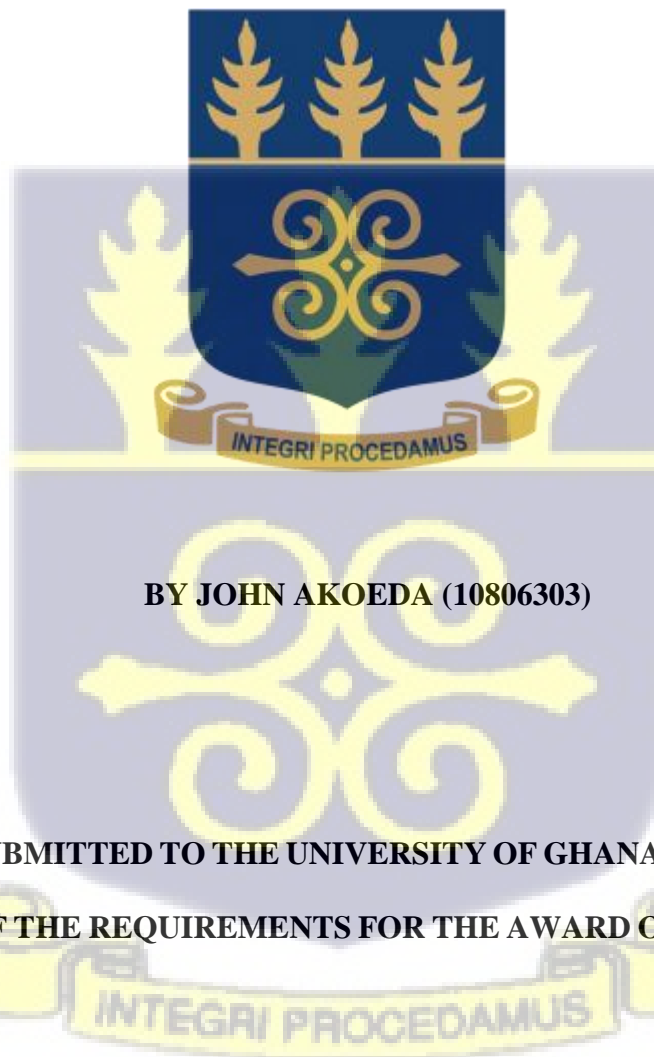


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

**THE POLITICS OF TRADE DISPUTES IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC: THE CASE OF
GHANA AND NIGERIA**



BY JOHN AKOEDA (10806303)

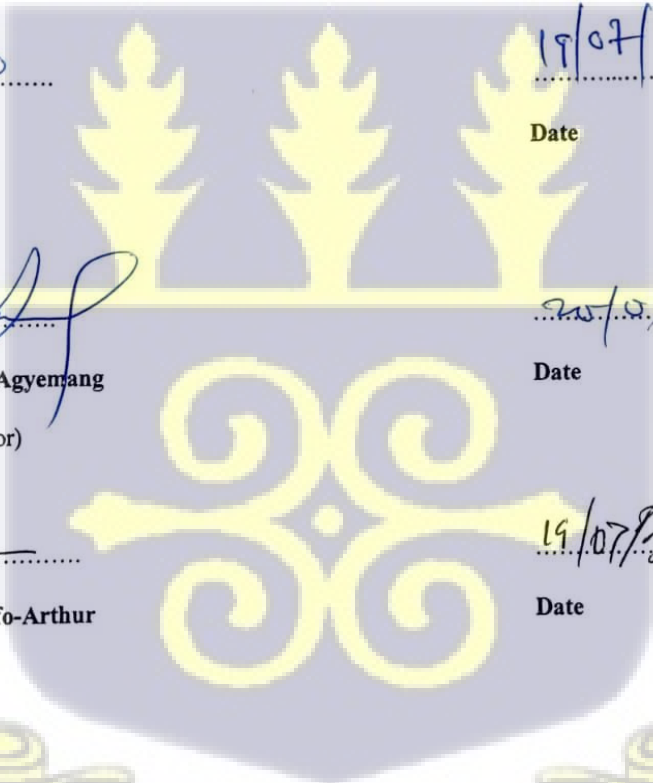
**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MPhil POLITICAL
SCIENCE**


DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

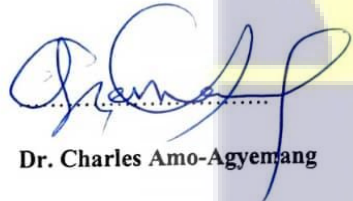
JULY 2022


DECLARATION


I, John Akoeda, declare that this MPhil thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, University of Ghana, Legon is produced from my handwork under the supervision of Dr. Charles Amo-Agyemang and Prof. Kwame Boafo-Arthur. Except for quotations and references to other people's work which were appropriately cited and duly acknowledged, this thesis is an original work. I further declared that to the best of my knowledge this thesis has not been presented by me or anyone for any academic award in this or any other university.




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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

ABSTRACT

The relation between Ghana and Nigeria over the years can be described as oscillatory because of the occasional twist and turn. Notably, trade dispute was one of the challenges that marred the relationship between the two countries. The intermittent trade disputes between the two countries triggered the quest of the researcher to assess the fundamental driving forces of the impasse, identify the politico-economic effects of the disputes on both countries and provide some recommendations to dealing with the problem. Relevant related literature was reviewed thematically and International Regime theory was used to underpin the research. The study used a qualitative research approach to gather in-depth data from respondents through interviews and observations. Thematic analysis was used as an approach for data interpretation and discussion. The relevant literature and the findings revealed that the inconsistencies of ECOWAS protocols with the national trade policies, the use of protectionist economic policies such as the “prohibited goods” policy by Nigeria against Ghana and the implementation of GIPC Act 2013 (865), border closure, and lockdown of Nigerian retail shops were some of the fundamental driving forces of the trade disputes between the countries in the fourth republic. Economically, the occasional trade disturbances led to the loss of capital and revenue of traders from both sides. This phenomenon triggered the call by some Nigerian politicians and official to sever diplomatic ties with Ghana. Notwithstanding these challenges, there was an initiative of both governments to finding a lasting solution to the menace.



DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the Lord Almighty for his unfathomable grace and mercy upon my life. I also dedicate this work to my family and friends for their supports and sacrifices.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is such a great blessing to recount the goodness of God in this academic journey. Indeed, grace has taken me this far. Glory to God!

I am exceedingly grateful to my indefatigable supervisors Dr. Charles Amo-Agyemang and Prof. Kwame Boafo-Arthur of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. I appreciate your guidance, prompt reply, suggestions, selfless dedication constructive criticisms, and above all motivation and mentorship. Your commitment was enormous and it led to the success of this thesis.

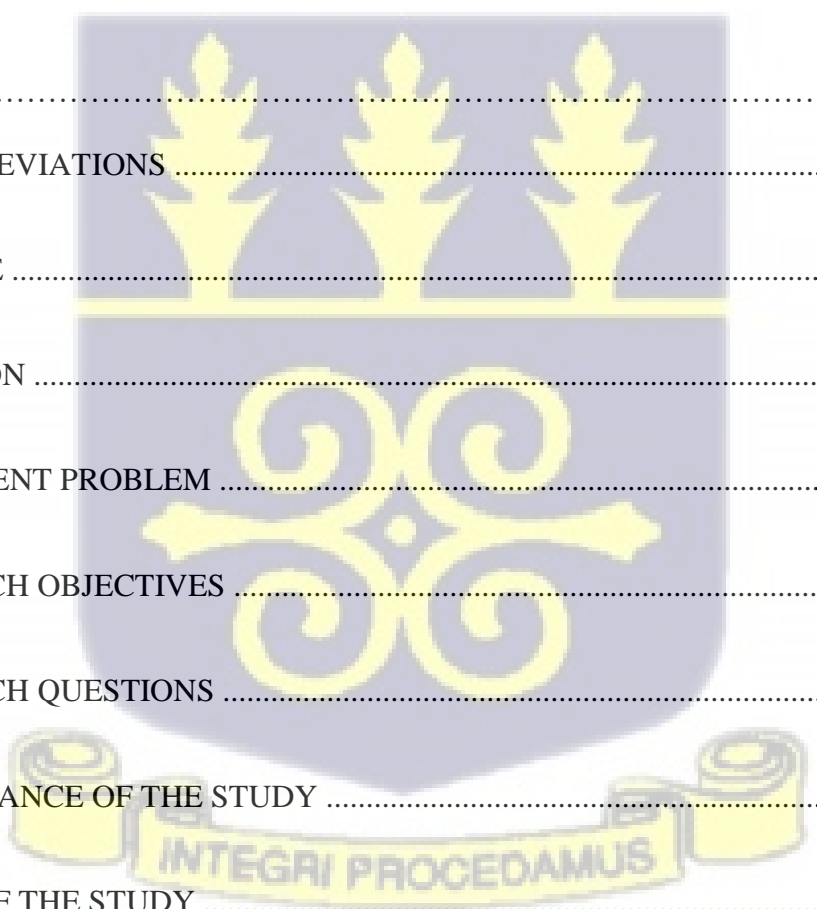
I appreciate my cousin and Professor James Agbodzakey the Director of Urban SERCH Institute, the University of North Texas for his financial and academic support. I also extend my sincere gratitude to Dr. Ezekiel A. Clotey for his fatherly love, motivation, support, and care. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Gyekye-Jandoh (Head of Political Department), and all the hard-working lecturers who dedicated their time and energy to assist me directly and indirectly in this academic journey.

I am thankful to Juliana Sekeh, Bertha Sekeh, my parents, and other members of the family for their diverse support toward my academic work. Last but not the least, I would like to acknowledge my colleagues and friends for their words of encouragement, motivation, and support.

Indeed, faithful is he who has called and he has done it!!! Glory to God.

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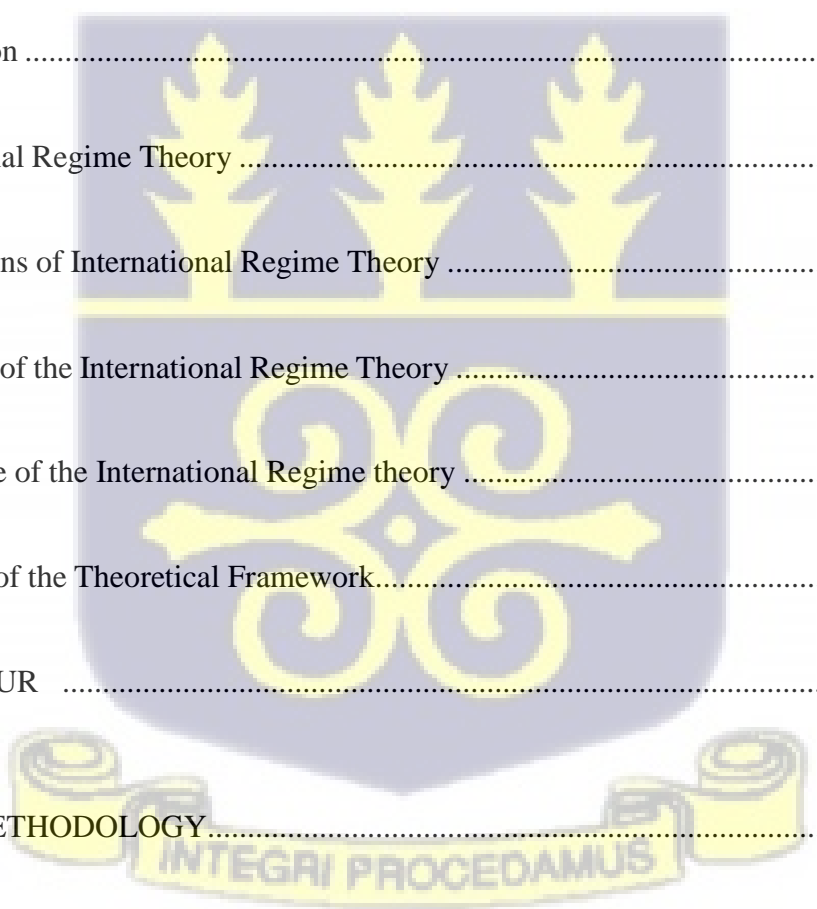
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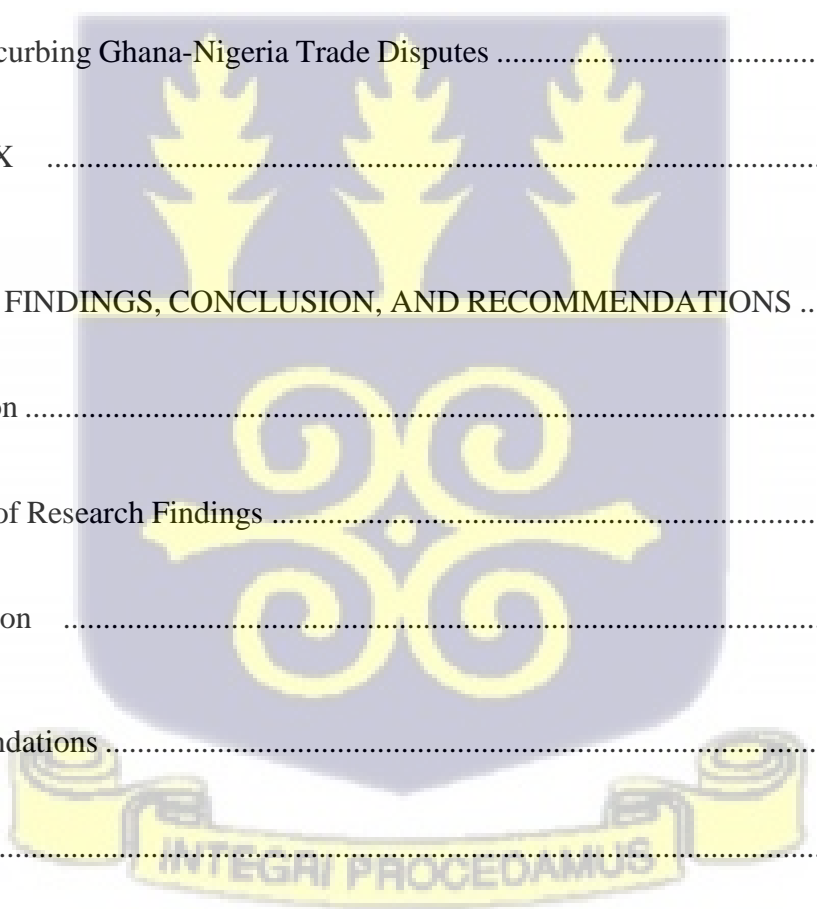
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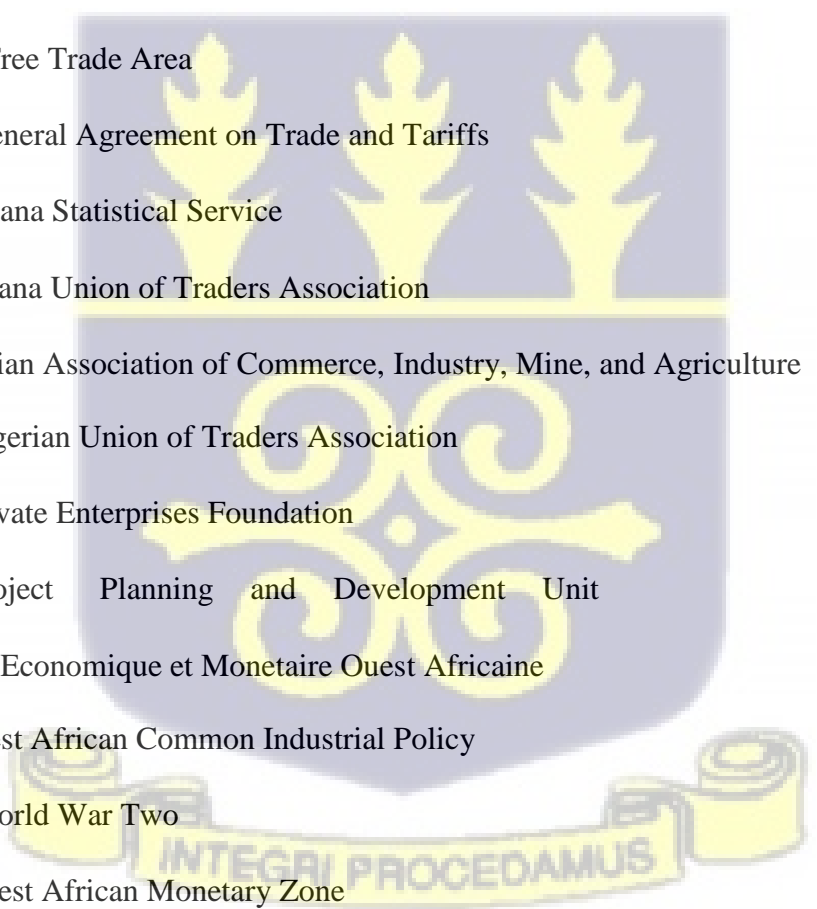
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INTERVIEW GUIDE

136 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ACFTA - African Continental Free Trade Area
- ACO - Aliens Compliance Order
- CET - Common External Tariff
- ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States
- ETLS - ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme
- FTA - Free Trade Area
- GATT - General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
- GSS - Ghana Statistical Service
- GUTA - Ghana Union of Traders Association
- NACCIM - Nigerian Association of Commerce, Industry, Mine, and Agriculture
- NUTA - Nigerian Union of Traders Association
- PEF - Private Enterprises Foundation
- PPDU - Project Planning and Development Unit
- UEMOA - Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine
- WACIP - West African Common Industrial Policy
- WW2 - World War Two
- WAMZ - West African Monetary Zone
- WAEMU - West Africa Economic and Monetary Union
- WTO - World Trade Organizat



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The study of the relationship between countries constitutes an interesting field for international relations students, experts as well as everyone interested in the dynamics of international relations.

When analyzing interrelationships between sovereign states, the relationship between Ghana and Nigeria is an intriguing case study. Historically, these countries have gone through British colonialism (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). Politically, both countries achieved independence after a long struggle for freedom. Some of the strategies used in achieving this goal include; consistent awareness creation for citizens to demand total freedom from the colonial masters, non-violent means of registering their plight through demonstrations and other agitations captured in self-determination, and in this regard, the strong feeling of African brotherhood informed the nationalist movement to intensify their struggle for the self-government (Olusola, Oladeji & Ijeoma, (2017). Arguably, the independence of Ghana in 1957 directly or indirectly influenced Nigeria's attainment of independence. Due to the numerous Pan African Conferences hosted by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in Accra during the late 1950s and early 1960s, nationalism, and demand for independence were heightened within Africa and as a result, Nigeria achieved its independence in October 1960 (Adedeji, 2017). Both countries have encountered similar economic issues, such as widespread poverty coupled with misery. Due to trading connections, both countries enjoyed tremendous warmth and camaraderie within the ECOWAS sub- (Adedeji, 2017).

After the intermittent interruption of the military in governance since independence, both countries are currently in their fourth republican statehood. The fourth republic of the two countries has been characterized by peace and democratic governance. This era saw a great exodus of Nigerians to Ghana and vice versa. According to Adedeji (2017), it was possible because of political stability and a high level of security as a result of democracy. Nigeria is the most populous country within the sub-region and has also been endowed with a large deposit of crude oil, and this has placed the country in a better position to play the role of a major oil supplier. Recent oil discoveries in large quantities in Ghana have made the country one of the oil-producing and exporting countries just like Nigeria (Linck, 2007, cited in Otohile & Obakhedo 2011).

Nigeria, just like Ghana, since independence in October 1960, has developed its foreign policy and placed Africa at the center of relations with the outside world. Ghana and Nigeria have always played a brotherly role in serving the interests of other African countries. This is done through Ghana's role of ensuring total political liberation on the continent; Nigeria's economic cooperation among its neighbours; a collective effort to ensure peace and stability through the contribution of troops for peacekeeping missions within the sub-region; the emergence of internal trade relations within the African States; and Ghana-Nigeria's financial support to other African countries. For example, according to the African Development Bank Group (2017), the Nigeria Technical Cooperation Fund was established in 2004 to fund programmes in regional member countries with the objective of ensuring regional cooperation and integration. Politico-economic commonalities between Ghana and Nigeria epitomize the in-depth interconnectedness in terms of neighbour relations even though both countries do not share geographical borders. Prima facie, the common characteristics of both countries should provide the basis for an individual to predict their consistent cooperation. Ironically, their interactions at some points in time defied logical prediction. Even though both countries are

economic giants in the sub-region, their economic and trade relations have been topsy-turvy for some time now (Ademola, 2017). Over the years, the trade relationship between Ghana and Nigeria have faced dramatic twists and turns, and the two countries have intermittently adopted contingent protectionist policies that are detrimental to each other. The interrelation between the two countries swings between cooperation, mutual suspicion, and discord (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011).

