International Working Group (IWG) was established to resolve the crisis (Kwesi, 2007). Such scenarios certainly contradict its own constitution. Ghana's constitution, as mentioned earlier, is explicit in its relations with other states. The State Policy guidelines declare its adherence to the values and priorities on which ECOWAS policy is based.

The question here is, has Ghana got any clear-cut and pragmatic Foreign Policy in the region, or is it just being reactionary? National interests have always affected interactions with regional counterparts. In a pragmatic way, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) followed the country's foreign policy objectives towards Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Nigeria. Essentially, the foreign policy behaviour of the two regimes towards the four West African countries among others reflected 'orthodox diplomacy and ideology'; it has been described as politics as usual (Agyeman-Duah and Dadieh 1994:43).

2.5 Ghana's Involvement in ECOWAS Peace Making

Regional peace making remain relevant in today's West Africa for a number of reasons: This provides a nation with an option to use its limited resources for other internal developments, as well as an opportunity for a country to check its military power. Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping activities, as pointed out earlier, is often motivated mostly by wanting

to raise money for its defense rather than to worry over peace and security. Ghana has gained from United States initiatives such as the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) and the United Kingdom Government's African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) and the African Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP) (Birikorang, 2007).

Apart from the preparation assistance provided by these nations, Volman (2001-2003) adds that the lives of "Law enforcement officers" are being improved and they have a wider viewpoint on issues such as human rights, various methods of peacekeeping, and Ghana's position on the foreign front (Volman, 2001-2003). The United Nations (UN), refer peace-making as "action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of UN, Pacific Settlement of Disputes" (UNODC 2009: 3). As Kehinde Bolaji (2011) also contends, peace-making is the "diplomatic effort intended to move a violent conflict into non-violent dialogue, where differences are settled through representative political institutions". The objective of peace-making is thus to have a lasting solution between parties involved (Kehinde, 2011).

Although ECOWAS ' original purpose was to facilitate economic integration for its member states, the bloc extended its mandate to place military forces in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea Bissau in 1990, 1997, and 1998 respectively, and then in 2003 to Côte d'Ivoire and Libya. Such actions opened up new ways for international peace and security to be sustained. While Ghana's involvement in the mission was primarily driven by national interest, it later led to Liberia's restoration of peace and security.

Nevertheless, some sources say that the notion of action was originally supported by Ghana, with a plan to evacuate Ghanaians stranded at the Monrovia embassy. Thus, it is correct to say that the intention of Jerry Rawlings to interfere in Liberia was primarily to save Ghanaians whose lives were being threatened, rather than fears over peace-making. Rawlings also recognized the value of including the regional leader (Nigeria) in order to generate foreign recognition. While the Liberian crisis reveals several common inconsistencies in Ghana's regional policy, ECOMOG's intervention established several important precedents.

Ghana, on the other hand, was a constituent of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) that negotiated the first ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia, signed at the time by the three rival factions. Jerry Rawlings, former President and Chairman of ECOWAS in 1994, helped negotiate a variety of peace agreements. It has since been involved in preventive diplomacy in Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Niger and other flashpoint in the sub-region. Kehinde argues that, "the role of regional organizations and their influence contributed to the decline of the Cold War, and ECOWAS duly took advantage of these changes in international politics" (Kehinde, 2011).

Regimes after Rawlings also exhibited some level of inconsistencies in their regional policy. In 2003, many expected Ghana to arrest President Taylor of Liberia and have him sent to the Special Court in Sierra Leone, whilst attending ECOWAS peace talks in Accra. This is after the Court had ordered for Mr. Taylor's arrest for his alleged involvement in the conflict in Sierra Leone. In 2002, this special court was approved by the United Nations, to try those responsible for the crimes committed during the civil war. The constitution of Ghana clearly adheres to the principles of the

UN charter, however, Ghanaian authorities, led by the then President Kufuor, failed to act on the court's instructions.

Although Ghana's decision on this matter was seen as strategic, it also exposed some level of mistrust and inconsistency in its regional policy, on two vital reasons. First, with respect to the fact that the crisis was a regional issue, and as a member of ECOWAS, it only needed to respect the principles and objectives upon which ECOWAS policies are based. Secondly, the primary concern of ECOWAS then was to have a ceasefire in Sierra Leone, since it had encountered some problems in the process of carrying out its objectives, due to political instability and bad governance in some member countries (Obadan, 2003).

2.6 Ramification of Ghana's Involvement in ECOWAS protocols

The West African region is rich in diversity. Its countries differ significantly from one another with regard to history, economic potential, geography, culture, and political systems. While Ghana would form a firm partnership at ECOWAS, the goals of member states cannot be identical in every respect. As Steven (2010), points out, "countries across the region share common characteristics, one of the clearest patterns since the mid-1990s has been significant divergence in economic performance and political change. These differences make it increasingly ill-advised to treat the region as a single entity" (Steven, 2010). Ghana's foreign policy attaches great importance to economic diplomacy such as the promotion of trade. Hence, its commitment to ECOWAS protocols which include free movement of goods and services to create a common market for West Africa.

The African continent is a home to many military peace operations, representing approximately 70% of the UN's worldwide deployments (Williams 2009: 34). The sub-Saharan region has witnessed most of these instabilities —with its vast natural resources, the West African region remains one of the poorest in the world (Sesay 2005). These glaring stats among others, inform Ghana's commitment to regional peace and security with the hope that, these conflicts do not spill into its territory.

Ghana took a strategic stance in being silent on the coup d'état in neighbouring Togo in the early 2000s, at the time when the Togolese government was accusing Ghana for masterminding the act. Although ECOWAS and its members denounced Togo's undemocratic conduct, the topic was muted by Ghanaian officials. It took constant pressure from ECOWAS and other international bodies to urge the Government of Ghana to release a declaration pertaining to the crisis in Togo. This contradicts the Cote d'Ivoire situation, where Ghana issued a statement rejecting the coup shortly after the September 2002 coup, asking for the immediate return to constitutional rule.

Historically, the government of Ghana entreated the Togolese government in January 1993 to ensure that an acceptable programme was instituted to return the country to constitutional rule (West Africa, February 8-14, 19 3:207). The Ghanaian government was of the view that the political and security situation in Togo was not good for democracy as well as peace, and security in the sub region. The influx of refugees from Togo as a result of the crisis there called for the creation of a temporary refugee camp at Klikor in Ghana. A statement from the government of Ghana hinted that the Ghana Armed Forces had been put on "third degree alert" and was contemplating bringing back home some of its troops serving abroad as a result of the crisis in

Togo (West Africa, February 8-14, 19 3:207). The Togolese government argued that it was prepared to fight till the last man and would not entertain any form of destabilization from the Ghanaian government.

