



**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN REGIONAL  
INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF GHANA-ECOWAS RELATIONS**

BY

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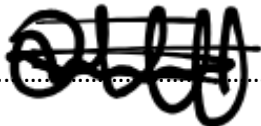


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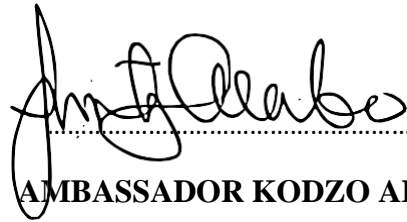
**DECLARATION**

I, DOUGLAS OWUSU, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research I have conducted under the supervision of AMB. DR. KODZO ALABO. 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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This dissertation work is dedicated to God and my parents especially my mother for her unflinching support through prayers, encouragement, and motivation to make this work successful.



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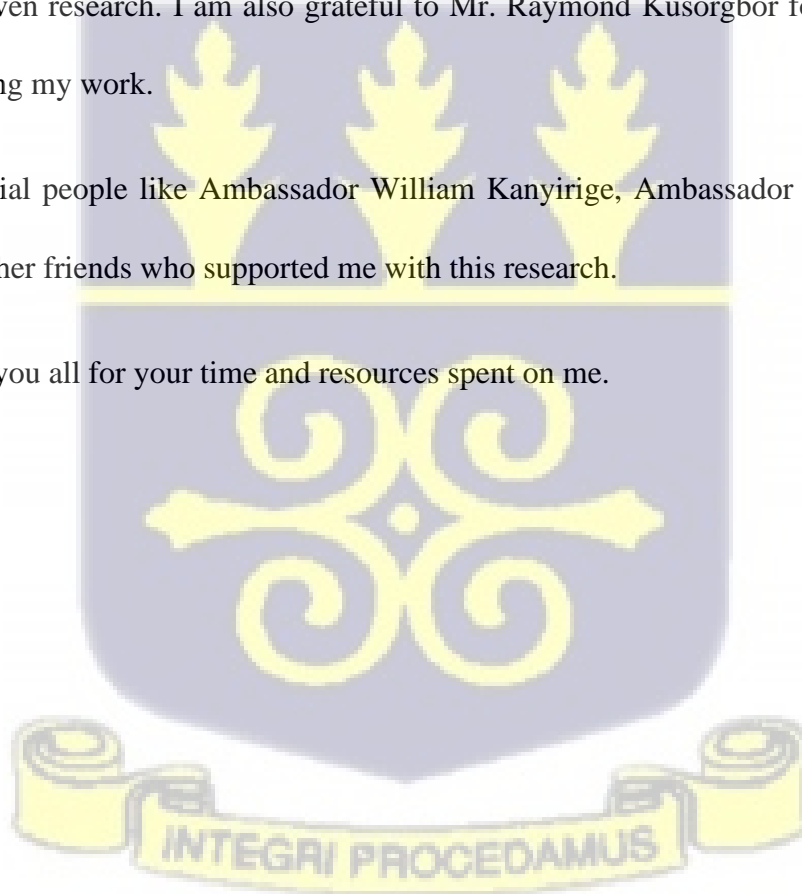


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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	African Development Bank
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AEC	African Economic Community
AFCTA	African Free Continental Trade Agreement
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APPER	African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery
AU	African Union
CEAO	West African Economic Community
CET	Common External Tariffs
CFA	African Financial Community
CFR	Council on Foreign Relation
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECA	Economic Commission on Africa
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEA	European Economic Area
ETLS	ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme

EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEPC	Ghana Export Promotion Council
GEPA	Ghana Export Promotion Authority
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IIA	Institute of International Affairs
IOs	International organizations
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
LAIA	Latin American Integration Association
LECIAD	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MFARI	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MoTI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MRU	Mano River Union
MOEA	Ministry of Economic Affairs
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Agreement
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PTA	Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADCC	Southern African Development and Coordination Conference

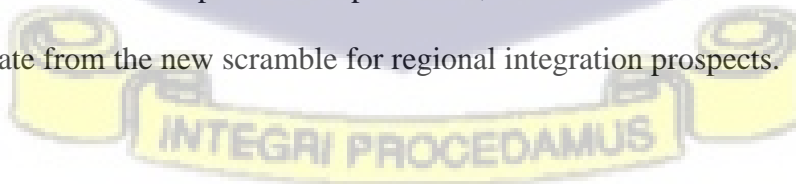
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNEC	United Nations Economic Commission
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
US	United States
WAEMU/	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UEMOA	
WAHO	West Africa Health Organization
WASSCE	West African Senior School Certificate Examination
WTO	World Trade Organization
	World War II
WW II	



## ABSTRACT

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West African economic diplomacy is essentially development diplomacy aimed at enhancing the quality of life for its population. However, efforts to maximize the benefits of bilateral and multilateral economic diplomacy and regional integration for member nations' socioeconomic liberalization are hampered by several obstacles. As a result, the research is directed by the objectives of identifying the scope and practice of economic diplomacy, its impact, and the problems of regional economic integration within ECOWAS. This qualitative study was supported by the theoretical framework of New Functionalism Theory, which relied on ten key informants for theme analysis of data obtained by interview guide administration. According to the findings, Ghana's economic diplomacy is a tool for market integration and regional trade liberalization, which underpins commercial diplomacy management, trade diplomacy management, and financial diplomacy management. Also, the impacts of economic integration tools resulted intrade enhancement, fosters market development and growth, facilitates the creation of employment, transit goods and logistics service management, and revenue mobilization. The key challenges for the regional body are efforts stifled by a new conflict of scramble for its resources by the developed nations; failure to implement the Trade Liberalization Scheme; failure to meet the primary convergence criteria that will set the stage for the establishment of the common currency, ECO; and pockets of corruption and military coups that have destabilized peace, among others. The study advocated the establishment of institutional and legal provisions to support economic diplomacy and integration partnership agreement implementation, the promotion of more political-dedicated regimes in collective economic protocol implantation, and the consistent honoring of financial obligations, separate from the new scramble for regional integration prospects.



## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

The chapter of this study starts with a brief introduction, the background of the study, and the statement of the problem. This is followed by the research question, the objective of the study, the study scope, rationale, theoretical framework, literature review, methodology, as well as study limitations. Also, there is discussion about the ethical consideration, and finally, the organization of the chapters.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Increased globalization has had a significant impact on contemporary trends and issues in African governments' economic diplomacy. African countries are getting more interested in becoming more important players in the global economy. African governments' economic diplomacy is essentially development diplomacy aimed at enhancing the quality of life of African populations. Economic diplomacy, both bilateral and multilateral, is assisting African governments in articulating their main issues. To further their own economic interests through diplomacy, to improve the alignment of their economic interests, African countries must remove important trade and investment restrictions that still exist (Mudida, 2012).

Aning & Pokoo (2014) indicated that for decades, countries have attempted to build partnerships at all levels of effort, collaborate, and seek avenues to produce opportunities for their neighbors' mutual benefit. Another of the ways governments try to achieve these aims, according to Macaringue (2016), is through regional integration (RI).

Regional integration has been presented as a mechanism for governments to voluntarily delegate sovereignty to intergovernmental or supranational bodies in order to improve circumstances via collaboration (Kabia, 2017). The phrase "integration" refers to the joining of two or more countries, political systems, or intangible entities for the sake of achieving a shared goal. The combining of two or more economies with the intention of reaching a common economic goal is referred to as economic integration.

These theories also gave rise to the phenomena of unipolarity and bipolarity, in which two nations dominate the international system, and a multi-polar world, in which several wealthy countries pool their resources to shape the world's destiny (Gilpin, 2011). The process of encouraging international trade and investment through government contacts and influence is known as economic diplomacy. Quasi foreign representations (embassies, consulates, and other publicsector commercial assistance facilities), state institutions (investment and export promotion offices), and diplomatic bilateral engagements (trade and state visits) all fall under the umbrella of economic diplomacy (Bayne & Woolcock, 2007; Bergeijk, 2009; Moons, 2012; Moons & Bergeijk, 2013). One of the most crucial instruments for countries to connect with one another is diplomacy. Diplomacy includes negotiations, discussions, and meetings involving accredited officials of states and multilateral organizations. According to Asante (2018), it is characterized by a dynamic network of interconnections and interdependencies, as well as an increasing number of players striving for control over the outcomes of these interactions.

Diplomacy as a vocation has developed in terms of definition, qualification, and work expectations of what a diplomat is or is not supposed to perform. Involvement of non-state actors in foreign policy and international affairs, in its broadest meaning, is a phenomenon that is more

common in developed nations and less common in poor countries. The bulk of these non-state economic diplomatic actors engage in foreign assets like food, beverages, medicines, electronics, electrical equipment, petroleum, cars, and chemical goods, to name a few. Economic diplomacy's major purpose is to boost investors' and trade partners' wealth and possibilities by giving one an unfair edge in creating foreign exchange revenues for the other (Bayne & Woolcock, 2011).

Nations in the global north, such as Europe, North America, and Asia, are seen as developed, whereas countries in the global south, such as Africa, South Asia, and Latin America, are regarded as impoverished and developing. Regional integration and regional blocs include the European Economic Area (EEA), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI or LAIA), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The method through which two or more nation-states agree to collaborate and work closely together in order to attain stability, prosperity, and riches is known as regional integration. One or more formal agreements detailing areas of collaboration, as well as one or more coordinating bodies serving the nations concerned, are usually involved in integration. This type of collaboration generally starts with economic integration and later grows to encompass political integration (Atik, 2014).

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The primary goal of ECOWAS is to establish a strong regional economic community that will facilitate trade in products and services. ECOWAS recently celebrated its 40th anniversary, according to Bossuyt (2016). Most studies of the organization's past record agree that significant accomplishments have been made in a variety of areas, such as restoring peace, supporting

democratic elections, enabling free movement of people, and assisting in infrastructure development. However, generally agrees that the core goals have yet to be achieved. Also, the University of Ghana <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh> ECOWAS community confronts a number of challenges that are likely to impede its capacity to carry out its activities and achieve its objectives in economic integration front. As a result, the study is underpinned by the need to examine the relevance of economic diplomacy as a tool in contributing to achieving economic integration.

Again, Bossuyt (2016) also mentioned the challenge of carrying out regional projects with a poor track record, implying that comprehensive stewardship of the regional construct remained limited. This is due to widespread development concerns on a national basis, as well as insufficient institutional capacity, a lack of trust among member nations, and, most crucially, the interests that drive elite behavior. These needs evidence empirically to resolve this challenge via the exploration of economic diplomacy in this regard.

More also, Musera (2020) opined that importance role of economic diplomacy is ferret with difficulties that impede its efficacy, such as competing interests among parties. Foreign direct investments have also been noted to face difficulties due to an unfriendly political climate, difficult circumstances, and high licensing fees, all of which discourage investors. This retrogrades efforts to maximize economic diplomacy gains as multiple bilateral and multilateral discussions in the international system to attract foreign investors, which helps the country expand and develop. As a result, the study will clarify and explain the economic diplomacy role as a tool in ensuring integration in bilateral and multilateral discussions.

Furthermore, Akinyemi, Efobi, Osabuohien, and Alege (2019) found that bilateral diplomatic exchange is a more important driver of African bilateral exports than regional integration. They also demonstrate a delicate relationship between these two economic diplomacy instruments: the trade-stimulating effect of diplomatic exchange is less prominent among African nations that are already

members of regional blocs. As a result of the limited and less prominent economic diplomacy instrument exploration, the study seeks to provide empirical of how to utilize the variable (economic diplomacy) as a tool by African Nations. This might suggest a trade-off between regional integration and commercial diplomacy in terms of export promotion, or a lack of complementarity between these two economic diplomacy instruments may be addressed in this regard.

However, Adeniran (2012) stated that the most significant hindrance to ECOWAS nation's economic inclusion is the priority of national problems over wider regional ones, resulting in a lack of awareness for the full potentials and utilization of regional economic diplomacy. As a consequence, the researcher investigated the function of economic diplomacy in regional integration, using Ghana-ECOWAS ties as an example.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- What is the scope of economic diplomacy in the ECOWAS and how is it practiced?
- What impact has economic diplomacy had on Ghana as an ECOWAS member?
- What are the challenges to ECOWAS regional economic integration?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

- To identify the scope and practice of economic diplomacy among member countries.
- To critically investigate the impact of economic diplomacy on Ghana as a member of ECOWAS.
- To highlight the challenges of regional economic integration within ECOWAS.

### **1.5 Scope of the Study**

The study focused on the broader tangent of diplomacy and economic relations among member countries within ECOWAS. Specifically, this research is a case study of Ghana and its relations

with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It is further concerned with the impact, challenges, and future of economic diplomacy within the ECOWAS sub-region. The study assessed Ghana and Ecowas relations over the last decade, 2011-2021. This study made use of concepts of regionalism and how they have evolved.

### **1.6 Rationale of the Study**

It is imperative to critically examine the scope and practice of economic diplomacy and the factors that influence trade relations among member countries at the regional bloc level. For most countries, economic diplomacy is central to their foreign policy initiatives and serves as a tool to help the country prosper. The study will be relevant and offer empirical research that will consolidate prior scholarly presentations on economic diplomacy. This research will provide the basis and might considerably increase the efforts of the ECOWAS by drawing on some empirical conclusions that would stand the test of time. This study sought to contribute to the already existing literature as it affirms earlier assertions by previous scholars, debunks some assertions, and generates new findings on the issue of economic diplomacy.

Although most researchers and academics have investigated the impact of economic diplomacy in many regional blocs, this study introduces a new tangent to build a foundation for future researchers to further studies on the issue of economic diplomacy. Even though several studies have been conducted on economic diplomacy and regionalism, not much has been done specifically about Ghana and ECOWAS. This study is therefore positioned to contribute to the wealth of knowledge on regionalism, with a specific focus on economic diplomacy in the case of Ghana. The results of the study will serve as a primary document to shape the policy and decision-making of the Ghana government. Finally, the study will add to the body of literature on

regional economic blocs as it exists in academia. The use of current scenarios and happenings within the sub-region is geared towards updating existing literature on sub-regional blocs.

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## **1.7 Theoretical Framework: New- Functionalism Theory**

### *Etymology and Assumptions of Neo-Functionalism*

In response to the development of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and, later, the European Economic Community (EEC), Ernst Haas created Neofunctionalism in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as cited by Schmitter (2005). The theory was at its pinnacle until the mid-1960s, when it began to provide evidence to support its claims. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it underwent a series of reformulations. Other integration theorists have used its central concept, "spillover," to explain a wide range of phenomena, such as the tendency for regional policy-making to spread from one arena to another. Its distinct logic of functional interconnectedness has been incorporated into numerous theories under various titles.

The notion behind neofunctionalism is that some behaviors can justify their existence and trajectory, and that humans choose to address their issues by engaging in certain tasks. If the duties are completed satisfactorily, the collaboration will continue and may even become formalized (Niemann, 2021). The initial players in the case theory of regional integration are autonomous national states and creative, supranationally oriented politicians or bureaucrats. Their common realization that dependency necessitates collective action to overcome some mutually recognized problem stimulates a collaborative effort. Because the peaceful and voluntary merger of formerly autonomous entities was so unprecedented, there were bound to be miscalculations that had to be corrected. The theory's original structural - functional composition (Mitrany, 1966) highlights the significance of experts in recognizing the problem and the implication of resolving

it, the accumulative pattern of efforts to accomplish this, and the process of learning from experience to implement the procedure towards other problem areas (Niemann, 2021).

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Its key assumption is that regional integration is "transformative," in the sense that it transforms the character of its participants, activities, institutions, and even aims over time (and across issue arenas). It does not assume that political players alone would reflect a cohesive "national interest" and hence dominate the process. The role of public opinion or politicization was not given much weight in the early neo functionalist texts. According to Haas (1958; 1961: 374), the people were mobilized and engaged in the community system by joining mass organizations such as trade unions and other interest groups. Politicization was viewed as a transitional variable between economic and political integration. It implies that the actors aim to solve their difficulties in order to increase their shared interests while delegating more authority to the center.

### ***The Three Mechanisms of Neo Functionalism***

To move integration ahead, Haas recommended three processes: positive spillage, nationalist allegiance transference, and technocratic automaticity. The positive or constructive flow on effect relates to the concept that integrating nations in one economic area creates strong incentives for further integration in other areas in order to successfully realize the advantages of the first sector's integration. Enhanced regional cooperation leads to an increase in transaction volume and conversation intensity. As a result, institutions that are independent of "local" governments are established.