Historically, the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria emerged in the nineteenth century when Nigerian traders migrated to Ghana for trade activities due to the boom in the cocoa, mining, and construction sectors. During the 1930s, the Ghanaian local business community formed a coalition known as the National Crusade for the Protection of Ghanaian Enterprises to oppose the prevalence of foreign traders in the country. The agitation of this organization led to the call for the expulsion of foreigners, predominantly Nigerian traders, from the country (Boahen, 1974; Newbury, 1971, cited by Aremu 2013). Olaniyi (2004) noted that a trade dispute ensued between Ghanaian traders and their foreign counterparts as a result of the cocoa hold-up crisis in 1932. This phenomenon continued during Busia's regime, where he expelled a large number of Nigerian traders through the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969. Buhari's regime also responded in 1983-85 by expelling over one million Ghanaians from Nigeria for economic and trade reasons. It was a period of great distress for Ghana since the country was on the verge of collapsing due to drought, famine, and economic downturn (Ademola, 2017).

Trade ties between the two largest economies in West Africa are very crucial to the very survival of the sub-region. This is because Nigeria's advanced state of liquidity serves as a relevant source of capital for Ghana and other African countries. Notwithstanding, the current trade dispute between the two largest economies within the West African sub-region regarding the status of Nigerian traders in Ghana and the closure of the Nigerian border against Ghanaian and other African traders refreshed

our minds on the past bilateral trade tensions between the two countries (Oxford, Business Group, (2020). A critical analysis of the happenings between Ghana and Nigeria will reveal that both countries strategically practice tit for tat foreign policy in terms of trade relations. Examining the political and economic relations between Ghana and Nigeria will lead to the conclusion that both economies over the years have been trying to develop beggar-thy-neighbor policies to serve their national interests. As noted earlier, traces of trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria date from colonial times, were replicated in the 1960s, and are still lingering to date.

Given the socio-political and economic relationship between these two giants in the West African sub-region and the desire to pursue their national interests, issues relating to trade disputes and their ramifications will perfunctorily emerge. Adopting protectionist economic policies by one economy and the possibility of retaliating by a trading partner through tit-for-tat policy invariably leads to trade disputes. This is the current stance of relations between Ghana and Nigeria. Research in this area helped to identify the fundamental driving forces and the political and economic implications of trade disputes between these great nations as a result of policy incoherence and inconsistencies in ECOWAS protocols with those of individual member states. Issues relating to trade disputes between these countries have been surging in recent times. It is relevant to assess the driving forces of these trade disputes, identify the effects of the disputes, and provide recommendations for eliminating these difficulties.

1.2 STATEMENT PROBLEM

Ghana and Nigeria have over the years maintained their status as the second-largest and largest economies in the West African sub-region, respectively. Both countries are the region's two largest oil producers at the moment, despite significant disparities in output magnitude.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2019), Ghana is Nigeria's largest export destination in Africa. Out of 19.90% of Nigeria's exports to Africa, Nigeria's exports to Ghana accounted for 7.40%. Nigeria will be regarded as one of Ghana's most important sources of investment. In recent years, massive Nigerian banks such as Zenith Bank, Guarantee Trust Bank, Energy Bank, and UBA have been operating in Ghana. Other companies include Nigerian telecommunication company Globacom, Forte Oil, Sahara Energy, and Oando, which have also been established in Ghana (Ademola, 2017:97, Oxford Business Group, 2020). These developments intensify the immense trade relations between the two countries.

From the outset, one would have thought that, given the relationship between the two countries, there would be continuous cooperation between the two countries. However, the relationship between these giants has not always been so rosy. The relationship between Ghana and Nigeria over the years has undergone a series of challenges and their relationship can be termed as brothers who eat with long spoons (Ademola, 2017). For example, in the words of Aremu & Adeyinka (2014), "in dealing with Ghana's economic woes due to the presence of migrant stock in 1969, the government of Dr. K.A. Busia introduced a beggar-thy-neighbor policy through the Aliens Compliance Order, which saw the deportation of African indigenes from Togo, Burkina Faso, and Ivory-Coast". The majority of the deportees were Yurubas from South Western Nigeria, numbering about one hundred and forty thousand (140,000). This phenomenon of Dr. Busia led to the application of the tit for tat policy by Buhari's administration in 1981, when Ghana was heavily dependent on Nigeria for crude oil supply, but unfortunately was suspended. In the same vein, there was the expulsion of one (1) million Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983 (Ghana Must Go) and three hundred thousand (300,000) other Ghanaian citizens in 1985 (Ademola, 2017). The effects of these outbursts have to a greater extent diminished, but over the years, issues regarding competition among traders, particularly in Ghana as

a result of Nigerians' engaging in retail trade, have allowed the past discord to flare up once again (Aremu 2013).

Apart from these incidences, that is the 1969 Aliens Compliance Order and the 1983 Ghana Must Go order, intermittently, these two countries continue to have issues regarding trade relations. President Olusegun Obasanjo, for example, banned 96 products in 2005, including textiles, clothes, starch, plastics, and other items. This generated trade disputes between the two countries (Ademola, 2017). In the latter part of June 2012, there was a reciprocity of contingent trade policy implementation where the sitting government of Ghana warned that all legal procedures (GIPC Act 2013, Act 865) surrounding trading activities of foreigners in the country would be strictly implemented. The government started implementing this Act by closing foreign businesses in some major trading centers in Accra, including Makola and Circle (Oxford Business Group, 2020). The act's implementation hurt foreign traders, particularly Nigerian traders. As a result of the crackdown, tensions between the two nations have risen, with some Nigerian officials and politicians pushing for a reprisal approach and threatening to cut diplomatic ties with Ghana in reprisal for intentions to enforce the Act (Oxford Business Group, 2020).

A very recent development has to do with the closure of the Nigerian land border to Ghanaian and other West African traders in October 2019. This phenomenon triggered the use of tit for tat strategy, which led to the closing of shops of Nigerian traders in Ghanaian markets by the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA). According to Krippahl (2020), Ghana's Foreign Minister hinted that the root of the current dispute between the two countries has to do with Nigeria's policy of hurting Ghanaian businesses by closing its land borders without notice to trade partners. Meanwhile, outside the continent of Africa, there was an application of the tit for tat approach between the two largest economies in the world. In 2018, for example, the United States suddenly increased tariffs on nearly

50 percent of its imports from China. The new "special tariffs" raised the average US tariff on imports from China from 3 percent to over 12 percent. In the application of the retaliatory strategy, China responded quickly by imposing duties on American products. By the end of 2018, China's new special tariff had been imposed, raising the average Chinese tariff on US imports from less than 10% to over 18% (Bown, 2019).

There was a sudden fractious trade relationship between the US and China due to the imposition of these tariffs in 2018. While the imposition of the tariffs was hasty, the underlining factors were more political than economic (Kim, 2019). The escalating tensions between the two major economies were becoming difficult to resolve (Bown, 2019). While the animosity between the United States and China stems from tariffs, the Ghana-Nigeria trade issues have their roots in the actions of the Nigerian traders in Ghana's retail commerce, inconsistencies of ECOWAS protocols on the free movement of people, goods, and services with national trading and investment laws, and the recent closure of Nigerian borders on Ghana and other African traders.

The intricacies underlying the legal and policy context at the national and sub-regional levels have exacerbated these occurrences. For example, between 1985 and 1990, four supplementary ECOWAS conventions committed member states to offering proper traveling permits to their citizens, providing community citizens the right of residence to seek and carry out income-earning activities, and assuring suitable treatment for expelled Community citizens refrain from mass expulsion and limit individual expulsions to national security concerns, a violation of public order or morals, a violation of public health, or a failure to meet a fundamental condition of residency (Opanike & Aduloju, 2015).

According to Abdullahi, (2005) and GSS, (2013) cited in Yendaw, (2016), stressing this very position, stated that, while at the sub-regional level, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1979, through the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residency, and Establishment protocol, required all member states to stop requiring visas and residence permits and to allow members to engage in commercial enterprises on their soil (ECOWAS Commission, 2014), at the national level, the Ghana Immigration Act (Act 573) and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) law (Act 865) set conditions for investment and other economic activities of immigrants in the country. According to the GIPC Act, 2013 (GIPC Act 865), the Center's goal was to improve the climate for investment and development of the Ghanaian economy through investment by making it more transparent and responsive. There are specific provisions in the Act that pertain to how non-citizens can engage in trading. The Act permits foreigners to engage in trading activities provided they invest not less than \$1,000,000 in Ghana's economy and they are required to hire a minimum of twenty (20) qualified Ghanaians in their workplaces (Ghanaweb, 2020). There are additional provisions that provide for sanctions against businesses that violate the terms and agreement of Act 865.

Act 865, Section 27(1), lays out the kind of trading operations that foreigners are not allowed to participate in. These retail trading activities are solely reserved for Ghanaian traders. Such businesses include the sale of goods in the market, operation of a beauty salon or barbering shops, retailing of finished pharmaceuticals, as well as other retail trades.

The disparities and inconsistencies between sub-regional level provisions such as ECOWAS treaties and Protocols on free movement of persons and goods, and national level provisions such as the Ghana Immigration Act (Act 573) and Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) Law (Act 865) led to the contemporary issues regarding the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria. The closure

of the Nigerian border to protect their national interest, notwithstanding, has been seen by the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) as a deliberate attempt to stifle their businesses and trading activities. Based on this act by the Nigerian government, GUTA took it upon themselves to use the tit for tat tactics by closing down all the retail shops of Nigerian traders in Accra and Kumasi to enforce the law regarding retail trade and ownership of retail shops in Ghana.

Much has been said about Ghana-Nigeria's rocky relationship, but it is very daunting and extremely cumbersome to identify the primary factors that influence the twists and turns of Ghana-Nigeria trade relations (Ademola, 2017). Based on the intermittent trade disputes since the 1930s and the ongoing trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria, it becomes the burden of this study to assess the underlining forces of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, identify the political and economic ramifications of this phenomenon, and come up with some recommendations that may help in curbing this menace.

In the literature, however, few scholars, such as (Opanike & Aduloju, 2015), (Abdoulahi, (2005), Yendaw, (2016) have worked on Ghana-Nigeria trade relations, (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011), and other scholars have worked on the historical relations between Ghana and Nigeria. What has been identified in the literature as a gap is the in-depth assessment of the underlining factors of the trade disputes and the politico-economic implications of the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria. The researcher has the conviction that this study filled the lacuna created in literature and the empirical findings of this research work would serve as a source of relevant material for those who may want to work in this area.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Main Objectives:

- To assess the driving forces for the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria,
- To ascertain the economic effects of Ghana and Nigeria trade disputes.

Sub Objectives:

- ❖ To identify the extent to which the trade disputes affected both countries politically ❖
- To discuss ways of curbing the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The Main Research Question

- What are the driving forces for trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria?
- What are the economic effects of Ghana and Nigeria's trade disputes?

Sub Research Questions

- ❖ To what extent do trade disputes affect the two countries politically?
- ❖ How can trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria be curbed?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will supplement ongoing discussions on Ghana and Nigeria's trade impasses by highlighting the underlining factors of the disputes, their effects, and ways of dealing with them. This research will serve as a relevant source of reference for students and researchers who may undertake studies in this area. The findings from this study would assist the government and other stakeholders in their quest to deal with issues relating to the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focused on trade relations between Ghana and Nigeria. Specifically, attention was paid to the ongoing trade tensions between the two countries. The study also focused on assessing the fundamental driving forces and politico-economic implications of the Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes and hence explored ways of curbing trade tensions between the two countries. Even though there was historical antecedence between the two countries, the study covered the time frame from 1992 to 2021, a period where both countries are in their fourth republic.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

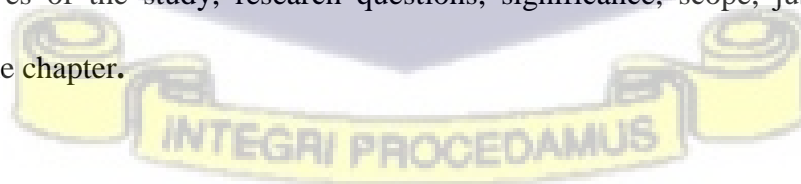
Trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria emerged during the pre and post-independence eras, and this phenomenon kept surfacing intermittently. Even in their fourth republic, the relationship between these countries has been characterized by trade disputes. The fundamental cause of this problem was the inconsistencies of national economic policies with the protocols and policies of ECOWAS, to which both countries were signatories. There was also the formulation and implementation of contingent economic policies against traders from both countries, and efforts to curb these menaces are always futile. According to Ademola (2017), much has been said about the rocky nature of Ghana-Nigeria relations. However, it is very difficult to pinpoint the underlying factors of the trade dispute between the two countries. The burden of this research was to identify and assess the fundamental driving forces of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes; explore the political and economic effects of the disputes; and find out the measures that can help in curbing the menace.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

The thesis was structured into six chapters. The first chapter contains the study's introduction, research problem, objectives, and significance, as well as the study's scope and organization. Chapter Two comprised a relevant literature review on the concept of politics; Ghana-Nigeria political relations; Ghana-Nigeria Trade Relations, the role of ECOWAS in regional trade integration; and the challenges of ECOWAS in trade integration. Chapter Three consists of the Theoretical Framework that guided the study. International Regime Theory underpinned the study. Chapter Four focused on the Research Methodology. It is composed of the research design and approach, philosophical or ontological worldview, the population of the study, sample size and sampling technique, data collection instrument and procedure for data analysis, limitations, and conclusion. Chapter Five focuses on the presentation of findings, data analysis, and discussion of findings. Chapter Six consists of a summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the introduction to the study. It briefly described the political and economic history between Ghana and Nigeria. It also elaborated on the intermittent trade disputes between the two countries in their fourth republic. The chapter also included the statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance, scope, justification, and the organization of the chapter.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains a review of relevant related literature on the study. The review is based on the following thematic areas: The concept of politics; Ghana- Nigeria political relations, Ghana-Nigeria trade relations, the role of ECOWAS in regional trade integration, and the challenges of ECOWAS in regional trade integration.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF POLITICS

Politics, etymologically, is derived from polis, which means the "city state". The division and collection of independent societies of the ancient Greeks, of which Athens was regarded as the largest and most influential city-state, is the cradle of politics and democracy (Heywood, 2013). In this regard, politics can be understood to mean the affairs of the polis or what concerns the city-state. In Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, he conceptualized politics as a science of human affairs and man's happiness as consisting of a certain mode of life, shaped for him by his immediate environment. Aristotle describes man as by nature "a political animal" (Rackham, 1959). This implies that every activity of man is political since it involves decision-making in all facets of life.

There is always disagreement at the individual, institutional, national, and international levels regarding the allocation of scarce resources within a political system. In totality, people might agree or disagree on appropriate choices of action ranging from which candidate will make the best government at the state level, what amount of resources should be spent on social welfare policies,

and the decision to engage in combat with an adversary state at the international level. Understanding the dynamics of these conflicts is the essence of politics within the political system (Jordan, 2016). This definition may seem to be laudable, but the gap in his definition has to do with the inability of the writer to state that the concept has no single definition, and hence he chooses to conceptualize politics as conflict that involves agreement and disagreement between people. According to Alexander (2014), the term politics is a perplexing issue, and most researchers in the field have proposed hopeful and partial definitions, or to be inclusive, have attempted to summarize the disputes between numerous hopeful and incomplete definitions of politics. Modebadze (2010) asserted that great difficulty is always encountered when trying to define the term "politics." There is a wide range of legally accepted definitions, and for that matter, the concept has a great number of legitimate and acceptable meanings.

Besides the difficulty in defining the term "politics," renowned scholars have done their best to come up with some acceptable definitions. For instance, Warren (1999), as referenced by Jordan (2016), defines politics as the junction of power and conflict. This implies that a power relationship exists between two or more individuals, groups, institutions, or nations and that this power dynamic is exactly what encourages them to make favourable political choices, whether to serve deterrence and apply authority to others to achieve an expected outcome. On the other hand, two or more individuals, groups, institutions, and states must disagree since politics seldom exists when entities work towards a shared goal (Jordan 2016:3).

According to Plato, politics is a science and art of ruling that keeps its standard nature irrespective of the quantity or quality of those rules. The uniformity of politics remains the same whether the ruled are citizens, subjects, children, or even slaves (Coby,1986). The lacuna in this definition has to do with the inability to identify the use of power, which serves as a fundamental component of

politics. Politics is driven by personal interests, and the interests of the individual, institutions, and states can only be achieved when power is within their domain. Given this, Lasswell (1986) defines politics as who gets what, when, and how. According to Laswell, the influential "who" at any given time wields political power in part due to the success with which they manage their political environment. There is an indication that the one who wields political power exercises a lot of skills in handling violence, goods, and practices and, at the same time, must withstand the attack of other antagonistic groups. Practically, this may mean a struggle for power in which the victor goes to influence others.

Czajka (2019) saw politics as affairs that concern the state and which may include activities that directly or indirectly affect the institutions of the state, the individual citizens who are directly involved, or the business of governance and the places in which these activities and people are present. In line with the above definition, it can be concluded that politics involves the interactions between members at the state level, the activities of those who wield political power, and engaging in political practices such as voting in elections. In summary, Czajka (2019) stated that politics should be seen as bilateral engagement between two countries, e.g., a meeting between Ghana and Nigeria on trade issues; multilateral meetings between states and institutions; for example, an attempt by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the African Union to combat the Corona Virus in Africa. Politics also involves day-to-day activities. For example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is drafting a protocol to regulate the trade activities of member states. The concept may also be said to involve debates in the national parliament and voting in the general election.

In the words of Arendt (2005), cited by Alexander (2014), politics is defined as how men in their liberty can interact with one another without fear of compulsion or force, and reign over each other as equals among equals, taking instructions and following them only in events of emergency, and

conducting their operations by reasoning with each other. Alexander (2014) held the view that politics revolves around the concept of liberty. To him, freedom has two connotations: negative and positive freedom. Negative freedom is defined as a state of not governing or being ruled, but positive freedom is defined as a space that can only be produced by men's institutions, allowing each man to move freely. According to Norberg and Schmitt (1968), politics emanates through the emergence of clear differences between friends and enemies. Political situations emerge when cohesive groups are identified through ferocious conflict shadowed by the contingency of actual combat. To Norberg, (2015), the concept of politics is likely to become the focal point of intractable disputes and, hence, can become a breeding zone for chronic disagreements. Citing Pitkin (1931), Norberg (2015) posits that theorists of political concepts were of the view that disagreements are intrinsic to politics and likely to become manifest in a dispute over conceptual meaning.

Modebadze (2010) postulates that political situations emerge out of disagreement, and the disagreement provides the basis for politics. Disputes arise due to differences in the condition, status, power, opinion, and aim of people, and these make them have divergent judgments. Humans are social beings and to survive, even amid wanton disagreements, they have to co-operate and work together. When people work together, there is a need to decide how problems can be solved and how resources can be fairly distributed to favour everybody. According to Modebadze (2010), politics is the study of how such decisions are made.

According to Heywood (2013), politics in its wider sense denotes the processes through which an individual amends or preserves the general code of conduct under which they live. In this regard, the concept is inextricably intertwined with the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. The existence of conflicting opinions, competing needs or wants, and antagonistic interests guarantees disagreement about the code of conduct under which people live (Heywood, 2013). Politics in its

worst form is seen as a "dirty" word that connotes images of trouble such as disruption, violence, deceit, manipulation, lies, and systematic organization of hatred (Heywood, 2013:2).

In the view of Rodman (1946), cited by Czajka (2019), politics denotes the process of looking for trouble, finding it where it is located or not, diagnosing it incorrectly, and applying the wrong remedy. Czajka (2019:13) gave an example that "if you put the federal government (politicians) in charge of the Sahara Desert, in five years, there would be a shortage of sand in the desert." According to Czajka, "leave the desert to the politicians and they will find ways to empty the desert of sand."

Besides the conflictual part of political engagements, political actors, especially at the international levels, must work together to achieve the desired goal, and hence cooperation becomes very integral in the international political process. Paulo (2014) stated that political cooperation at the international level describes the interaction to achieve a common goal when actors' interests are neither identical nor irreconcilable. In Arendt's *Human Condition* (1958), cited by Heywood (2013), political power is defined as 'acting in concert'. In light of this, consensus building is seen as the heart of politics and it is portrayed as a process of conflict resolution in which conflicting views are reconciled. According to Crick (1964), cited by Czajka (2019), politics is an activity in which individuals with differing interests are reconciled by allocating them with a share of power in their due proportion which is important and adequate for their survival. In Heywood's *Politics* (2013), the definition of politics is divided into four components: politics as the art of government; politics as public affairs; politics as compromise and consensus; and politics as power. In *Politics as an Art*, Heywood (2013) postulates that the notion incorporates the various ways in which the government responds to various public demands by giving incentives, privileges, and prohibitions. David Easton espoused this viewpoint in his writings, defining politics as the authoritative allocation of values (Gabriel, 2017). According to Heywood, authoritative values are those that are widely accepted in society and are regarded as

binding by a majority of citizens. Politics as art is what takes place in polity, that is, the concept is practiced in the cabinet room, legislative chamber, government departments, and agencies (Heywood, 2013).

Politics as public affairs, according to Heywood (2013), moves from the narrow realm of government to what is referred to as "public life" or "public affairs." The difference between what is political and non-political coincides with the division between an important public sphere of life and what can be referred to as the private sphere. Heywood (2013) went on to say that politics as public affairs refers to the state of operation as well as the correct exercise of obligations by governmental institutions. In this regard, personal activities such as economic, social, cultural, religious, and other domestic activities that can be managed at the individual level will be regarded as non-political affairs.