Again, on March 1993, the Togolese government accused Ghana of an alleged attack on its main military garrison, which resulted in the death of its Military Chief of Staff, General Mawulikplimi Ameyi and the Deputy Chief of staff, Colonel Kofi Tetteh (West Africa, April 5-11, 1993:545). The Ghanaian government vehemently denied the accusations and expressed disgust at the Togolese government's paranoia at blaming Ghana for every act of aggression against it, and cautioned the Togolese government to desist from doing that which had the potential to unnecessarily raise tension between the two countries (West Africa, April 5-11, 1993:545). On 15th October, 2003, the government of Ghana did not miss the opportunity to express its desire to see peace come to Cote d'Ivoire especially when a delegation from the EU was in Ghana on October 15 2003, to confer with the then President Kufuor On problems of stability and peace in the sub-region. (Daily Graphic October 17 2003: 3).

President Kufuor called on the UN to assume control of the peace keeping operations in Cote d'Ivoire since the involvement of the UN would put the peace process on a sound footing and create the enabling environment for the warring factions in the conflict to work within the framework of the Marcousis and Accra Accords. He added that it was necessary for the UN to help the ECOWAS to deal with sub regional conflicts as soon as practicable. Again, on October 19, 2003, he conferred with Gbagbo at Akosombo as part of diplomatic efforts to bring peace to Cote d'Ivoire. Similarly, he held discussions with prominent Ivorian rebel leaders and Alassane

Ouattara, previous Ivorian Prime Minister as well as with representatives of the UN and the ECOWAS. Serious impediments to the Lina-Marcoussis Accord during 2004 led to the Accra III Accords in Ghana on July 30, 2004. The Accra III Agreement reasserted the terms of the Lina-Marcoussis Accord with “specific deadlines and benchmarks for progress” (Daily Graphic October 20 2003: 3).

Further crisis in Cote d’Ivoire called for another meeting in the Nigeria capital, Abuja in November 2004. Ghana was among the six countries that met. Matters got out of hand when Ivorian forces attacked towns in the north of the country killing nine French peace keepers and a US citizen. The French destroyed the Ivorian air force in retaliation. At the end of their one-day summit, the leaders called on the international community to place an arms embargo on Cote d’Ivoire without delay. This was duly done on November 15 2004 (Daily Graphic November, 17 2004: 5).

However, in 2010-2011, Ghanaian government chose to remain silent on the Cote d’Ivoire crisis. This was after several countries and international organizations such as the UN, AU and ECOWAS had recognized the opposition leader as the legitimate president of the country (Aning & Atuobi, 2011). Noting the fact that, over one million Ghanaians lived in La Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana initially announced that, it would not send troops into the country, on grounds that its men were already in peacekeeping operations elsewhere. In responding to the crisis at a press briefing, President Mills did not consider what the first President of Ghana had said, “The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up to the total liberation of Africa” –he rather surprised the media with a local expression “Dzi wo fie asem” (Mind your own business), stating that, Ghana cannot

choose a President for Côte d'Ivoire. This was one proclamation that shocked the large mass of stakeholders.

While this clearly contradicts the Non-Aligned policies, which fosters cooperation among Africans through regional integration such as ECOWAS, it can also be seen as disappointment and betrayal to the ECOWAS. Whichever way we look at it, one would have thought that Prof. Mills would have been more vocal on issues affecting the African continent, just as Nkrumah did. This was the President who saw Nkrumah as a role model. For instance, in his first year in office, President Atta Mills ordered the birth date of Dr. Nkrumah as a national holiday. This, for the most part, suggests that the regime in power could be a contributing factor to these inconsistencies.

The killing of 44 Ghanaian nationals in the Gambia in 2005 saw deterioration in Ghana-Gambia relations, after Ghana accused Yahya Jammeh of Gambia and his military for the killings. The then minority spokesperson for foreign affairs John Mahama, (who served as President of Ghana from 2012-2016), urged all Ghanaians not to welcome Mr. Jammeh, who was scheduled for an African Union summit in Accra. His call eventually made Mr. Jammeh cancel his trip to the AU summit. With its “role model” status and influential actor at ECOWAS, one expected Ghana to act in a way that would not affect their diplomatic relations, since both are members of this organization. Even though this issue was not resolved, former President Mahama`s visit to the Gambia again raised concern, over whether Ghana has got a clear-cut foreign policy towards the sub region.

Finally, Nigeria`s security challenges which started in 2009, saw the formation of a Multinational Joint Force (MNJTF): - with Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Benin to fight Boko Haram, the

terrorist group responsible for killing thousands in northeast Nigeria. Again, Ghana's exclusion from this group is still a mystery since the Islamist group is increasingly threatening neighbouring countries. Republic of Benin, who has not been affected by these terrorist acts, for instance, saw the importance of this joint force. Nigeria's instability is adversely a blow for Ghana. Aning (2007) believes that "Migratory flows of Nigerians seeking zones of peace would almost certainly ruin the economies of a country such as Ghana, and states much further afield". But more critically, such scenarios could also lead to the loss of a key continental stabilization anchor—a sub-regional leader (Aning, 2007). It clearly shows that Ghanaian politicians have preferred solidarity and goodwill over condemnations when vital economic and personal considerations are at risk.

2.7 Conclusion

1992, was the period when the constitution was introduced to be used in governance, and also marked the start of democracy in Ghana. Hence, the 1992 constitution is the only document that defines and guides courses of action in Ghana's foreign policy. These include the development of the United Nations, the democratization of international relations, socio-economic development and the reform of the international economic structure, as well as fair international cooperation, the maintaining of friendly relations and collaboration with all countries wishing to collaborate on the grounds of mutual respect and obedience to the values, maintain good relations and collaboration with all countries seeking to collaborate on the grounds of mutual respect and conformity to the values and charter commitments of Ghana's international organisations.