The process of a shift in national loyalty or allegiances is best comprehended by first recognizing that a key presupposition in neo functionalist thought is the presence of a diverse society within the core member states. According to neo functionalists, as the process of integration intensifies, pressure groups and organizations will shift their allegiance or allegiance away from government

institutions to international organizations in Europe or other developed nations. They will do so because, in theory, they will see that these newly formed groups are a better way to pursue their financial goals. As a result, more regulatory complexity is necessary, as well as the involvement of other regional bodies. As a result, integration is being pushed up the decision-making chain. Technocratic automaticity emphasizes how, as integration progresses, the supranational institutions established to oversee the process will take the lead in adopting additional integration as they grow in power and independence from the member states.

### ***Relevance and Application of the Theory to Economic Diplomacy***

In the economic diplomacy and integration process, both governmental and non-governmental entities (for example, interest groups, social movements, political parties, and businesses) have a role. Actors are (imperfectly) rational and self-interested, but they may learn and modify their preferences when it comes to tactics. Also, interactions between players are positive-sum, and during the integration process, actors at various levels (supranational, national, and subnational) become interdependent, whereas regional institutions can gain independence, and their policy decisions are often considered to be gradual. The concept of spillover in neofunctionalism acts as a catalyst for more integration; it happens because functional challenges in particular sectors are so intertwined that they can only be addressed via diplomacy and integrating them remains a huge effort (functional spillover). This is supplemented by the economic diplomacy of integrative functions of national elites (both governmental and non-governmental) (political spillover) and transnational institutions (cultivated spillover). However, it must be noted that elites control the integration process. Thus, from the mid-1960s onwards, neo functionalists began to consider politicization and the role of the public to some extent.

### ***Criticisms of the Theory***

Neofunctionalism was falsely criticized of failure to consider unexpected consequences, despite the fact that this was at the heart of its expanding logic (McNamara 1993), or of refusing to realize that allegiances and identities are often multiple (McNamara 1993; Marcussen and Risse 1997). Its sceptics have also exacerbated neofunctionalism's predictive claims. This is particularly relevant to Even before the Pact of Rome's twelve-year transitional phase ends, Haas' declared a political community as a plausible prospect for economic integration (1958: 311). As early as the 1960s, neofunctionalists refrained from making such assumptions about the ultimate state (Haas 1960, 1964; Lindberg 1963: 6). The theory has been criticized for presuming a level of automaticity in integration processes and failing to account for rising protectionism and integration barriers erected by member states (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006, p.97).

In addition, the theory was criticized for failing to explain issues outside of its research focus and analytical spectrum, such as the nature of interest representation and intermediation in the EU (cf. Hix 1994: 6) or the beginning of the European integration process (cf. Milward 1992: esp. Ch. 1). See Niemann for a more detailed explanation of these debatable criticisms (2000: 13-23). Other complaints, on the other hand, pose more pressing and fundamental issues. Neo functionalists, for example, undervalued sovereignty consciousness and nationalism as impediments to integration (Hoffmann 1995 [1964]: esp. 75-84). Similarly, they have spoken nothing about the (underlying reasons for different national integration demands (Moravcsik 1993). Hooghe and Marks (2009) disputed the "permissive consensus" assumption that Lindberg and Scheingold (1970) and other neo functionalists still accepted in the 1970s – and stated that more attention should be paid to the role of the public in understanding the development of European integration.

## 1.8 Literature Review

### 1.8.1 Benefits of Regional Integration

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Harri (2011) identified the following as benefits of regional integration:

#### ***Enhanced political cooperation***

When compared to the effect that each country has, several nations generally have a significantly bigger political influence.

This type of integration is a critical technique for dealing with the region's political turmoil and future conflicts. Moreover, increased political coordination because of regional economic integration is crucial for coping with the socioeconomic difficulties that globalization has created.

#### ***Creates trade***

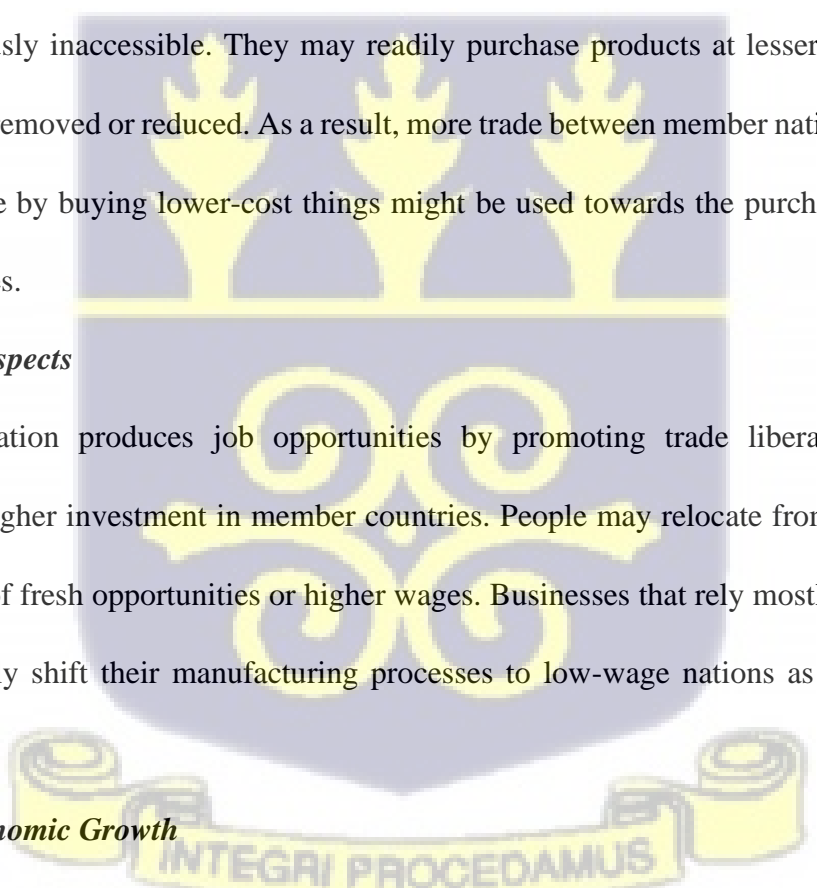
A regional economic integration pact gives member nations access to services and commodities that were previously inaccessible. They may readily purchase products at lesser prices now that tariffs have been removed or reduced. As a result, more trade between member nations is promoted. The savings made by buying lower-cost things might be used towards the purchase of additional goods and services.

#### ***Employment Prospects***

Economic integration produces job opportunities by promoting trade liberalization, market expansion, and higher investment in member countries. People may relocate from one country to another in quest of fresh opportunities or higher wages. Businesses that rely mostly on low-skilled workers frequently shift their manufacturing processes to low-wage nations as part of regional cooperation.

#### ***Encourages Economic Growth***

Economic integration promotes economic progress as well as the introduction of new and improved technology. The economy of the various countries benefit because of free trade as their



GDP rises. On the other side, regional economic integration typically entails member nations relinquishing sovereignty over key issues such as trade, fiscal, and monetary policy.

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### **1.8.2 The Need for Economic Integration in ECOWAS**

In ECOWAS, there remains a pressing necessity for economic integration. Economic integration in West Africa would surely provide considerable benefits and incentives to its member countries. These positive aspects are among some of the reasons why West Africa requires regional economic integration. This would be felt in a variety of areas, including the economy, politics, and socio-cultural, among others. On a greater scale of African economic cooperation, the formation of ECOWAS is seen as a vital requirement for the region's success, attributable to its division into a vast number of tiny states, which resulted in limited market sizes (Robson, 2010). Every member state is thought to have significant historical similarities (Shobande et al., 2018). As a result, there remains a strong demand for integration, as it is apparent that economic union under ECOWAS will benefit West African states greatly.

The prospect of market growth remains among the most important aspects of economic integration in the region. Economic integration will provide ECOWAS member nations the opportunity to fully assess and benefit from economies of scale by diversifying their markets. There is still a balance between competitiveness and economies of scale, as Regina Madyo points out, in that "bigger businesses have fewer of them, and the market is less competitive." As long as there is expansion in the market, this tradeoff shifts, allowing for larger firms as well as more competitors (Sulemani, 2019). Regional economic integration has the power to persuade member state firms to "produce a diversity of products" since there would be varied types of consumers with varied preferences in the larger market. Since there would be competition, regional economic

integration might reduce internal inefficiencies that member nations confront, encouraging governments to go all out to meet their goals. This indicates that if an economic integration may stimulate and enhance rivalry among ECOWAS member nations, it can also drive multinational enterprises in the area to minimize 'internal bottlenecks,' as member nations take full advantage of it.

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### **1.8.3 Africa's Regional Economic Integration Challenges**

According to Kimunguyi, one significant problem of African regional economic integration is the promotion of inter- and intra-regional trade. His article, Kimunguyi noted that the low inter- and intra-African trade performance is due to a variety of factors. He decried the fact that some African countries in the area primarily produce raw materials, which are less competitive in the global market and have little demand outside Africa (Kimunguyi, 2006). Moreover, citing Angola and the Seychelles as examples, Kimunguyi believes that the lack of variety in African commodities remains a major impediment to inter- and intra-African trade development, with petroleum products accounting for 90% of Angola's exports to other African nations and fresh fish accounting for approximately 98 percent of the Seychelles' exports. Furthermore, despite Senegal's proximity to the Gambia, commerce between the two countries is small, and Senegal's largest commercial partner is France, whilst the Gambia deals mostly with the United Kingdom (UK). One other impediment to African trade development, according to Kimunguyi, is that most African countries even have greater commercial links with their colonial rulers than with their neighbours. This remains the sole explanation why Tunisian and Cameroonian products frequently end up in French warehouses before being routed to one another's market shelves. As a result, Africa's regional economic integration is in jeopardy. As a result, it is obvious that Kimunguyi concentrated on the economic challenges of Africa's regional integration, proposing recommendations for how to overcome these challenges in the future (Kimunguyi, 2006). Another

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obstacle, according to Geda and Seid, is concerns about compensation and differences in the beginning condition. The two academics noted that this problem is directly related to the lack of an effective mechanism for ensuring that those who profit may recompense losers in the immediate future, and that in the long term, losses are averted. One of these costs is the loss of tax money, which remains a direct and immediate loss that may cause member nations to hesitate until they perceive an immediate and bigger return from the integration process (Geda & Seid, 2015). For example, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) recognizes that the weakest countries are apprehensive that powerful nations may abuse them.

Furthermore, under the integration model, where nations are at varying stages of development, the advantages of integration are uneven, and the willingness to carry out agreed-upon accords may well be endangered. Although if gainers accept paying losers in theory, putting up an appropriate method and executing it sustainably is considered a very challenging task in sub-regional integration initiatives. According to academics, another important obstacle confronting regional economic integration in Africa is the risk of revenue loss. Also, According to Geda and Kibret, the product or outcome between apparent relatively brief revenue loss and protracted benefits of regional cooperation is compounded by the abolition of trade restrictions in nations where tariff revenue remains one of the most important sources of government revenue. The two researchers offered Kenya as an example, claiming that government money from EU imports makes up a sizable portion of total revenue. Ethiopia's income loss as a result of extending its market to COMESA amounts to no more than 1% of total revenue, according to the two scholars, because COMESA commerce is modest (although transferring from the EU to COMESA might result in a significant tax revenue loss) (Geda & Seid, 2015). These COMESA analyses show that numerous

countries in Africa are apprehensive about achieving RI for fear of losing money from inter- and intra-state trade.

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#### **1.8.4 Challenges Facing the Economic Integration of ECOWAS**

In comparison to other regional organizations in Africa, ECOWAS' attempts at regional integration have not yielded significant results. Several theories about ECOWAS integration have been suggested in the literature to address this occurrence. Notwithstanding the human and financial resources deployed, Asante maintains that few of the economic groups founded in the mid-1980s have made significant progress toward building a regional economic market, much less an economic community (Asante, 2016).

In a similar vein to Asante, Okolo claims that the challenges are due to a lack of sufficient "background conditions" for integration. He goes on to say that the ECOWAS integration strategy faces challenges due to weak institutional structures resulting from limited influence. The focal point, also known as the ECOWAS national level institutions, is in charge of implementing ECOWAS resolutions in member states in order to encourage collaboration and long-term growth. Sadly, the community's capacity to fulfil critical objectives seems to have been hampered by the instability of many of these member countries, as well as widespread poverty aggravated by years of political misrule (Okolo, as cited in Sulemani, 2019).

In recent years, issues involving national-level institutions have become a major source of worry in terms of the community's goals. As indicated by Asante, member states have also found it challenging to manage ECOWAS operations at the national level (2012). Asante's claim is as pertinent now as it was when the ECOWAS treaty was signed in 1975. As a result, the varied viewpoints and insights presented by many researchers from different points of view are discussed as follows:

### *The Obstacle of Pragmatic Dedication*

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Fear of losing sovereignty, along with a lack of real political will and commitment by ECOWAS member countries, constitutes one of the most major hurdles to economic and other kinds of integration within ECOWAS, as per Lanre Olu-Adeyemi and Bonnie Ayodele (Olu-Adeyemi & Ayodele, 2007). The two authors acknowledged that Africa's regional integration experience suggests that nations are apprehensive about setting up supranational institutions and handing over the reins to them as governing authorities because of the threat of losing their sovereignty as independent countries and thereby demonstrating almost no commitment to the integration processes (Olu-Adeyemi & Ayodele, 2007). They claim that commendable regional bodies like ECOWAS and SADC lack a powerful shared legal solution which must underpin member nations to carry out their commitments, including lowering trade tariffs and barriers in compliance with their economic promises to economically integrate the continent. There remains no uncertainty that REI in West Africa will be a big success if such hurdles are eliminated as a result of liberalization (Olu-Adeyemi & Ayodele, 2007). African academics have decried the reality that West African countries' commitment to economic integration is merely rhetorical, since there exists a major lack of actual commitment.

Speculators have noted that in a significant regional organization like ECOWAS, governments are more concerned about other international and bilateral obligations outside and inside the area than they are about regional accords like ECOWAS. This is partially explained by assistance dependency and, as a result, conditionality tied to member nations' structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of member countries (Aning & Salihu, 2017).

Abraham's remark, which seeks to indicate that the intellectuals' unwarranted dominance in regional integration execution diminished grassroot involvement, is directly tied to the above

argument (Abraham, 1999). He also claimed that leaders in Africa have failed to adequately convey to their people the rationale for their participation in integration agreements as well as the benefits earned by their citizens. The focus of contemporary activities seems to be on meeting the very needs of the populace and, by extension, the continent in foreign relations (Abraham, 1999).

### *The Challenge of 'Strong Ties' with Past Colonial Overlords*

The problem of strong relationships with previous colonial rulers remains among the key challenges connected with REI in West Africa, particularly with member nations. As opined by Adeniran, as cited in Sulemani (2019), colonial influences have prevented ECOWAS from achieving a unified external tariff system, which threatens to break the region into two factions— Francophone and Anglophone. For example, ECOWAS and the UEMOA have both taken positions which are inherently incompatible, escalating the Anglophone-Francophone divide. The Anglo-Francophone difference is widening. Asante (2012) argues that the fundamental barrier to the formation of a regional economy in West Africa remains the old metropolises' external dependency on ECOWAS nations.

This is especially relevant given that emerging countries rely heavily on industrialized governments for development funding, raw material markets, technology, etc., and this is mainly done along colonial lines. Because of their unequal connection with the rest of the globe, Third World nations are more exposed to external economic forces, which can stymie regional cooperation. The ECOWAS trade pattern displays significant vertical interaction with external nations, especially developed countries, as well as a modest horizontal link among its member countries (Hulse, 2016). Most ECOWAS member countries import manufactured goods such as machinery, electronics, automobiles, and vehicles. Most of these produced commodities come from the European Union.

Except for Guinea-Bissau, West African states have a much higher proportion of manufactured items in overall trade with the EU than a comparable proportion of total imports from all nations, indicating that these nations import industrial products from the EU in the majority of cases. With the exception of Ghana and Guinea, raw resources have lower tariffs in West African countries than agricultural and processed goods. In Ghana, for example, extremely high fuel prices of up to 89 percent were in effect in 2000. The EU, on the other hand, imports agricultural goods and raw resources mostly from ECOWAS members. As a result, the EU-West African trade arrangement is pretty typical of advanced and developing nations. Imports from the UK and France, "West Africa's former colonial powers," account for the majority of the EU's overall imports. Italy, Germany, as well as the Benelux nations are also key commercial partners (Sulemani, 2019).