Heywood (2013) further conceptualizes politics as compromise and consensus. According to him, politics is the process of resolving conflict between opposing parties. The concept makes room for conciliation, compromises, and negotiations rather than fierce confrontations and naked power. An amicable solution to a problem is thought to be a "political" solution because it allows for peaceful debate and arbitration as opposed to a "militant" solution. This definition provides the basis to assert that politics accords the individual a determined faith in objective debate and discussion, as well as the belief that consensus building is the benchmark for a peaceful society rather than intractable conflict (Heywood 2013). However, this definition can be criticized because it focuses only on political systems that allow for popular participation and multiparty democracy. The definition is inadequate to deal with the totalitarian or military system of government.

The fourth conceptualization of politics by Heywood is power. This definition is regarded as the broadest and most radical. The essence of politics is to achieve one's desire through the use of power

(Heywood, 2013). In other words, one can achieve political power through involvement in politics. A political outcome can be achieved through whatever means if power is applied. It is based on this notion that Lasswell (1986) defines politics as who gets what, when, and how. Speaking from the economic point of view, Lasswell saw scarcity as an underlining factor to the human problem and the tendency to spark struggle amongst individuals. Politics is therefore seen as a struggle for these scarce resources, and power is a means to conduct these struggles (Heywood,2013). The deduction is that the individual who can decide on who gets what, when and how is the one who wields the political power. In the words of Dowse and Hughes (1972), cited by Modebadze (2010), politics is about power, and politics is displayed whenever there are differences in power relations. Czajka (2019) also saw politics as a game in which actors would want to induce opponents to do what they would not otherwise have done. In light of this, politics can be said to take place whenever and wherever power is exercised.

In the context of this project work, politics would be conceptualized as the interrelation between international bodies or states where conflict emanating out of national interest can be resolved through compromises and consensus-building. The clue is taken from Czajka (2019), who stated that politics should be seen as a bilateral engagement between two countries. Heywood (2013) also opines that politics is a process of resolving conflict between opposing parties. The concept makes room for conciliation, compromises, and negotiations rather than violent conflicts and fierce confrontations. Relevant literature was reviewed under the concept of politics because it highlighted the aspects of political interactions between Ghana and Nigeria and also contributed to the study by providing an immense understanding of the political behaviour of nations regarding the decisions they make in safeguarding their political and economic interests. For example, the definition of politics as who gets what, when, and how (Lasswell, 1986) throws more light on decision-making that favours the

interests of a particular party. Lasswell's definition is perfectly linked to the occasional trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria because the decision to close Nigerian borders on neighboring countries and the closure of Nigerian retail shops in Ghana were the results of determining who gets what at a particular time, when, and how those interests were obtained.

2.3 GHANA-NIGERIA POLITICAL RELATIONS

Political relations between Ghana and Nigeria can undoubtedly be described as an oscillatory relationship. This is because both countries, at some point in time of their political trajectory, developed cordiality on one hand and mutual suspicion and discord on the other hand towards each other. There is a root of convergence and a point of departure when exploring the political relationship between these two countries. The root of political convergence between Ghana and Nigeria is their colonial history. Aluko (1977) asserted that the political relationship between Ghana and Nigeria is a case study of disintegration and disengagement since both countries have in common some characteristics under British colonial rule but since their independence, their political ideologies and national interests have generated conflictual and even dialectical stances. Their relationship was seen as a source of discord and not integration. Aluko (1977) further stated that regardless of the commonalities in terms of political economy and intermittent military intervention in their respective democracies, their mutual attitude has been more of competition than cooperation. Otoghile & Obakhedo (2011) stated that since their independence, the various political administrations have experienced instances of suspicion, jealousy, and discord. According to Ulzen (2017), political discord between Ghana and Nigeria was recorded during the regime of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah between 1957 and 1961. During this era, there was the deportation of Nigerian citizens from Ghana through the Deportation Act of 1957. Notably, the net of the Deportation Act heavily fell on prominent Nigerians, including Alufa Osman Lardan and Ahmadu Baba, who were members

of the opposition Muslim Party in Ghana. Even though the Act made it legally possible for the expulsion of aliens, it was purposely for a political reason. A critical analysis will indicate that political leaders choose to relate to their counterparts based on their idiosyncrasies and their perceptions. Suffice it to say, there is always a common relationship between political leaders from both sides when they emerge from the same regime. Simply put, a military government from one country may not want to see eye to eye with a civilian government from the other country.

Another root of political convergence between the two countries is their virile publics that impose internal political pressure on leaders to formulate their respective foreign policy directions in favour of their countries. According to Legum (1965), cited by Otoghile & Obakhedo (2011), virile public opinions help to show that internal pressure plays a major role in the formulation of foreign policies of the two countries. As a result of public opinion, at independence, the challenge of African unity was at the forefront of national discourse, and in the light of that, they took the challenge to ensure that other colonized people have their emancipation. In the words of Aremu (2014), there has been an engagement in a series of collaborations between Ghana and Nigeria on political issues since independence. Both countries collaborated in championing the emancipation of the African continent from colonial rule. In 1963, there was the establishment of the African Liberation Committee (ALC) based in Tanzania to channel financial resources to assist the independence movements of GuineaBissau, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as the movement against white minority rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. The independent movement emerged victorious when all the colonized countries got their independence by 1980 and white minority rule ended in 1994. These scholars can, however, be criticized on the basis that, even though political leaders from both countries seek African unity, they have divergent views regarding how it may be achieved. This divergent view on African unity resulted in the Casablanca and Monrovia factions.

In order to shed more light on Ghana-Nigeria political relations, the review of relevant literature will be based on the various political regimes from the 1960s till date. From 1960 to 1966, it was dominated by the struggle for the emancipation of other African countries yet under colonial rule.

Ghana and Nigeria played a significant role in ensuring that this vision was achieved. Notwithstanding this great vision of the two countries in ensuring liberation for the African continent, the years 1960 to 1966 were characterized by suspicion and jealousy in the external political relations between Ghana and Nigeria. According to Otohile & Obakhedo (2011), a major reason that accounted for this circumstance was that, at independence, both countries were ruled by different political figures with different idiosyncrasies and attitudes. Ghana was ruled by Dr. Nkrumah, who was a dynamic, renowned nationalist, and strong advocate of African unity. Nigeria was also ruled by Tafawa Balewa and Nnamdi Azikiwe, who were conservatives and cautious about African unity. The conservative nature of Nigeria and the radicalism of Ghana created a sharp conflict between these political elites, and hence the outspokenness of Dr, Kwame Nkrumah regarding the welfare of African States created suspicion and jealousy from their Nigerian counterparts.

According to Nkrumah (1963), there are those (conservatives such as Tafawa Balewa and Nnamdi Azikiwe) who hold the view that Africa cannot unite under one umbrella because the continent lacks the three basic elements for unity; a common race, culture, and language. In the words of Nkrumah (1963:108),

"We have indeed, for centuries, been divided by the colonial masters." The territorial boundaries dividing us were fixed long ago, often quite arbitrarily, by the colonial powers. "Some of us are Muslims, some Christians; many believe in traditional tribal gods." Nkrumah further stated that "some of us within the sub-region speak French, some English, and some Portuguese, not to mention the millions who speak only one of the hundreds of different African languages. We have acquired

cultural differences which affect our ways of life and our political development. All this is inevitable due to our historical background. Yet despite this, I, Nkrumah, am convinced that the forces making for unity far outweigh those which divide us" (Nkrumah, 1963:132).

These utterances also created a sort of suspicion and jealousy among the Nigerians over who will play the hegemonic role on the continent (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). Otoghile & Obakhedo (2011, citing Daily Times 1960; Akinyemi 1974), stated that, at a conference of Independent African States held in Addis Ababa, Maitama Sule, Nigeria's Minister of Mines and Power, warned that Nigeria would not tolerate the attitude of someone who "thinks he is the Messiah with the mission to lead Africa". Indirectly, the speaker was referring to Ghana's Nkrumah. Moreover, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa remarked in 1965 that "Nigeria is endowed in terms of size, population, and wealth than Ghana, and for that matter, there is nothing for which Nigeria will be envious of Ghana" (Aluko, 1977). This tiff greatly impacted the activities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), especially for the first five years.

The years from 1966 to 1979 were characterized by political co-operation and some elements of discord. Aremu (2014) identified a multiplicity of factors that formed the basis for palpable political disharmony between Ghana and Nigeria during this era. These factors included: leadership tussles, political hegemony in Africa, divergence in ideological orientation, economic inequalities between the two countries, and the lukewarm nature of Ghana towards Nigeria's civil war between 1967 to 1970. Meanwhile, Otoghile & Obakhedo (2011) pointed out that the period from 1966 to 1975 was dominated by unpredicted twists and turns. This was possible due to the military overthrow of the civilian governments in both countries in 1966. This phenomenon, in the short term, brought cooperation between these military leaders and, for that matter, Ghana and Nigeria. This co-operation was possible since General Ironsi, who took power in Nigeria, and General Kotoka, a principal actor

in Ghana's coup, were friends and both of them had their military training together at Eaton Hall, England. Moreover, both military leaders had the same ideological orientation. However, these cordial political relations never lasted for a year since there was a second military coup in Nigeria, and this problematic environment marred the smooth political relationship between the two countries (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). In general, the two countries have adopted different policies because of each other and their tradition of conflict. This led to mistrust on the part of Nigeria when Ghana attempted to mediate in the Biafran dispute in the early periods of 1967. The attempt of Ghana was seen by Nigeria as tilting to the Biafrans and Ghana was regarded as pro-Biafran (Aluko, 1977).

This political discord continued in 1969 when Dr. Busia became Ghanaian president on August 25th, 1969. According to Olaosebikan & Adeyinka (2014), the policy of Alien Compliance Order (ACO) saw the deportation of 140,000 Nigerian immigrant stock in Ghana in 1971, and this phenomenon aggravated the sour relationship between Ghana and Nigeria. It is also interesting to note that the relationship between Ghana and Nigeria became cordial in 1972 when General Kutu Acheampong overthrew the civilian government and became Ghana's leader. Given the cordiality between Ghana and Nigeria, Acheampong was able to release about one thousand (1000) Nigerians who were detained for not possessing residential permits (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011:136). Between 1975 and 1979, when General Gowon was removed through another military coup by General Murtala Mohammed, there was political cooperation and understanding between General Acheampong of Ghana and General Murtala Mohammed of Nigeria. These military leaders deemed it necessary not to meddle in the domestic affairs of their counterparts, and this created an atmosphere of peace between them. This same political cooperation continued between General Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and General Akuffo of Ghana after a successful military coup. Both parties reaffirmed their commitment to the total liberation of other parts of Africa still under colonial rule.

However, cooperation between Ghana and Nigeria turned sour when Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings took over power in Ghana. At this point, Obasanjo's administration was preparing for transition and hence did not recognize the military government of Rawlings. Moreover, the ramifications of recognizing Rawlings' coup by Obasanjo cannot be underestimated since he saw the new coup in Ghana as having a contagious effect on Nigeria. Such a violent and nondemocratic way of changing the government was unacceptable to Nigeria's leader (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). Obasanjo's administration registered dislike for Rawlings' administration by enforcing some draconian economic policies, including the refusal to supply oil to Ghana at a point where Ghana owed Nigeria about \$150 million in crude oil supplies and in an era where Ghana depended over 90% on petroleum products from Nigeria (Fayomi, 2013). This unfortunate political relationship continued until Nigeria completed its transition and ushered in Alhaji Shehu Shagari to power.

Coincidentally, there was a civilian regime in both countries, where Dr. Hilla Limann was elected as the president of Ghana and Alhaji Shehu Shagari as the president of Nigeria. Both presidents thought it wise to intensify their cooperation, to prevent any threat to their existence. In an attempt to solidify the cooperation between the two countries, there emerged the second return of Jerry John Rawlings through a military coup on December 31st, 1981. Shagari's administration was not prepared to recognize and co-operate with the military government in Ghana because he saw the dark ages of military regimes that preceded him and the continuous accusation of corruption leveled against him by Rawlings (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). Asare & Siaw (2018:212) elucidated that the Rawlings' administration encountered an antagonistic experience from Nigeria's president Shehu Shagari due to his undemocratic nature of appearing on the political scene. Given this, Rawlings' administration was met with punitive measures, including the deportation of one (1) million Ghanaians in 1983. The additional expulsion of 300,000 Ghanaian immigrants from Nigeria in 1985 has been seen to be

another form of discord between Ghana and Nigeria (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011; Fayomi, 2013 Asare & Siaw (2018) asserted that the expulsion of the 300,000 Ghanaians from Nigeria was regarded by Rawlings as an incident of little consequence because subsequent Nigerian leaders began treating Ghana differently in the mid-1980s. By 1984, Ghana became one of Nigeria's major trading partners, and the political cooperation between Rawlings and General Buhari was deeply established. Asare and Siaw reiterated that any rebuttal may have compromised the hopes of ECOWAS, a subregional body to which both countries have committed (Asare & Siaw 2018).

In order to strengthen and promote political relations between Ghana and Nigeria, the Quadripartite Commission was established in 1994. This commission was meant to ensure mutual assistance in the issues of customs, immigration, trade, and extradition between Ghana, Nigeria, Benin, and Togo. The commission helped to settle the Ghana-Togo dispute in 1985 (Aremu, 2014). The military coup in 1985 that swept away General Buhari's administration and ushered in Major General Ibrahim Babangida's administration did not affect the political relations between Nigeria and Ghana. This was an era of intensified economic diplomacy and political integration. Brazi (2009) eloquently postulated that cooperation between Ghana and Nigeria increased during this era and that this culminated in the provision of petroleum support to Ghana and the invariably training of the personnel of the Nigerian service for the security sector by Ghanaian instructors. Political cooperation continued to be established between Ghana and Nigeria when General Sani Abacha took over the government in 1993. The collaboration of leadership between Ghana and Nigeria through the institution of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group resulted in the Ecomog intervention in civil wars and the restoration of democracy in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Asare & Siaw (2018) stated that while Rawlings' administration experienced mixed signals from Nigeria, his successor president, Kufour, since 2001, has enjoyed a stable political relationship with Nigeria under the leadership of President

Olusegun Obasanjo. Brazi (2009) also posits that former president Kufour's administration can be said to have established the highest form of cooperation between Ghana and Nigeria. During these periods, there were a series of diplomatic engagements between both political leaders regarding ways of strengthening socio-economic ties. President Kufour, on the other hand, used the opportunity to strengthen trade and good neighborliness between Ghana and Nigeria. Riding on the mantra "property owning democracy", he paved the way for Nigerian businessmen to establish themselves in Ghana (Essuman, 2010). On the other hand, President Obasanj greatly favoured Ghana by providing a loan facility of \$1.3 million for the acquisition of police patrol vehicles and oil supply at concessionary rates and terms. It was a period of heightened international cooperation and the promotion of bilateral interests (Brazi, 2009). The policy of good neighborliness resulted in significant economic largesse for Ghana. For instance, Kufour's administration was able to negotiate a 90-day credit facility with Nigeria to economically cushion the deteriorating economy. Nigeria also granted a soft loan of \$40 million to pay for Ghana's share of the cost of the West African Gas pipeline (Asare & Siaw, 2018).

Despite the cordial political relationship established between Ghana and Nigeria, the relationship appeared to be turning sour the moment President John Atta Mills took office. President Mills took some draconian economic policies that are detrimental to foreign businessmen, which Nigerian businessmen were affected by. For example, his administration, through the Ghana Investment Promotion Act, increased the cost of registration of businesses in Ghana by \$300,000 (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). According to Essuman, at the inception of Mills' administration in 2009, the relationship between the two countries had deteriorated. Moreover, it was during this period that Ghana abandoned a strategic oil partnership with Nigeria for Equatorial Guinea (Essuman, 2010).

The new administration of President John Mahama in 2012 created an atmosphere of cordial relations between Ghana and Nigeria. According to Business News (2012), President Mahama assured Nigeria that his administration would continue to respect bilateral agreements between both countries. It was an era of deepening bilateral relations between the two countries. Based on that, government delegations from both sides visited each other with the sense of solidifying their commitment towards the development of their countries in particular and the sub-region as a whole. According to News Ghana (2013), to ensure collaboration between Ghana and Nigeria, President Mahama called for closer relations between both countries. According to President Mahama, Ghana would enter into a partnership with Nigeria, which had expanded in the banking sector, and could share the experience with others in the country. He reiterated that the overarching issue among countries in the West African sub-region was to forge ahead with the integration of the region to make it formidable against other regions and continents in the world.

Political relations between Ghana and Nigeria continued to gain cordiality when President Akufo Addo assumed office in 2016. According to the Communications Bureau (2020), President Akufo Addo reaffirmed his commitment to the Ghana-Nigeria culture of cooperation and brotherliness. He pledged to do whatever it takes to strengthen the healthy relationship between Ghana and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In his official address during the visitation of the speaker of Nigeria's House of Representatives in September 2020, President Akufo Addo stated that regardless of the contending issues between Ghana and Nigeria, the relations between both countries are cordial and Nigerian residents in Ghana are safe. In providing a remedy to current disturbing issues bedeviling both countries, leaders from both sides had discussions regarding the setting up of a Joint Ministerial Committee to watch over issues and come up with possible solutions that may ensure smooth

relations between Ghana and Nigeria (APA News, 2020). In general, the political relations between Ghana and Nigeria during the era of President Kufour in 2001 till the regime of President Akufo Addo were more cordial than discordant as compared to the earlier part of the fourth republic. However, trade relations continue to pose a threat to the very survival of both countries. The review below will extensively delve into Ghana-Nigeria trade relations and issues regarding trade disputes. The last segment of this review complemented the study by highlighting the long-standing political relations, which was regarded as one of the components binding the two countries together. It also revealed the oscillatory political nature which formed the basis for mutual suspicion and discord on one hand and cordiality on the other hand. The review of the relevant related literature under this theme contributed to the study by revealing the political root of convergence and a point of departure that had greatly affected the politico- economic relations between Ghana and Nigeria.

2.4 GHANA-NIGERIA TRADE RELATIONS

Trade relations between Ghana and Nigeria emerged during the pre-colonial era and continued through the colonial period till modern times. Decades before Ghana attained its independence in 1957, Nigerian immigrants started making Ghana their location for greener pastures. Predominantly, these immigrants were traders and were attracted to Ghana due to the good trading environment in the country (Brazi, 2009). The trajectory of Ghana-Nigeria trade relations can be linked to S.O. Akiwumi, who flourished in business in 1887 and was recognized as one of the richest businessmen in Ghana by 1912. His major trade was in the cocoa industry, and he was the first foreign national to establish a private bank in Ghana. It is interesting to note that due to the influence of S. O. Akiwumi in trading activities in Ghana, he was able to give the name Makola to the hitherto Selwyn market in

Accra. The popular Makola market was in the Yoruba language, which means "lucky child." It is believed that children bring luck to their parents every time they commence selling in that market (Brazi, 2009). According to Aremu (2014), several years before the independence of Ghana and Nigeria in 1957 and 1960, respectively, both countries experienced some mutually rewarding trading contacts. The initial relationship between Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria was trading. Boahen (1975) and Newbury (1971:254), cited by Aremu (2014), further stated that the main trading activities between Ghana and Nigeria during the trans-Saharan trade period were gold and Gbanka kola nuts. These trading activities were mainly between Kano in northern Nigeria and Salaga, in the southern forest region of Ghana. Olaniyi (2005), cited by Aremu (2014), also affirmed that Kano leather products, including sandals, tanned hides and skins, cloth, and elephant tusks, were exported for sale at Salaga and Kumasi markets. As a result of well-established trade relations between both countries, Hausa traders from northern Nigeria used the opportunity to trade products such as livestock, cotton, cowry shell, copper, brassware, carpets, silk, leather, and iron pots for sale in Ghanaian markets. Olaniyi (2004) asserted that Nigerian traders were well established in Ghana before the 1930s. These traders were spearheading trading activities in both rural and urban centers in Ghana. According to Olaniyi, the second generation of these traders virtually compete with Ghanaian citizens for government positions. As a result of the domineering nature of these immigrant traders, there was a power tussle between the immigrant traders and the natives (traditional authorities) regarding the opposition to the cocoa hold-up crisis led by Okyenhene of Akyem Abuakwa.

The genesis of the dispute was that the Nigerian farmers and traders agreed with predatory European firms against the native traders. An attempt to curtail this menace resulted in a dispute between the two sides, which even led to the call for the expulsion of immigrant traders from Ghana. Aremu

(2014) opined that Ghana-Nigeria trade relations were not just limited to dealing in agriculture and the mining sector but also extended to the construction sector. Between 1950 and 1960, a good number of Nigerians were employed in the construction of roads, rail lines, ports, forts, and large warehouses. These projects include Tema and Takoradi deepwater ports; and the roads and rail lines that connected Sekondi, Accra, Kumasi, and later Tema in 1960. Other notable ones were the Akosombo Dam and Tema power plants (Arthur, 1991:71; Gyimah-Boadi & 2003, cited by Aremu 2013). Olaniyi (2004) reiterated that in the 1950s, Ghana witnessed an increase in cocoa production, and this yielded great income from the international market. The booming cocoa sector attracted foreign nationals, especially Nigerian traders, into the country. Migrant labour from Nigeria and other parts of the sub-region was employed to work in the various construction sites, industries, agriculture, and domestic sectors across the country.