Considering the activities and functions it plays in ECOWAS, a robust protection and national security strategy is required for Ghana. This will direct future policymakers' decisions and actions

in their region-wide relationships. This leads to the hypothesis that, the lack of a clear-cut and formulated framework on defence policy has contributed to some contradictions in crisis response such as those in Niger, Cote d'Ivoire and the Gambia. These are often challenging for ECOWAS to foresee what to expect in terms of cooperation with negotiated guidelines and decisions from its member states.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ON THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT IN GHANA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the objectives of this research. It is divided into three main sections; the first section identifies the Protocols and Frameworks of the organs of regional economic integration within the West-African sub-region; the second section looks at how these Protocols and Frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana; the chapter finally concludes by assessing the negative effects of regional economic integration on Ghana, and measures to curb these effects.

3.2 Objective 1: Protocols and Frameworks of the Organ(s) Of Regional Economic Integration within the West-African Sub Region.

According to (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017), economic integration is a complicated concept arising from the convergence and reciprocal enhancement of intergovernmental and non-governmental international organizations' international exchange and finance, as well as transnational principles and international law. The theory of economic integration adopted in this paper is where member-states share commonality and harmonized laws and regulations in free trade area, custom union, common market, economic policies and union, which could also include political union.

ECOWAS, as a regional economic bloc, has put in place Protocols and framework for which implementation must be achieved to enable full regional economic integration (Jiboku, 2015). These Protocols include the free movement of persons, free movement of goods, monetary cooperation programme, harmonization of economic and fiscal policies and the Protocol on community levy (ECOWAS, 2016).

3.2.1 Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons

According to (ECOWAS, 2016) report, The ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons allows the free movement of people of the Community, i.e. residents of Member States. The Free Movement Protocol granted Community citizens the right to join and stay in any Member State's territory, given they had a legitimate travel document and an international health certificate (Quarshie, 2018). Moreover, it also gave Member States the power to deny entry to any citizens of the Community who were inadmissible under the domestic law of the Member State.

Among other items, the four supplementary protocols introduced between 1985 and 1990 dedicated Member States to: supply their citizens with appropriate travel documents, grant Community citizens the right of residency to try and pursue income-earning work, Ensure that expelled individuals are treated properly, that Community citizens are not ejected en masse, restrict the reasons for individual expulsion to national security, public order or morals, public health or inability to meet an important requirement of residency (Qobo, 2017).

Mr. Ogli Ansah of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs posited that this Protocol is a good initiative because it allows for citizens of member states to travel from their countries to other countries in

the sub-region without the usual hindrances and encumbrances that are put in the path of travellers. To buttress this point, it must be mentioned that the ratification of this Protocol by member states like Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and all the others that have not been mentioned, have effectively made useless the visa challenges that previously hampered free movement of people. Though some countries ratified this Protocol earlier than others, visa and permit requirements have been effectively abolished for nationals of ECOWAS countries.

Mr. Wahab Imam Mumin reiterated the fact that movement of people across boundaries is gradually the norm now with many other sub-regions, besides ECOWAS bringing into force Protocols as the free movement of people across boundaries of member states. The free movement of people provides for the right for citizens of other countries to move into other member countries, settle or live and do business there. (Sheriff & Kamara, 2015) posits that Ghana has over five hundred thousand Nigerians living and working in Ghana legitimately because of these Protocols. It stands to reason that so far as the Protocol provides opportunities for increased trade between member countries, excessive migration can also occur, with its attendant socio-cultural vices.

Table 3.1 shows the members of the Economic Community Of West African States who have Framework on people's freedom of travel and the degree to which member states have achieved implementation.

Table 3.1 Status of Implementation of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons

No.	Member State	Abolition of Visa and Entry Permit	Introduction of ECOWAS travel certificate	Introduction of Harmonized Immigration/ Emigration Forms	Introduction of ECOWAS Brown Card Scheme
	Benin	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Burkina Faso	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Cape Verde	Yes	No	No	N/A
	Cote d'Ivoire	Yes	No	No	Yes
	Gambia	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Ghana	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Guinea	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Guinea Bissau	Yes	No	No	Yes
	Liberia	Yes	No	No	No
	Mali	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Niger	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Nigeria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Senegal	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Sierra Leone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Togo	Yes	No	No	Yes

Source: (Ali, 2018)

It is important to note that not all aspects of the Protocol on free movement of persons have been implemented by all nations. As table 3.1 showed, only the abolition of visa and entry permits have been abolished by all member nations. With the introduction of travel certificates for ECOWAS citizens, only 47% of member states have implemented the Protocol. The study also showed that only 67% of member states had introduced harmonized immigration / emigration forms and 86% had introduced ECOWAS brown card schemes. In relation to the brown card scheme however, the island nation of Cape Verde was exempted from implementation since the provision in the Protocol would not apply in its unique circumstances. It can be deduced that even with the inadequate levels of implementation in some member states, free flow of persons in relation labour and capital amongst most member nations still exists, and this is important for economic integration.

3.2.2 Protocol on the Free Movement of Goods and Services

Another Protocol that has been popular ratification in the West African sub-region is. The Protocol, according to (Quarshie, 2018), is a critical component of the regional integration movement which was brought into existence to boost intra-regional trade amongst member states. Mr. Kingsley Anyimadu of the Ministry of Trade and Industry opined that ‘as a result of the Protocol on free movement of goods and services, immigration and emigration forms have been harmonized across the sub-region’. Additionally, documents such as the customs nomenclature, transit certificates and other previously demanded documents have now all been abolished. According to Mr. Kingsley Anyimadu, Ghana as a nation has abolished tariff barriers under the TLS for unprocessed goods but not for industrial productions.

Mr. Tenkorang of the School of Business at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology opined that other countries in the sub-region, like Ghana, have taken significant measures towards ensuring the Protocol of free movement of goods and services is highly functional and effective. He pointed to the republic of Benin, Burkina Faso and all other countries in the sub-region who have abolished previously insisted on documents that controlled the movement of goods and services. Mr. Tenkorang, however, brought to notice that barriers to trade in unprocessed goods and services are still in existence in some member states and abolished in others. He asserted that whereas countries like Cote d'Ivoire still hold onto barriers in unprocessed goods, other countries like the Gambia have duly abolished it. The nation of Ghana is however yet to abolish it (Asante, 2018).

3.2.3 Protocol on the Harmonisation of Economic and Fiscal Policies

Furthermore, the Protocol on Harmonisation of Economic and Fiscal Policies is an important component in the road to economic integration. According to (Geda & Kebret, 2018), this Protocol promotes the reaffirmation and determination of ECOWAS Member States to harmonize and align national policies and facilitate ECOWAS integration initiatives, ventures and activities. In reacting to this Protocol, Mr. Yaw Appiah of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning posited that this was an important Protocol to the need for economic integration, although it was unfortunate that a lot of countries in the sub-region were still in the process of implementing this Protocol. Mr. Appiah further stated that Ghana as a nation was still in the process of evaluation of its position in relation to the new microeconomic convergence criteria being conducted.