According to Adepaju, different colonial boundaries, such as Lusophone, Francophone, and Anglophone, have hampered the free movement of labour in the region, affecting economic activity. The adoption and execution of protocols aimed to facilitate community residents' migration, residence, and integration into Member States have been hampered by waning political support, political instability, and cross border conflicts. The ongoing economic crisis has hampered states' capacity to implement consistent macroeconomic policies, resulting to some extent in inadequate funding of cooperatives. As a result, Africans' ongoing shows of allegiance and tight ties to their previous colonial rulers, as well as their inability to effectively educate their populations about the benefits of EI, pose a significant threat to RI on the African continent.

Again, Asante (2012) grouped the integration challenges of ECOWAS into political, financial, approach or method and the existence of multiple regional bodies in the sub-region (rationalization). The absence of well-structured institutions and administrative capabilities,

particularly at the national level, is a key barrier for ECOWAS in formulating and implementing initiatives to promote integration. Institutions in the ECOWAS lack strategy, a clear vision, and feasible plans to improve integration. They also lack the power and resources necessary to make solid choices and see them through. Another problem is deciding who will work in these institutions. Personnel are frequently recruited based on geographical and political considerations rather than skills and competency.

Several impediments to effective integration in West Africa have also been identified by the African Development Bank (2011). Inadequate contemporary cross-border infrastructure, as well as insufficient institutional and human capability, are the two most significant hurdles to integration in West Africa, according to the ADB (2011). Inadequate transportation infrastructure, electricity, and ICT in the area are important roadblocks to regional integration and economic progress. Another difficulty is the region's attitude to integration. The problem here is that ECOWAS has taken a market integration approach to economic integration, with a focus on removing trade and non-tariff obstacles.

According to Asante (2012), the market integration model's flaw is its overemphasis on trade liberalization as the primary means of integration. The market approach gives the impression that integration is primarily concerned with commerce and investment. Despite the fact that the Revised ECOWAS Treaty emphasizes the importance of moving away from the basic market approach and toward the classical production model, no adequate efforts have yet been implemented.

### **1.9 Research Methodology**

The section reviews the methodology used to examine the role of economic diplomacy in the regional integration of Ghana-ECOWAS Relations. The research methodology starts with the appropriate research design. Furthermore, there is the discussion of the target population, the

sampling method, and finally, it ends with data collection analysis on the role of economic  
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diplomacy in the regional integration of Ghana-ECOWAS Relations.

### **1.9.1 Research Approach**

There are three research approach methods. They include; Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed-Method Research approach. Qualitative research mostly aims to comprehend ‘participants’ experiences, opinions, and thoughts’ (Harwell, 2011). Also, quantitative research is more logical and is based on defined factors. In a mixed-method study, both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are used. For this study, the qualitative method was considered appropriate because documentary analysis and in-depth interviews were conducted for the study.

### **1.9.2 Research Design**

The study adopted the case study research design as explained by Creswell and Poth (2016) under the qualitative research approach. The case study of Ghana allows for in-depth analysis to provide a proper understanding of the issues under investigation.

### **1.9.3 Target Population**

Professionals with experience and knowledge tackling issues related to regional integration in the ECOWAS sub region and that of Ghana's, were contacted for the study, as previously indicated. A total of ten (10) people were interviewed. Academics, researchers, and specialists from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Council on Foreign Relations in Ghana, Ministry of Finance (ECOWAS Unit), Ministry of Trade and Industry, Institute of International Affairs and Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy were among the respondents.

#### **1.9.4 Sampling Technique**

To allow the study to focus on specific people, purposeful sampling was used. Respondents who were thought to have the requisite expertise to aid the inquiry, as well as to boost the study's representativeness and generality (Yin, 2005).

#### **1.9.5 Sources of Data**

Primary in addition to secondary data were used in the investigation. Interviews with chosen resource individuals were used to gather primary data. Personal interviews with respondents were performed utilizing a semi-structured interview guide to collect data. This enabled respondents to provide comprehensive data for the study. The interviews were centered on the objectives of the study. Journal articles, policy documents, newspapers, books, and the internet were used to gather secondary data to supplement data from primary sources to widen the scope of the data to be analyzed.

#### **1.9.6 Data Collection and Analysis**

Respondent information was edited, coded, transcribed, and processed. In this study, thematic content analysis was used to analyze the collected data. Relevant conclusions and recommendations were reached as a result of the analysis.

#### **1.10 Limitations to the Study**

The researcher found it difficult to organize interviews with respondents on time, which was the study's principal limitation. It was challenging to get out to respondents for interviews due to their busy schedules. Notwithstanding these limitations, the study was not endangered because sufficient data had been collected regarding the study topics.

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### **1.11 Ethical Consideration**

Because the study was conducted only after the participants' stated agreement (informed consent), the primary ethical standards in the conduct of the study were rigorously followed without any infringements. Respondents were also made aware that the study was primarily for academic purposes and that they were not obligated to respond any of the survey's questions. Furthermore, the respondents gave their consent after being assured of anonymity and secrecy about the information provided.

### **1.12 Chapter Organization**

The study comprised of four chapters. Chapter One constituted the introduction and discussed theoretical framework, literature review, the methodology used in the study, which involved the mode of data collection, analysis, and presentation of findings of this research work. Chapter Two provided empirical review, and historical overview of the topic under study. Chapter Three presented the analysis of the data whereas, Chapter Four summarized the findings, discussed the conclusion, and made recommendations based on the study findings.



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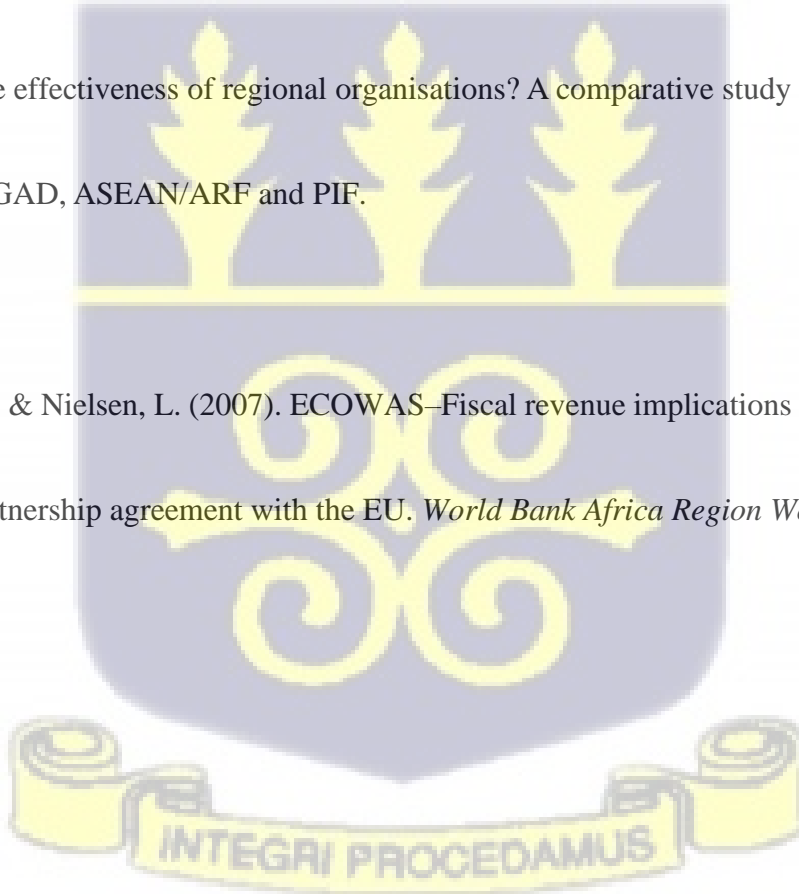
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**CHAPTER TWO**  
**OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN REGIONAL**  
**INTEGRATION**

**2.0 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the historical evolution of regional integration (RI) in Africa, particularly in terms of economic integration. The chapter opens by tracing the continent's history of regional economic integration (REI.) Furthermore, the chapter discusses the ECOWAS' experience, showing the historic progression of the organization's integration, which serves as a model of regional economic integration (REI) in Africa. There is also the examination of the numerous economic groups in West Africa that prompted the foundation of ECOWAS. And lastly, we discussed the empirical review of the study.

## 2.1 Regional Integration in Africa

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As indicated by Ken Ahorsu, Africans have experimented with regional integration as a long-term continental strategy of "collective self-reliance" to put a stop to the recalcitrant colonial structural legacies of reliance and marginalization. Given the demographic restrictions, low income, limited domestic market, structural problems, dependency, and mutual historical and cultural links, African nations have been compelled to join regional and continental cooperation programmes. (Ahorsu, 2007).

As a result of the foregoing, nations with similar socio-cultural, political, and historical connections frequently employ their feelings of communality to handle mutual socio-economic and political difficulties as well as bolster their country's international capacities. This feeling of mutual interests and connections leads to some type of teamwork. The official institutionalization of this attitude of togetherness and collaboration among nations in a geographic area is known as regional integration. Regional integration strives to combine the money and effort of participating nations in order to address and promote shared interests in a range of fields, including economic, socio-cultural, political, military, etc. (Hartzenberg, 2011).

Regional integration agreements are considered a "mini-UN," with appropriate procedures for mobilizing and coordinating activities across geographical zones. Regional organizations are encouraged by the UN Charter to take the necessary steps to safeguard international peace and security (Aris & Wenger, 2013). The activities of the UN and other players to assist governments in putting its security recommendations into action are supplemented by regional and sub-regional organizations.

Regional and sub-regional organizations, unlike international organizations, are made up of governments that are close to each other and have comparable political, social, economic,

cultural, and historical experiences (Katzenstein, 1996, cited in Yamashita, 2012). As a result, [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) regional and sub-regional organizations are a better place to talk about national and regional security advantages.

Africa has advocated regional integration at both the continental (via the AU, previously the OAU) and sub-regional levels (via ECOWAS, SADC, and ECAS, among others), as it has been in other continents (De Melo & Tsikata, 2015). These subregional organizations work for a wide variety of regional goals, including economic, political, social, and, most importantly, peace and security (KayizziMugerwa et al., 2014). According to Asante (2016), the economic justification of eliminating the restriction of small and fragmented countries operating in isolation has prompted African nations to adopt regional integration as a critical element of their growth strategy.

Integration is a prerequisite for African nations as they strive for economic success. A single market's members must, at the very least, be in harmony with others for it to work correctly, as wars and other forms of conflict can disrupt it and wreak havoc on transportation networks, communications, and a slew of other essential infrastructures.

## **2.2 History of Regional Integration in Africa**

Long-distance commerce occurred across Africa prior to the advent of the Europeans, resulting in a long tradition of regional economic relationships. The trans-Saharan commerce and the caravan trade were among these. At the time of colonialism, nevertheless, economic activity of various

types, such as commerce, financing, monetary affairs, administrative duties, transportation, and communications systems, were structured on a regional level, involving monetary unions between francophone nations and France (Aly, 1994). Each colonial power used to connect seized territory under one centralized system for the sake of convenience throughout this era (the colonial period).

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As a result, common services and common money-issuing bodies were established. In this case, typical behaviours such as the free mobility of people proved to be beneficial. Regional integration became a component of Africa's development strategy after independence (Mzukisi, 2007). Pan-Africanism, an ideology that stresses continental solidarity and strong sympathy with the then-ongoing anti-colonial battles, was the leitmotif of Africa's developmental framework. Since Africa's independence in the 1960s, the creation of sub-regional economic communities has been a critical component of the continent's development strategy (Mzukisi, 2007). During this time, the OAU and the ECA promoted African economic regionalism. These were carried out for two major reasons: partly as a reaction against colonialism, partly to promote regional political and economic progress, and partly as a political weapon to address global power dynamics.

Since Africa benefited from rivaling East and West blocs' financial aid in their endeavors to expand their spheres of influence throughout WWII, and the years immediately following the postwar, Regional economic integration was not given attention across the continent (Kimunguyi, 2007). He went on to say that the conclusion of the East-West conflict resulted in these nations' "retreat from Africa," which exacerbated the continent's economic woes. According to Kimunguyi (2007), at this point, African authorities, particularly those who had not previously been dedicated or active in the integration, recognized the importance of Africa uniting and acting

as one. He predicted that this will result in significant changes in their economic prospects, otherwise poverty and slow development continue to affect the region.

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In UNEC's publication entitled "Assessing Regional Integration in Africa IV: Enhancing Intra-African Trade," contends that "the formation of the OAU, now the African Union (AU), was the first step towards promoting both continental unity in Africa and economic cooperation within the African continent." It is extremely important to track the initiatives of African leaders to regional integration from the independence period. According to the publication, African leaders have taken measures in their efforts after emphasizing the need of regional integration in building a strong, united, and economically flourishing Africa. As a consequence, the leadership of the continent have launched a slew of programmes and projects targeted at achieving effective regional integration in Africa with multiple benefits (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010).

### **2.3 Historical Evolution of ECOWAS**

In 1975, ECOWAS was created. The signing of the ECOWAS treaty was preceded by a number of events. Former Liberian President William Tubman is credited with being the first to envisage a West African economic community, which prompted the signing of an agreement between Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone in February 1965, albeit the accord did not go very far (Global Edge, 2014). In April 1972, two famous Africans — Nigerian General Gowon and Togo's General Eyadema - rekindled the concept. They visited to twelve West African nations in quest of help. The generals drafted treaty proposals, which were considered in a conference of potential member nations in Lomé, Togo, in December 1973; in Accra, Ghana, in January 1974, at a

gathering of specialists and jurists; and in Monrovia, Liberia, in January 1975, at a meeting of ministers (Global Edge, 2014).  
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Finally, on May 28, 1975, fifteen nations in West Africa met in Lagos, Nigeria, to ratify the ECOWAS Treaty. From its very formation, there have been numerous fundamental concerns concerning the regional body's authority. ECOWAS' mission has been examined by a number of academics. ECOWAS is a regional economic bloc whose goal is to attain collective self-sufficiency for all its member nations by developing a single economic bloc and merging them into one common market area (Agyei & Clotney, 2017). Again, the goal of the community is to enhance people's living circumstances, create financial stability, and promote regional economic partnership.

#### **2.4 ECOWAS and West Africa Trade**

The regional trade policy strives to increase exports to member countries as well as the rest of the globe. As a consequence, imports into the region are considered complementary to the goods and services exported. Because of the prevalence of extractive sector fuels, ECOWAS's foreign trade is influenced by a variety of commodities that provide local value-added. This amounts for roughly 75% of overall exports (excluding re-exports) and is mostly supplied by Nigeria (73 percent). Cocoa and cocoa food preparations (5 percent of exports), precious stones (3 percent), and cotton, edible fruit, rubber, plastics, wood and wood products, fish and shellfish (all about 1% each) are the West African Economic Community's main export goods, along with gasoline (ECOWAS, 2020).

According to ECOWAS (2016), Europe contributes for around 28% of ECOWAS exports, with the [University of Ghana](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh> European Union responsible for the remaining 23%. The Americas contribute for 40%, with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 24, which comprises the US, Canada, and Mexico, accounting for 34%. Trade openness fostered by the rise of South-South trade represents a significant breakthrough for Asian and Oceanian states, which account for 16% of exports compared to 0.3 percent for the Near and Middle East. Nigeria and Ivory Coast dominate these exports, accounting for 87 percent of all transactions. Nigeria contributes for 77% of regional exports, with Côte d'Ivoire accounting for 10%. Ghana and Senegal, on the other hand, are ranked third and fourth, with 4% and 2%, respectively. Mali is the region's second-largest exporter, accounting for 1.7 percent of total regional exports. Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Niger, and Togo each account for 1% of regional exports.

A small handful of products dominate regional imports. Fuels remain at the top of this list. They account for one-quarter of all imports. Motor vehicles, tractors, cycles, and other vehicles come in second, machinery, mechanical appliances, and boilers come in third, machinery and electrical appliances come in fourth, cereals come in fifth, plastics come in sixth, iron, cast iron, steel come in eighth, pharmaceuticals come in ninth, and fish and seafood come in tenth (10th).

Nigeria leads the way in terms of exports, representing for 41% among all transactions, opposed to 18% in Ghanaian and 10% in Senegalese and Côte d'Ivoire, correspondingly. Nigerian and Ghanaian accounted for 59% of community's imports, relative to 36% for the eight West African Economic and Monetary Union members (WAEMU). The remaining 5 ECOWAS members account for less than 5% of overall Community imports. Trade in services, which should boost growth in West Africa, is hampered in certain ways by organizational, legal, and infrastructure constraints.