Aremu (2014) postulated that economic and trade relations between Ghana and Nigeria were established in the 1900s and that this cordial relationship was linked to migrant fishermen from Ghana who were reported to have settled in Yovoyan on the Western Coast of Lagos state. These migrant fisher folks moved from Keta in the Volta Region to Nigeria due to the economic fortunes of the fishing sector in Nigeria. According to Aremu, factors such as seasonal migration of commercial fish species, the availability of more fish species in bigger sizes in Nigeria than in Ghana, a large market and demand for fish due to the population, and a very good connection between both old and new migrants contributed to the eagerness of these Ghanaians to relocate to Nigeria. Brazi (2009) pointed out that the boom in oil stocks in Nigeria attracted Ghanaians to migrate to Nigeria in the 1970s. This movement enabled migrant Ghanaians to take up lucrative portfolios and contracts in the new oil-rich country, and Nigeria was regarded as a greener pasture upon which fortunes were made. The financial reward as a result of the petrol-dollar boom in Nigeria can still be seen in the

remnants of Peugeot 504 and "trident" tape recorders as the largesse of Nigerian returnees in the early parts of the 1980s. Aremu (2014) further stated that over seventy percent (70%) of kente cloth contracts were established between Ghana and Nigeria during the early part of the 1970s. In this regard, Kente weavers from the Volta Region of Ghana migrated to Ketu in Lagos, Nigeria.

Meanwhile, by 1973, Ghana and Nigeria had signed economic-related agreements, including the West African Merchant Navy Officers' Association Agreement to foster the promotion of regional integration in West Africa. Furthermore, due to cordial trade relations between the two countries, Nigeria Coal Corporation was able to win the second consecutive contract for the supply of 20,000 tons of coal to the government of Ghana in 1973.

In 1975, Ghana and Nigeria entered into another trade pact by signing a maritime agreement which had to do with the diversion of cargo ships from the congested Nigerian ports to the Takoradi and Tema ports in Ghana. This agreement enabled smooth export and import activities to go on between the two states. Suffice it to say, bilateral trade relations between Ghana and Nigeria have come a long way since these countries have been trading with each other for the past 50 years, as the two largest economies and the biggest oil-producing countries in the West African sub-region. The trade relationship between these countries is crucial to the very survival of the region (Ademola, 2017). Okoro (2004) and Aremu (2013) indicated that the cordial trade relationship established between these two countries over the years has been ruined by the 1983 expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria and the closure of Nigerian borders with neighbours. Okoro (2004) specifically stated that the expulsion was triggered by economic factors. For instance, Nigeria has undergone economic decline, which was a result of high external debt, hyperinflation, low domestic productivity, the balance of payment deficit, and the continuous deterioration of the standard of living. The action of the Buhari administration to expel migrants was seen as an attempt to enhance the chances of solving the

Nigerian economic crisis at the time. It was also seen as an attempt to safeguard the employment and business activities that were taken over by the migrant traders. Aremu (2013) also argues that the expulsion of the aliens was a deliberate attempt to ensure the integrity of the Nigerian laws and to deal with the economic recession, which was due to the reduction of foreign exchange earnings.

There was economic and trade proliferation between Ghana and Nigeria in the 1990s. According to Ademola (2017), the balance of trade shifted in favour of Nigeria due to the predominant export of oil and other services to the Ghanaian economy. Ghana, on the other hand, was involved in the export of manufactured goods such as garments and textiles; food and beverages; plastic, aluminum, pharmaceuticals; and other manufactured products. In 1999, both countries were at the forefront of the effort to spearhead an attempt to promote regional integration in West Africa. By so doing, the Nigerian Association of Commerce, Industry, Mines, and Agriculture (NACCIMA) and the Private Enterprises Foundation (PEF) of Ghana met in Lagos to deliberate on important issues relating to regional integration. The outcome of the meeting included the identification of obstacles to the implementation of regional integration policies in West Africa, recommendations on the realization of objectives of integration with the ECOWAS sub-region, mechanisms for monitoring and implementing policies, and the establishment of banks across the sub-region to boost trade among member states.

There was also deliberation on the implementation of convergence criteria of ECOWAS, which would trigger the introduction of a single currency by 2003 (Ademola, 2017). Regardless of the excesses of the military juntas of both governments, trade relations continued to be well established between Ghana and Nigeria. Brazi (2009) asserted that corporation was extended through the security sub-sector, and trade activities were heightened as a result of the supply of petroleum products to

Ghana in the 1990s. The substantive economic diplomacy of President Kufour towards Nigeria in 2001 boosted trade relations between both countries. Asare & Siaw (2018) pointed out that the outcome of good neighbourliness yielded great economic benefit for both countries. The liberal economic policies of President Kufour saw the proliferation of Nigerian traders in Ghana. There was also an increase in the establishment of Nigerian banks and companies within that period. This relationship between Ghana and Nigeria proved to be a positive indication of economic integration under the ECOWAS agreement. Otohile & Obakhedo (2011) state that Kufour's administration made good use of international trade liberalization through "Property Owning Democracy," especially by opening the trade floodgates and paying attention to Nigerian businesses. As a result, there was an increase in the establishment of Nigerian businesses, thereby creating numerous job avenues for Ghanaians between 2001 and 2008. At the West African sub-regional level, the trade relationship has engendered support for the growth of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) since enormous Nigerian businesses are making marks in the Ghanaian economy. Consequently, the volume of export trade between both countries was determined at \$525m at the end of 2008. Nigerian non-oil exports also recorded an amount of \$89m. Conversely, Ghana's exports to Nigeria amounted to \$25m (Ghana Business News, 2008).

Ademola (2017), however, observed that the trade relationship between Ghana and Nigeria began to dwindle from 2007 through 2012 when some Nigerian businesses in Ghanaian markets were closed down by Ghanaian authorities for alleged non-compliance with a 1994 investment law which restricted foreign nationals from engaging in some business activities mainly reserved for Ghanaians. This impasse has persisted in trade relations and it keeps popping up even in successive regimes. Otohile & Obakhedo (2011) further indicated that notwithstanding the prosperous trade relations between Ghana and Nigeria, things began to turn sour when President John Evans Atta Mill assumed

office in 2009. During his regime, the Nigerian business community lamented that the government was discriminating against them under the Ghana Investment Promotion Act (GIPC), which increased the amount for registering foreign businesses (mostly owned by Nigerian traders) to \$200,000 and prohibited foreigners from trading in some products.

The Oxford Business Group (2012) stated that in the latter part of June 2012, the government of Ghana warned that there would be enforcement of all the legal processes regarding the presence and business activities of foreigners in the country. This legal requirement had adversely affected a great number of Nigerian traders in the Ghanaian market, and they further saw this action as targeted at taking Nigerian businesses out of the market. Even though there were efforts by both governments to solve the problem, it can be pointed out that these solutions were just for the short term. This menace was repeated in 2018 through to 2020 when the Nigerian authorities closed down their land border in 2019, triggering tit-for-tat tactics in Ghana where the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) closed down more than 100 foreign run-shops (Niba, 2019).

Ghana and Nigeria play a major role in sub-regional trade integration and hence their actions and inactions in terms of economic and trade relations may undoubtedly and consistently affect the trade activities of all members of the Economic Community of West African States. The crackdown of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes kept emerging intermittently and efforts to permanently resolve this problem seem to be unavailable. The burden of this work is to assess the underlining factors and the ramifications of these phenomena and also to provide recommendations as to how policymakers can be informed in the quest to dealing with issues relating to Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes. As such, the reviewed literature under this segment complements this research as it shows the historical root of cooperation and discontents/ disputes between Ghana and Nigeria concerning trade.

2.5 GHANA-NIGERIA TRADE DISPUTES IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

Even though Ghana and Nigeria do not share a geographical land border and neither are they immediate neighbours, the interconnectedness and bonding between the two countries can never be underestimated. Otohile & Obakhedo (2011) elucidated that after intermittent interruption of the democratic systems of both countries by the military, both countries are in their fourth republic. One might have asked why both countries, at this point, found themselves in the fourth republic. Intuitively, it can be said one country influences the other or it is just a mere coincidence to be in the fourth republic at this point. As pointed out by Gyimah-Boadi (2008), Ghana experienced her rebirth on the 7th of January 1993 as she gained her 4th republican status ushered in by the 1992 Constitution. This democratic transition emerged in the early part of the 1990s and this brought Ghana back on track on the democratic governance trail. On the other hand, Nigeria, on May 29, 1999, gained her fourth republican status amid numerous hopes and expectations (Yagboyaju, 2011).

Trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria were not a fourth republican phenomenon but had their genesis in the 19th century when Nigerian traders migrated to Ghana for trade activities due to the boom in the cocoa and mining sectors. Boahen (1974) and Newbury (1971), cited by Aremu (2013), confirmed that the first relationship between Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria was trading. This was because gold and cocoa commanded a great market during this era, and therefore, the Ghanaian economy became a hub for the trading center for most Nigerian emigrant traders. Olaniyi (2004) vividly noted that a trade dispute ensued between Ghanaian traders and their Nigerian counterparts in the 1930s when there was a cocoa hold-up crisis. During the 1930s, the Ghanaian local business community formed a coalition known as the National Crusade for the Protection of Ghanaian

Enterprises to oppose the prevalence of foreign traders in the country. The agitation of this organization led to the call for the expulsion of foreigners, predominantly Nigerian traders, from the country. This phenomenon continued during Busia's regime, where a large number of Nigerian traders were expelled in 1969 through the Alien Compliance Order. Buhari's regime also responded in 1983-85 by expelling over one million Ghanaians from Nigeria for economic and trade reasons. It was a period of great distress for Ghana since the country was on the verge of collapsing due to drought, famine, and economic downturn (Ademola, 2017).

Trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria continued even in their fourth republics. However, the earlier part of their fourth republic was partly cordial in terms of trade relations. Upon attainment of the fourth republic in 1999, Nigeria's president, in the person of Olusegun Obasanjo, developed very favourable bilateral relations with Ghana and, hence, both countries benefited in economic and trade terms. Nevertheless, in 2005, President Obasanjo imposed an embargo on some 96 Ghanaian products imported into Nigeria. These products include textiles, garments, starch, plastics, canned foods, and other agricultural products. Even though these products were registered under the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), the Nigerian government implemented this unfavourable policy to protect its economic interests. It could be said that the Nigerian government has trivialized the ECOWAS initiative of trade liberalization. According to Ademola (2017), successive governments, including President Goodluck Jonathan's administration, implemented this policy, and this generated a trade dispute between the two economies since Ghanaian businesswomen in Nigeria were virtually thrown out of business.

Actual trade disputes in the fourth republic on the part of Ghana were palpable during the tenure of President Evans Atta Mills. Otoghile & Obakhedo (2011) stated that the implementation of the new Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) Act 2013 (865) that raised the amount of money for the

registration of foreign businesses to \$300,000, the employment of at least ten (10) Ghanaian citizens in foreign businesses, the restriction of foreign traders from engaging in some specific ventures, including retailing, and the lockdown of foreign shops, most of which were Nigerians, just because they were not complying with the new GIPC protocol were the underlining factors for the initial trade dispute between both countries. Ademola (2017) also pointed out that a major trade disagreement emerged in 2012 due to the implementation of the GIPC Act, which was detrimental to Nigerian traders in Ghana. With this, concerns were raised concerning ECOWAS agreements and protocols to which Ghana and Nigeria were signatories. The restrictions of the new GIPC Act were seen by the Nigerian business community as a policy that negates the commitment under the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS). This economic policy of the Ghanaian government was referred to by many analysts as a threat to the common economic unity and the ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme, which the West African sub-region should be benefiting from (Ademola, 2017).

Given the economic downturn of Nigeria from 2014 through to 2018 due to the fall in global oil prices, the Buhari administration intends to implement stringent economic policies to restructure the economy. The government saw the need to focus on the agriculture sector as a means for economic recovery and growth plans. In this regard, the plan to discourage the importation of food and other products from neighbouring countries became very necessary, and hence it was in the national interest of Nigeria to precipitate the border closure as a protectionist mechanism for domestic farmers against the cheap import of foodstuffs (Liedong, 2019). Ghanaian traders trivialized the move when Nigeria decided to close down their land borders, hoping that Nigerian authorities would even give prior notice to ECOWAS citizens. When the borders were closed in August 2019, Nigerians were extremely happy because the closure protected their domestic trade, which led to the consumption of Nigerian indigenous goods. It was also argued that Nigerians kept complaining that other ECOWAS

members always hid behind the protocol of free movement of people and goods and, for that matter, kept dumping illegal and sub-standard goods in their country (Mwakideu, 2020). The Nigerian government restated that the closure of the land border was in the interest of the country since it had saved millions of dollars. The country has achieved food security and no longer imports rice into its economy. The significant outcome of the border closure was that the importation of illegal drugs and arms was curtailed and the country was able to enjoy a significant amount of peace during the period (African Review, 2020).

Several questions could be asked with reference to the actions taken by Nigeria; Some of those questions are as follows:

- (1) if the closure of the border will benefit the country and help save millions of dollars, should it be a permanent phenomenon?
- (2) if Nigeria continue to claim that the closure of her borders resulted in the curtailing of the importation of illegal drugs and crime, should Nigeria continue with her protectionist agenda in the context of ECOWAS?
- (3) can Nigeria be an island on its own in the era of globalization?
- (4) what will be the fate of other Nigerian traders outside her borders in the face of retaliatory actions?

These questions must be considered when a country is engaging in a protectionist agenda.

Niba (2019) stated that members of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), in November 2019, stormed major market centers in Accra and closed down over one hundred (100) shops belonging to foreigners, most especially Nigerians. Those targeted were purported to be violating the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) Act. Meanwhile, according to Niba (2019), experts

perceived the move as a retaliation to the closure of Nigerian borders on August 21st, 2019. Ghana's Union of Traders Association claimed that about one hundred (100) trucks loaded with Ghanaian products got stuck at the border due to Nigeria's border closure. The Ghanaian and other West African traders affected by this act continually blame the Economic Community of West African States for permitting Nigeria to violate its international commitments. This tit-for-tat approach led to a serious trade dispute between Ghana and Nigeria. TRT World (2019) also reiterated that what was actually behind this tit-for-tat was not only the violation of Section 27 of the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) Act 865 which restricted foreigners from engaging in petty trading or hawking, but it was believed that the action of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) was deliberately responding to the decision of the Nigerian government in closing down its borders. GUTA also claimed that the closure of the Nigeria border violated ECOWAS treaties and protocol on free movement of people and goods. They further blamed ECOWAS for failing to keep Nigeria in order. RFI (2019) also observed that there was a closure of Nigerian-owned shops in the second largest city in Ghana (Kumasi). This was due to the allegation that Nigerian traders were selling cheap goods in the market. It was also the assertion that President Buhari's policy of closing the land borders had triggered the effect in Kumasi. Asala (2020) pointed out that Nigerian traders were complaining that the Ghanaian authorities were discriminating against them under the imposition of the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) Act that required them to invest one million dollars in the Ghanaian economy. Asala (2020) stated that GUTA has been lobbying for the implementation of this new GIPC Act. However, a lot of Nigerian shops had already been closed down by GUTA. It has been argued that the ongoing trade dispute between the two largest economies in the West African sub-region could affect the future of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). To add to the above, Ayeni (2020) postulates that given the complexity of trade relations across the

West African sub-region and Nigeria's attitude of nationalism and protectionism, the path toward a single currency and the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area may likely face a daunting and extremely cumbersome situation.

Assessing trade relations between these two great economies in West Africa in recent times brings to the fore the bumpy nature of such retaliation on account of lack of cooperation or compromise on knotty issues. However, there was the establishment of the Ghana-Nigeria Business Council, backed by legislation on both sides that will permit Ghana and Nigeria to have a coded statute that will guide business activities and trade relations in the future (Dapatem, 2020). Based on several diplomatic negotiations and other forms of dispute resolution mechanisms, on the 16th of December 2020, Nigeria announced the reopening of its land borders for normal business to take place (Millecamp, 2021). In this fourth republic, trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria were noticeable. One of the reasons for this situation may be the increasing nature of traders from both markets, especially Nigerians. The spill-over effect of the Nigerian trading population has placed undue pressure on the Ghanaian business community. The literature so far shows that there were numerous slits in existing legislation for illegal traders from both sides to exploit, and hence there was a need to provide a onetime solution to curb this problem.

2.6 THE ROLE OF ECOWAS IN REGIONAL TRADE INTEGRATION

Advocacy for the promotion of integrative regionalism for economic development became very important during the World War Two era. It was a period for a drive towards the implementation of custom unions, free trade, and the eradication of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade among countries (Okolo, 1989). The desire to further economic cooperation at the international level was reawakened after the end of the Second World War. The intention to remove trade barriers and the tendency to

integrate markets to facilitate economic and trading activities among nations led to the formation of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1947 (Kelly, 1951). The formation of GATT brought encouragement among the European countries, which was the product of customs unions within the European economies. It was this atmosphere that paved the way for Southern African countries to replicate this economic policy. The struggle for continental cooperation and regional economic integration emerged during the post-colonial era and, for this reason, the experiment for economic and trade integration was established with special attention to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Yansane, 1977). The purpose of this process was to create an avenue for competition to facilitate an increase in trade and industrial production. It was this economic drive that led to the formation of the European Economic Community in 1957. Okolo (1989), further asserted that the quest to experience an economic wave in the West African subregion for trade integration led to the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Fajana (2018) pointed out that the Economic Community of West African States was established on May 28th, 1975, primarily for the promotion of economic integration within the bloc to ensure smooth economic and trade activities. The provisions and policies of the Community were seen as a mechanism for economic growth and development, and its existence was focused on ensuring trade and market integration. Based on the fast-growing market within the bloc, the community was established to ensure that members could garner the economies of scale and comparative advantage due to the larger nature of the regional market.

Fayomi (2015) defined regional integration as a means of leveraging comparative advantages among members in a particular bloc for the sole purpose of promoting trade growth and socio-economic and political development. Opanike & Aduloju (2015), also saw integration as a process of deepening and widening cordiality between actors on the international stage. Regional integration generally

refers to the deliberate attempt of independent states within a territorial region to defer sovereignty to intergovernmental or supranational institutions for the betterment of their citizens. It can be vividly pointed out that regional integration and the mandate to achieve trade growth within the West African sub-region led to the formation of ECOWAS. The Community had its endorsement from the Treaty of Lagos, which was conceived at the beginning as a sub-regional integration scheme to promote economic development, modernization, and growth. Current exigencies have created additional functions such as the promotion of security, peace, and prevention of conflict within the sub-region.

The community was established with sixteen (16) independent African states and is currently composed of 15 member countries after the exit of Mauritania in 2000. The current membership includes Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. (Zannou, 2010). The mission of the community is to spearhead the promotion of economic integration in all aspects of economic activity: telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial matters. The treaty that established ECOWAS was revised in 1993 to speed up the process of regional integration (Akpan, 2014). The establishment of ECOWAS was primarily to ensure economic and trade integration. Below are the roles of the community in trade integration.

2.6.1. The Establishment of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS)

The institution of the ECOWAS Trade Liberation Scheme (ETLS) played an integral role in achieving regional trade integration. According to Fajana (2018), the ETLS is the leading tool used for the attainment of market integration in the West African sub-region. The focus of the scheme is to encourage duty-free trade among members, liberalize trade by abolishing customs duties levied on imports and exports, and eliminate non-tariff barriers within the bloc. To deal with issues relating

to customs duties, Article 36 of the 1993 revised ECOWAS treaty ensures that member states are obliged to reduce and ultimately eliminate custom duties per fiscal charges, internal taxations, and other charges. Member states are to eliminate import duties on industrial goods that are eligible for preferential community tariff treatment (ECOWAS, 1993). Karim & Elke (2017) also state that the ETLS was established to eliminate quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among member states. To ensure smooth trade integration within the sub- region, this scheme was adopted in 1983 and came into force in 1990 with strong backing from Ghana and Nigeria because of their interest in the export of their industrial products and the effort to foster bilateral trade relations.

Also, the scheme is primarily aimed at eliminating internal tariffs on unprocessed goods and handicraft products (Karim & Elke, 2017). Due to the adoption of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), market integration in the sub-region has become very strong even though the benefits are yet to be achieved (Fajana, 2018). An improved and effective ETLS permits ECOWAS members to achieve structural changes in their economies, thereby allowing for greater benefit as a result of dealing with a larger market. This will make trade an engine of sustainable growth and development in the respective countries.

2.6.2 ECOWAS Protocol on the Movement of People, Goods, and Services

Another important role played by ECOWAS in ensuring regional trade integration is the institution of ECOWAS protocols on the free movement of people and goods across the sub-region. Chukwuka & Oloko (2016) posited that economic and trade integration within the sub-region is an agreement among individual member states to reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers and to ensure a free flow of people, goods, and services among each other. They further argued that Free Trade Agreements

(FTAs) within the region are a deliberate system for eliminating all forms of barriers that hinder the movement of people, goods, services, and other factors of production among members to promote international trade.