Speaking on the above-mentioned Protocol, Mr. Tenkorang added that countries like Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde and almost all the other countries are in the evaluation process, with the exception of Guinea Bissau, which has currently complied with the provisions in this Protocol.

Table 3.2. ECOWAS Monetary Cooperation Programmes

No.	Country	Elimination of Non-tariff barrier on money	Payment of Arrears of contribution to west Africa clearing House (WAC)
	Benin	YES	YES
	Burkina Faso	YES	YES
	Cape Verde	YES	YES
	Cote D'Ivoire	YES	YES
	Gambia	YES	YES
	Ghana	YES	YES
	Guinea	YES	YES
	Guinea Bissau	YES	No
	Liberia	No	
	Mali	YES	YES
	Niger	YES	YES
	Nigeria	YES	YES
	Senegal	YES	YES
	Sierra Leone	No	No
	Togo		YES

Source: ECOWAS Silver Jubilee Anniversary Achievements and Prospects 1975 – 2000.
UA=Unit of Account (medium of comparing currency e.g. Naira against Cedi)

According to (Oliver, 2019), ECOWAS has been granted greater credibility than any other by introducing the programs under this Protocol. For starters, after the eruption of sudden violence in Monrovia in 2003, ECOWAS sent a force of two Nigerian battalions and two foreign battalions to Liberia. The deployment ensured the exit of Charles Taylor and restored stability in Liberia. Earlier in 1997, the Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) ended the intra-state conflict and arranged democratic elections in Liberia (ECOWAS, 2003) (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017). It has also helped in restoring in peace in Guinea Bissau. It is pertinent to state that Nigeria has been the brain behind the success of this Protocol in the sub-region and has spent billions of naira in ensuring political stability in the sub-region (Ayakwah, 2018).

A bank of Ghana official interviewed on condition of anonymity asserted the importance of this Protocol especially in the areas of food production and the exploitation of natural resource, moderns transport systems and communication infrastructure, trade, energy and financials. He adduced that the harmonization of cooperation in all these areas was integral to the integration process. To buttress this point, Mr Ofosu Offei asserted that one of the principal reasons for the move towards economic integration was to enable harmonization of inter-state cooperation as well as policies and programmes in member states.

3.2.4 Protocol on Community Levy

Last but not least, the Protocol on Community Levy is seen as an important measure to achieve full economic integration amongst member states. According to (Geda & Kebret, 2018), the Protocol on the Community levy has been ratified and has been incorporated into the national appropriation bill of all ECOWAS countries except Cape Verde. Mr. Kingsley Anyimadu of the

Ministry of Trade and Industry opined that this Protocol enables ECOWAS to finance its activities and keep its relevance in terms of the objectives it has set for itself. (Ayakwah, 2018) asserts that the levying of fees and contributory monies may serve to have negative implications on smaller states more than bigger states and create a unnecessary imbalance.

3.3 Objective 2: How the Protocols and Frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana

According to (Bimbola, 2016), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Common External Tariff (CET) has been agreed upon among member countries and is awaiting parliamentary review and approval in Ghana. Upon implementation of the CET, it will entail significant changes to the tariff structure of Ghana. On 10 July 2014, in Accra, ECOWAS Heads of State stated their willingness to support the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the European Union and ECOWAS (plus Mauritania) (Quarshie, 2018). Since then, all European Union member countries and most of the 16 West African countries have signed the EPA, with those remaining expected to do so shortly. The EPA will result in the gradual opening of Ghana's market to 75 percent of the tariff lines, equivalent to around 65 percent of the value of imports from the European Union, by 2035 (Ayakwah, 2018).

According to (Dugbenu, 2018), agreements have been made amongst ECOWAS member states for implementation of the common external tariff (CET). In Ghana however, Mr. Ansah Sarfo of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning posits that the agreement is awaiting parliamentary review and consequent approval. According to (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017), the CET and other such tariffs, imposed on member nations through ECOWAS Protocols and

Frameworks have decidedly significantly effects on the environment of member countries. This section looks at the specific impact on the outcomes of these Protocols and Frameworks.

The case is made that the introduction of the CET has only served to increase the amounts of tariffs on some member states and lowered the amounts on other member states, creating imbalances and disaffections. In the specific case of Ghana, a study by (Ayakwah, 2018) opined that the CET has led to an increase in tariff protection from 7.9 to 9.8 percent, an increase in tariff revenues by an estimated 2.8 percent, an increase in ECOWAS imports by 5 percent, and a fall in total imports by an estimated 1 percent. Mr. Anyimadu in his assessment of the effects of the frameworks on the economic environment opined the significant negative effects of CET on some manufacturing firms in Ghana whilst greatly benefiting others.

According to Mr Ofosu Offei of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, this mostly occurs as a result of higher protection on production, benefiting some manufacturing firms in the short run even in the midst of imposing economic burdens on consumers. (Ehigiamusoe & Lean, 2019) theorizes that this may cause detrimental effects on growth and competitiveness.

Two of the main effects of the CET are trade creation and trade diversion. Mr. Ansah Sarfo posited that with trade creation, the CET institutes lower import tariffs between the member states of the regional bloc (in this case ECOWAS), and therefore brings about certain economic merits with regard to welfare. In view of this, Ghanaian producers, for example, have tariff-free access to products used for manufacture from other ECOWAS member states.

The reduced prices of these products will cause a decline in their unit costs, and theoretically improve real income for Ghanaian consumers. Trade creation in ECOWAS can improve allocative and productive efficiency from scarce resources. Ghanaian producers will therefore be motivated to increase their levels of productivity due to the high levels of competitiveness within the free trade area.

However, the impact of a tariff on products from outside ECOWAS also has to be considered. A common external tariff applied by ECOWAS also causes trade diversion effects. The implication of this is that the tariff will cause expenditure on low cost products outside ECOWAS to be redirected to higher cost equivalents within the region. The CET on many external products makes importing more expensive, resulting in higher costs for Ghanaian producers and increase in prices for consumers, if they once had access to low cost external products

The CET may also cause the cost of importing equipment to increase significantly. According to (Yayo & Asefa, 2016), the exact effects of CET on inputs and raw materials used by manufacturing companies is currently unknown. But firms that would suffer the most bitter repercussions would be manufacturers of food and beverages, apparel, chemical products and metal products (Ayakwah, 2018).