Besides from a lack of knowledge and information on the potential of the service industry at the regional level, various more internal and external constraints are undermining its competitiveness. [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh)

Internal constraints include fiscal pressure, the growth of the informal sector, the difficulty of obtaining credit and the inadequacy of financing mechanisms for service exports, poor performance quality (impoverished conformance to ISO Quality Management System 9001 2000 Version), an electricity deficiency, a lack of accountability and effective governance, and the implementation of a substantial chunk of state contracts.

## **2.5 Ghana's Participation in Regional Integration and ECOWAS**

In the 1950s, Ghana began working on regional integration. The Lagos Treaty of 1975 was intended to offer a wide trade outlet for its member states through an economic and commercial union, as well as to serve as a regional peacekeeping force. Disputes in the region following election results and coups have prompted these incidents in the past. Ghana's peacekeeping forces also include Congo in 1960 and the Liberia and Sierra Leone crises in the early 1990s. Ghana's present Pan-Africanism foreign policy is incensed by its first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Their presence in regional interactions could also be explained by their geographical position. Ghana's foreign policy has historically focused on regional developments and African politics in general (Yakohene, 2009), as seen by its membership in and sponsorship of the ECOWAS and OAU (presently AU) (ECOWAS, 2008).

In the case of Ghana's membership in ECOWAS, the state has a contradictory tendency to play the role of active membership with all the benefits that can accrue from the processes of integration, while, on the other hand, demonstrating a dire reluctance to provide the vital ingredients towards sustaining the sub-regions' integration. Ghana has been a member of ECOWAS since its

establishment on May 28th, 1975. Ghanaian Presidents have over the years headed ECOWAS' Authority of Heads of States. At the time of writing this dissertation, the President of Ghana, Nana Akufo-Addo, was the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of States of ECOWAS, a position once held by Ghana's former presidents, John Dramani Mahama and John Agyekum Kufuor. In terms of economic diplomacy and trade, Ghana has since joined ECOWAS and participated in trade inclusive policies like the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Program, amongst others.

## **2.6 Conceptual Framework**

Without initially establishing the conceptual model of diplomacy, it would be hard to completely appreciate the idea of economic cooperation and determine its position within the curriculum of diplomatic studies. Diplomacy, according to the literature, is the "maestro of international affairs," akin to statecraft, and the formal channel by which governments aspire to deliver their foreign policy objectives by nonviolent methods (Cooper, Heine, and Thakur 2013). Academics in diplomacy have long connected the word with statesmanship and nations as the fundamental unit of study. This thesis extends on this limited narrative by providing a variety of perspectives on contemporary diplomacy, since the concept has grown in complexity and requires a much more sophisticated and extensive assessment.

## **2.7 Defining Diplomacy through Theoretical Lenses**

Social scientists use theory to put socially complicated issues like diplomatic practice into context and better comprehend them. Diplomacy, on the other hand, is "particularly resistant to theory," according to one scholar (Der Derian, 1987). Despite major advances in the social sciences, specifically political science, no complete theory of diplomacy or theoretical foundation to aid methodical study exists, writes Leguey-Feilleux (2009). Providing a completely theoretical

diplomacy landscape would enable a clearer understanding of what economic diplomacy is and what it strives to achieve.

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Buckle (2011) characterized it as both an art and a system of interstate communication. As a result, formal diplomats are the only channels through which diplomacy may be conducted. According to Hocking (2004), this is the "old" standard form of diplomacy in which the foreign ministry and the national diplomatic mechanisms over which it presides serve as a gatekeeper, coordinating and managing interactions between domestic and global policy environments, as well as channeling relevant information between them. This underscores the importance of British ambassador Long Strang's statement (quoted in Hamilton and Langhorne 2011) that "diplomacy is everyone's concern in a society where war is everyone's tragedy and nightmare."

As a result, recent definitions for this dissertation are those that admit that "diplomacy is done on a bigger scale" and indicate that diplomacy represents a shared goal for both governments and non-state entities (Leguey-Feilleux, 2009). This sort of diplomacy theory is attributed to the Innovative Diplomatic Theory school of thinking. Diplomacy, according to Melissen (1999), is "the process of representation, communication, and negotiation through which governments and other international players do their business." The idea of communication, engagement, keeping in touch, and negotiation between nations, in addition to other international players, remains at the heart of the concept (Leguey-Feilleux 2009).

The following explanation demonstrates that representation, negotiation, and communication by both state and non-state actors are the organizing principles and basic functions of diplomacy. According to Barston (2013), "as is sometimes the case, economic issues dominate external

policy." As a result, commercial and diplomatic ties were unavoidable. According to the research, [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) ED incorporates the three purposes of diplomacy listed above as a term with many connotations and purposes. For Fuchs (2016), ED "is a form of diplomacy that is concerned with economic-policy issues". Woolcock and Bayne (2013) state that "economic diplomacy is therefore concerned with the process of decision-making and negotiation on policy or questions relating to international economic relations". Many academics see financial negotiation as a foreign policy tool used to promote a nation's interests, which includes negotiating favorable trade policies, encouraging export, FDI, boosting tourism, and marketing and advertising the country overseas (Vickers, 2012).

According to Pigman (2010), the longest functional field of economic diplomacy is trade relations management. "Economic diplomacy is basically concerned with the formation of economic policy by a specific state or set of states vis-à-vis other states," according to conventional diplomacy (Grimm, Kim, Anthony, Attwell, and Xiao, 2014). This stems from the economic functions performed by embassies, which include gathering, analyzing, as well as trying to report on economic growth, patterns, and promotional, commerce, and capital investments avenues in the nations to that they are validated in order to aid their sending states' economic policymaking.

Economic diplomacy is a multi-pronged approach to diplomacy that can range between bilateral to multinational. It is carried out through "international bodies, which may be multilateral, plurilateral (i.e., consisting of like-minded states or states that share common norms and values), regional (as in the European Union or other regional groups), or bilateral (as in recent trade and investment initiatives)" (Woolcock & Bayne, 2013). Negotiating global monetary treaties is a critical role of economic relations.

The most ambitious feature of economic diplomacy on a global scale is the negotiating of trade agreements that are legally enforceable on the member states (Woolcock and Bayne 2013). The University of Ghana <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh> Uruguay Round discussions, which took place at the World Trade Organization (WTO), are a prime example. In today's globalized world, economic diplomacy involves many more activities and people who represent the spirit of the creative diplomacy concept mode of philosophy and the integrated diplomatic paradigm of analysis.

### 2.7.1 Economic Diplomacy

Economic diplomacy is a type of diplomacy that involves using trade and commerce to achieve objectives. It focuses on economic interactions rather than political or cultural ones (Yakop & Bergeijk, 2011). Economic ambassadors are dispatched by states to focus on economic issues in recipient nations and to help their governments achieve their economic goals through trade connections. Non-state players such as non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and trade organizations are also involved in this type of diplomacy. These diplomats are in charge of encouraging commerce and investment in their respective countries. Economic diplomacy is concerned with economic policy issues, such as the World Trade Organization's (WTO) negotiations on international trade rules or other international bodies in the sphere of establishing economic norms. Economic ambassadors also monitor and report on the economic policies of other countries, advising their governments on how to respond successfully.

Berridge and James (2001) define ED the use of wealth and resources as a reinforcer (forexample, developmental assistance and/or economic sanctions) to achieve a specific foreign

policy aim. This is often referred to as "economic statecraft." Diplomats involved in such activities are typically recruited from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of their home countries, and yet relying on the delivering nation's economic diplomatic framework, people are indeed regularly enlisted from other various ministries, such as the Ministries of Economic Affairs and/or Trade and Industry. Today, adding aspects of economic diplomacy to the mix is the only way to address international problems, because the economy comes first and provides greater outcomes than politicians or traditional diplomatic techniques. A country with a richer, more powerful economy that ranks highly in relation to global competitiveness, for example, can utilize economic strength and diplomacy to achieve its aim of capturing the maximum possible proportion of global GDP (and greater prosperity for its people) by employing economic tactics instead of using force and conquering other areas. Coercive power, theft of land, and other colonialism tactics have traditionally had significantly more negative impacts than direct foreign investment, sales of products and services, and financial capital deployment. The ideological divide that hampered state relations in the 20th century vanished with the entrance of the twenty-first century.

Following WWII, the establishment of two strongly opposed factions of governments (East and West) with distinct systems (capitalism in the West and a command economy in the East) resulted in the loss of free movement of products, capital, technology, ideas, and people in both directions. Both systems worked independently of one another, with little cross-pollination. Economic diplomacy was of little utility in these conditions. This condition persisted until the fall of the Berlin Wall and the freeing of the forces responsible for the globalization trend in the 1990s. Economic concerns are becoming increasingly important in all countries' foreign policies.

In such an environment, one can only operate with economic instruments, guarding national interests and the country's economic interests, as the international division of labour, now recognized as globalization, increasingly binds the national economy into one interdependent whole, and one can only operate with economic instruments, defending national interests and national economic interests. To effectively safeguard another's advantages in international affairs, one must be able to predict specific events or situations and respond swiftly enough to enjoy the benefits whilst preventing loss and/or injury to the country's economy. In this aspect, the United States of America has been the wealthiest state in the world, as the world's largest economy and a global economic diplomacy leader.

### **2.7.2 Commercial Diplomacy**

Commercial diplomacy refers to diplomacy' (and consular posts') efforts to assist the sender nation's financial and commercial sectors in achieving economic success in accordance with the country's overall growth objectives. Foreign direct investment promotion (both in directions) and trade relations are examples of such programmes. Commercial diplomats are responsible for acquiring information on export potential and favorable investment conditions, as well as organizing and entertaining corporate business missions from the sending country.

Commercial diplomats are often civil servants, but they can also be representatives of chambers of commerce recruited to foreign diplomatic missions as financial experts in the target country's circumstances. The commercial and economic sections of foreign embassies and consular posts, according to Felltham (1996), are separate, with the commercial department responsible for promoting trade links with the receiving country (import and export), assisting and informing

businessmen about new ventures, and providing legal advice (on business, customs, investment, and trade).  
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### **2.7.3 Economic Sanctions**

Crises afflict international relations regularly, and they are dealt with in a variety of ways. Diplomacy is given the chance to use its tools to try to solve the situation, largely through negotiations but sometimes through political and economic pressure. Countries are becoming increasingly vulnerable to economic pressures as a consequence of the general expansion of society and economic interconnectivity (globalization), and international economic sanctions have become a crucial component of certain governments or international organizations' foreign strategy. International organizations defend such actions by emphasizing the need of achieving the aim of collective security, while big powers pursue their national interests and expand their influence over growing countries and territory. Many writers use the phrase "economic sanctions" to refer to a wide range of economic acts with varied scopes and objectives. Economic sanctions, according to Galtung (1976), are sanctions placed by several or an international actor (tenders) on nations (recipients) to punish or pressure the target countries to accept behavior and standards that appear rational and in compliance with the global community's expectations of the country (or international organization) imposing the sanctions.

### **2.8 Diplomacy and Economic Diplomats**

According to Rana (2018), in their efforts to access global markets, emerging countries encounter challenges climbing up the value chain. They need to rely on their diplomatic apparatus to assist firms, chambers of commerce, and other economic actors who lack the requisite international contacts or the financial means to engage consultants due to underdeveloped domestic economic

institutions and infrastructure. These factors also influence access to and utilization of foreign aid in these countries. It is unclear how this became a stumbling block to their economic growth; wealthy countries have progressed far further, establishing their own internal and external institutions and maintaining independent relationships with overseas equivalents. What are the phases that emerging countries must pass through on their way to becoming developed? How can they both mobilize promotion tactics and grow their institutions at the same time? How might these countries enhance their assistance management in their relations with donor organizations and nations?

It is worth noting that Africa lacked the people and physical resources required for manufacturing at the time of independence. As a result, African countries attempted to band together and form an agreement that would allow them to benefit from one another's efforts, leading to the concept of encouraging regional economic integration across the continent. The importance of multilateral diplomacy is expanding, and in today's linked globe, diplomatic agendas are becoming more global and comprehensive rather than solely bilateral. In dealing with specific issues, familiarity with other nations' cultures, languages, and circumstances remains crucial, and the ambassador becomes a "coordinator and consultant" to various ministries. Prime ministers and state presidents play a prominent role in contemporary diplomacy in some circumstances, as they interact directly at top-level gatherings (UN General Assembly, G8, G20, among others) and may thus handle numerous problems.



With the fast information flow in today's multipolar environment, a modern diplomat is frequently forced to as quickly as possible analyze a large number of usually contradictory types of information, extrapolate, and properly notify their ministry regarding a specific circumstance,

problem, or country. Public diplomacy, which comprises open and transparent interaction with all elements of society, including conversations with civil society organizations, is being given special attention. Diplomacy, as a tool and agent of foreign policy, must adapt to substantial shifts in the latter in general. Climate change, for example, is not the same as "traditional" global problems that got diplomatic attention in the past. In addition, the G20 meetings attract a huge number of specialists who are not government workers. Independent cabinet members and professionals, as well as representatives of civil society groups and the media, who play critical roles in modern social interactions, are increasingly being incorporated into the global arena, alongside government leaders or foreign ministry representatives.

## **2.9 Economic Integration Challenges in ECOWAS**

The poor record of the ECOWAS integration process might be attributed to a variety of difficulties. From grassroots decision-making to national decision-making, the problems are numerous. Regional integration in Africa may have begun under Kwame Nkrumah's presidency, according to some experts. In his book, "Africa Must Unite," he claimed that African governments ought to be economically united and integrated. Unfortunately, Kwame Nkrumah's goal of African unity for the region never came to fruition (Adepoju, 2001). Asante sees regional integration as "the only possible approach for optimal growth of all African peoples in the current economic and political circumstances, as well as in the globe as a whole" given the current economic and political climate (Asante, 2018). He claims that "regional integration in Africa failed due to factors such as the African ruling class's lack of commitment," the lack of "viable national institutions for managing the regional cooperation process," the failure of regional organizations to effectively establish and enact policymaking activities, and the diminished role of nongovernmental organizations and interest groups in the integration are all factors.

On the topic of "Regionalism and Regional Integration: Prospects and Challenges (Making the Ordinary Ghanaian Active in the Integrative Process)," Antwi-Danso claims that integration is important for development since it expands markets and allows for large-scale manufacturing efficiencies. He also claimed that integration shields against the vicissitudes of globalization. Nevertheless, he claims that African integration ended in failure due to inadequate stability, flaws in African nations' economic foundations, limited trading across African countries, the creation of several such integration organizations, elite non complementarities, and numerous trade barriers. In addition, Antwi-Danso claims that African integration "failed due to a lack of grassroots support." Greer also claims that a fundamental impediment to ECOWAS integration is the tension between Anglophone and Francophone countries (Sulemani, 2019). The Francophone- Anglophone divide stems from differences in colonial institutions, legal traditions, and corporate practices, in addition to France's dominance in her colonies, as opposed to Britain's (Annan, 2014). In West Africa, neocolonialism, which is credited to Britain and France, has been much more prominent in France and the United Kingdom than in the rest of the world. France was hostile to ECOWAS because it feared that a strong regional structure would provide more political and economic sovereignty to its old colonies (Wulf & Debiel, 2009). Greer claims that colonial rulers continue to have influence over their subjects to the point that they control integration agreements with several other countries within the region. As the sub-region strives to achieve monetary union, initiatives such as the development of the CFA, a single monetary union for francophone nations, remain one of the primary impediments to the integration process (Smit, 2015). The colonial rulers' efforts produced divisions in the community, causing member states to become more connected with them than with the sub-region. As a result, the community's decision-making on integration is complex. Greer aptly identifies the most visible impediment to

the West African sub-unification region's project (Smit, 2015). This is because, ever since the [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) community's integration push in the 1970s, colonial overlords have influenced decision-making.

According to Mubarik (Mubarik, cited in Sulemani, 2019), there remains the question of West African nations' political commitment. As indicated by Mubarik, there exists a lack of explicit interest in supporting and fully committing ECOWAS members to the community's cherished principles. He contends that member states' interest in and involvement in the functioning of the community are severely inadequate (Mubarik, cited in Sulemani, 2019). According to Amissah, ECOWAS choices and programmes intended at enhancing integration have received only a smattering of support from member states, making implementation of community policy difficult (Amissah, cited in Sulemani, 2019). Most ECOWAS countries do not place the same emphasis on policies and laws intended to promote integration as they do on national problems and concerns when it comes to their development goals. As a result, member nations construct their own goals, plans, and objectives, with little room for regional collaboration. Because of factors like "differences in size and infrastructural development, levels of dependence on external actors, and the political will of member-states, the progress of free trade and a common external tariff as a vehicle for economic development has militated against the success of free trade and a common external tariff as a vehicle for economic development," according to Okolo (Okolo, as cited in Sulemani, 2019). These forces have conspired to thwart ECOWAS' economic unification. The ECOWAS's ability to achieve its goals has been hampered by member countries' lack of political will to implement procedures. Another severe issue, according to Sambo et al. (2017), is the community's poor literacy rate. This issue has negative ramifications for the community's connection with business and judicial systems.