Opanike & Aduloju (2015) elucidated that the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of persons, goods, and services is paramount to the general objective of the community's integrative agenda; this is because there cannot be proper economic and trade integration if the free movement of people, goods, and services, which are considered the agents and factors of regional integration, is curtailed. The protocol on the free movement of people, goods, and services is the fundamental pillar and the heart of the economic and trade integration policy.

Opanike & Aduloju (2015) further state that the protocol to liberalize trans-border movement is necessary due to the promotion of regional trade integration, which will increase wealth and improve the standard of living for members within the community. To achieve regional economic and trade integration within the ECOWAS sub-region, there was an entrenchment of the ECOWAS protocol on the movement of people, goods, and services in Article 59 of the revised treaty of 1993. It was clearly stated that members within the community shall have the right to enter into other member states for residence and establishment. It is the responsibility of the hosting country to recognize the rights of the foreign citizens and ensure that all the appropriate measures are in place for the community citizen to fully enjoy his or her rights (Elumelu2014).

Under Article 59 of the revised ECOWAS treaty on the right of residence, the community citizen is entitled to decent income-earning employment, the right to apply for jobs effectively offered, take up jobs according to national provisions, and remain in the country according to national provisions even after the job is accomplished. Under the right of establishment, community citizens are entitled

to non-salaried activities, the creation and management of enterprises, and the principle of nondiscrimination (ECOWAS, 1993). To further ensure integration and easy mobility of community members, it was enshrined in the ECOWAS treaty under the right of entry that there must be a removal of the visa requirement for community citizens and they must be permitted to travel with a national passport and health certificate (yellow card) within the ninety (90) day limit. There was also the adoption and introduction of Schengen-type visas, the elimination of residence permits requirements by Community member states, the removal of roadblocks and security checkpoints on international highways, the exchange of information between security personnel at the border, and the adoption of a single ECOWAS passport (Elumelu2014).

2.6.3 Transport Infrastructure Development by ECOWAS.

Another significant role of ECOWAS in regional trade integration is the policy of developing transport infrastructure across the community. Infrastructure development within the ECOWAS subregion is seen as a necessary factor for boosting trade among its members. To achieve this goal, the transport infrastructure has to be tailored to an existing model. According to Alaba, the analogy of the European Union model of infrastructure is a perfect example of the relationship that exists between road networks and the quality of trade among member states (Alaba, 2006). Transport infrastructure, according to Effiom (2020), entails all the systems and facilities that aid the smooth transportation of people, goods, and services across the sub-region. Transport infrastructure includes road, air, and water ports and railways. The review will massively focus on road infrastructure development as a way of ensuring trade integration between members of the ECOWAS sub-region. Rupa & Vivien (2011) pointed out that ECOWAS experienced a boost in economic growth due to improvements in infrastructure within the community. The community was able to pay attention to the regional road network, and this has greatly contributed to an increase in economic and trade

activities. Rupa & Vivien (2011) indicated that through the policies of ECOWAS, the majority of member states have progressed in investing heavily in road networks, and over 93% of road infrastructure linking various national capitals within the community has been paved.

To facilitate a uniform implementation of road network development that will bring about intra-regional transport and trade, there was an entrenchment of road infrastructure development in the 1993 Treaty of ECOWAS. According to ECOWAS (1993), to ensure the integration of infrastructure in the sub-region and to promote the movement of people, goods, and services, members of the community must develop and implement uniform transport infrastructure policies. Moreover, priorities must be given to the construction of interstate highways and the formulation of policies to improve and integrate road and railway networks across the sub-region. In line with the initiative of developing infrastructure for trade integration in the community, there was an institution of the ECOWAS Project Planning and Development Unit (PPDU). The unit, among other things, was mandated to ensure the construction of two major motorways: The Dakar-Lagos highway and the Dakar-N'djamena highway. Because of this, there was funding from the Chinese government for the construction of the Dakar-Lagos transnational infrastructure project in 2014 (GEA-African Studies Group, 2014).

ECOWAS placed greater priority on the construction of transnational highways, especially within the trans-coastal and trans-Sahelian enclaves. This project was meant to improve cross-border traffic, facilitate border control, and lower the cost of transportation among member countries (GEA-African Studies Group, 2014). The main activity of the land transport sector was the persistent implementation of programmes regarding road transportation within the ECOWAS sub-region. To facilitate trade integration among members, the community was able to construct numerous joint border posts (JBP) and international highway corridors across the region. For instance, there was the

construction of a joint border post between Ghana and Togo in 2014 and Seme and Elubo joint border posts in 2015. There was also the initiation of an effort to construct a Nigeria-Cameroon multinational highway funded by the African Development Bank, the Abidjan-Lagos corridor, which encompasses a dual carriage highway from Abidjan through Accra, Lomé, and Cotonou to Lagos. In line with the massive transnational road construction, there was also the construction of the transGambian bridge, joint border ports, and refurbishing of 137 km of road connecting the northern and southern parts of Gambia and Senegal (ECOWAS Commission, 2015). In connection with the development of road transport infrastructure across the ECOWAS community, there was a strategic project that improved the movement of people, goods, and services within the region. The ECOWAS commission (2016) reported that there was an upgrade of 276.35 km of road within the Mano River Union, which includes Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Liberia. Even though the road is well improved and has positively aided economic and trade integration, other transport sectors are heavily lagging.

In the words of Nguenkwe (2019), road infrastructure is the predominantly used and most accessible means of transport across the sub-region. Other means, especially rail transport, are just linked to a limited number of countries and their usage remain marginal. Air transport is limited because few countries within the community have national companies that operate in that sector. Rupa & Vivien (2011) argued that there is no railway network connecting all members across the ECOWAS subregion as compared to their counterparts in the southern African community. This situation has negatively impacted the trade integration agenda within the community.

2.6.5 African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)

Another role played by ECOWAS in regional trade integration is the effort to ratify the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement. As a continental economic policy, the ECOWAS

community saw the need to consent to this policy to benefit from greater continental economic integration. Recognizing the need to promote intra-African trade within the continent, African heads of state and government saw the need to establish the African Continental Free Trade Area during the 18th Session of the African Union in 2012 at Addis Ababa. By March 2018, 44 out of 55 heads of state and government had signed the agreement in Kigali, Rwanda (International Trade Centre, 2018). In the communique of ECOWAS (2021), it was indicated that at the coming into force of AfCFTA on January 1, 2021, twelve (12) out of fifteen (15) member states ratified the agreement. The ratification was done with the possibility of members deriving many benefits from AfCFTA. The leadership of ECOWAS called on other West African countries yet to ratify the agreement to quickly do so as to promote uniform and harmonious trade liberalization in the region and still uphold the ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET). According to the International Trade Centre (2018), AfCFTA will help ECOWAS improve its trade integration and assist other countries such as Angola, Eritrea, and Ethiopia to fully implement their Free Trade Area.

Bossard (2019) postulated that legal agreements of ECOWAS, including the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of persons, goods, and services (1978) and the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) (1979), are the main operational tools of ECOWAS and that these legal frameworks served as a foundation for the establishment of AfCFTA. In achieving greater benefit as a result of the trade integration agenda, even at the continental level, ECOWAS played a key role in the AfCFTA process. The sub-regional Common External Tariff (CET) provided the basis for tariff negotiation under AfCFTA. Furthermore, the individual member states under ECOWAS were supported by the Commission during the negotiations regarding AfCFTA, and by so doing, a common position and favourable terms of trade have been achieved by the region (Bisong, 2020). Nigeria, which is the most populous country in Africa, will greatly benefit from AfCFTA because it

will have the opportunity to maximize its non-oil export potential due to the openness of the African economy (Ebokpo, 2020). According to the African Development Bank (2020), it is expected that intra-African trade will expand by \$35 billion per year, free movement of people, goods, and services across the continent will increase, and very importantly, imports from outside Africa will be cut down while agriculture and industrial exports will increase by 7% and 5%, respectively. As a vibrant economic bloc on the continent, the ECOWAS Community will garner a lot of benefit from AfCFTA as a result of facilitating a common tariff concession for the region and the provision of a guide for member states to help in their negotiation and coherence positions.

2.7 CONSTRAINTS TO TRADE INTEGRATION IN ECOWAS

Trade within the ECOWAS sub-region has been bedeviled with numerous challenges, and these have made it extremely cumbersome and daunting for the community to integrate to its full capacity as compared to other regional economic blocs such as the European Union. These constraints sprang from the sub-regional level to the national level. Below are the challenges of trade integration in the community.

Regards to ECOWAS Agreements and Protocols

During its inception in 1975, ECOWAS developed comprehensive frameworks, agreements, and protocols that should aid the integration process, but the unfortunate situation is that member states trivialize these agreements and protocols and develop national policies that are in contention with ECOWAS protocols and agreements. Jouanjean & Engel (2013a) opined that the Community developed policies that are embedded in the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), including custom union, common external tariffs (CET), and the abolishment of quotas on intraregional trade in domestic products. This was done to improve trade integration between member

states. However, implementation of these policies at the national level has been lower or there are disagreements between regional and national trade policies (Jouanjean & Engel, 2015). A typical example is the inconsistencies of Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) policies with the ECOWAS protocol regarding movement and trading within the bloc.

Moreover, Mombert & Aidoo (2012) state that some member states, especially Ghana and Nigeria, have tariffs that are far different from the ECOWAS Common External Tariff. This indicates that both countries downplay the essence of CET by ECOWAS. These authors further point out that ETLs still faces numerous implementation challenges even after more than two decades of implementation. Okolo (1989) further argued that a noticeable impediment to intra-ECOWAS trade integration was the low rate at which members comply with the decisions of the Community, lack of implementation of agreements, and inordinate delay in attending to the responses of the Community in terms of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS). Chukwuka & Oloko (2016) also indicated that, notwithstanding the free trade arrangements within the Community, intra-ECOWAS traders practically experience both tariff and non-tariff barriers. Moreover, ETLs, which was intended to promote the private sector and boost economic activities in the West African economy, remains poor at the implementation stage. They further suggested that in dealing with this problem, governments from member states must instruct their respective agencies responsible for customs to ensure that there is compliance with regional trade policies and protocols.

2.7.2 Competition rather than Complementarity in Trade

Another factor militating against trade integration in ECOWAS is the palpability of competition among the member states. Instead of members specializing in particular production of goods and services to achieve economies of scale and comparative advantages, they turn to producing similar

goods and services, which ultimately struggle to find space in the ECOWAS market. According to Okolo (1989), states within the sub-region are structurally competitive rather than complementary. Besides the dealings in petroleum and other natural resources such as gold, bauxite, lead, zinc, phosphate, and tin by members, ECOWAS members broadly produce similar competing products which are predominantly in their raw states. These raw materials usually compete with each other in the market outside ECOWAS. Similarly, Okolo asserted that ECOWAS countries lack economic specialization and are handicapped technologically in producing goods that may yield a comparative advantage.

Furthermore, the nature of their products in the intra-regional trade led to the predominance of food and primary items in the community. Chukwuka & Oloko (2016) also observed that the concentration of products or inability of product complementarity is the basic factor militating against intraECOWAS trade integration. It was further indicated that members within the ECOWAS sub-region trade less with their fellows and trade more with those outside the community. Karim & Elke (2017) stated that within the West African sub-region, there are three regional organizations: ECOWAS, Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA), and the Manu River Union (MRU). Even though ECOWAS had the objective of integrating UEMOA and MRU, this is an impossibility because there appears to be sharp competition between these organizations in terms of tariffs on goods and services. Moreover, UEMOA is mainly composed of francophone nations and hence was comfortable with a single currency, and this posed a great challenge to the trade integration agenda (Jouanjean & Engel, 2015).

2.7.3 Infrastructure Challenges

Infrastructure development is a major component of intra-ECOWAS trade. Notably, transport infrastructure connecting member states facilitates the free flow of goods and services within the region. However, the community lags in terms of infrastructure. Deme (1995) observed that a critical constraint within ECOWAS is inadequate, efficient infrastructure. Effective and efficient transportation and communication networks linking cities within the sub-region are not well developed. This impeded the expected economic progress of the community. Deme further argued that priority should be given to this problem at national and regional levels, and that, by so doing, short-term sacrifices should be made for long-term gains. Okolo (1989) also opined that the expansion of trade in the community can be facilitated when infrastructure and facilities are improved. To him, railway, road, sea, and air transport facilities across the region are grossly inadequate. Good all-weather roads connecting ECOWAS states are very limited, and the railway, which should be the best means of transport, is the worst in the sub-region. This is because railway networks across the region are characteristically disjointed from each other and also differ in weight of rail, gauge, load per axle, equipment, and standards. The disparities in the rail sector make it very cumbersome for trade integration.

Chukwuka & Oloko (2016) also stressed the fact that the inadequacy of infrastructure development in the region hinders intra-regional trade among member states. Given this, there was the establishment of the West African Common Industrial Policy (WACIP) in 2010 with the vision of maintaining an excellent industrial structure that is standardized, globally competitive, environmentally friendly, and efficient enough to improve the standard of living of people by 2030. The focus of WACIP is to increase intra-regional trade and increase intra-community trade relations from 12% to 40%, with a 50% share of manufactured goods within the region by 2030 (Chukwuka

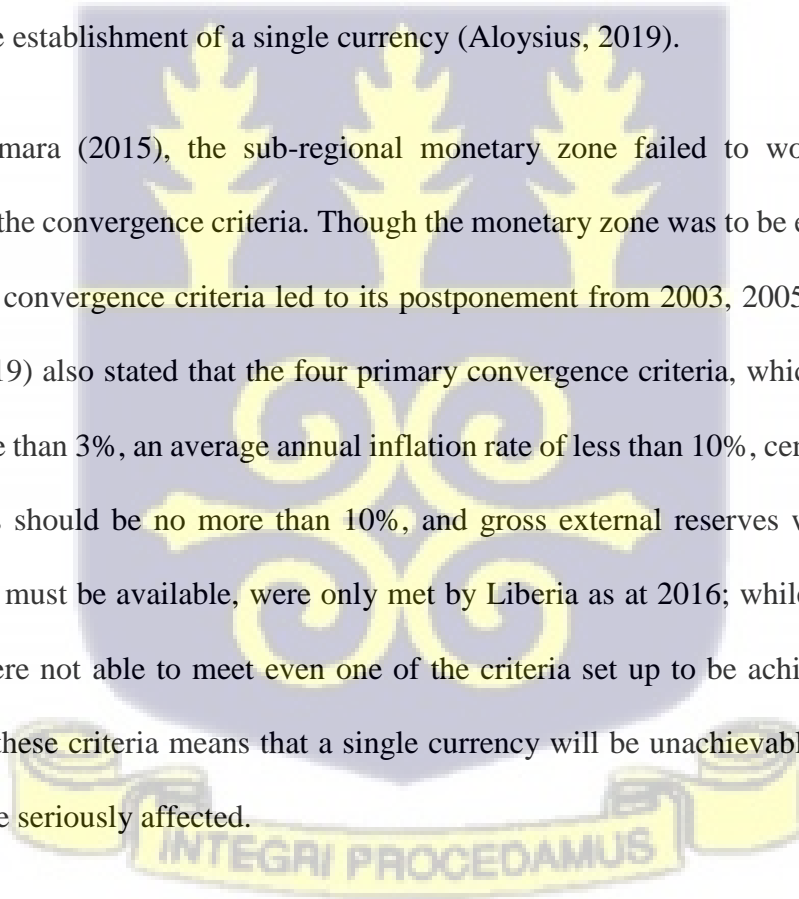
& Oloko,2016). The poor nature of infrastructure is in the misery of ECOWAS in doing business. Dovi (2018) stated that there is no railway to move merchandise from one country to another and the sea routes are not there to assist in the transportation of goods across the region. The deplorable nature of transport infrastructure always leads to additional costs when transporting goods from onemember state to another within the community. Dovi further argued that business owners in the region have to finance the construction of roads leading to their factories, dig water boreholes or buy electronic plants for production, and these make trading uncompetitive within the sub-region.

2.7.4 Non-availability of Single Currency

A single currency is seen to be a catalyst for trade integration. This is because there is an easy means of transacting business in terms of buying and selling. Oladele (2017) observed that a single currency will enable the elimination of the cost of converting currencies, increase price transparency, increase competition and efficiency, and eliminate exchange rate uncertainty. However, the disadvantages are that recession may worsen in the individual countries if the African Central Bank increases the interest rate; the policy may have a different effect on member states; and there would be short-term transaction costs (Oladele, 2017). The fate of the ECOWAS trade integration scheme lies in the bosom of countries with different national currencies. For instance, Francophone countries are still using the CFA, which is linked to their colonial metropole, while Liberia is using the dollar, the Nigeria naira, the Sierra-Leonean leone, and the Ghanaian cedi, among others, are seen to be a noticeable obstacle to the trade integration agenda (improve on sentence). The multiple nature of the currencies in the sub-region has compounded the exchange rate problem (Okolo, 1989). This phenomenon creates underground trade in the form of smuggling and has an adverse effect on the Anglophone countries due to restricted imports as a result of the non-convertibility of their national currencies as compared to the CFA and the Liberian dollar. Because of these complexities, there was

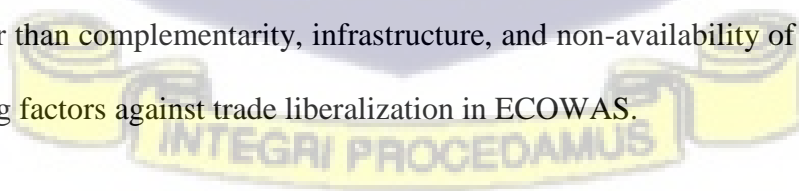
the establishment of the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) by Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone in the year 2000. The intention was to merge member states of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), including Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo to produce a single currency that would facilitate trade integration. However, this move was constrained by legal and policy frameworks that include convergent criteria, a lack of political will, and protection of national sovereignty (Adam, 2012). The heads of state and the governments of ECOWAS agreed to introduce a single currency, "Eco", in 2020, which may boost economic activities and facilitate trade integration within the region. The impasse was that governments within the region failed to transfer part of their autonomy to ECOWAS institutions for the establishment of a single currency (Aloysius, 2019).

According to Camara (2015), the sub-regional monetary zone failed to work out due to the nonfulfillment of the convergence criteria. Though the monetary zone was to be established in 2003, constraints of the convergence criteria led to its postponement from 2003, 2005, 2009, 2015, even 2020. Dewas (2019) also stated that the four primary convergence criteria, which include a budget deficit of not more than 3%, an average annual inflation rate of less than 10%, central bank financing of budget deficits should be no more than 10%, and gross external reserves worth at least three months of import must be available, were only met by Liberia as at 2016; while other countries in the sub-region were not able to meet even one of the criteria set up to be achieved by 2020. The inability to meet these criteria means that a single currency will be unachievable and, hence, trade integration may be seriously affected.



2.8 Summary of the Literature Review

After the introduction, the structure of the review was established. It included: the selection and review of relevant related literature based on thematic areas. The first thematic area of the study was the concept of politics, and some scholarly works including (Heywood, 2013), (Czajka, 2014), (Paulo, 2014), (Alexander, 2014), (Norberg, 2015), (Lasswell, 1986), and (Coby, 1986) were reviewed extensively. The second thematic area was Ghana-Nigeria political relations, and under this theme, it was identified that political relations between Ghana and Nigeria could be described as oscillatory due to the occasional twist and turn. The political history between both countries indicated that there was cordiality on one hand and mutual suspicion coupled with discord on the other hand. The third thematic area was Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes. The literature reveals that trade disputes between the two countries predated colonization, when Nigerians migrated to Ghana (then Gold Coast) for greener pastures. This phenomenon continued in the 1960s, 1980s and is still lingering in their fourth republic. The fourth thematic area looked at the role of ECOWAS in regional trade integration. Under this theme, it was identified that ECOWAS established the Trade Liberalization Scheme, the Protocol on the free movement of people, goods and services, and transport infrastructure development, and made major contributions to AfCFTA as a means to ensure trade integration within the sub-region. The final thematic area focused on the challenges of trade integration in ECOWAS. It was established that the inability to abide by ECOWAS protocols, competition rather than complementarity, infrastructure, and non-availability of the single currency were the militating factors against trade liberalization in ECOWAS.



CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

A theory is defined as a linked set of propositions or ideas that simplify complicated realities so that we can describe events that happened, explain why they occurred, and forecast what might happen in the future (Kaufman, 2013). To provide a theoretical basis for this study, International Regime Theory was employed to underpin the research. International Regime Theory helps to explain and provide an understanding of how regimes shape the actions of states to pursue policies to benefit their national interests. The assumptions of the theory further explain the interdependence of nations in achieving their national interests. The theory explains the reasons for which states develop contingent economic policies towards their trading partners irrespective of international regulations governing their trade systems. The International Regime Theory helped in understanding the trade disputes and their implications between Ghana and Nigeria.