According to (Quarshie, 2018), another effect of the above stated ECOWAS Protocols was the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). Recounting the background to the signing of this agreement by member states of the ECOWAS, Mr. Divine Odonkor of the Ministry of Trade and Industry recounted that the EPA was an initiative of the European Union with different

configurations for different countries and sub-regions. Fifteen countries in West Africa plus Mauritania signed the agreement. (Bimbola, 2016) posits that the agreement provides ECOWAS member states free access to European markets whilst enabling them to maintain 25% of tariff lines in order to protect sensitive sectors of their economies. Mr. Ofori Offei accepts that the agreement in this theoretical state is marvellous, in that, the agreement allows ECOWAS countries to pursue sustainable development at all levels of the economic partnership.

The challenge, according to Mr. Ofori Offei is however, the fact that the devil lies in the details of the agreement. (Qobo, 2017) posits that the EPA causes a moderate decline (from the CET baseline level) in tariff protection to 8.7 percent (from 9.8 percent) and thus a fall in tariff revenue, and an increase in imports and trade diversion toward the European Union.

Mr Ofori Offei asserts that Ghanaians in the lower income bracket would see some benefits to their income level to the tune of 0.2% whilst overall profitability in the manufacturing sector will increase to 77%. This increase may have significant positive benefits for some 84% of factory workers and other staff in the manufacturing sector. Mr. Yaw Appiah of the Ministry of Finance asserts that consumers would also have some benefits as well as the Ghanaian economy in terms of relative growth and productivity.

According to (Ali, 2018), the provisions of the EPA are consistent with the provisions made in the CET. According to (Aduloju, 2015), this is exemplified by the accumulation of financial losses for manufacturing companies in the mineral goods and furniture industries, but as a result very few manufacturing companies are unprofitable. While the impact of the EPA on Ghana's exports to

ECOWAS markets is unclear, continued duty-free access to the EU market is benefiting many of the focus sectors of the Ghana National Export Strategy, 2013-17. (Sanusi & Adu-Gyamfi, 2017). The important aspects include processed cocoa products, fruit and vegetable products, and fish (Ayakwah, 2018).

3.4 Objective 3: Assess the Negative Effects of These Protocols and Frameworks of Regional Economic Integration on Ghana

Research objective three sought to assess the negative effects of these Protocols and Frameworks on regional economic integration on Ghana in the areas of jobs and enterprise growth, social stability and diplomatic relations.

3.4.1 Jobs and Enterprise Growth

The case is made by Mr. Ofori Offei that the impact of the EPA and CET on jobs and enterprise growth would be largely positive and significant. According to (Yayo & Asefa, 2016), It is projected that the EPA would improve the productivity of 77% of businesses in the manufacturing sector, primarily by lower input costs and capital equipment rates. An additional 84 percent of manufacturing workers are hired by companies profit from the introduction of the EPA. Dr. Avonyo of the KNUST School of Business affirms that workers with lower incomes would benefit much better than workers in the high-income bracket.

The EPA with its insistence on tariff reductions on raw materials and other industrial inputs, some industries who use the forms of inputs and raw material stipulated for reduction in tariffs by the EPA would benefit whilst those manufacturing companies that do not deal with the specific inputs

stipulated. In sharp contrast to these assertions, Oliver (2019) argues that while the impact of the EPA on Ghana's exports to ECOWAS markets is uncertain, continuing duty-free access to the EU market is particularly beneficial to many of Ghana's National Export Strategy's target sectors 2013-17. Processed cocoa goods, fruit and vegetable products and seafood are among the focus markets. However, due to the subsidies enjoyed by most EU farmers, imports within the agricultural sector were sold at fairly lower prices in Ghana than domestic produce; this was the case with goods such as rice, poultry, cooking oil, etc. As a result of this, Ghana recorded a negative impact on employment in the Agricultural sector, since it put Ghanaian farmers at a competitive disadvantage. Knudsen (2009) supports this in her claim that EU agricultural policies continue to hurt farmers in developing countries. This is true as most rice farmers were rendered jobless.

In specific reference to housing consumer products and other everyday consumables, Mr. Opong Amoamah of the Ministry of Trade and Industry asserted that implementing the CET is likely to increase the cost of household consumption. Although the poorest Ghanaians will benefit in particular from cheaper rice, this will be outweighed by the adverse effect of tariff increases on fish, soap, chicken, beef, and tomato paste in particular. (Aduloju, 2018) in his view of the situation states that the precise effects on consumer prices will depend on how competitive the import market and distribution networks are, as these will determine the extent to which changing tariffs are passed through to prices.

In reference to CET, there will be short as well as long term winners. Mr. Opong Amoamah of the Ministry of Trade and Industry asserted that the CET benefits some producers with higher output prices, but others suffer from higher input and capital prices. (Ehigiamusoe & Lean, 2019)

theorizes that windfall profits through higher output prices are unlikely to spur competitiveness and growth in the future and come at the expense of consumers.

The effects of EPA on the competitiveness of firms and jobs was also commented on by Mr. Yaw Appiah. According to Mr. Appiah, the EPA and CET are only going to increase profitability for companies in the hospitality industry and reduce profits for the furniture and non-metallic mineral products. Mr. Ofosu Offei however disagrees with this position, insisting that the evidence that supports the assertion that the CET and EPA would cause some companies to be disadvantaged in terms of profitability is not significant enough.

For the export sector, (Fiess, 2012) asserts that The effects of the CET and EPA on exporters' output prices is ambiguous and not formally incorporated into the model. However, exporters to ECOWAS are likely to gain from a higher margin of preference on average. Exporters to the European Union that gain most from continued access to the EU market with the EPA include exporters of some priority nontraditional products. Improving the competitiveness of import markets and distribution networks and disseminating information about tariff changes can help ensure that tariff changes are passed on to firms. Furthermore, the EPA stipulates that the West-African party must "reduce and eliminate customs duties" with regards to products "originating in the EU" (Article 10 (2)), over a 20-year period. This decrease and eventual elimination of customs duties will cause fiscal revenues from trade to fall; imports from the EU that had been taxed prior to the EPA will thereafter enter the Ghanaian market duty-free; additionally, the resulting trade liberalization from an EPA will ensue in products from the EU being cheaper than imports coming from elsewhere (still subjected to customs duties). Consumers will therefore favour EU products

over that which has been taxed, and that would result in much lower revenue from customs. This trade liberalization would also take a negative toll on domestic producers by causing their prices to be higher than EU imports.