According to Sambo et al. (2017), the community's educational status remains so low that residents are unable to comprehend the integration process. Asante also believes that personnel quality at

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ECOWAS institutions is frequently substandard, owing to the fact that they are mostly recruited on the basis of politics rather than expertise (Asante, 2018). The difficulty that arises from Sambo's argument is that, it raises the question of how to begin a course that the beneficiaries do not comprehend. Among the challenges that have stopped ECOWAS from establishing a full Free Trade Area include the absence of a legal standing, an absence of adequate information and sensitization, and worries about autonomy (Ukaoha & Ukpe, 2013). Asante contended in his paper "Economic Integration in West Africa: Some Critical Issues" (Asante, 2018). In Asante's work, "ECOWAS Institutions as Facilitators of Regional Integration: A Case Study," Asante argues that "ECOWAS institutions as facilitators of regional integration: current role and accomplishments, strengths and weaknesses, and future prospects. He says that ECOWAS aspires to achieve the deepest level of integration possible by forming a monetary and financial unification. Since its foundation, ECOWAS institutionalize four primary entities to carry out its basic goal.

The ECOWAS Commission is also responsible for making recommendations, the development of programmes, and political collaboration in areas like trade, migration, etc. (Asante, 2018).

## 2.10 Empirical Review

The study by Moons et al. (2014) focused on economic diplomacy, product quality, and development level in their analysis. They assessed the impact of economic diplomacy on the export of homogenous, differentiated, and reference-priced commodities using an applied gravity model.

They took into consideration the possibly varied impacts of economic diplomacy on trade

between nations with varying degrees of development. They observed that when dealing with more complex items, economic diplomacy works best as a trade-stimulating instrument. They also show that economic diplomacy has the greatest influence on bilateral trade flows between countries of differing socioeconomic levels. They came to the conclusion that economic diplomacy may be an important policy instrument for policymakers in developing countries that want indigenous businesses to gain access to developed markets with a more nuanced offering. Economic diplomacy is also an essential instrument to consider for policymakers in affluent nations that seek to help domestic companies access developing (usually less developed) markets.

Bossuyt (2016) investigated the political economy of ECOWAS, concentrating on what motivates and obstructs this regional group's involvement to avert and settle disputes in West Africa, as well as promote a regional approach to agricultural production. It was observed that there is universal agreement that the fundamental aims have not been met. Overall, ECOWAS policy execution has been a failure in critical areas like as commerce, financial and fiscal integration, power, and social progress. There are indeed significant restrictions to free movement of people and products. Other, more significant issues are ignored. Cross-border crime, drug trafficking, the Tuareg struggle, terrorism, and the expansion of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb are all destabilizing the Sahel.

Although, as envisioned in Vision 2020, the ECOWAS has developed from a group of governments to a community of people, there is still a long way to go, particularly in terms of delivering actual benefits to citizens. Furthermore, data indicate that the business sector's and civil society groups' negotiating power and capacity to act and affect basic regional policies in a coordinated and effective way remains restricted at the regional level. This was related to

competing interests among actors arbitrarily grouped together as "the regional private sector."

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Divergent interests exist between importers of basic food commodities such as rice, which create powerful oligopolies with a strong influence on the political elite and reap rents from constricted local production capacity and fragmented regional markets, and local producers.

Sulemani (2019) also looked at the opportunities and problems of the Economic Community of West African States' economic integration. In order to strengthen its integration processes, it focused on the potential and problems in the domain of commerce. The study was conducted using a qualitative research approach. The secondary data gathered was given a thorough examination. According to the study, ECOWAS remains one of Africa's most relevant and significant sub-regional organizations. It has achieved success in maintaining peace and stability, as well as stimulating trade and economic progress for the collective gain of its member nations and the entire globe. Notwithstanding these accomplishments, the research determined that trade liberalization is still a key roadblock to ECOWAS' success since it contradicts the organization's fundamental goal of economic integration. Most of the commercial activity is undertaken with others in the world, mainly Europe, indicating that trade integration among member states has not been fully utilized. The report advocates harmonization of legislation and tariff changes, as well as the development of stronger institutions and commitment from member states, to foster economic unity and integration among ECOWAS members. The research also advises that transport and communication infrastructure be developed in a planned, aggressive, and methodical manner, with input from stakeholders other than political leaders.

Furthermore, Leso (2017) has looked into economic diplomacy through international tourist cooperation, specifically in the context of China and South Africa between 2009–2017. As shown

through international tourist collaboration, South Africa's economic diplomacy, as shown through [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) international tourist collaboration, consisted primarily of four pillars: negotiation, signing, and implementing tourism cooperation agreements; 2. representing South Africa's tourist interests in China; 3. country branding and positioning to improve tourist arrivals; and 4. building commercial relationships through tour companies to boost tourism. The key tenets of analysis in this work are the four pillars. Based on a literature evaluation, the researcher used a case study research approach. The important finding is that tourism cooperation is becoming a crucial component of South Africa's developing economic diplomacy with China. The paper recommends a more focused research agenda on tourism collaboration in diplomacy studies, as well as policy recommendations for how South Africa should strategically use this type of cooperation as a successful economic diplomacy tool.

Mukolla's (2011) research concentrated on Kenya's East African economic diplomacy. Kenya, as the economic powerhouse of East Africa, has decided to use this instrument to further its commercial interests in the area. The research was particularly interested in this subject in order to learn more about how the country uses it in East Africa, as well as to identify any issues it may have and offer strategies to improve its usage. The goal of the study was to discover how Kenya has managed to preserve specialized economic links with East African countries. The major goal of this study was to examine the trend and application of economic diplomacy as a modern diplomatic weapon for marketing Kenya as a country. It also aimed to connect Kenya's economy with the economies of other East African countries. Specifically, the study sought to determine how Kenya uses economic diplomacy to influence her relations, as well as the motivating factors behind this new period and any roadblocks the nation may encounter in achieving its objectives. The idea of interdependence liberalism was developed throughout the research, in which countries

rely on one another for a variety of reasons, including but not limited to commercial relations, security, and political reasons.

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The study used a descriptive research design in which data was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Questionnaires were employed as the major data gathering strategy, as were interview guides. Among some of the respondents were diplomats from Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi who are in charge of Trade Affairs at their embassies in some capacity, as well as civil officers from the ministries of Trade, and Foreign Affairs. Secondary data was acquired from internal government files and current newsletters to enhance the main data. The study also showed a substantial link between Kenya's economy and the economies of other East African nations. Export promotion, investment promotion, and including other stakeholders in the execution of fiscal policies were also revealed to be the driving elements behind Kenya's economic diplomacy success.

The research identified terrible governance and corruption, a lack of sound economic policies, insufficient infrastructure, and a dread of other countries' domination as reasons for the report's findings. To improve regional commerce, the researcher suggested that policy implementation tactics in Kenya be streamlined and trade restrictions within East African borders be removed.

## 2.11 Conclusion

This chapter highlights the literature on African regional integration and includes a wide range of topics such as the history of regional integration in Africa, the historical evolution of ECOWAS, and economic diplomacy concerns. The conceptual framework that drives the study, as well as

Ghana's Participation in Regional Integration and ECOWAS, were both visited. The empirical review of literature concludes this chapter.

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## **ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF GHANA-ECOWAS RELATIONS**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This study looked at the function of economic diplomacy in regional integration, using Ghana-ECOWAS ties as a case study. The analysis and extensive discussion of the feedback acquired from the respondents in the research area are presented in this chapter. It starts with a thorough examination of the objectives under consideration. The study is divided into three parts: the first examines the scope and practice of economic diplomacy among ECOWAS member countries, the second examines the impact of economic diplomacy on Ghana as an ECOWAS member, and the third examines the challenges of regional economic integration within ECOWAS. The research questions that informed this presentation were targeted at achieving the study objective. In total, 10 people agreed to participate in the researcher's interview. For simpler referencing and analysis, the respondents were divided into categories.

### **3.1 Demographic Data of Respondents**

#### **3.1.1 Gender of Respondents**

**Table 3.1 Gender of respondents**

Frequency	Percent	
Female	2	20
Male	8	80
Total	10	100.0

**Source: Field survey, 2021.**

From Table 3.1 above, identifying respondents according to gender shows that there are males of

80 percent among the selected respondents and 20 percent were also found to be females.

### 3.1.2 Age range of respondents

**Table 3.2 Age range of respondents**

Frequency	Percent %	
1-24	0	0
25-30	0	0
31-35	1	10
Above 36	9	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey, 2021.

Table 4.2 shows the various ages of selected respondents. It was observed that most respondents in the study representing 90% had their ages between 36 years and above. Only 10% representing 1 respondent had his age between 31 to 35 years. This implies that majority of the respondents in the study are matured enough to give their opinion on the issue.

### 3.1.3 Educational level of Respondents

**Table 3.3 Educational level of respondents**

Frequency	Percent	
Degree	1	10
HND	0	0
Master's	8	80
Others	1	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field survey, 2021

Based on the findings in table 3.3; 8 respondents being majority and also, representing 80% had

Master's certificate, 10% of respondents had degree certificate and 10% of respondents had others certificate. This shows clearly that majority of the respondents had attained a substantial level of educations, which will help in providing a meaningful response.

### 3.1.4 Working experience in terms of regional integration

**Table 3.4 Working in terms of regional integration**

Frequency	Percent	
1-3 years	2	20
4-6 years	0	0
7-9 years	1	10
Above 9 years	7	70
Total	10	100.0

**Source: Field survey, 2021.**

From the table 3.4 above, 20% of respondents had 1-3 years' experience, 10% of respondents had 7-9 years working experience and 70% of respondents being majority had more than 9 years and above working experience in the area which was very positive to the success of the study.

## 3.2 To Identify the Scope and Practice of Economic Diplomacy Among Member Countries

### 3.2.1 Ghana's membership of ECOWAS has yielded positive results from an economic perspective

According to Marinov (2014), regional integration is frequently considered as a means of aiding developing nations' development and economic progress through trade and welfare advantages. The study examines the benefits and determines whether aspects of classic and modern integration are appropriate to the integration arrangement among emerging nations. The study, however, underscored the benefits of economic integration to a nation in terms of general economic, market-related, and trade-related variables and impacts.

In that regard, Raymond Kodjoe Nazar, the Deputy Head, International & Regional Economic Policy Unit, Ecowas Macroeconomist (Ecowas NCC) and African Union Budget Expert, indicated that

*Ghana has also profited from a variety of international Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), such as the ECOWAS-EU EPA, which have resulted in trade obstacles gradually being reduced. The area has developed over six hydroelectric dam sites, which are dispersed among the Ecowas member nations. We have regional gas-fueled thermal facilities in Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria, as well as the restoration of plants in both countries, with a total capacity of roughly 9,000MW. Ghana has also profited from the West Africa Power Pool (WAPP), which connects national electrical networks in the West African sub-region with a total installed capacity of 10,000 MW. We've also profited from the Ecowas Brown Card, which provides third-party insurance coverage in the event of a mishap.*

As consistent with the literature, Akinyemi et al (2019), in their study examined whether regional integration might be a feasible instrument for promoting energy sustainability in Africa's Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sub-region and vice versa. Through an assessment of the ECOWAS West African Power Pool, it explores the present prospects and obstacles to better company productivity in the area and the effectiveness of the ECOWAS sub- region in guaranteeing regional integration for energy sustainability (energy security, energy equality, and environmental sustainability). The study's findings demonstrate, among other things, that economic partnership on energy business integration has potential and actual advantages for the region's long-term growth. Even while considerable progress has been achieved, there are still numerous obstacles to overcome. Furthermore, where progress has been made, it has not been uniformed throughout the area, even though issues such as increasing population and political instability may be to blame. It is suggested that member states prioritize economic partnership on

energy business integration in order to guarantee that there is positive political will to achieve defined targets quickly. Furthermore, the need to invest in human capital to manage the many projects and maintain the infrastructure cannot be overstated (Akinyemi et al., 2019).

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Economic integration, according to Harri (2011), creates job prospects by fostering trade liberalization, market growth, and increased investment in member nations. Asymmetric economic integration with affluent countries has also affected Africa's industrialization and symmetric economic integration, according to Rekiso (2017). It also discovers that asymmetric economic integration with industrialized economies has had a detrimental, cyclical, and cumulative impact on African countries' industrialization and (symmetric) economic integration. As a result, it argues that, for South-South Africa to achieve industrialization and revolutionary regional economic integration, context-specific, dynamic, and transformational industrial policies must be at the center of development efforts. Regional economic integration projects must also be rethought to enable and magnify the efficacy of these industrial policies.

According to Madam Neematu Ziblim, Deputy Director for Regional Integration, ECOWAS unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, posited that it has created employment:

*She claims that because many nations in the sub-region are permitted to open enterprises and trade with Ghanaians, their citizens have been able to find work. Ghana will be able to access more markets. Ghana's products can be exported to the rest of the member countries, thus expanding their market. And, because a larger number of people enter the country to trade, the economy grows as a result, providing people with a wider range of goods to choose from. It improves people's living levels in the country since the economy is flourishing*

Mr. Bonaventure Adjavor, the Director of Economic Trade and Investment Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, indicated that:

Thanks to regional integration, we now have 15 member nations with a combined population of [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) nearly 350 million people. To get access to the market, Ghana must pursue market integration within the ECOWAS. We have a trade liberalization system in place, as well as protocols for the free movement of goods and services and protocols for interstate bureau transit conventions, which allow items to flow from our ports to Saharan or landlocked countries. As a result, Ghana must promote market integration inside the Ecowas in order to get access to the market, and the Ecowas strategy in this regard is known as the "Trade Liberalization Scheme.

Similarly, according to Raymond Kodjoe Nazar, Deputy Head, International & Regional Economic Policy Unit, Ecowas Macroeconomist, Ministry of Finance, it is apparent that

*As a member of Ecowas, Ghana has benefited from a variety of trade facilitation measures, including trading within a single huge trading market of 349 million people with a combined GDP of around US \$1.6 trillion as of 2018, thanks to the adoption of the Ecowas Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS). For example, Ghanaian enterprises such as Kasapreko now have a larger market to sell their products in other member states such as Nigeria. Ghana has also profited from a series of international Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), such as the ECOWAS-EU EPA, which have led to the gradual removal of trade obstacles between the parties. Following numerous Ghanaian exporters making use of these arrangements, the above-mentioned trade facilitation measures have had a favorable influence on the Ghanaian economy, accelerating company growth and expansion as well as generating government income through taxation and other means*

From the above discussions, there is evidence to posit that economic diplomacy provided a tool for regional trade integration for mutual benefits in terms of financing trade, investment, and catalyzing economic growth. Shuaibu (2015) examines the link between trade liberalization and intra-ECOWAS trade in selected economies. This research is empirically investigated in this

research. The findings demonstrated that trade liberalization has aided intra-regional commerce in West Africa using the system and generalized technique of moments. Our findings also reveal that more intra-ECOWAS trade is related to stronger institutional quality and infrastructure. The findings were further verified using fixed and random effect estimators, bolstering support for the hypothesis that removing trade restrictions, particularly in the industrial and primary sectors, as well as excellent governance and infrastructure development, improves trade across ECOWAS members.

Another empirical evidence on trade liberalization, Sunge & Ngepah (2020), opined that despite expanded agricultural trade liberalization, Africa remains a net importer of agricultural products due to high agricultural productivity inefficiencies. The efficiency relationship has been ignored in empirical research that has concentrated on the trade liberalization–productivity growth nexus. The importance of regional trade agreements (RTAs) and institutions in decreasing agricultural inefficiencies has also been overlooked. A true fixed-effects panel data model is estimated using a stochastic frontier technique and single-stage maximum likelihood estimation. Sunge & Ngepah (2020) show that agricultural trade improves technical efficiency statistically through technology transfer using maize and rice data. Furthermore, the data suggest that RTAs provide significant technical efficiency gains, which vary by product and membership level. They also show that, while regulatory quality lowers technological inefficiency, corruption control increases it. Consequently, the study recommended that trade liberalization schemes or agreements should play a bigger role in advancing agricultural trade liberalization—essential for economic diplomacy and regional trade integration for the development of member nations.