3.2 International Regime Theory

The post-World War Two (WW2) era was marked by a new breed of scholars focusing on international organizations, and by the 1970s, international relations scholars (including Gerard Ruggie, Krasner, Nye, and Keohen) generally turned to the study of international regimes with the

aim of analyzing international cooperation and governance (Bradford, 2007). Verbeek (2011) asserted that the dissatisfaction of classical realism as a result of ignoring the activities of non-state actors, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), transnational corporations (TNCs), and inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), in the global economy has led to the search for an alternative theory that can respond to the modern trend of relationships that exist between countries at the international level. This phenomenon stimulated the origination of international regimes by John Gerard Ruggie in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Verbeek, 2011). In 1977, renowned scholars (including Robert Koehn and Joseph Nye) further worked on the framework of interdependence among nations as the major alternative to the realist school of thought. Both scholars saw the need to disperse power among international actors rather than leave it in the hands of powerful states who may determine economic terms and conditions on the international stage (Verbeek, 2011). Stoyanov (2012) stated that regime theory gained currency in the twentieth (20th) century as nations in the international system were getting more involved in international agreements. In effect, the increase in globalization created the platform for the establishment of International Regime Theory. In the words of Haggard and Simmons (1987), the theory burst forth from the dissatisfaction as a result of the dominance of the international order and a sharp opposition between the zero-sum, competitive "anarchy" in the international system and the cooperative behavior of industrialized states. The steady increase of interdependence among states created a new form of organization and coordination that does not easily fit into the Realist paradigm.

According to Keeley (1990), international relations and interdependence, economics, trade, and investment began to proliferate in the late 1960s, when the realist preoccupation of military security began to dwindle in North America. This period also marked the global response to technology, which led to the conceptualization of International Regimes Theory. Traditionally, the root of the

regime theory can be found in the Liberal-Realist school of thought. In this regard, Keeley (1990) posited that there was the existence and possibility of both resistance and cooperation among actors in the international system. An attempt to incorporate the neo-liberalist and the political realist positions into international relations led the regime theorists to assume that state actions are affected by norms and principles, but these principles are guided by behaviors that are in connection with the pursuit of national interests (Haggard & Simmons, 1987). Given these, it can be vividly posited that International Regime Theory came into existence to explain the complexities of the relationships among international actors that the Realist and Liberal theories cannot adequately expound. The theory helped us to understand the intermittent trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria even though both countries seem to be cooperating. The theory explains the cooperation and trade integration between the two countries and the conflicting parts of their trade relations.

International Regime Theory is defined as a collection of implicit or explicit norms, principles, rules, regulations, and decision-making processes and procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of relations at the international level (Krasner, 1983). Based on his orientation, Krasner identified three models of international regimes. These include Structuralism/Realist Model, Modified Structuralism or Modified Realist, and Grotianism.

Structuralism/Realist Model: Assumes that international regimes are processes and the manifestation of power distribution rather than possessing a significant existence or effect. In this effect, the variables of the international regimes are dependent on power. Under this model, the main focus of the international regime is power, and this is in connection with the Realist school of thought (Keeley, 1990). The Structuralist or Realist further assumed that the state is a unitary actor and its activity is geared toward the maximization of power. This model sees regimes as little more than an

official constituted structure in which powerful states dictate and maintain processes and rules that are in their national interests (Tony & Wilson, 1992).

Modified Structuralism/Modified Realism: This model incorporated the features of realism with a focus on states and their powers. The model assumed that regimes have a greater influence on the behavior of actors in the international system, and it was seen as a factor that organizes the behavior of actors, defines their interests, and helps in the distribution of advantages and disadvantages in the international realm. Moreover, international regimes are seen as an important intervening factor between the use of power and its outcomes. With this, regimes direct how power should be used to generate a desirable outcome (Keeley 1990). The modified realist assumes that regimes are general rules, obligations, and rights that govern state behavior and that they should be seen as something permanent rather than a temporary arrangement that keeps changing due to power relations. Unlike the structuralists or realists, for the Modified Structuralists, international practices and institutions affect state behaviour. Even though states are seen to be self-centered and seek to maximize their interests in both anarchical and dependent international environments, a narrow-minded sense of self-interest mostly results in substandard outcomes (Tony & Wilson, 1992).

Grotianism: Krasner identified the position of Grotian as being in line with liberalism. This model calls for the significant establishment of regimes. It assumes that international regimes are independent variables in their own right and that they permeate through international behaviour. The Grotian model sees international relations as an activity occurring in an international society where states are bound by laws and morality. This model advocates constitutional means for the study of international relations, which is seen as the main feature that governs the political behaviour of states. The principal feature of Grotianism is the conviction that the international system is subjected to the rule of law (Cutler, 1991). According to Tony and Wilson (1992), employers of the Grotian model

argue that international regimes are an unavoidable element of international behaviour and, hence, actors are constrained by norms and practices when engaging with their counterparts. To the Grotian, rules and norms govern the trade activities of partners. It focuses on the bargaining and negotiating processes of international trade that produce the desired outcome (Tony & Wilson, 1992).

The Regime Theory is also seen as a framework that mitigates the anarchy that would invariably dominate the international system. This implies that the laid down rules and norms serve as a standard of operation in the process of interaction among actors at the international level. This ensures harmony among international actors and thereby resolves difficult problems emanating from international engagements. The theory helps us to understand cooperation between states and concerned actors at the international level (Bradford, 2007). Ideally, regimes can be said to be a standard behaviour that guides how actors at the international level operate. Bradford further stated that Regime analysts try to provide an answer to the questions regarding why, in the anarchical system, the interests of the state tend to cooperate rather than discord. According to Bradford, there was a relatively permanent structure within which dissensions are subjected to a certain level of cooperation between members at the international level (Bradford, 2007). In the area of international regimes, the most prevailing issue is the ability of states to cooperate, bearing in mind their national interests. Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger (2000) elucidated that the robustness of an international regime is determined by the "staying power" of international institutions given the perceptible external constraints and institutional choices that challenge collective decision-making. In the context of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, the ECOWAS international regime may be described as weak. This is because the institution lacks the ability to enforce its protocols and has therefore become very brittle due to the consistent violation of protocols by Ghana and Nigeria.

Keohane (1993) further explained that International Regime Theory is a framework that helps in explaining and understanding cooperation, harmonization, and coordination of interests among nations. Haggard & Simmons (1987) posit that regimes exist in all facets of international relations and, for that matter, some degree of rules, principles, or norms must exist to regulate the behaviour of people and help with accountability. International regimes are established to ensure that there is a potential gain from international agreements, especially when these agreements are extremely difficult and costly to reach (Bradford, 2007). One of the traditional theories that greatly influenced international regimes was realism. According to Stoyanov (2012), the Realist Theory explains how states conduct some policies to favour their national interests. The Realists see the state as the main actor whose sole objective is to survive in the international system of anarchy. Another theory that greatly influences the international regime theory is liberalism. The Liberals believed that there had to be cooperation and trust among actors on the international stage (Stoyanov, 2012).

Assumptions of International Regime Theory

The major assumption of the International Regime Theory is the regard for states as principal actors in the international realm. In the international system, States are regarded as rational and they act unitarily to maximize their national interests. Given this, states are seen to be rational in that they establish strategic policies to increase their utility (Bradford, 2007). This assumption was influenced by the realist orientation regarding the self-centeredness and egoistic nature of states concerning others. The rationality of states led to the establishment of contingent economic policies that would serve their national interests. The irony was that these individual economic policies were violating the policies or regimes of ECOWAS, to which they were signatories.

The proponents of the theory further assumed that the interests of states are not always conflictual since international relations is not a zero-sum game where the benefit of one state leads to the detriment of another state. States usually work towards the achievement of a common goal, and this ensures that there is an establishment of cooperation for a joint gain (Bradford, 2007). It was assumed that, in addition to power relations, regimes mattered. This was because the establishment of a regime was to mitigate and modify anarchy that would otherwise prevail in the international system (Yoshimatsu, 1998). On the international scene, power and interest were the basic causal factors of cooperation, and this helps us to come to terms systematically with power and changes in the distribution of power. The Realists, who argue states are driven by self-centeredness, assert that the international system is fundamentally a struggle for power between individual actors. Power serves as a driving mechanism for the achievement of the state's desired goal. In essence, the Realists pay much attention to power in the distributional aspects of cooperation. The orientation of the realist was based on competition, and as a result, they were envious of the gains accruing to their partners or competitors (Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 1996).

Common interest, on the other hand, was a Neoliberal axiom. Yoshimatsu (1998) argued that the development of common interests among actors was the beginning point for the maintenance of international cooperation. Proponents of the Neoliberal position do not downplay the effects of power in the international system. Rather, they place more emphasis on the role of international regimes in helping states to realize their common interests. States are therefore regarded as "self-interested" people who care only for their own gain (Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 1996). Keohane also posits that the precondition of states' attaining cooperation at the international level was the development of common interests. However, the development of common interests was not sufficient enough to ensure cooperation among actors at the international level (Keohane 1984, cited in

Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 1996). From the above elaborations, it can be seen that power and interest are the basic factors of international cooperation. In the international setting, it could be observed that powerful states usually attain their national interests more often than powerless states.

The Regime Theory authors further assumed that interdependence was a very essential element of the relationship among international states. Bradford (2007) argued that the inability of states to limit intra-state war during the post-World War Two era heightens the need for cooperation by developing a common interest emanating from interdependence among nations. Regime Theorists view interdependence as a means of ensuring cooperation between international actors. It pays inordinate attention to interdependence and assumes that the existence of norms and rules that govern the behaviour of states clearly shows that states within the international system are not entirely independent (Yoshimatsu 1998). To provide an alternative to the realist position, Keohen and Nye developed a framework of interdependence in 1975, and they see the international regime as a structure that regulates the interdependence of states in an issue area (Verbeek, 2011). Neoliberal theorists further argued that the growing level of interdependence has led to the devaluation of military powers that hitherto controlled international politics, thereby consolidating cooperation among states (Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 1996).

3.4 Criticisms of the International Regime Theory

International Regime Theory provides a vivid explanation of international relations literature, and it was seen as a theory that incorporated both the realist and the liberal position in defining the relationships that exist between countries on the international level. According to Keeley (1990), Regime Theory enables us to shift from the Realist-Liberal debate to new philosophical, ontological, and other orientations that provide the insight to liberate us from the narrow realist and liberal

positions. Notwithstanding the development and the insight brought by the International Regime Theory, it was criticized by other scholars based on some inherent weaknesses. International regimes can be criticized on the basis that the theory may eventually affect the domestic policy choices of countries. In the words of Stokke (2001), International Regime Theory may affect the preferences and priorities of actors in realizing their domestic interests. This implies that setting up a set of rules, norms, and principles to regulate and coordinate countries with different interests may end up impacting individual countries, especially if those regulations are not in congruence with their national interests. Also, decision-making by actors may differ and they may be separated by different regimes with competing priorities at the international level. In the case of Ghana and Nigeria's trade relations, it can be observed that the international regimes of ECOWAS undermine their domestic priorities, and this was one of the fundamental sources of trade disputes lingering between the countries, even in their fourth republic.

It was further argued that international regimes might be subjected to power relations. Hegemonic powers may end up dictating the terms and conditions of the regimes. By so doing, the interests of the hegemon may be served to the detriment of powerless states. Given this, the reality of cooperation may be compromised because the principles, norms, rules, and procedures ensuring cooperation at the international level may be the prerogative of the dominating powers (Behinke, 1993). Keeley (1990) posits that when attention was paid to the hegemon, regimes would greatly be influenced by the hegemon's internal policies, and hence it can be concluded that hegemonic powers create international regimes for their benefit instead of formulating these policies that may benefit the entire community. In the West African sub-region, Nigeria may be regarded as the hegemon, and hence the country has a great influence on ECOWAS trade policies and protocols on the movement of people and goods. According to Haggard and Simmons (1987), Hegemonic Stability Theory provides an

indepth explanation of international regime dynamics. Hegemonic stability connects regime creation and maintenance to the hegemon's power existence and the weakness of the regime to shrinking state powers within the world economy. The Hegemonic Stability Theory, initiated by Charles P.

Kindleberger, argues that in the international system, economic cooperation can be achieved when one powerful state, or the hegemon, dominates the system and holds the rings of power. Kindleberger argued that to ensure stability in the world economy, there must be a stabilizer, and the duties of the stabilizer would be performed by the dominant power (Schubert, 2003). Keohane also argued that order can be maintained in the international system if there is a dominant power that controls the system. The proponents of this theory assume that the hegemon is required to maintain order, which implies the process of ensuring cooperation between actors within the system (Schubert, 2003). Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger also perceived hegemonic stability as a theory that interprets regimes as public goods that are limited in supply except that the hegemon leads the provision and enforcement of these public goods (Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 2000).

Hegemonic stability can be said to be a necessary but not sufficient condition for regime formation because, according to Ruggie, hegemonic stability theory reflects the existence of dominant powers and their international conditions without paying much attention to possibilities of cooperation that lead to greater gain by weaker states. In other words, the powerful state or the hegemon may end up controlling regime formation and maintenance to its advantage (Haggard & Simmons, 1987). Even though the presence of hegemonic power is relevant to the formation and maintenance of regimes, the tendency of the hegemon to rise and fall may lead to a diminution or weakening of international regimes (Yoshimatsu 1998). Based on this assertion, it could be concluded that hegemonic stability is necessary but not a sufficient condition for regime formation and maintenance.

Proponents of this theory give special attention to the role of institutions such as ECOWAS, WTO, etc., due to their ability to provide norms, rules, and principles that can ensure the cooperation of participating actors in the international system. According to Bradford (2007), it is appropriate to think of regimes as institutions comprising state and non-state actors who see to the realization of long-term objectives. The theorists believe that institutions are the best formulators and implementers of regimes, and for that matter, they pay special attention to them. The emergence of an institution in world politics is very likely to promote the interests of participating states, especially the powerful ones (Haggard & Simmons, 1987). For instance, the objective of ECOWAS was to ensure trade integration and economic cooperation among member states. The policy objectives of ECOWAS were in line with the assumptions of the regime theorists, and hence they devoted special attention to the ECOWAS community.

Regime theorists regard institutions as formal and informal social constraints; norms, rules, procedures, habits, constitutions, and laws that guide the behaviour of actors in the international system (Khalil, 1995). In the words of Bradford (2007), an institution can be assumed as a regime because its assumptions are geared toward the achievement of the public good of the participating parties. Exponents of regime theory consider international organizations as groups of individuals and agents, such as the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU), who are restrained by a common sphere of activities that encompasses various issue areas (Bradford, 2007). The distinction between institutions and organizations is established. While institutions entail rules, regulations, norms, and processes that constrain the activities of actors, organizations, on the other hand, include agents like states, households, and firms with specific objectives.

A further criticism leveled against International Regime Theory was the tendency of states within a particular regime to engage in unhealthy competition. Stokke (2001) elucidated that management

may be very difficult if a connection between interacting regimes experiences fierce competition. In situations where there is regime competition in terms of the same regulations, there is little effort aimed at ensuring counterbalancing or supportive interplay among members. The existence of others in the web of relations may produce the tendencies for cooperation and resistance, which would invariably lead to competition and "war of all against all" (Keeley, 1990). The purpose of International Regime Theory is to ensure cooperation between states within a community, but the challenge is that these states have different interests and goals. The efforts to achieve these would lead to competition among members, which in the long run would defeat the basic principles of the regime theory. The basic assumption for the establishment of ECOWAS was to facilitate cooperation between member states, but the reality was that unhealthy competition was created due to the interests of individual states, especially Ghana and Nigeria.

The regime theorists and their assumptions on interdependence can be criticized on the basis that the proliferation of interdependence has made states defenseless and powerless due to international forces that are beyond their control. This phenomenon normally undermines state sovereignty and also affects the formation of foreign policies of vulnerable states.

3.5 Importance of the International Regime Theory

International Regime Theory gained currency in the 20th century, and its relevance has become palpable due to the explanations it provides concerning international agreements and rules governing interactions between nations. Stoyanov (2012) asserted that the theory creates a structure for states and non-governmental organizations to follow the same rules, procedures, and norms, which would ensure that interrelations among states are facilitated. International Regime Theory provided a clear understanding of how countries within the West African sub-region created regimes through

ECOWAS just to facilitate interrelation and coordination between members. It further helped us to appreciate the rules, principles, and norms that govern trade relations between Ghana and Nigeria, given the ECOWAS protocols and agreements.

Another important aspect of this theory is embedded in its assumptions. Bradford (2007) vividly pointed out that, under the international regime theory, states are very rational and they are unitary actors. Hence, they act to maximize their national interests. The fundamental goal of every state was to maximize their utility, and hence they would do anything at their disposal to achieve that. The assumption provided by this theory epitomizes the position of Ghana and Nigeria to formulate contingent economic policies that safeguard their national interests. This invariably creates trade disputes between the two countries. As a result of protecting their economic interests, the Nigerian government closed its land borders on its trading neighbours, and in that same manner, the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) retaliated by closing down Nigerian shops in the business centers in Accra and Kumasi.

International Regime Theory enables us to predict the behaviour of actors in the international system. According to Keeley (1990), the prediction of the behavior of international actors was possible due to guidelines and rules that these actors were expected to abide by. The implicit and explicit rules, norms, and principles reduce all forms of uncertainty and create opportunities to develop beneficial cooperation rather than the defection of partners in the international system. Regimes provide laid down procedures and standardized formulas for engagement among international partners, and this limits the daunting situations of working for a new bilateral rule that guides interrelation within states of the global world. Since regimes are created to meet current and future purposes, it is easier to rely on them than to create a new framework that may come with a lot of difficulties. International economic regimes, such as the ECOWAS protocol on the movement of people and goods, were

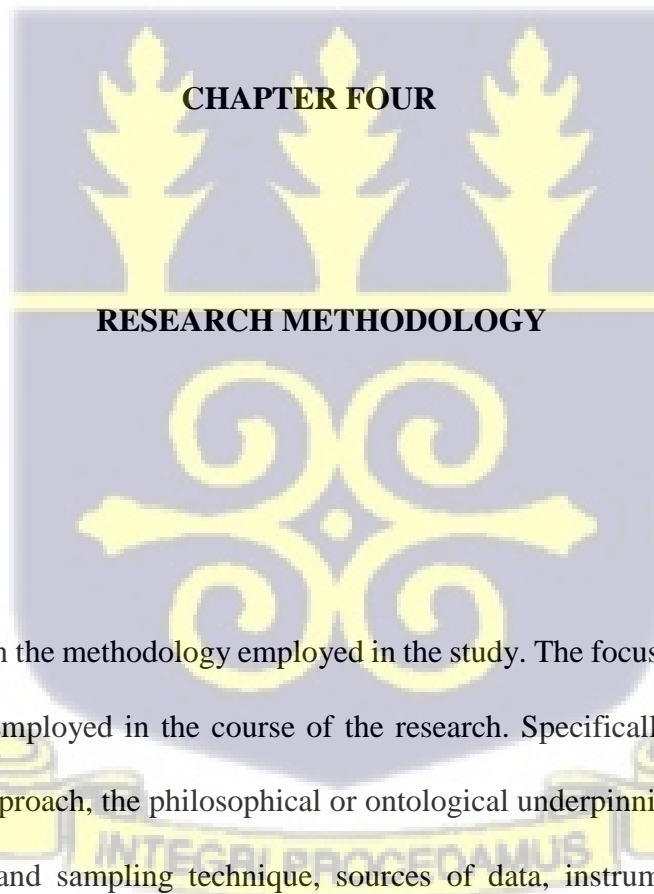
created to guide the activities and trade relations among member states. This would enable members to cooperate and have a standardized procedure for moving within the community. But the egoistic nature of some countries, such as Ghana and Nigeria made them defy the ECOWAS protocols and implement antagonistic economic policies just to satisfy their national interests.

Finally, International Regime Theory eliminates the fear of being exploited by other states. Bradford (2007) argued that the fear and the anxiety of being cheated by other partners may be mitigated once there was an establishment of regimes that guide behaviour of actors in the international system. Regimes were set to monitor the behaviour of members and ensure that non-adherence to laid down norms, rules and procedures are brought to book. Ultimately, this leads to the commitment of parties and invariably discourages cheating between trade partners. Ideally, ECOWAS protocols were meant to cater to issues regarding the fear of cheating and exploitation by other trading partners. The implementation of Common External Tariffs (CET) and free movement of people and goods were to safeguard the trading activities of members and to protect them against exploiters. This was one of the main economic and trade objectives of ECOWAS.

2.6 Summary of the Theoretical Framework

This section presents the summary of the theoretical framework that underpins the study. The study made use of the International Regime Theory to explain trade issues between Ghana and Nigeria. The theory, according to Krasner (1983), is defined as a collection of implicit or explicit norms, principles, rules, regulations, and decision-making processes and procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of relations at the international level. The model of the theory includes Structuralism/Realism, Modified Structuralism/Modified Realism, and Grotianism. The

section also elaborated on the assumptions, criticisms, and the importance of the International Regime Theory.