Overall, (Fiess, 2012) posits that the CET has a small, positive impact on the profitability of the median firm, and a large, positive mean impact. The EPA mitigates these windfall profits only slightly. These effects may contribute to higher profitability in the short run, but are likely to impose additional costs on consumers and have a negative impact on competitiveness and growth in the longer term (Geda & Kebret, 2018).

Overall, the CET has a small, positive impact on the profitability of the median firm, and a large, positive mean impact. The impact of output price changes at the median is zero, which is partially by construction: all exporting firms in the sample are assigned a zero-output price change because their output prices do not depend on Ghana's tariff regime. However, the large positive mean effect of the CET is driven mainly by a strong increase in output prices. This is driven by a number of firms at the margin of the distribution that derive strong windfall profits from increases in tariff protection under the CET.

The position is mooted by (Yayo & Asefa, 2016) that, although other firms lose protection on their outputs, these gains dominate the sample mean. The EPA mitigates these windfall profits only slightly. These effects may contribute to higher profitability in the short run, but are likely to impose additional costs on consumers and have a negative impact on competitiveness and growth in the longer term (Geda & Kebret, 2018). The distribution of gains and losses will subsequently

be discussed more in detail. The CET has a positive effect on firms' profitability through lower fuel prices, and a negative effect through higher prices on capital equipment, but both effects are relatively small.

The effect on profitability of changes in input prices is ambiguous, slightly positive for the majority of firms, but with a slightly negative mean (Aduloju, 2018). The implementation of the EPA has a positive net effect on profitability through input, fuel, and capital equipment costs, but for capital equipment the combined effect of the CET and EPA remains negative. Beyond their short-term impact on firm profitability, gains through these channels are likely to have positive long-run effects on growth and competitiveness (Ehigiamusoe & Lean, 2019).

Much of Ghana's fuel imports are imported into the country under a special government regime and do not face duties. Fuel imported directly by firms via customs accounts for only a small proportion of domestic consumption (Fiess, 2012). Thus, the positive effect from lower fuel prices is likely to be smaller than that indicated in the model.

In addition to that, ECOWAS' open-border and free trade initiatives make it legitimate for individuals and businesses to move between countries within the economic zone. Lampert and Mohan (2014) have revealed that entrepreneurs, motivated by the said initiatives, have left their local economies to pursue what seems to be more viable markets in Nigeria and other neighbouring countries. This situation is coupled with many people leaving for greener pastures or opportunities in other African countries at a time when their local economies need new skills, enterprises, and jobs. Bala (2017) considers this outflow of human capital and businesses as sheer brain drain that

only flourishes in the fertile economic area created by ECOWAS. It is quite paradoxical to say therefore that such a viable zone could be harmful to the local Ghanaian economy by facilitating brain drain and a loss of business development and budding opportunities for member States.

3.4.2 Social Stability

The impact of the outcomes of these Protocols and Frameworks have significant effects on the social stability of Ghana. The case is made by Mr. Anyimadu that because the ECOWAS, like other organs such as the AU, NEPAD and the likes were created to enable social and civil participation to be fostered, dialoguing is an important aspect of the operations of these organizations. According to Mr. Anyimadu, the ECOWAS Protocols have been touted to allow for civil society participation and integration. (Olaleka, 2016) posits that the concern is that talks on integration are led by big businesses, technocrats and government, which constitutes only a meagre part of society, while the economic desires of the majority of the region's people go unnoticed and unattended.

ECOWAS explains in justifying its integration program that member States that lose their human capital and business development opportunities, as described in Section 3.4.1 above, can make up for their losses by receiving human capital and foreign direct investments from other member countries (Olu-Adeyemi & Ayodele, 2007). While this explanation may be well-fated, it fails to consider the potential socio-economic hazards foreign businesses and nationals can pose in member states, which can be said to have come about as a result of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Goods and Services. Mr. Ogli Ansah recounted a number of events to buttress this; in August 2018, for example, local Ghanaian business owners reported the illegal trading activities

of Nigerians and other foreigners in Accra and Kumasi, on national television. Free movement of persons within the West-African sub-region without any constraints or limitations, highlights the concern of tension in states where migrants exercise control over certain aspects of trade and labour (Ayamga, 2014). Domestic entrepreneurs in this regard have been of the view that foreigners engage in illegal business activities that either undermine local businesses or counteract their growth. The rhetoric regarding this development was quite intense and led to demonstrations in both Nigeria and Ghana. Due to this, a facet of Nigerian Traders Association and businessmen staged a demonstration at the ECOWAS head office in Abuja, Nigeria, to indicate that whatever business activities Nigerians in Ghana engage in are legitimate. They added that there are many Ghanaians in Nigeria involved in the same businesses.

On January 4 2019, Joy FM Online reported the kidnap of a teenager in the Western region of Ghana, which Mr. Ansah also made mention of. The story alleged that Nigerians were responsible for this crime. On November 14 2017, Ghana Web reported the apprehension of 32 Nigerian and Togolese prostitutes in Abeka Lapaz. On November 24, Ghana Web again reported a clash between members of the Ghana Police Service and Ghana Immigration Service, which was linked to the arrest of Nigerian fraudsters residing at McCarthy Hill in Accra. It is therefore apparent that ECOWAS's open-border policy and its regional integration program can impel member States to host deviant foreign nationals. The program can also destabilise the economy and contribute to social unrest.

3.4.3 Diplomatic Relations

The position is mooted by Mr. Ofori Ofei that with time, The West African Economic Community used to channel its time and energy to address regional problems throughout the region. ECOWAS, since its creation, has been at the forefront of negotiations and management of conflicts in the sub-region. Through the use of the ECOMOG, ECOWAS has been able to bring stability to hitherto conflict-prone countries and warring factions in most armed conflicts in the sub-region. Examples are given of civil wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire and Cape Verde that have experienced the intervention of ECOWAS for peace to be restored. ECOWAS Protocols and Frameworks to these effects, have been significantly effective on diplomatic relations in between Ghana, as part of ECOWAS, and its neighbours.