According to Pigman (2010), "the oldest functional area of economic diplomacy is the management of trade relations." This helps to harness foreign direct investment and stimulate

economic growth and development. Mr. Tawia Akyea, former Director of Ghana Export Promotion Council, now Ghana Export Promotion Authority, also confirmed that:

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*Ghanaian companies are beneficiary and they have managed to develop from formal trading by going through all the customs procedures and now making a lot of money generating foreign direct investment to Ghana. The positivity of common external tariffs (CET), which also help to protect the local industries from unnecessary pressure, money laundering, and smuggling because there is a uniform treatment of products. So, now when goods are coming from outside ECOWAS, there is a way of checking no matter which country they land in. The CET checks that the appropriate duties are paid and there is protection for local industries to also expand*

Mr. Mickson Opoku 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. Finally, our membership in Ecowas over the years has resulted in the establishment of the African Continental Trade, the secretariat of which is based in Ghana. The secretariat will help promote trade diplomacy, financial diplomacy, and commercial diplomacy among the member states*

Drawing on the management of commercial trade relationships, also referred to as economic diplomacy, and its implications for foreign direct investment to member nations, Musera (2020), in their study using Kenya as a case study, looked at the function of economic diplomacy in stimulating foreign direct investment. It investigates the link between economic diplomacy and foreign direct investment, as well as Kenya's economic diplomatic methods for supporting FDI and the possibilities for FDI as a vital component of economic growth. Data was collected using

both a qualitative and quantitative research approach, which aided in gathering important information for the study. [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) Economic diplomacy, according to the report, is an important mechanism that should be pushed in order to attract investors to the economy. Economic diplomacy guarantees that nation states work together, allowing investment to move freely from one region to the next. Economic diplomacy guarantees that nation states collaborate with one another, allowing investment to move from one region to the next. The study also found that economic diplomacy has hurdles that impede its efficacy, such as competing interests among participants. Foreign direct investments have also been noted to face difficulties due to an unfriendly political climate, difficult circumstances, and high licensing fees, all of which discourage investors. This research shows that Kenya participates in multiple bilateral and multilateral discussions in the international system in order to attract foreign investors, which helps the country expand and develop. This is consistent with Ghana's economic diplomacy and trade management with other ECOWAS member nations. Also, concerning Ghana's role in operating a secretariat of African Intercontinental Trade to promote trade diplomacy, financial diplomacy, and commercial diplomacy, the literature finds it relevant. The study of diplomacy has evolved dramatically toward a greater knowledge of the processes and behaviors that enable economic diplomacy, according to Lee and Hocking (2010). New concepts of diplomacy, such as catalytic diplomacy, network diplomacy, and multistakeholder diplomacy, have emerged, providing new tools not only for recognizing a wider range of state and non-state actors in diplomatic practice, but also for highlighting the diverse and changing nature of diplomatic processes. Lee and Hocking (2010) further indicated that commercial diplomacy management, trade diplomacy management, and finance diplomacy management, among others, are crucial to managing contemporary regional and global globalization. The evolution of various forms of economic diplomacy has influenced our perceptions of who diplomats are, what they do, and how they do it. Based on this evidence, trade relations management, a critical component of economic diplomacy, is recognized as critical in

regional integration.

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### **3.2.2 Commitment and contribution to the process of regional integration in terms of economic diplomacy**

According to Mudida (2012), African countries' commitment to expanding their role in the global economy is growing. The African economies' rebound resulted in a considerably enlarged middle class and the discovery of new markets. Increased globalization has had a considerable influence on current economic diplomacy trends and challenges among African states. Economic diplomacy is primarily development diplomacy aimed at improving the living conditions of Africans.

Consequently, Mr. Anthony Kwasi Nyame-Baafi, the former Director for Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry, averred that:

*The commitment and contributions of ECOWAS member states in economic diplomacy cover the areas of financial contributions, bilateral trade, joint projects of economic importance, financial regulation against money laundering among others.*

According to the key informant, Mr. Anthony Kwasi Nyame-Baafi's, economic diplomacy scope and practical experiences, financial contributions are made to ensure the effective operation of the ECOWAS, and all member nations are required to pay annual subscriptions. Ghana, as a member, pays obligations and many other monetary commitments to the institution on an annual basis.

Also, Ghana embarked on cooperative initiatives with other member-states over the years as part of its role in economic diplomacy in regional integration. Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, for example, have collaborated on the economic front to connect their energy supply lines. This is done to ensure that if one country runs out of electricity, the other will be able to supply it. Ghana also

collaborated with Nigeria, via Benin and Togo, to build a pipeline that will connect the two countries.

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As a member of the sub-regional community, Ghana has played a significant role in the development of regional integration in terms of economic diplomacy, particularly in terms of ECO (single currency and common external tariff harmonization among member states (Talabi, 2020). The Ambassador William Kanyirige, who was the former Ambassador to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Djibouti, South Sudan, Somalia, and the former Permanent Representative to the African Union, opined that:

*Ghana hosted the 44th meeting of the Technical Committee of the West African Monetary Zone, which was organized by the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Ghana. Ghana provided an office for the West Africa Monetary Institute (WAMI) in Accra to champion the idea of the use of a single currency (ECO) in the sub-regional community. Ghana has also spearheaded the common external tariffs where traders only pay tariffs when they import goods from outside the Ecowas community into the sub-region. She also said that before these common external tariffs, people from these member countries were made to pay other tariffs for transporting their goods.*

Drawing inference from the literature (Bout, Laborde, & Traore, 2021), they observed that it is a Pareto-superior reform to adopt a unified external tariff for economic and regional integration purposes. If there is complete factor mobility across nations in the zone, however, there is a greater divergence of interest in optimum trade policy: if the optimal common external tariff is imposed, GDP grows in the largest country but drops in the smaller countries.

Again, De Melo and Laski (2014) observed that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is implementing a common external tariff in accordance with a worldwide trend toward customs unions. The adoption of the common external tariff necessitates meticulous

planning and communication on the part of government departments. Changing tariffs will have an impact on the pricing of items, many of which are essential purchases for low-income families.

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It noted that the future common external tariff discussions should include suitable tariff measures for the smaller ECOWAS economies for the sake of economic growth.

Despite Ghana's contribution and economic diplomacy efforts on ECO, the empirical literature averred that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) agreed to adopt the ECO as its single currency for the 15 member nations, with a 2020 deadline. However, this does not appear to be practical, as Anglophone nations like Nigeria and Ghana have earlier withdrawn on the grounds that Francophone countries have violated the spirit of the Economic Community's Currency Scheme (Talabi 2020). One of the most important reasons for the decision to create a single currency was that the major monetary issues afflicting West African countries appeared to be supranational in nature, particularly the limits imposed by the International Monetary Systems. Currency unification, according to the community and numerous stakeholders, might solve these monetary issues. Talabi (2020) in his study also highlighted the legal, structural, and political obstacles to the introduction of a single currency in this region, such as variations in national laws, insufficient infrastructure, and political instability. In this regard, Ghana's contribution to WAMI underpinned the economic integration and diplomacy efforts and resolved challenges towards the regional realization of ECO.

### 3. **Guidelines or a law backing our membership as members of regional integration**

Results on whether there are any guidelines or laws backing our membership as a member of regional integration According to Mr. Anthony Kwasi Nyame-Baafi, Former Director for Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry and respondent to the survey,

Yes, Ghana joined ECOWAS on May 28, 1975, and the treaty we signed legally binds our membership to ECOWAS." There are several ECOWAS Protocols that Ghana has signed and ratified, including the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), ECOWAS Common External Tariff, and the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons.

All respondents from the survey confirmed that there is a law backing our membership in ECOWAS. Which is the treaty of 1975 and the revised treaty of 1993, which have been signed and ratified by Ghana. Mr. Mickson Opoku, Team Leader/Multilateral, Regional and Bilateral Trade, Ministry of Trade and Industry said,

*The treaty of 1975 and the revised treaty of 1993, which have been signed and ratified by Ghana, are the laws backing our membership in Ecowas and without that, we wouldn't have gotten any recognition to move to any Ecowas countries without Visas*

Once more, Raymond Kodjoe Nazar, Deputy Head, International & Regional Economic Policy Unit, Ecowas Macroeconomist (Ecowas NCC), African Union Budget Expert, said: *The member states have signed the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States, which is a multilateral agreement. The heads of state and government of the then-16 member states signed the first treaty in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1975. In Cotonou, Benin Republic, in 1993, the heads of state and government of the now 15 member states signed a revised treaty with new development and mandates for the Community. The 1975 treaty, as well as the revised treaty of 1993, provide a legal basis for our membership in Ecowas.*

Literature indicates that Parliaments were established across the world to offer a fundamental legitimacy to effective administration under democratic forms of government, according to Shebu (2015), and members must be elected by the people. As a result, the ECOWAS Parliament is entitled to this legitimacy, with members elected by adult citizens of ECOWAS member states.

The study investigates ECOWAS's legal and legitimate role in achieving regional integration, economic growth, and collaboration in the sub-region. The article's findings posit that the principal tasks of the ECOWAS Parliament backed by law aimed at regional integration of the West African area include regional economic integration, peace and security, good governance, democracy, and human development. This has validated the argument that ECOWAS is backed by law in facilitating its economic diplomacy and regional integration initiatives among member nations.

Finally, Ladan (2016) validated the laws that support the operation of ECOWAS and its institutions for economic and regional integration in his study. It argues that regional integration is now universally recognized as essential for extending Africa's economic potential. To successfully participate in the globalization process, African nations are adopting an aggressive integration agenda. As a result, African leaders regard regional integration as the most direct path to rapid, broad-based economic growth, as well as a powerful tool for overcoming the constraints of restricted internal markets and reducing the continent's high poverty and unemployment rates. In light of this, the study examines the nature and scope of the legal regime or laws backing regional integration in the Economic Community of the West, which provides the conceptual basis and applicational validity or implementation of relevant key terms such as "regional integration," "community law," "economic diplomacy," "inter or intra-regional trade" and "harmonization" of regional laws and policies, as well as the vital role of the Community Court of Justice (ECCJ) in securing West Africa's long-term regional integration; and to finish with ECOWAS' future prospects.

**3. To critically investigate the impact of economic diplomacy on Ghana as a member of ECOWAS**

### 3.3.1 The impact of ECOWAS on Ghana

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Ecowas has also undertaken efforts through the use of economic integration as a tool to promote collaborative education and coordinated training programmes for expertise training on health and education, enhance trade creation for employment generation, and transit goods management and revenue generation among others. Findings on the issue of the impact of economic diplomacy, which was identified by Ambassador Baah-Duodu, a Diplomat-in-Residence, Ghanaian students also go to other West African countries explore bilateral economic agreements for specialist human capital development training that is crucial to stimulate one economic growth and development. According to Ambassador Baah-Duodu,

*Ghana gains significant economically from bilateral economic integration partnerships which becomes a tool for stimulating growth through human capital development. Many students from other ECOWAS Member States enroll at both public and private tertiary institutions to pursue specialized studies in medicine, engineering, sciences, humanities, and management, among other fields because of economic and human capital development partnership between member states.*

*Other ECOWAS nationalities seek specialist medical care in Ghana, particularly in the areas of neurology, orthopaedics, skin burns, cardiology, renal disease, obstetrics, and genealogy.*

In terms of the trans boarder trading and transiting economic cooperation between Ghana and its landlock countries impacts of economic diplomacy resulted to revenue generation and management for Ghana Revenue Service, Mr. Anthony Kwasi Nyame-Baafi, the former Director for Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, emphasized that: *A regional economic integration deal gives member nations access to services and commodities that were previously inaccessible. They may readily purchase products at lesser prices now that tariffs have been removed or reduced. As a result, more commerce between member nations is promoted. The money saved by purchasing lower-cost items might be utilized to purchase other goods and*

*services. As a result, economic diplomacy becomes a tool to create trade and access specialized*

*tariff among member nations than non-member states*

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The literature supports the assertion that ECOWAS member countries use economic diplomacy as a tool to harness the impacts of economic growth via human capital development that surge development and growth. According to Usman and Adeyinka (2019), the study looks at the random influence of human capital development on ECOWAS member states' economic growth during a 37-year period from 1980 to 2016, measuring the random effect of human capital development on ECOWAS member nations' economic growth. The Pedroni residual co- integration technique is used to assess for a long-run link between the variables in the empirical evidence. The data reveal that GDP and government expenditure on education, health, and school enrolment in ECOWAS nations have a positive and substantial relationship. The study concludes that education and human capital development through the frontier of economic diplomacy influence economic growth in the ECOWAS region: (a) Exclusive development is a major policy problem in the ECOWAS region, where education and human capital development are vital to achieving the SDGs' severe poverty target, despite the fact that certain member states have had more than two decades of growth rebound. (b) High human capital and education may drive regional growth. For equitable development, with the population of member nations anticipated to double in around 30 years, more investment in education and health is essential.

When it comes to the issue of trading with other member states, Ambassador Baah-Duodu also posited that our trade with other Ecowas countries has not been bad, even though we could have done better. From a small deficit of GH29.4m in 2006, the deficit premium increased to GH247.4m in 2007 and reached a level of GH712.8m in 2008. However, since 2009, the deficit has shown a trade surplus. It has helped us as a catalyst for people to see the importance of wider cooperation. Now our traders are able to trade and export their goods to other member countries,

like Nigeria, which is considered the largest economy in the sub-region, and also import things like tomatoes from Burkina Faso. We have gotten labourers from member countries like Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali, etc. to come to the country and work on our cocoa farms.

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In this regard, Mr. Anthony Kwasi Nyame-Baafi, the former Director for Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, also emphasized that

*Benefits of trade with other member countries include upfront duty exemption to reduce production costs; a larger market for products with about 350 million people for Ghanaian companies and other member states to take advantage of and export; and a wider market for products with about 350 million people for Ghanaian companies and other member states to take advantage of and export." It enables small and medium-sized enterprises in Ghana and other Member States to boost growth by facilitating access to regional markets as steppingstones for expansion into other markets outside ECOWAS; it attracts investment into Ghana to serve as the gateway to the ECOWAS market; it ensures that ECOWAS companies enjoy better terms of trade in ECOWAS and preferential treatment*

The finding on regional trade integration among member nations is validated by the literature, according to Bankole and Oladapo (2019) on the role of regional trade integration and governance in structural transformation. The study looks at the impact of regional trade integration in the ECOWAS trade bloc from 2000 to 2015, using a methodology developed jointly by the African Union Commission (AUC), the African Development Bank (AfDB), and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to calculate the Africa Regional Integration Index (ARII). The findings of panel regression reveal that inadequate governance has a detrimental impact on structural transformation, whereas the economic and trade openness of member states to intra-regional trade and the rest of the world promotes favorable structural transition towards the industrial sector. The study concluded that ECOWAS nations must fundamentally change from the primary sector to sustained industrialization through intra-regional and international trade and

commerce with the rest of the globe to optimize more benefits for economic development.

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It was also clear that economic diplomacy in Ghana become a major tool that impact on trade creation and employment generation for member states and Ghana as a whole. These views were further emphasized by the former permanent representative to the African Union Economic Commission for Africa, Ambassador William Kanyirige, who said that:

*Economic integration is used as a tool for employment generation to create job opportunities by promoting trade liberalization, market expansion, and higher investment in member countries. People may relocate from one country to another in search of fresh opportunities or higher wages. Businesses that rely mostly on low-skilled workers frequently shift their manufacturing processes to low-wage nations as part of regional cooperation.*

Drawing inference from the literature for instance, Busiah (2015) opined that the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the EU and the ECOWAS subregion, which aims to change the two sides' long-standing non-reciprocal arrangements, has proven problematic. The establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) necessitated a shift in this relationship. Discrimination is something the WTO abhors as a rule-based and member-driven organization. As a result, when it comes to commerce, all member nations must confront the same opportunities. The debate has been framed by the question of whether the new trade agreements are a boon or a curse for African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries (ACP) in general, and the West African subregion. The study's key point is that West African EPAs have both development potential and constraints. The report finds, however, that the growth potentials of the ECOWAS subregions can only be realized if the economies of the subregions can sustain liberalization. Given their present economic structures and supply-side rigidities, the analysis concludes that EPA adoption will be a hindrance to their development and job creation for economic development

On the impact on finance, Mr. Tawia Akyea, former Director of Ghana Export Promotion, [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) concluded that the Member States continued use of respective currencies creates problems with payments arrangements, the high cost of international trade transactions, and convertibility, with consequent difficulties for inter-state commercial transactions. Mr. Mickson Opoku of the Ministry of Trade and Industry brought to light that the ECOWAS protocol allows you to establish your financial banks in other ECOWAS member countries and it also allows other member states to establish their banks in your space. Findings also show that funds (assess contributions) are contributed by members to support the goals (initiatives) of ECOWAS and Ghana as a country benefit so much from it, according to most respondents. This assertion was further validated by Mr. Bonaventure Adjavor, Director of Economic Trade and Investment Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, who stated that:

*Ghana contributes to Ecowas financially through a levy." The community levy is a 0.5 percent tax on the CFU value of items imported from third-world nations outside the area. She stated that Ghana contributes a significant amount of money to the organization in the form of dues. Due to its emerging economy, Ghana is the organization's second largest financier after Nigeria. The financial regional integration efforts are to promote both long-term and short-term economic gains for member nations.*

The empirical study of Effiong and Tizhe (2020) confirmed the finding on financial integration by assessing the impact of financial market integration on economic development in Economic ECOWAS members between 1980 and 2018. The data was analyzed using the Pool Mean Group (PMG) approach. The calculated regression's short-run results demonstrate that the impacts of financial integration on ECOWAS nations' economic performance are neither direct nor linear. The study indicated that in the long term, if economies continue to meet a greater number of convergence requirements, this has the propensity to translate into increased economic growth for

member nations. Based on the integration instrument evaluated, the impacts appear to be directed exclusively through an increase in the depth of money delivered. The study concludes that financial integration has no significant short-term impact on the financial sectors of ECOWAS member nations but rather has long-term implications.