4.1 Introduction

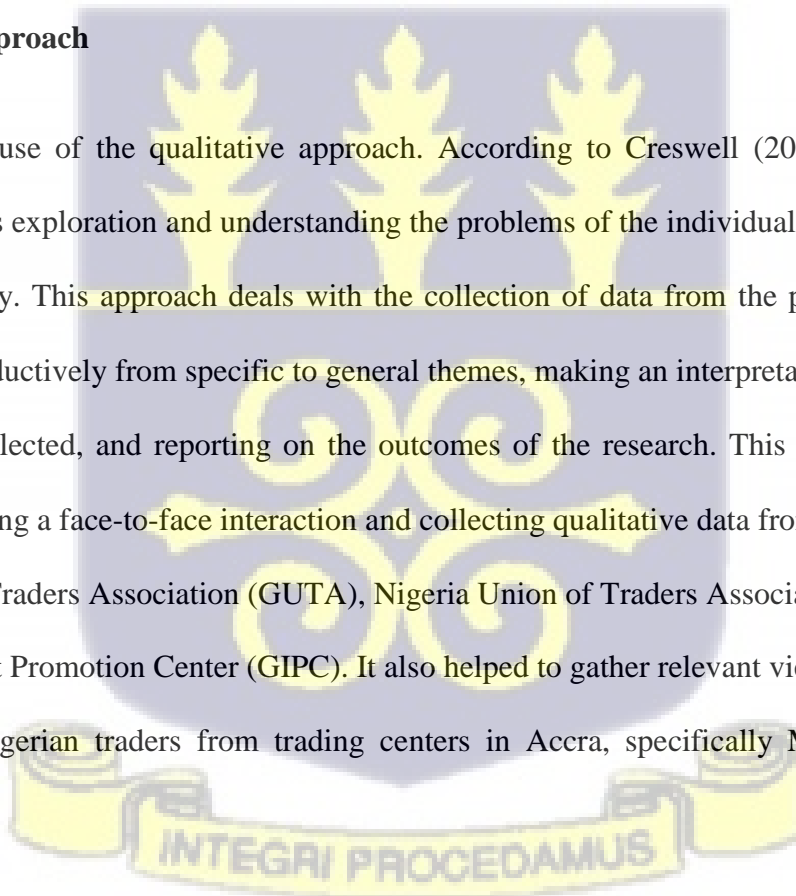
This chapter focused on the methodology employed in the study. The focus was on the strategies and techniques that were employed in the course of the research. Specifically, the chapter entails the research design, the approach, the philosophical or ontological underpinnings, the population of the study, sampling size and sampling technique, sources of data, instruments for data collection, techniques for data analysis, ethical considerations, validity, and reliability.

4.2 Research Design

The research design employed for this project work was a case study. This design is a strategic inquiry in which the researcher delves into an in-depth programme, event, activity process, or one or more individuals. With this design, cases are bounded by time and activities, and the researcher collects detailed information using diverse data collection procedures over a sustained period (Stake 1995, cited in Creswell 2009). This design was employed because it allowed the researcher to use a variety of data collection procedures and also help explore the fundamental driving forces and politico-economic effects of Ghana- Nigeria trade disputes.

4.3 Research Approach

The study made use of the qualitative approach. According to Creswell (2014), the qualitative approach involves exploration and understanding the problems of the individuals and groups within our human society. This approach deals with the collection of data from the participant's setting, analyzing data inductively from specific to general themes, making an interpretation of the meaning from the data collected, and reporting on the outcomes of the research. This approach aided the researcher in having a face-to-face interaction and collecting qualitative data from the offices of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), Nigeria Union of Traders Association (NUTA), and Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC). It also helped to gather relevant views from some Ghanaian and Nigerian traders from trading centers in Accra, specifically Makola, Circle and Abossey Okai.



4.4 Philosophical Worldview

Worldviews are fundamental ideas or beliefs that guide actions towards the selection of a particular research methodology (Guba, 1990, cited by Creswell, 2014). There are enormous philosophical paradigms in today's world due to an increase in the human way of understanding the world. Traditionally, there are two major philosophical paradigms: Positivism and Interpretativism. Both theories have produced other philosophical worldviews that help in explaining the complex world around us (Adom, Yeboah, & Ankrah, 2016). One of the offspring of Interpretivism is Constructivism. As a means of providing a general philosophical orientation about the nature of this research work, a constructivist worldview was used to underpin this study. According to Creswell (2014), the constructivist idea came from Mannheim and other works such as Berger and Luekmann (1967), Lincoln and Guba (1985), and other recent writers including Crotty (1998), Mertens (2010), and Lincoln and colleagues (2011). According to the constructivist, the individual researcher inquires to understand the problems in the environment in which they live and work. With this, the individual has a subjective understanding of experiences, situations, objects, and things around them (Creswell, 2014). This philosophical worldview postulates that knowledge and understanding are constructed when people experience things and reflect on those experiences (Honebein, 1996).

4.5 Assumptions of Constructivism

The fundamental assumption of constructivism is that when people actively participate in the research process, it enables them to socially construct knowledge about and understanding of the complex world they find themselves in (Schwandt, 2000, cited in Adom, Yeboah, & Ankrah, 2016).

Furthermore, humans construct meanings and interpret situations as they get involved in the activities of the world. With this, the construction of meaning is usually social and emanates from routine interactions with the immediate environment (Crotty, 1998, cited by Creswell, 2014).

In addition, the constructivists posit that what is claimed to be the truth is always subjective. Unlike the Positivists, the Constructivists agree that truth is relative. (Adom, Yeboah, & Ankrah, 2016).

Finally, they assumed that people make sense of their world as a result of social and historical perspectives. They believe that our unique cultures position us to make sense of the activities going on in our societies.

The proponents of this world view postulate that the ultimate goal of a researcher is to depend on the varied views of the respondents to a situation being studied. In this regard, the inquirer relies on multiple ideas emanating from the complexities of views rather than narrowing the views of individuals. With regard to methodology in research, the constructivist opines that the researcher makes use of qualitative research design to understand the opinions of the respondents. With this, documentary analysis is mostly used for literature review and extensive reading of the text to ascertain the relevant hidden information and decode it for public use (Hefferman, 2003).

Research designs associated with this paradigm include case study, descriptive study, narrative study, phenomenological study, and grounded theory (Kim L., 2005). The proponents of this theory further assert that instruments for data collection should involve observation, focus group discussions, interviews, visual content, and document review. Data is analyzed inductively at a slow but rigorous pace and moves from specific to general analysis. Constructivists, however, caution that researchers must be able to deal with personal biases and emotions when constructing meanings from the interactions they have had in the field (Adom, Yeboah, & Ankrah, 2016).

In effect, this worldview was relevant to the study because it paved the way for an open-ended question where the researcher carefully listened to what people thought, said, and did about the situation at hand. The constructivists incline towards qualitative research and they assume that the individual constructs meanings as he engages with the immediate environment he lives in. They also assumed that the researcher always understood and made sense of situations when they visited the settings of participants and gathered relevant data. Finally, the generation of meaning is always social and it emerges from the interaction with participants. This philosophical worldview applies to this work because its assumptions emphasize the qualitative research process of gathering information through in-depth interaction with participants in the field.

Population and Sample Size of the Study

Research entails the general set of all objects with the same set of predetermined features regarding a particular research problem (Kumar, 2000, cited by Gohary & Hatem, 2010). The population is also described as a group of individuals who comprise the same characteristics and serve as a target group for the study (Creswell, 2005). A sample, on the other hand, denotes the number of entities chosen for which data can be collected in the research process (Shapiro, 2008).

The population of the study includes officials from the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), Nigeria Union of Traders Association (NUTA), Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC), and Ghana and Nigerian traders in Accra. The study sampled thirty (30) respondents. The breakdown of the sample was four (4) officials from each office (GUTA, NUTA), and two (2) officials from GIPC. Ten (10) traders from each country (Ghana and Nigeria) were also selected. These respondents were selected because they were considered to have first-hand information due to the practical experience they had regarding Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes. For instance, GUTA and NUTA have been battling

over the legitimacy of the trading activities of foreigners in the Ghanaian markets. Moreover, GIPC was selected because of their Act 2013 (Act 865) that related to the minimum capital investment policy that governs the operation of foreign businesses in Ghana. Ordinary Nigerian and Ghanaian traders were considered because they are directly affected by the trade dispute. For instance, the closing of Nigerian shops in Ghana and the closure of Nigerian land borders were factors for consideration. The data collected from this sample size was enough to reach a saturation point and the data collected was adequate in gaining a greater understanding of the factors leading to GhanaNigeria trade disputes and the effects of these disputes on both countries in their fourth republic. According to Charmaz (2006), a researcher stops collecting data when gathering new data no longer gives new insight. At this point, the collection of categories of data is said to be saturated.

4.7 Sampling Techniques and Instruments for Data Collection

The research used purposive sampling and convenient sampling techniques. Purposive sampling refers to a technique in which the researcher selects the sample depending on his opinion and purpose (Barreiro & Albandoz, 2001). It is also a type of sampling technique that allows the researcher to rely on his judgment when selecting the unit of his population for sampling (Sharma, 2017). However, the weakness of this type of sampling was that it was prone to the biases of the researcher due to the possibility of the researcher relying on his judgment when selecting his sample. Notwithstanding, personal bias would only affect the selection of the sample if the judgment was poorly considered and ill-conceived, or for that matter, if the criteria for the selection of the respondents were not established (Sharma, 2017). Purposive sampling was used to collect data from the offices of GUTA, NUTA, and GIPC. This technique helped to solicit information from the predetermined experts in the field. Convenience Sampling, on the other hand, is a form of sampling where members of a targeted population meet certain practical criteria such as easy accessibility,

geographical proximity, and availability at a given time or study (Etikan, 2016). This sampling technique was used to gather information from the market traders in major business centers, especially in Makola market, Abossey Okai, and Circle. The convenient sample was used because it enabled the researcher to sample market traders who were readily available at the time of the research.

Data was collected using an interview guide. Interview guides are open-ended or semi-structured questions used in conducting an interview. The guide helps the interviewer to ask consistent questions while the interviewee provides a broad perspective based on the question asked (Simister, 2017). The interview guide was used to collect qualitative data from the offices of GUTA, NUTA, GIPC, and traders within the major business centers in Accra. Qualitatively, the open-ended interview guide allowed the researcher to ask further questions to understand the situation from the perspectives of the interviewees. Aside from writing the responses, a voice recorder was used during the process, and this enables an easier collection and transcription of the data for interpretation.

4.8 Sources of Data

The data for this project's work consisted of both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was solicited from the field through in-depth interaction with respondents. In this case, primary data was gathered from the offices of GUTA, NUTA, GIPC, and Ghana and Nigerian traders located at the major business centers in Accra. Secondary data was gathered from published journal articles, annual reports, books, magazines, and other internet sources. The Balme Library and the Political Science Department Library served as the main sources of repository for gathering secondary data.

4.9 Data Analysis

Data analysis entails a careful transcription of data gathered from the field, coding and organizing it thematically under qualitative data analysis (Cohen, Cohen, & West, 2003). In qualitative research, data analysis moves together with other parts of the study. This implies that in the process of collecting data, there is a need to write the findings down. In the words of Creswell (2014), in the process of interviews, researchers may be analyzing data collected earlier and writing findings that would form part of the final report. Data collected for this study was analyzed based on the data analysis procedure given by Creswell (2014). Data analysis started from transcribing raw data from field notes, organizing and preparing data, which involved scanning and typing field notes; arranging data, based on the sources, reading through all data to gain an overall sense of information, and reflecting on the meaning of the general ideas of the participants. Another stage of analyzing data was coding. This deals with the process of arranging data by bracketing text and images in a particular segment and categorizing them with labels. For example, the first Nigerian officer from NUTA was coded as *NO001*. The first official from GUTA was also coded as *GO001*. An official from GIPC was coded as *GI001*. Lastly, the first ordinary Ghanaian and Nigerian traders, who were the respondents, were coded as *GT001* and *NT001*, respectively. Data was further organized under interrelated themes, and finally interpretation and discussions were made.

4.10 Ethical Consideration

In research, ethical consideration is seen to be a major component throughout the entire process. In the words of Bryman & Bell (2007), dissertations are likely to have a negative outcome if ethical issues are not seriously considered. In the research process, respondents or participants must not be subjected to danger, and in this regard, their dignity must be prioritized. Moreover, the privacy of

each individual participant must be protected, and confidentiality should be highly assured. Neuman (2014) posited that ethics clearly explains what is legitimate and morally accurate in a research process. Given this, the research considered all the ethical processes, which include the explanation of the purpose of the study, which is solely for academics, protection of the individual dignity, privacy of the participants, confidentiality, and anonymity. For the sake of ensuring the privacy of the respondents, names and contact numbers were not part of the interview guide. Participants were not coerced or persuaded to answer any questions. This means that there was voluntary participation of the participants and that responses were based on informed consent.

4.11 Validity and Reliability

Validity and Reliability are indicators used to evaluate the quality of research. They point out how the selected research method, research technique, and test measure something (Middleton, 2020).

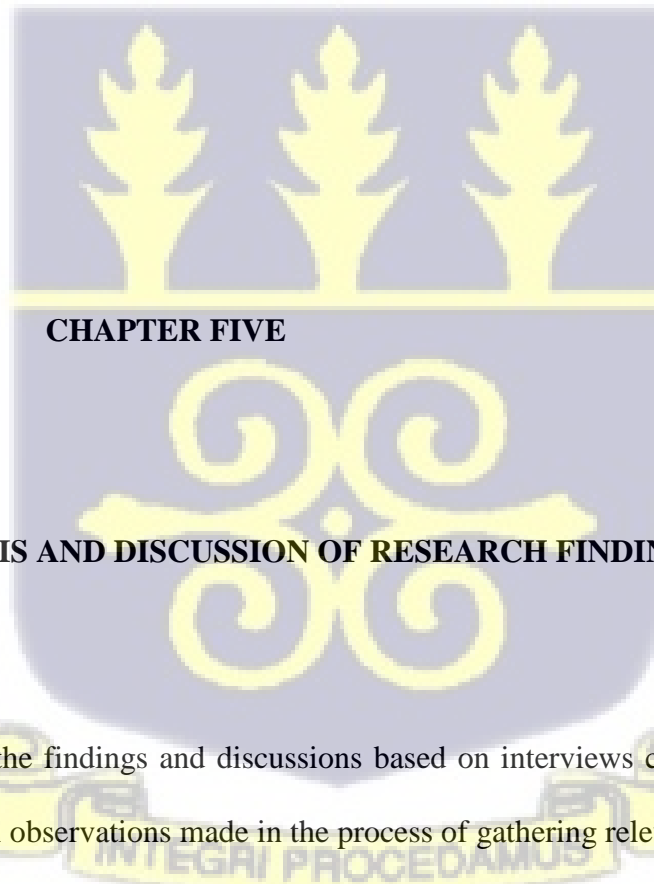
Validity in research indicates how accurately a method measures what it is intended to measure. In the words of Creswell (2014), "qualitative validity shows that the researcher looks for the accuracy of the findings from the perspective of the researcher, or the reader of the research report". Reliability on the other hand, shows the extent to which a method can produce the same outcome when repeated given the same condition (Middleton, 2020). In qualitative research, reliability shows that the researcher's approach is compatible across different projects and different researchers (Gibbs, 2007 cited in Creswell, 2014). To ensure the validity of this study, more than one source of data was used; existing documents and interviews from the field were used. This makes it possible for new information to be cross-checked against the previous one. Reliability was also ensured by pre-testing the data collection instrument on a different population of interest. By so doing, the extent to which the method produced similar results was determined, and the instrument was considered to be reliable.

4.12 Limitations

There was a little difficulty in getting some of the experts in the field as most of them were busy and others were unwilling to physically engage with the researcher due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to this challenge, the researcher had to go frequently to the offices and spend long hours waiting for the officials even though appointments were scheduled. The researcher also risked his life because the traders in the markets were unwilling to abide by the COVID-19 protocols established by the government. However, the quality of the work was not compromised, and the data was properly gathered, analyzed, and discussed.

4.13 Conclusion

This section presents the overall methodology employed for the study. Specifically, the chapter focused on case studies as the research design, qualitative research approaches, and constructivism as the philosophical or ontological underpinning. The population of the study included officials from GUTA, NUTA, GIPC, and ordinary Ghanaian and Nigerian traders, and thirty (30) individuals were selected as the sample size. Purposive and Convenient Sampling Technique were used. Primary and secondary sources of data were also adequately utilized, and the use of interview guides as instruments for data collection was employed. The thematic case study was used as a technique for data analysis. The study also made use of ethical considerations, validity, and reliability.



CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and discussions based on interviews conducted, the documents reviewed, and personal observations made in the process of gathering relevant data for this research work. Suffice to say, the study was able to assess the fundamental driving forces of the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria and also determine the political and economic ramifications of the trade disputes between the two countries. Data was collected with the motive of providing answers to the

research question and in connection with the objectives that guide the study. The objectives of the study were: to assess the driving forces of the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria, identify the political and economic effects of the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria, and discuss ways of curbing this menace between the two countries. For clarity and valid interpretation, data analysis was organized based on themes.

5.2 Assessing the Driving Forces of Ghana-Nigeria Trade Disputes

Issues relating to Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes have been extensively discussed in the literature review chapter. Notwithstanding, expert opinions, personal observations, and secondary information provided a deeper explanation and understanding of the phenomenon. The opinions of experts from the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), Nigeria Union of Traders Association (NUTA), and Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) were sought. Information from some Ghanaian and Nigerian traders was gathered to understand their perspective on the study.

The fundamental driving forces of trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria consist of inconsistencies in ECOWAS protocols with national-level economic policies and other laws that govern trade activities between the two countries. The ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of people, goods, and services was seen as one of the factors leading to trade disputes between Ghanaian traders and their counterparts from Nigeria. Article two (2) of the 1999 ECOWAS compendium on free movement, right of residence, and establishment states that

"To implement the right of residence under the protocol on the free movement of persons, the right of residence and establishment, each Member State shall grant to citizens of the ECOWAS community the right of residence within the territory to seek and carry out income-earning employment" (ECOWAS, 1999).

5.2.1 Perspectives of Nigeria Union of Traders Association Ghana (NUTAG)

Based on this provision, the Nigeria Union of Traders Association Ghana (NUTAG) continues to justify their legitimacy for residing and engaging in trading activities in Ghana. According to the president of the Nigerian Union of Traders Association Ghana (NUTAG),

The ECOWAS protocol on the movement of people, goods, and services permits foreigners, including Nigerians, to freely engage in trading activities in any member state. However, Ghanaian authorities still locked Nigerian shops and prevented them from engaging in their trading activities in Ghana. The laws governing foreign trade in Ghana contradict the ECOWAS treaties and protocols. (Arbiterz, 2020).

Agreeing with Jouanjean & Engel (2015), Mombert & Aidoo (2012), and Okolo (1989), a respondent, NO001, an official from the Nigerian Union of Traders Association Ghana, asserted that,

"Ghana's trade laws contradict the ECOWAS protocols and the disparities were the underlining factors leading to trade disputes between the two countries. The protocols for which both countries were signatories clearly stated that citizens from member countries are at liberty to move from one country to another country to seek for income-earning employment". (NO00. 28/04/2021. field interview Accra) indent instead

The Economic Community of West African States is a body mandated to ensure trade integration among member states. According to Wilson Center (2007), one of the pillars of ECOWAS is to facilitate regional trade integration and ensure there was an increase in external trade of processed goods. Because of enhancing this agenda, ECOWAS came out with trade protocols and agreements which guide the activities of its members. The establishment of ECOWAS protocols is in connection

with international regime theory that explains the implicit and explicit norms, rules, decision-making processes, and procedures around which international actors' expectations converge in dealing with international issues. From the above elaboration, it could be seen that the intention of establishing ECOWAS protocols and other treaties was to converge the expectations of leaders of member countries in achieving a collective interest. However, the regime established by ECOWAS in the form of protocols and treaties meant for facilitating trade integration and ensuring economic cooperation among members has been seen as a major factor for disintegration and disputes between member countries. To achieve its purpose, ECOWAS must review its regimes in connection with the priorities of its member states.

Elaborating on this very point, the general secretary of NUTAG stated that,

"The same ECOWAS protocols that allow Ghanaian traders in Nigeria to do business without any form of harassment should allow Nigerian traders to do their business in Ghana." In Nigeria, no authority prevents Ghanaians from trading. They were going about trading activities freely; meanwhile, here in Ghana, Nigerian shops were still locked up due to GIPC laws. This is unfair and ECOWAS as a regional body must resolve the issue as early as possible "(NUTAG general secretary, 28/04/2021. field interview, Accra).

Interestingly, all four (4) respondents from the NUTAG office expressed their disappointment regarding the inability of ECOWAS to resolve intermittent trade disputes as a result of inconsistencies in regional trade policies with those of Ghana's trade laws. To a larger extent, the researcher was of the view that rules, norms, decision-making processes, and procedures relating to trade within the West African sub-region in particular and Africa as a whole must be revisited. The

intermittent trade dispute between Ghana and Nigeria was never a good indicator for interregional trade. Both countries were regarded as economic giants within the community, and hence their trade relationships have greater economic ramifications on other member states.

Recognizing the inconsistencies of ECOWAS protocols and national trade policies as a fundamental source of trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria, the West Africa Civil Society Institute (2020) noted that there was an imbalance between local laws and ECOWAS protocols on the free movement of persons, goods, and services, and this led to the perennial closure of shops belonging to foreigners, predominantly Nigerian shops. The institute reiterated that the sovereignty of ECOWAS member states in enforcing trade laws must be in tandem with sub-regional conventions and protocols.