3.4.4 Measures to Reduce the Effects of Regional Economic Integration on Ghana.

Although ECOWAS already has in place various measures and Protocols to ensure the effects of regional integration is not felt in a negative manner on member countries, the body can go ahead to take further measures to deepen cooperation. There is a need for further liberalization of trade and harmonization of external tariffs, customs union and joint border post and other such measures. Two respondents both touted the need for ECOWAS to work to bring to fruition, the common currency agenda, promote further cultural exchanges and harmonize education systems.

As a matter of fact, ECOWAS spent the better part of its existence (1989-97) firefighting in the region and spending an inordinate amount of time on peace and security for West Africa. While this is good, it was at the expense of its efforts on economic integration, which it began to embark upon after 1993, when the ECOWAS treaty was revised to make ECOWAS a more supranational

organization. This was coupled with institutional reform in 2007 to transform ECOWAS Secretariat into an ECOWAS Commission, made up of Commissioners.

This said, ECOWAS is already a free trade area; already has adopted the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), and has, since 2005, been working vigorously on getting the common currency, ECO, into fruition. According to him, these, among other things if properly implemented would go a long way to ensure that economic integration in West Africa happens and that Ghana as an individual country would also benefit greatly. Ghana should therefore champion these interests.

Both regional economic communities, ECOWAS and UEMOA, have developed comprehensive trade policy frameworks aiming to improve coordination and increase trade integration between their member states (Ehigiamusoe & Lean, 2019). While regional leaders have been active in signing up to these intra-regional agreements and Protocols, implementation at the national level has been slower. A striking example here is the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS), the main framework for developing the region into a free trade area (Ayakwah, 2018). Particularly the comprehensive gap analysis of the ETLS by USAID's West Africa Trade Hub has found substantial disparities between legislation and implementation, limited private sector knowledge of Protocols, and – in UEMOA member countries – a lack of clarity which REC's rules have primacy. In Benin, for example, private sector traders reported having limited detailed information on ETLS Protocols, their rights, and where to find information and documents needed for transit (Ali, 2018).

In Ghana, the private sector was found to be aware of Protocols but dissatisfied with their pace of implementation, feeling that informality may be less costly than strict adherence to the rules (Brock et al. 2010b). However, this is not unique to the ETLS –there is a relatively frequent gap between agreement and implementation for regional rules as they apply to a number of trade related areas with regionally agreed policy frameworks often incongruous with national policies. In West Africa's case, Bromley et al. (2011, p. 10) claim that Western Africa's national agricultural trade policy is often just a patchwork of laws applied unevenly and executed inconsistently, contributing to a fragmented business environment that severely limits the economic growth potential that agriculture has and greatly affects sustainable access to food.

3.5 Conclusion

The member countries of ECOWAS have small economies that are highly susceptible to external economic and political influences and this situation affects their socio-economic and political development (Qobo, 2017). This situation is further worsened by the current increase in the intensification of global trade, finance, technology and production, a phenomenon commonly referred to as globalization. This chapter discussed the Protocols and Frameworks that operate in the sub-region, the effects they have on the economic environment of Ghana, as well as the negative effects of regional economic integration on Ghana and measures to curb those effects.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study findings, the conclusions and recommendations. The summary of findings itemizes the findings according to the research objectives, the conclusion presents a closing passage to the study whilst the recommendations puts forwards commendations for all stakeholders. _

4.1 Summary of Findings

The main objective of the study was to analyze the negative effects of regional economic integration on Ghana. This section summarizes the findings of the study.

Research objective one sought to identify the protocols and frameworks of ECOWAS for regional economic integration within the west-African sub region. The study showed that ECOWAS as a regional economic block has put in place protocols and frameworks to achieve full regional economic integration through the implementation of some priority programs. These programs include the free movement of persons, free movement of goods, monetary cooperation program, harmonization of economic and fiscal policies and the protocol on community levy.

In relation to free movement of persons, the study showed that the free movement of people protocol is a good initiative because it allows for citizens of member states to travel from their countries to other countries in the sub-region without the usual hindrances and encumbrances that

are put in the path of travelers. It is important to note that not all aspects of the protocol on free movement of persons have been implemented by all nations. The study showed that only the abolition of visa and entry permits have been abolished by all member nations. With the introduction of travel certificates for ECOWAS citizens, only 47% of member states have implemented the protocol. The study also showed that only 67% of member states had introduced harmonized immigration / emigration forms and 86% had introduced ECOWAS brown card schemes. In relation to the brown card scheme however, the island nation of Cape Verde was exempted from implementation since the provision in the protocol would not apply in its unique circumstances.

Research objective two sought to determine how these protocols and frameworks affect the economic environment of Ghana. The study showed that the introduction of the CET has only served to increase the amounts of tariffs on some member states and lowered the amounts on other member states, creating imbalances and disaffection. The study also showed that the effects of the frameworks on the economic environment opined the significant negative effects of CET on some manufacturing firms in Ghana whilst greatly benefiting others. Furthermore, the study showed that Ghanaians in the lower income bracket would see some benefits to their income level to the tune of 0.2% whilst overall profitability in the manufacturing sector will increase to 77%. This increase may have significant positive benefits for some 84% of factory workers and other staff in the manufacturing sector.

Research objective three sought to assess the negative effects of these protocols and frameworks on regional economic integration on Ghana in the areas of jobs and enterprise growth, social stability and diplomatic relations, and to determine measures to reduce the effects of regional economic integration on Ghana.

In relation to jobs and enterprise growth, the study showed that the effect of the EPA and CET on jobs and enterprise growth would be largely positive and significant. Workers with lower incomes would benefit much better than workers in the high-income bracket. The study also showed that implementing the CET is likely to increase the cost of household consumption. Although the poorest Ghanaians will benefit in particular from cheaper rice, this will be outweighed by the adverse effect of tariff increases on fish, soap, chicken, beef, and tomato paste in particular. Also, the study showed that The CET benefits some producers with higher output prices, but others suffer from higher input and capital prices.

The impact of the outcomes of these protocols and frameworks have significant effects on the social stability of Ghana. Due to the fact that ECOWAS, like other organs such as the AU, NEPAD and the like, was created to enable social and civil participation to be fostered, dialoguing is an important aspect of the operations of these organizations. The ECOWAS protocols have been touted to allow for civil society participation and integration. Olaleka (2016) suggests that the problem is that the integration talks are led by large corporations, power brokers and government, which is only a small part of society, while the economic needs of most people in the region go ignored and unattended.