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### **3.3.2 Impact of ECOWAS's policy on trade on the Ghanaian Economy**

According to the study, all respondents agreed that ECOWAS trade policy has a favorable influence on the Ghanaian economy. Respondents cited policies on shared external tariffs, gains from the Ghana-Burkina Faso trade treaty, and Nigerians' investing in the Ghanaian economy through the formation of businesses such as banks. There is now an uptick in trade between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire as the main cocoa growers meet to decide cocoa pricing.

According to Madam Neematu Ziblim of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ghana has benefited from the Ecowas trade strategy. It has provided Ghana with access to a broader market to operate in, as well as an increase in employment prospects since many international corporations are investing in our economy and establishing offices in Ghana. These, and other benefits, demonstrate that the ECOWAS trade policy has had a good influence on Ghana's economy.

### **3.3.3 Ghana's membership of Ecowas to be economically prudent**

According to Raymond Kodjoe Nazar, Deputy Head, International & Regional Economic Policy Unit, Ecowas Macroeconomist, Ministry of Finance, our membership is economically prudent because of the common external tariffs, ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme, and ECOWAS intra trade by giving us bigger markets to trade our goods and payment systems. This confirms the majority of respondents' view that Ghana's membership of ECOWAS is economically prudent.

According to Raymond Kodjoe Nazar, the Deputy Head, International & Regional Economic Policy Unit, Ecowas Macroeconomist (Ecowas NCC) African Union Budget Expert,

*It is economically prudent since the shared external tariffs, the Ecowas trade liberalization programme, and Ecowas intra trade provide us with larger marketplaces to trade our goods and payment systems, all of which benefit us." When they trade via the central bank's system, this is referred to as a "payment system mechanism." So, if you're going to trade in Nigeria, all you have to do is deposit your money with the Ghanaian central bank, and when you arrive in Nigeria, the Nigerian central bank will simply give you an amount of money equal to what you deposited in Ghana. This has reduced the amount of money Ghanaian traders have to spend on exchanging their currency into other currencies before they may trade in different member nations.*

Nwangwu, Enyiazu, Nwagwu, and Ezeibe (2019) on interrogating the relevance of ECOWAS in the global political economy. It indicated that in the international political economy, globalization has facilitated linkages between sovereign nations. Despite the prevalence of neo-protectionist impulses in the US and several European nations, regionalism's importance in the global political economy has not diminished. Economic regionalism was adopted in advanced capitalist formations as a logical consequence of and/or the instrument for the universalization of capitalism, while the emergence and/or revival of regional groupings like the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was a reactionary outcome of the twin problems of colonialism and globalization. West African governments, in particular, reached out to one another in order to mitigate the negative effects of globalization and promote their shared interests through economic integration. In the context of the worldwide revival of protectionism, this study underscores the prudence of ECOWAS in the international political economy. Nwangwu, Enyiazu, Nwagwu, and Ezeibe (2019) indicated that despite the fact that ECOWAS is beset by a slew of political and socioeconomic problems, this research shows that its economic prudence is benefited by the member nations via accomplishments in promoting free movement of commodities and people, inter-financial payment mechanisms for trade, trade

collaboration, and other economic regional integration efforts related to infrastructure, peace, security, good governance, and democratization keep it relevant in the global political economy.

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### **3.4 The challenges of regional economic integration within ECOWAS**

#### **3.4.1 Challenges Ghana faces as a member of ECOWAS.**

According to Ernest Asare, Economist at the Ministry of Finance, Ghana faces a lot of challenges as being part of ECOWAS because most Nigerians in the country are doing retail, which is reserved for the local people. They were only supposed to do wholesales and not retail. The majority of respondents agreed that ECOWAS faced some challenges.

According to Mr. Anthony Kwasi Nyame-Baafi, Former Director for Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade, the Ministry of Trade and Industry indicated that the main implementation challenges facing Ghana in ECOWAS are:

*Lack of implementation of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) by some Member States; administrative barriers at borders and unnecessary check points on highways; noncompliance by some Member States to grant zero rate of duty to approved products; lack of universal or mutual recognition of certification and standards; lack of sensitization of economic operators under the ETLS; lack of operationalization of the Protocol on interstate road transit convention; lack of availability of logistical support to facilitate due diligence on companies; and non-operationalization of the payment of the compensation mechanism due to the failure by members to pay their contributions; introduction of the import prohibitive lists by Nigeria despite the ETLS; The rest include the lack of adequate infrastructure by way of roads, energy, power, rail,*

*telecommunications and other links for the facilitation of the free movement of goods, capital, services and persons, which poses a major challenge to the consummation of the ECOWAS integration dream; Economic and Monetary Integration: we are not meeting the primary convergence criteria which will set the stage for the establishment of the common currency (ECO), among others.*

This confirms the findings by Sulemani (2019) that ECOWAS is one of sub-region's greatest important and influential institutions. It has achieved success in preventing conflict, as well as stimulating business and commerce progress for the collective gain of its participating countries and the entire globe. Notwithstanding these accomplishments, trade liberalization has been identified as one of the biggest roadblocks to ECOWAS' effectiveness, because it contradicts the institution's fundamental goal of economic integration. It is also demonstrated that trade integration among member countries has been underutilized because most of the economic activity are undertaken with the outside world, namely Europe. To improve the efficiency and quality cohesion across ECOWAS nations, the study highlights harmonizing laws and tariff reforms, as well as establishing robust institutional and regional dedication by national governments. The study also recommends for the creation of mass transportation facilities and communication that is deliberate, strategic, and systematic, and the involvement of all stakeholders apart from political elites.

Asante (2012) also indicated that the existing market approach creates the perception that integration is mainly about trade and investment. Okunade and Ogunnubi (2021) also have their own study confirming the findings of this research. Their evidence indicated how the ECOWAS Protocol implemented by member states reinforced or highlighted the porosity of West African borders. In addition, the study provided evidence of the recurring obstacles to the Protocol's successful implementation as a manifestation of Africa's regional integration agency. The authors

conclude that implementing a harmonized regional policy towards overcoming these roadblocks will pave the way for ECOWAS to achieve its economic integration goals.

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The challenge of partial implementation of free movement whereby we see our traders who travel by road, especially from Accra to Lagos, unduly harassed or frustrated, and the yet to be harmonized laws between the Francophone and Anglophone spaces in ECOWAS and how these affect trade and investment in the region This finding confirms the report by the African Development Bank (ADB) Report 2011, which indicates that the challenge here has to do with the market integration approach to economic integration adopted by ECOWAS, with a focus on the removal of trade and non-tariff barriers.

According to Mr. William Kanyirige, the former Ambassador to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Djibouti, South Sudan, and Somalia, he observed the challenges of:

*Partial implementation of free movement is seen by our traders being hounded or irritated while travelling by road, particularly along the Accra-Lagos route. It appears that we are unable to settle bilateral difficulties resulting from our Ecowas protocol and involvement in the economic sector, particularly in trade and the migration of Nigerians to Ghana. It reduces the advantages and consequences of our participation in Ecowas by bridging the gap between state and non- state actors. The Nigerian ban list and its impact on Ghana's commerce is a huge challenge. Also, laws between the Francophone and Anglophone areas in Ecowas that have yet to be harmonized and how they affect commerce and investment in the region. There is still marginalization of permanent delegates from member states to Ecowas-by-Ecowas institutional actors.*

This confirms the findings by Aduloju (2017) that women make up a higher percentage of trans-border traders on the Nigeria-Benin border and specifically in West Africa. Border agents are exposed to extortion, intimidation, and sexual harassment, infringing on their rights under the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons. The study found that the policy did not

adequately safeguard women (particularly those with low socioeconomic status, who make up the majority of women at the border), posing a threat to their livelihood and lives. While the problem of women on the Nigeria-Benin border remains, the research determined that it has a substantial influence on ECOWAS' credibility in properly integrating the sub-region for development and the benefit of its large population of women.

Again, another evidence from the literature confirms, as Fajana et al. (2018), that member states' lack of political will to relinquish some of their sovereignty in order to implement the ETLs. Non-tariff obstacles are common, preventing items from entering the country despite their duty-free status. Underdevelopment of direct taxes as a result of the government's strong reliance on import tariffs for income and the unwillingness to waive such charges on imports from other Member States. In the economies of Member States, there is a lack of complementarity and structural reform, which are the challenges consistent with the study as enumerated above.

Overcoming the effect of sovereignty That is getting Ghana and its partners to overcome sovereignty. As is commonly understood, each country is the master of its own affairs; however, in order to join ECOWAS, each country must overcome this and give up some of its rights. Finally, the problem of social vices in the country is complicated since there is a protocol on the free movement of people from other member states into the country, and sometimes these foreign nationals from member countries involve themselves in robbery activities that jeopardize our peace and security. From the survey, all respondents confirmed the existing challenges faced by Ghana as a member of ECOWAS.

### **3.4.2 Setbacks of Economic Integration and Economic Scramble for ECOWAS States**

There is economic scramble for member states which affects economic integration efforts. Also, ECOWAS is dealing with two commissions at the same time: where harmonization of economic

partnership agreements between and economic administration of the detail trade agreements faced challenges between the UEMOA and ECOWAS Commissions. According to Mr. Mickson Opoku, Team Leader/Multilateral, Regional, and Bilateral Trade said that

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*At the same time, the Ministry of Trade and Industry Ecowas is in charge of two commissions at the same time. We have the UEMOA Commission and the Ecowas Commission, so the anglophone and francophone mix can make it difficult to harmonize and optimize various trade agreements due to the "new scramble for Africa coupled with poor infrastructure, are limiting successful trade between nations within Ecowas.*

Again, when it comes to the findings of institutional issues, Efobi and Osabuohien (2016) confirmed in their study that concerns about the scope of manufacturing export in ECOWAS nations, how it has been influenced by the level of infrastructure development, and the involvement of institutions in the process. In retrospect, the authors give stylized evidence demonstrating that ECOWAS's poor infrastructure development has been substantially driven by inadequate institutions, which encourage private advantages over public goods (such as infrastructure). In effect, this has impeded industrial exports and weakened these ECOWAS members countries' competitiveness.

Furthermore, the findings on administrative coordination challenges with the UEMOA and ECOWAS Commissions were confirmed by Chidozie and Abiodun-Eniayekan (2015). The study looks at the subject and circumstances of the new scrambles realism that shape relationships among national governments of the ECOWAS. Similarly, in light of the study's well-described historical scrambles (slavery and colonialism), this contemporary sort of interaction has been dubbed the "new scramble" for Africa. However, the heart of my study revealed a new sort of interaction in the sub-region, despite the complexities of the long-standing conflict between Anglophone and Francophone discourses. The study, which is founded on textual analysis and

assessment, uncovers the flaws in the Francophone and Anglophone West's political economy and the new scramble conflict. The findings show that, whereas Legacy in African Continent continues to be dominant, globalization forces are progressively eroding that dominance. Additionally, the competitiveness for a significant share of the marketplace and resources by rising nations, principally Brazilian, Indian, and Chinese government incursions, renders this emerging scrambling extremely dangerous. In order to optimize globalization advantages, the article predicts that the contradictions intrinsic in globalization would outstrip France dominance in the coming years, while also recommending a stronger and much more active engagement of other ECOWAS sub-regional countries.

Results of the study identified some setbacks to regional economic integration for ECOWAS as an institution. Respondents confirmed that they lack presence. ECOWAS as an organization had no office in Accra and other member countries apart from Abuja in Nigeria, which hosts the office of ECOWAS, as compared to the European Union, which has an office in Accra. This makes it difficult for ordinary people to channel their complaints. According to Raymond Kodjoe Nazar, Deputy Head, International & Regional Economic Policy Unit, Ecowas Macroeconomist (Ecowas NCC), highlighted that:

*There are challenges of economic corruption, bureaucracy in tariff administration at the borders non-ending economic and bilateral negotiations, poor harmonization of tax incentives, delayed economic protocol implementation, among others.*

Nurudeen, Abd Karim, and Aziz's (2015) study on corruption, political instability, and economic progress in the ECOWAS backs up Nurudeen, Abd Karim, and Aziz's findings (2015). In the short term, political instability leads to economic progress, but in the long run, both political instability and economic prosperity lead to corruption. They also used forecast error variance decomposition and impulse response function analysis to investigate the dynamic interaction between the

elements. The findings show that in the short term, there is positive unidirectional Granger causality from political instability, corruption, and bureaucracy to economic development, and that in the long term, there is positive unidirectional Granger causality from political instability and economic growth to corruption. As a result, ECOWAS nations should implement measures that enhance regional political stability, reduce political corruption, and foster economic growth.

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The study also found that one of ECOWAS's problems was a lack of finances. This was owing to the fact that certain member countries were unable to pay their dues due to economic difficulties. Furthermore, ECOWAS's lack of negotiating skills is a big setback since it has a significant impact on ECOWAS's policies and actions. The account by Mr. Bonaventure Adjavor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was that

*ECOWAS is now undergoing institutional changes since there are many things being done that are not in line with the current reforms." The systems that we have, where each of the 15 member nations is assigned a commissioner as a representation in ECOWAS, cause a lot of administrative expenditures, and ECOWAS wants to reduce them*

ECOWAS is also extravagant in its spending, of which over 65% goes to the administration and less is devoted to projects and programmes, which is also a challenge. So, it is not living up to its objectives in Article 2 of the Treaty of ECOWAS, which emphasized projects and programmes in member states.

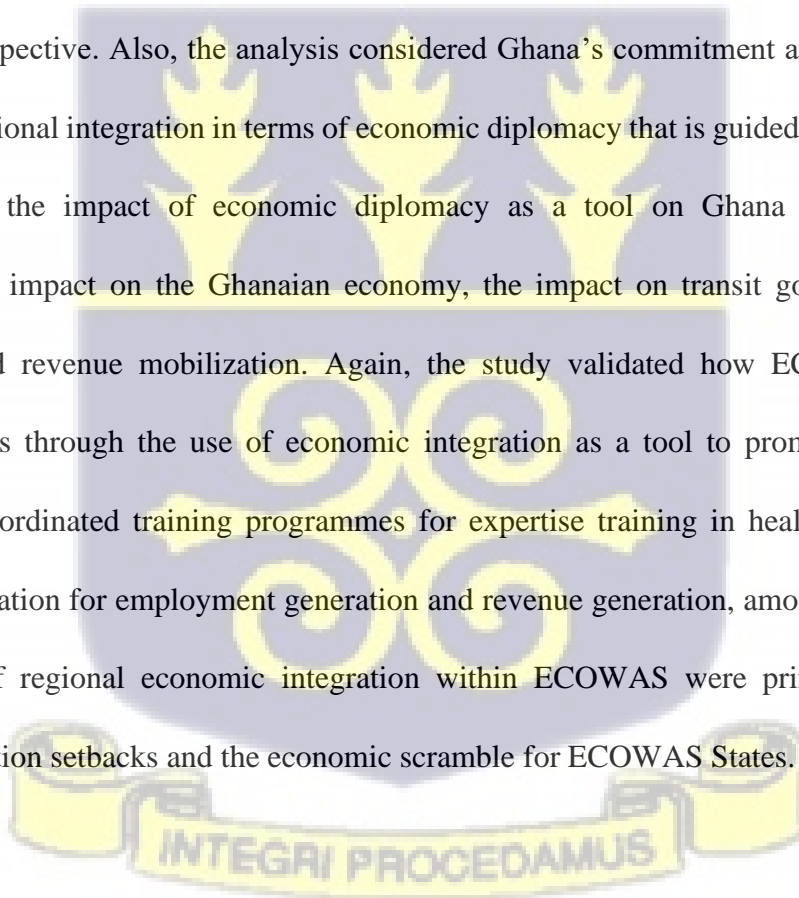
Also, ECOWAS is not reaching out to member countries enough for people to know about Ecowas. Likewise, the member states themselves are not reaching out to the people to know what Ecowas is there for. So, if you go to the community, a lot of people do not know about Ecowas, so they see Ecowas as for government people, and for that matter, there was a policy called Ecowas for the people and not Ecowas for the states. As a result, ECOWAS moved from being a state to

being an ECOWAS of people, prompting the government to create an Ecowas ministry to educate the public about Ecowas.  
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There are ineffective institutional frameworks at the national level. Regional policies were not previously reflected in or translated into national plans or strategies for execution. Most member states' legislative and administrative provisions are insufficient or nonexistent to give legal underpinning to and enforce these regional responsibilities, or to guarantee that the Ministry in charge of Ecowas concerns has the necessary personnel and financial resources.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the analysis explored the scope and practice of economic diplomacy among member countries by examining how Ghana's membership in ECOWAS has yielded positive results from an economic perspective. Also, the analysis considered Ghana's commitment and contribution to the process of regional integration in terms of economic diplomacy that is guided by law. The study also appreciated the impact of economic diplomacy as a tool on Ghana in terms of trade management, the impact on the Ghanaian economy, the impact on transit goods and logistics management, and revenue mobilization. Again, the study validated how ECOWAS has also undertaken efforts through the use of economic integration as a tool to promote collaborative education and coordinated training programmes for expertise training in health and education, enhance trade creation for employment generation and revenue generation, among others. Finally, the challenges of regional economic integration within ECOWAS were primarily viewed as economic integration setbacks and the economic scramble for ECOWAS States.