With regards to diplomatic relations, the study showed that over the years, ECOWAS had to direct her energy and resources to resolving political crises within the sub-region. ECOWAS since its creation has been at the forefront of negotiations and management of conflicts in the sub-region. Through the use of the ECOMOG, ECOWAS has been able to bring stability to hitherto conflict-prone countries and warring factions in most armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Although ECOWAS already has in place various measures and protocols to ensure the effects of regional integration is not felt in a negative manner on member countries, the body can go ahead to take further measures to deepen cooperation. There is a need for further liberalization of trade and harmonization of external tariffs, customs union and joint border post and other such measures that ECOWAS needs to work to bring to fruition; the common currency agenda, promote further cultural exchanges and harmonize education systems.

4.2 Conclusion

It is important to note that the importance of West Africa's economic integration is significant and cannot be ignored. It allows for the fortification of a larger regional market for domestic industries to improve economies of scale, while providing potential growth for intra-regional trade in goods and services. Member states, being a part of a larger regional body, are able to build economic resilience against external shocks. The merits are not just economic, but political, social, and cultural as well.

Nonetheless, for most of the individual member states, the road to economic integration within ECOWAS was bumpy and challenging, as they were greatly confronted by confounding factors. The study found that, in trying to adhere to the Protocols and Frameworks of regional integration provided by ECOWAS, Ghana has had to face certain detrimental effects; the economic environment of the country, social stability, etc. have been noticeably affected. However, the economic repercussions faced by Ghana as a result, do not serve as grounds to halt the integration process, but should rather be seen as a challenge that the nation should take on, to find solutions to reduce these effects.

The Free Movement, Right to Residence and Establishment Protocol and the plan to set up the ECO should save ECOWAS this long sought-after aim of economic integration in the region. Nevertheless, it is worth assuming that the possibilities for a very strong politically integrated entity in West Africa in the near future are good, given all the issues faced by ECOWAS. It is crucial that going ahead further involves a difficult political action and dedicated supervision of West African integration. West African states, including those promoting African participation, need to spend limited capacity and money in national development programs with the greatest human benefit.

4.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study makes the following recommendations.

- Ghana and the developing world are not supported by the current global diplomatic, financial and trade systems. To be a successful player in the global economy, the nation

must make conscious efforts. Part of this initiative would entail a more rigorous re-examination of the country's regional partnership and development structures, as well as trading efficiency, and increased benefits from global trade and financial flows.

- In the context established by the RECs and the AU, Ghana must continue its efforts at regional cooperation and integration. Given the lack of success of regional collaboration and integration schemes so far, resources need to be focused on improving the bloc's immediate to long-term capability needs in order to improve the profitability of their activities. The initiative will need to resolve the bloc's internal capacity criteria as well as focus on issues relating to collaboration, development and trade.

- First, if the government invests in infrastructure nationally and in some cases beyond, the benefits of convergence for growth and human development will be increased. Such initiatives will make it possible for Ghanaians and West Africans and other contributions to gain more competitive opportunities and to allow completed local products and services to enter wider markets. In Ghana, the need for investment in infrastructure is particularly prevalent given the large gaps between production areas and markets that could be affected. There is a need for expenditure not only in infrastructure, but also in electricity, energy and technology. Those are the important conditions for improving the efficiency of the country.

- Differentiated legislative frameworks and trading regulations are a drain on regional economic development. Much can be gained by harmonizing frameworks and making all

economic agents aware of their parameters. This is true for labour markets (and cross-border mobility) as well as markets for goods and services.

- A new exploration of regional industrial policy calls for regional economic convergence. Because of the size of the market, broader labour markets, and varied capital and output sources, national strategies that operate with current comparative advantages— but also look at how they can expand in the future — are more likely to succeed. In agriculture and other manufacturing opportunities, this regional industrial policy may promote skills upgrading for added value. A useful guide for Ghana is the experience of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries promoting small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and creating an interconnected economic space by country-wide unbundling of development.

- The economic integration cycle would result in country-wide adjustment costs and distributional impacts. Ghana and other countries in West Africa need to build strong national structures and policies that go beyond regional norms production and monitoring. Such organizations must have the requisite tools and resources to defend regional space stability from internal and external shocks. They need to be able to look up to global problems and down to national circumstances.

- International cooperation requires regional distribution effects, because not all effects are productive, as discussed. Enhancements in human advancement can be increased and sustained by adequate social services. Welfare programs will play an important role in

assisting individuals cope with surprises, as well as the threats posed by open and free markets.

- In the sense of economic integration, health and education initiatives still play an important role by inspiring people and improving competitiveness. Some parts of the country have fairly high levels of communicable diseases that lower productivity and development, and consequently, well-being. In the sub-region, involvement in secondary and tertiary education (including vocational) is comparatively low. Integration will allow West African countries to combine funds to build a human resource capacity and technological potential that would enable Ghana and her neighbours to maintain development and remain globally competitive.

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APPENDIX A

Tables

Table 3.1 Status of Implementation of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons

No.	Member State	Abolition of Visa and Entry Permit	Introduction of ECOWAS travel certificate	Introduction of Harmonized Immigration/ Emigration Forms	Introduction of ECOWAS Brown Card Scheme
	Benin	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Burkina Faso	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Cape Verde	Yes	No	No	N/A
	Cote d'Ivoire	Yes	No	No	Yes
	Gambia	Yes	Yes	No	No

	Ghana	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Guinea	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Guinea Bissau	Yes	No	No	Yes
	Liberia	Yes	No	No	No
	Mali	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Niger	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Nigeria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Senegal	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Sierra Leone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Togo	Yes	No	No	Yes

Source: (Ali, 2018)

Table 3.2. ECOWAS Monetary Cooperation Programmes

No.	Country	Elimination of Non-tariff barrier on money	Payment of Arrears of contribution to west Africa clearing House (WAC)
	Benin	YES	YES
	Burkina Faso	YES	YES
	Cape Verde	YES	YES
	Cote D'Ivoire	YES	YES
	Gambia	YES	YES
	Ghana	YES	YES

	Guinea	YES	YES
	Guinea Bissau	YES	No
	Liberia	No	
	Mali	YES	YES
	Niger	YES	YES
	Nigeria	YES	YES
	Senegal	YES	YES
	Sierra Leone	No	No
	Togo		YES

*Source: ECOWAS Silver Jubilee Anniversary Achievements and Prospects 1975 – 2000.
 UA=Unit of Account (medium of comparing currency e.g. Naira against Cedi*