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## CHAPTER FOUR

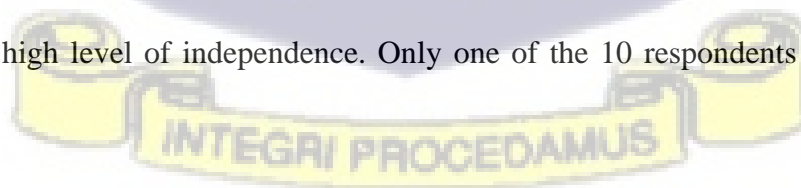
### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 4.0 Introduction

The research examines the function of economic diplomacy in regional integration through a case study of Ghana-ECOWAS ties. The study's goal was to establish the scope and practice of economic diplomacy among member nations, to critically examine the impact of economic diplomacy on Ghana as an ECOWAS member, and to emphasize the constraints of regional economic integration within ECOWAS. The study also included an evaluation of the relevant literature. The study used a qualitative methodology, and a purposive sampling method to determine a sample size of ten (10) participants. To create meaningful interpretations and conversations, descriptive statistics were employed.

#### 4.1 Summary of Findings

According to the demographic data of respondents, the majority of respondents were male, indicating that men dominate the field of economic diplomacy in regional integration. Furthermore, all respondents were beyond the age of 36, indicating that they were mature enough to reply to questions with a high level of independence. Only one of the 10 respondents had a



bachelor's degree as their greatest level of education, whereas the majority had a master's degree as their best qualification. The majority of respondents had more than 7 years of expertise in the field, which contributed much to the study's effectiveness.

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In line with Objective One: to identify the scope and practice of economic diplomacy among member countries

- Ghana's scope and practice of economic diplomacy covered regional economic integration initiatives like Economic Partnership Agreements where the country benefited from the West Africa Power Pool (WAPP). The country practices economic diplomacy through a regional trade liberalization system underpinned by the protocols for the free movement of goods and services. Again, Ghana's economic diplomacy practices and scope covered initiatives that seek to promote market integration, support regional trade liberalization. In this regard, economic diplomacy resulted in trade management, commercial management, and financial management.
- The government through economic diplomacy collaborated with member nations to initiate joint economic infrastructural projects such as electricity infrastructure projects distribution between Ghana, Cote D'Ivoire, and Togo as well as West Africa gas pipeline projects for commercial transportation of gas from Nigeria to Abidjan. Other aspects of regional economic diplomacy include financial, trade, commercial, investment contributions with ECOWAS member states.
- Ghana has made significant contributions to continental and regional economic integration, ranging from high-level technical competence to timely assessments of contributions to regional bodies and administrative assistance in critical regional initiatives. The country also provides and shares knowledge on initiatives on energy economy (thus rural electrification) banking, financial and economic management reform skills, with member countries. Regional economic diplomacy and joint economic collaborations in trade management contributed to economic growth, as well as fostering economic growth through human capital development offered by high-level educational institutions of member states.
- Finally, Ghana has led the charge for common external tariffs, which require traders to pay tariffs only when they import products into the Ecowas community from outside the Ecowas community. Prior to the implementation of these common external tariffs, citizens of these member nations had to pay additional tariffs for the transportation of their goods.

In line with Objective Two: To critically investigate the impact of economic diplomacy on Ghana

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as a member of ECOWAS

- Economic integration produces job opportunities by promoting trade liberalization, market expansion, and higher investment in member countries. The labour force of the member states relocated from one country to another and optimized fresh opportunities and higher wages. Businesses that rely heavily on low-skilled labour frequently shift their manufacturing processes to low-wage nations as part of regional cooperation. The economic diplomacy has been used as a tool to realize sub-regions' embracement of economic liberalization from disadvantaged influence and bad trade agreements from the developed nations. Given their current economic frameworks and supply-side rigidities, the research finds that economic partnership agreements aim to overcome hindrances and stringencies to member nations' economic progress and job creation.
- Economic diplomacy is a tool that impacts cross-border trade management and begins as a regional economic integration agreement that allows member states access to previously unavailable services and commodities. Member states buy goods and services at lower prices now that tariffs have been abolished or decreased. As a result, increased trade between member countries is encouraged. The resources saved by buying lower-cost goods and services provide a cost competitive advantage that underpins business growth and development of member state business organizations. As a result, economic diplomacy becomes a strategy for creating trade and gaining access to specialized tariffs among member nations rather than non-member states.
- Member nations relied on economic integration as a tool to promote economic growth, share business innovations and technologies and benefits from favorable deals. As a result of free trade, the economies of many countries gain as their GDP expands. Regional economic

integration, on the other hand, typically requires member nations to sacrifice sovereignty over key policies such as trade, fiscal, and monetary policy. Member states' economic and trade openness to intra-regional trade and the rest of the world promotes a favorable structural transition to the industrial sector to stimulate economic growth.

- Economic diplomacy provided a tool that has propelled market growth and development of member states. The prospect of market expansion remains one of the most essential impact regional economic integrations that allowed ECOWAS member countries to properly utilize and optimize economies of scale to their benefit by expanding their markets. As the market grows, through economic integration among member states, tradeoff shifts, allowing for larger businesses as well as more competition offer different sorts of consumers with different tastes in the bigger market, regional economic integration provided the capacity to urge member state enterprises to create a diversity of products.



- In terms of regional commercial integration with other member states, the influence is felt. [University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) Because of the importance of broader collaboration, it has assisted the country in catalyzing its economic development potential as a developing country. Several Ghanaian firms and organizations may now trade and export their commodities to other member nations, including Nigeria. Ghanaian businesses access a broader market for their products by trading with other member nations, with a combined population of around 350 million people. It allows Ghanaian and other Member States' small and medium-sized businesses to expand.

In line with Objective Three, the challenges of regional economic integration within ECOWAS.

- ECOWAS economic diplomacy and regional integration challenges are multifaceted and deeply ingrained throughout member states. They include the following: some Member States' failure to implement the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) administrative barriers at borders and unnecessary check points on highways.
- Another challenge to economic diplomacy found by the study opined that some Member States' refusal to grant zero-rate duty to approved products; a lack of universal or mutual recognition of certification and standards; a lack of sensitization of economic operators under the ETLS; and a failure to operationalize the Protocol on Interstate Road Transit Convention.
- There is a challenge of availability of adequate logistical support to facilitate due diligence on companies; and non-operationalization of the payment of the compensation



mechanism due to the failure by members to pay their contributions. The rest of the [University of Ghana](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh) challenges faced by the community include a lack of adequate infrastructure in the form of roads, energy, power, rail, telecommunications, and other links to facilitate the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people, which poses a significant challenge to the realization of the ECOWAS integration dream.

- There is the need to address the concerns of economic and monetary integration setbacks as the failure to meet the primary convergence criteria that will set the stage for the establishment of the common currency (ECO) remains a major concern. There are challenges of lack of commitment, poor visibility, corruption, bureaucracy, no-ending negotiations, low legal harmonization, poor regional infrastructure network, and poverty.
- There is a new scramble for the continent's resources among developed nations that have ties with Francophone-Anglophone communities. Interactions between member countries and the UEMOA and ECOWAS Commissions have taken on new dimensions. It makes it difficult to have common convergence on economic diplomacy package exploration and benefits optimization. Hence, Heads of State of members states and respective regional economic and financial policies rather have confiscatory and divergent perspectives.
- There are inefficiencies inherent in the political economy of the nation's engaging in this "new battle." While French influence in francophone West Africa remains dominant, the ECOWAS regional globalization forces are progressively eroding, making the institution weak. Furthermore, the intense competition among emerging nations, notably the developed nations, e.g., China, for a competitive share of the African market and resources makes this new scramble exceedingly dangerous for ECOWAS regional integration efforts.

## 4.2 Conclusion

In line with the objective one, the researcher concludes, premised on the results of the study, that

the purpose and practice of economic diplomacy served as a tool to peruse market integration and regional trade liberalization. This underpins the outcomes of commercial diplomacy management, trade diplomacy management, and financial diplomacy management as a result of the practices of economic diplomacy by Ghana.

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In line with objective two, the study concludes that the impact of economic diplomacy, trade enhancement, market development and growth, job creation, transit goods and logistics service management, and revenue mobilization become the outcomes of economic diplomacy tool. However, the scope and scale of the impacts are relative and need to be optimized.

In line with objective three, despite the positive impact of economic diplomacy, there are also some challenges faced by ECOWAS. The researcher concludes these economic diplomacy challenges are heightened as a result of lack of economic legislative framework binding member states to consolidate their commitments to see through the full implementation of the economic partnership agreements. The study also concludes that the new scramble for member state resources aggravates the challenges.

#### **4.3 Recommendations of the Study**

The study led to the following recommendations;

- The ECOWAS region must show economic determination to develop and implement a common economic development policy underlined by innovation, technology, trade liberalization etc. There should be supportive leadership and advocacy that will bring all institutional and inter-sectoral areas together to work on a single economic integration and regional development agenda. There is the need for member states to strengthen capacities in institutions that with a common political will improve the operationalization of their treaties, conventions, agreements, or frameworks, notably the realization of the ECO agenda.
- Although economic integration promotes economic progress, regional economic integration

typically entails member nations losing sovereignty over key issues such as trade, fiscal, and monetary policy. Also, due to poor economic governance regimes that hinder structural transformation. Nevertheless, the study recommends that member states' economic and trade openness to intra-regional commerce and the rest of the world must support a favorable structural transition to the industrial sector while taking note of some downsides. The study recommended that to maximize additional advantages for economic growth, the ECOWAS countries must fundamentally shift from the primary sector to sustained industrialization through intra-regional and international trade and commerce with the rest of the world.

- The central and coordinating bodies of ECOWAS must be entrenched and supported by legal provisions that are in tandem with international legislative regime accepted by all regional nations. This institution would be able to punish recalcitrant members, give legitimacy by approving official national policy, and manage and access public assets and resources. As a result, members will be required to follow the rules and actively engage in the economic integration process.
- To achieve economic integration in the ECOWAS region, participating countries must effectively educate their populations about the advantages of intra - regional trade in order to secure widespread support for the economic integration and authorization for participating countries to invest in economic integration. Member nations should display a strong feeling of patriotism and allegiance to ECOWAS rather than to their previous colonial rulers in order to have a firm resolve to join efforts to ensure West African

economic integration. They should also prevent divisions by trading among themselves rather than initially turning to their old colonial rulers before turning to their fellow Africans.

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- As a result, the researcher suggests that Ghana, and ECOWAS in general, get all member nations on board to guarantee the effective and inter-functional coordination and harmonization of the protocol that validates free movement of goods and services. This will allow member nations to gain more, as well as ECOWAS to achieve most of its regional integration and economic globalization goals. It will reduce operational and transactional cost barriers, which are inimical to competitive business and market linkage development prowess.



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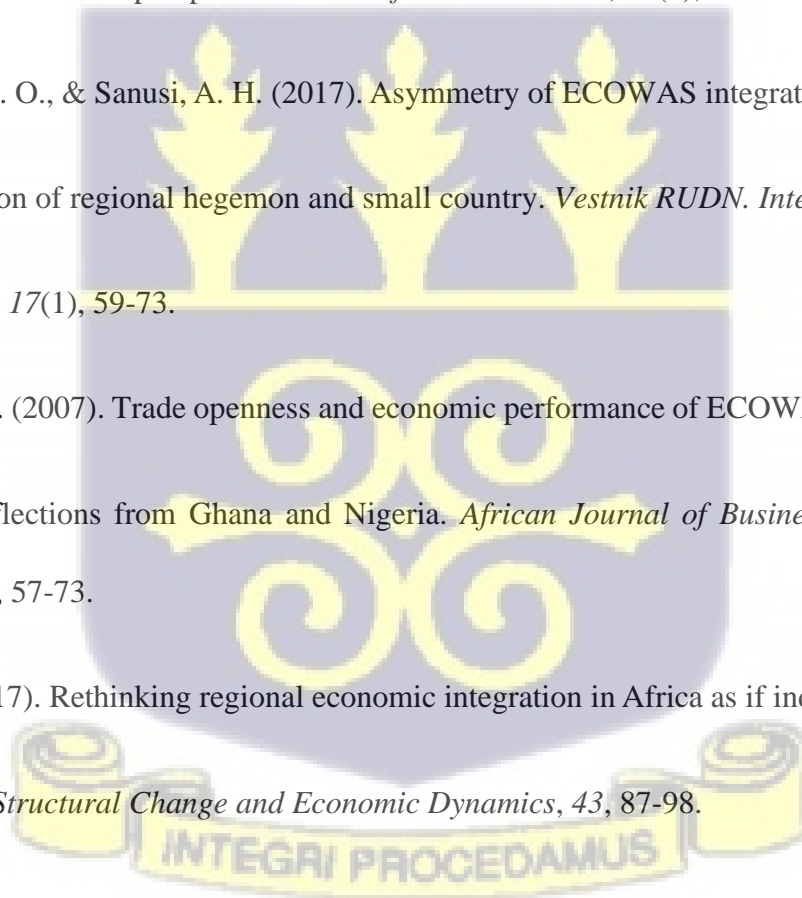
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**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY**

**TOPIC:AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN**

**REGIONAL INTEGRATION:**

**A CASE STUDY OF GHANA-ECOWAS RELATIONS**

**INTERVIEW GUIDE**

This interview questionnaire is aimed at assisting me, **DOUGLAS OWUSU**, a student at University of Ghana. This interview guide is purposely designed for academic work and in partial fulfillment of Masters of Arts in International Affairs All information will be treated as confidential

**Section A: Demographic Data**

Name of respondent

Age

Education level

Working experience



**SECTION B:** To identify the scope and practice of economic diplomacy among member countries.

1. Do you consider that Ghana's membership of ECOWAS has yield positive results from an economic perspective?
2. What has been Ghana's major commitment and contribution to the process of regional integration in terms of economic diplomacy?
3. Is there any guidelines or law backing our membership as member of regional integration?

**SECTION C: To critically investigate the impact of economic diplomacy on Ghana as a member of ECOWAS.**

1. What has been the impact of ECOWAS on Ghana on the following domains?
  - i. Education
  - ii. Health
  - iii. Trade with other member countries
  - iv. Finance
2. Over the past ten years, do you consider ECOWAS's policy on trade as having a positive impact on the Ghanaian Economy?
3. Do you consider Ghana's membership of Ecowas to be economically prudent?

**SECTION D: To highlight the challenges of regional economic integration within ECOWAS.**

1. Are there challenges that Ghana has faced as a member of ECOWAS or resulting's from the country's engagement with regional economic integration?
  - i. Please explain your response
2. What are the setbacks to regional economic integration and Economic Scramble for ECOWAS as an institution?