5.2.2 Perspectives of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA)

The general secretary of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) pointed out that Nigerian traders failed to comply with the ninety (90) day ultimatum granted by ECOWAS allowing foreigners to bring their manufactured goods to Ghana, distribute those goods, take their money, and return to their country. Referring to article three (3) of the 1999 ECOWAS convention, he stated that an ECOWAS citizen has the right to visit Ghana for ninety (90) days through an official entry point without a visa. After this period, the visitor must seek permission from the appropriate authorities if he or she needs an extension of stay. The general secretary vividly pointed out that

"The root cause of the problem was the fact that the Nigerian traders came to our markets with their goods, distributed parts of their products, and stayed in the country to engage in retail trade of their remaining goods." Due to this, there was a serious proliferation of Nigerian traders in the country "(general secretary of GUTA. 27/04/2021. interview, Accra

The ninety (90) day period provided by Article three (3) of the 1999 ECOWAS Convention has always been violated by foreigners, especially Nigerian traders in Ghana. It can be clearly stated that foreigners from member states, particularly Nigerian traders, consistently abuse the ninety (90) day ultimatum granted by the 1999 ECOWAS Convention. The continued existence of these foreign traders in the Ghanaian markets may be termed an illegitimate attempt that breeds misunderstanding and disputes between traders from both countries. Violation of the ninety (90) day provision was seen as one of the fundamental sources of trade disputes between Ghanaian traders and Nigerians in the retail markets.

Another driving force behind the trade disputes between the two countries has to do with the illegalities of some Nigerian traders in Ghanaian markets. According to Niba (2019), non-nationals in Ghana are prohibited from engaging in domestic retail trade. This policy was established by the Ghana Investment Promotion Center to protect the interests of Ghanaian traders engaging in retail space. However, almost all the retail spaces across the country have been occupied by foreign nationals, predominantly Nigerians. The existence of the foreign nationals in the retail space was a violation of laws governing retail trading activities in the country. The assertion of Niba (2019) confirms the researcher's field observation regarding the closure of Nigerian retail shops as of April 28, 2021 in major trading centers (Abosey Okai, Circle, and Makola markets) in Accra. Illegal occupation of retail spaces by non-nationals was one of the basis for trade disputes between the two countries.

Confirming this position, the vice president of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) pointed out that,

"There was an influx of illegal foreign traders in the retail market and this affected the entire socio-economic fabric of the country." Some of these traders do not register their businesses with GUTA and GIPC, and they smuggle their goods into the country without paying appropriate duties and taxes. By so doing, they sell their products relatively cheaper than their Ghanaian counterparts in the retail market. These illegal practices continue to linger even to this date. The inability of the authorities to monitor and enforce laws governing retail trade in the country forced the association to close down shops of foreign retailers in the major trading centers just to deter them from engaging in these illegalities "(Vice President of GUTA. 27/04/2021. field interview, Accra).

Through the fieldwork within the various trading centers in Accra, the researcher was able to discover that the majority of the shops belonging to foreigners engaging in retail trade were closed down by the joint task force of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) and Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC). One would have thought that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes died down as a result of the passage of time and less publication in the media space. However, the researcher's first-hand information and his observations revealed the severity of the situation on the ground. GO003 confirmed the assertion of the vice president of GUTA relating to the fundamental driving forces of trade disputes between the two countries. According to him,

"These foreigners bring goods from their country and when they finish selling them in Ghana, they do not need our money (the cedi), so they go to the black market to exchange the money, and by so doing, they are promoting black marketing in the system." This process runs down the little effort made by the government to bring in foreign exchange (GO003. 28/04/2021. field interview, Accra).

Besides engaging in black marketing by foreign retail traders, there were other dimensions to the story that bred disputes between traders from both sides. According to GO004,

"Most Nigerian traders brought their needs, including foodstuffs, into Ghana and hence they failed to patronize food and other items from the Ghanaian local markets." They aimed to come to our country, compete with our traders, and take away the little money that we have. Meanwhile, in their country, they have low-interest rates and were offered concessions by their government. By so doing, their cost of production was lower and hence they sold their products very cheaply in Ghana. This phenomenon stifles the progress of our manufacturing industries "(GO004. 28/04/2021. field interview, Accra)

This situation has created anger among Ghanaian traders and other trading associations in the country. An interaction with officials of GUTA helped the researcher to appreciate the level of a strong feeling of displeasure among indigenous traders. The general secretary vividly pointed out that almost every week, they receive complaints from their association members regarding the invasion of Nigerians in their retail spaces. He further stated that if actions were not taken urgently, it would reach a stage where situations would escalate and the relationship would deteriorate further.

An immediate factor leading to the recent trade dispute between traders and their respective associations was the closure of the Nigerian land borders on neighbouring countries which adversely affected Ghana. According to TRT World (2019) report, it was believed that the action of GUTA to close down the Nigerian-own businesses in major trading centers in Accra and Kumasi was a response to the closure of the Nigerian borders on traders from neighbouring countries. According to the report, the president of GUTA stated that the action of the Nigerian government was against the protocols of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). To him, using the case of Nigerian border closure as a case study, the protocols and treaties of ECOWAS were ineffective to check and control its members. Stressing on this position, the West African Civil Society Institute (2020) condemned the 20th August 2019 closure of the Nigerian borders intending

to prevent smuggling goods into their country. Accordingly, this action influenced the Ghanaian authorities to embark on contingent or protectionist economic policies including the enforcement of GIPC Act 865. Mujeeb (2020) confirmed that Ghana's foreign affairs minister disclosed that, the closure of Nigerian borders in August 2019 hurt Ghanaian traders who rely largely on Nigerian markets. The decision of the Nigerian government to close down their borders without prior notice made these traders get stuck at the Seme border and this act led to the current dispute between both countries.

Confirming the assertions of Ademola (2017) and Mombert & Aidoo (2012) regarding the implementation of protectionist policies, the general secretary of GUTA stressed that,

"Ghana is a sovereign country just like Nigeria, and the laws of the country must work." The Nigerians felt they were smart and, hence, thought it wise to close their borders to our traders in defense of their economy. They also shortlisted about ninety-six (96) products from Ghana that they would not allow into their country, even though ECOWAS permits free movement of goods and services. Now, they came to us requesting permission to allow them to engage in retail trading activities. So what is the logic of our allowing them to come and violate our laws in the country? "
(General Secretary of GUTA. 28/04/2021. field interview Accra)

Meanwhile, according to Asala (2020), the president of the Nigerian Union of Traders Association in Ghana (NUTAG), lamented that it was very pathetic and very shameful for West African countries to be fighting among themselves when they have ECOWAS treaties and protocols to follow. He stated that people from other regions may not take ECOWAS seriously if both countries cannot obey the regulations that govern the sub-region. A critical analysis of the assertions from both sides shows that each party chose to refer to ECOWAS protocols when they thought its interpretations favoured

their side of the explanation. They try to refer to ECOWAS protocols and treaties when they think the actions of an opponent are against them. Both parties know the existence and relevance of ECOWAS regimes if they feel threatened by the protectionist policies of each other.

From the above elaborations, it could be said that the major assumption of the International Regime Theory identified by Bradford (2007), which regards the states as principal actors in the international realm and acts unitarily to maximize their national interests, comes into play in the explanation of the behavior of Ghana and Nigeria in trade relations. Given this, both states were seen to be rational in that they established strategic policies to protect their interests. For instance, the prohibition of the importation of over ninety-six (96) goods from Ghana to Nigeria and the closure of the Nigerian land borders to protect the Nigerian local economy are rational protectionist measures to maximize utility.

On the other hand, the implementation of GIPC Act 865 and the closure of Nigerian shops in Ghana can be seen as a means to safeguard the interests of Ghanaian traders. In this context, it could be said that the assumption of the international regime theory helped in the explanation of Ghana-Nigeria trade relations.

5.2.3 Perspectives of Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC)

The Ghana Investment Promotion Center is one of the government's agencies responsible under the GIPC Act 2013 (865) for the creation of a conducive environment and promotion of investment in Ghana. According to GIPC Act 2013 (865), foreign businessmen who intend to trade in Ghana must have a minimum capital of \$1m and must employ not less than twenty (20) skilled Ghanaian nationals into the firms. Moreover, a foreign investor who may want to go into a partnership with a Ghanaian investor must have a minimum capital of \$ 500,000 for him or her to be accepted as a legal investor in the Ghanaian economy. This Act prohibits foreigners from engaging in retail trade and considers

foreign traders engaging in retail spaces as illegal traders. It can be said that one of the basis for trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria in the fourth republic was the violation of the GIPC Act 2013 (865) by foreign nationals.

The majority of foreign traders especially Nigerians violate this provision and thereby engage in retail trade. An attempt by GIPC through its task force to implement this Act led to the closure of one thousand one hundred and fifty (1,150) Nigerian shops in Ghana between 2018 to 2020 (Mujeeb, 2020). Meanwhile, Nigerian traders continue to refer to the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of people, goods, and services and Article Two (2) of the 1999 ECOWAS compendium on free movement, right of residence, and establishment as the basis for engaging in trading activities in Ghana.

Reacting to the causes of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, a respondent GI001 from GIPC stated that

"GIPC through its task force and compliance team saw to the implementation of the law regarding retail trade in Ghana. They were tasked to ensure that foreign nationals in the Ghanaian markets comply with our laws. However, there were still a good number of these traders, mainly Nigerians who were bad nut doing the opposite of what they were prohibited from engaging in. The fundamental cause of trade disputes between the two parties was the inability of some of these foreigners to abide by our laws. To protect and promote trade and investment in Ghana, we have to enforce the law and hence this led to the closure of shops of foreign retailers (GI001. 30/04/2021. field interview, Accra)

The proliferation of Nigerian traders in Ghanaian markets creates a very cumbersome and extremely daunting situation for Ghanaian authorities to enforce laws governing retail trade. The responsibility of GIPC was to create the framework for both local and foreign investors in the country and the

foreign investors are required to invest hugely with a minimum capital of \$1 million or its equivalence worth of goods in the Ghanaian economy thereby creating job opportunities for indigenes in the country. The activities of Nigerian traders in the retail space cannot be described as an investment in the Ghanaian economy because they neither invest one million US (\$1m) dollars in the economy nor did they produce equivalent worth of goods for the Ghanaian economy. Their engagement in the retail market creates competition between traders in the Ghanaian markets.

Arguing from the same position, another member of GI002 said,

The minimum capital for investment by foreigners is \$1 million because the country is looking for investors who can build huge supermarkets, bigger companies, and banks just like Shoprite, MTN, Fidelity Bank, Zenith Bank, etc. This will create a job for the numerous unemployed youth in our country. What we witness is the continuous presence of foreigners, largely Nigerian traders, who are scrambling for the already cramped retail spaces in our many trading centers in the country. Our responsibility was to get rid of them in our markets and make them comply with our laws. "
(GI002, 30/04/2021, field interview in Accra)

It has been identified that in the process of enforcing the GIPC Act 2013 (865), there was an application of minimum force by GIPC and GUTA task forces against the foreign traders who failed to comply with the directives and this resulted in a dispute in the market. According to Ayeni (2020), prioritizing the interests of Ghanaian traders and businessmen by reserving some trading spaces only for the indigenes and burdening foreigners wanting to set up shops in Ghana with an amount of \$1 million is a means to limit the influx of poor West African nationals who can successfully trade in Ghana (improve sentence). It can be stated that the inability of Nigerian traders to meet the

The \$1 million requirements and their desire to set up shops in Ghana and successfully establish themselves in the Ghanaian markets resulted in the violation of the GIPC Act 2013 (865). This act forms one of the underpinnings of trade disputes between the two parties.

The Structuralist/Realist model of International Regime Theory helps to further understand the protectionist agenda of the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC) and Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) to establish and enforce laws that limit the operation of foreigners in the trading spaces in Ghana. Even though the Grotian model of international regime advocated liberal policies for interaction among actors in the international system, it can be argued that most states are self-centered and egoistic and hence employ draconian policies to satisfy their self-interest.

5.2.4 The Perspectives of Nigerian Traders in Ghana

Even though Ghana and Nigeria did not share geographical land borders, trade could be regarded as one of the forces that connected them. In the report of the National Bureau of Statistics (2019), out of 19.90% of Nigeria's exports to Africa, Nigeria's exports to Ghana alone was 7.40%, and Nigeria was regarded as a major source of investment in Ghana. Notwithstanding this achievement, there are issues confronting traders and their associations from both sides. There are intermittent trade disputes between Nigerian traders and their Ghanaian counterparts in the country. Exploring the perspectives of the Nigerian traders on the issue reveals that there are underlining factors that trigger disputes between the traders. All the ten (10) respondents were of the view that Ghanaian authorities discriminate against them in terms of trade, violate the sub-regional protocols protecting their trading activities, and burden them with national trade policies that are difficult to comply with.

Asala (2020) stated that there was an expression of frustration among Nigerian traders regarding Ghanaian authorities' discriminating against them after they had their shops closed down during the thick of the COVID-19 pandemic. The frustration was a result of long-running trade disputes between Ghanaian traders and their foreign counterparts over the ownership of retail shops in the major trading centers in Ghana.

Confirming this, a respondent among the Nigerian traders, NT001, said that,

"The majority of us came to Ghana and started trading long ago before we heard about the GIPC laws that regulate the activities of foreign traders in the country." Ninety percent (90%) of us cannot invest \$1 million into the Ghanaian economy and we cannot employ twenty (20) Ghanaians in our business. The law is preventing us from doing our normal work in this country. "(NT001, 04/05/2021, field interview, Accra.

An interaction with Nigerian traders in the Ghanaian retail market revealed that traders from neighbouring countries have little or no idea regarding the trade laws that regulate the activities of foreign retailers in Ghana before they arrive in the country. The majority of these traders claimed that they were permitted to move and trade in Ghana so long as ECOWAS protocols permitted them to do so. The ten (10) respondents asserted that there were a lot of Ghanaian traders in Nigeria freely engaging in various businesses without any disturbances from the Nigerian authorities, and they seemed not to understand why Ghanaian authorities were worrying them so much in the market. The researcher disagrees with the Nigerian traders regarding fair treatment of Ghanaian traders in Nigeria because Ademola (2017) confirmed that in 2005, President Olusegun Obasanjo banned the importation of some ninety-six (96) Ghanaian products, including plastics, textiles, garments, and

starch, into Nigeria. This protectionist policy makes it difficult for Ghanaian businessmen and women to engage in trading activities in Nigeria.

An interview conducted by Ademola (2017) with an official of the Ghana High Commission in Nigeria confirmed that the Nigerian economy was very repulsive to products coming from the ECOWAS sub-region, especially Ghana, and for that matter, every year there was a long list of prohibited items from Ghana. Assessing the contestations between the two countries relating to economic and trade issues would lead an individual to conclude that ECOAWAS? Trade Liberalization Scheme and protocols were unhelpful and, for that matter, ECOWAS policies can be violated so long as they do not hurt a particular party. Responding to a question regarding the compliance with the GIPC's policy of investing a minimum capital of \$1 million and the employment of at least twenty (20) skilled Ghanaian citizens, a respondent NT005 said that

"I cannot meet such outrageous requirements." If I were to have even half of that money, I wouldn't even travel to Ghana to do my business here. The Ghanaian authorities knew that we could meet such conditions because many of us coming from Nigeria are poor and are struggling to make it on our own. What we want is the authorities to try and change that law so that we can trade peacefully in the country." (GT005. 04/05/2021. field interview, Accra)

The comments of Nigerian traders created an impression that if Ghanaian authorities continued to ride on the GIPC Act 2013 (865), then all the Nigerian traders in the retail spaces across the country must be thrown out of the market. This was because the majority of them could not meet the \$1 million requirement. During the fieldwork, the researcher observed that there are numerous Nigerian traders in all the markets in Accra, and the nature of their shops shows that they cannot comply with

the GIPC's minimum capital investment. This forms one of the fundamental driving forces of trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria.

Speaking from the same point of view, respondent NT007 said that

"For me to remain in business, I married a Ghanaian woman and registered the shop in her name. So anytime the authorities come to check the ownership of the shop, they see the name of my wife. This was what many Nigerian traders were doing in the market to survive. Because of the risk in this option, if a Nigerian trader marries a Ghanaian woman, you must make sure she gives birth to you so that you will be secured. " (NT007, 05/05/2021, field interview, Accra)

The new approach of the Nigerian traders to disguising and registering their retail business in the name of their Ghanaian wives is another factor that leads to trade disputes between the Ghanaian and Nigerian traders. While the Nigerians saw the approach as the smartest way to legitimize their trading activities in the market, Ghanaian traders regard this practice as another illegitimate move to avoid compliance with the GIPC Act 2013 (865). This practice among Nigerian traders has gained currency in recent times to the extent that it is overwhelming the Ghanaian traders in the market. Interaction with the Ghanaian traders in the market revealed that there was anger breeding among them regarding the new approach of the Nigerian traders. Ghanaian traders expressed their displeasure towards some Ghanaian women married to these Nigerian traders to satisfy their selfish interests. This conspiracy between some Ghanaian women and their Nigerian partners is seen by Ghanaian traders as an attempt to protect illegal Nigerian retail traders in the major trading centers in Ghana.

Another driving force of the trade disputes between both parties is the disagreement over the prices at which goods were sold in the market. The Nigerian respondents revealed that they are always

accused of selling goods at a cheaper price than their Ghanaian partners in the markets and this is one of the causes of the disagreement between us.

In the words of respondent NT008,

"There were always confrontations between us because of the prices at which we sell our goods in the market." Our goods are usually cheaper as compared to Ghanaian traders, and hence many customers patronize our products more than others. We the Nigerians do not want to price our goods too high and make supernormal profits because we understand that many of our customers are loyal and always want the best at a reasonable price. However, the motive of the Ghanaian traders was to look for ways to set up high prices to make supernormal profits. Our inability to have the same high price tags leads to a lot of accusations and confrontations in the market "(NT008, 05/05/2021, field interview, Accra).

Buttressing this, respondent NT009 also confirmed that the major problem between both traders in the market has to do with differences in the pricing of goods. While the Nigerian traders reduce the prices of their products to attract many customers and sell their goods early off their shelves, the Ghanaian traders tag their goods with higher prices, which makes them unattractive for customers to purchase. The disparity in pricing was a major source of disagreement between these traders. Furthermore, all the ten (10) respondents from the Nigerian traders asserted that the intermittent trade disputes between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders are partly due to the disparities in pricing and false accusations of selling inferior goods in the Ghanaian markets.

Regarding the closure of the Nigerian border and its implications for Ghanaian traders, all the respondents opined that the action taken by their home country harmed both Ghanaian and Nigerian traders. In connection with the findings of Bamfo-Darko (2020), on the implications of the border

closure on both countries, the respondents asserted that their goods were stuck in Nigeria due to the closure of the Nigerian land borders in August 2019. This action by their government has affected their trading activities in Ghana, and they called on the Nigerian government to reconsider their decision and open the borders for the free flow of people, goods, and services. Confirming the assertion of TRT World (2019), African Civil Society Institute (2020), and Mujeeb (2020), respondents NT003, NT005, NT006, and NT009 were of the view that the current closure of the Nigerian retail shops in major trading centers in Ghana was triggered by the decision of the Nigerian government to close its land borders with neighbouring countries. This decision has affected traders, including Ghanaian traders whose trucks loaded with goods were stuck at the border. The above responses of the Nigerian traders showed that they suffer a great deal of malignity at the hands of the Ghanaian authorities during the process of implementing trade laws.

5.2.5 The Perspectives of Ghanaian Traders

The contentions between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders have lingered for a very long time now. Ghanaian traders, especially those in the retail space, continue to express their resentment regarding the wanton activities of foreign retailers predominantly Nigerians in Ghanaian markets. The unhealthy competition between Ghanaian traders and their Nigerian counterparts is very noticeable to the extent that these foreign traders are controlling the trading activities in the markets. Interaction with the Ghanaian traders revealed that there was acrimony registered in the hearts of Ghanaian traders towards these foreign intruders. Bamfo-Darko (2020) opined that given the nature of the dominance of foreigners (Nigerians) in the retail spaces in Ghana, Ghanaian traders are left with no other option than to restrict Nigerians from occupying their businesses. The opinions of Ghanaian

traders regarding the fundamental driving forces of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes are very uniform and they are not far from the assertions expressed by the Ghana Union of Traders Association and Ghana Investment Promotion Center.

Responding to a question regarding the dominance of Nigerian traders in the retail business, respondent GT001 stated that

"Our retail market has been illegally hijacked by Nigerian businessmen and women who have no regard for our laws." The law states that they are permitted to distribute their goods within 90 days and go back to their country. But what normally happens is that these Nigerians come with a truckload of goods to our markets in the guise of distributing them to Ghanaian customers, but what becomes the tradition is that they usually distribute part of these goods to customers and stock their retail shops and warehouses with the rest of the goods. While we were selling our products at retail prices, the Nigerians were selling theirs at wholesale prices, which are relatively cheaper than ours, and this has resulted in our customers shifting to the Nigerians for business. This is one of the causes of trade disputes between us in the market." (GT001, 06-05,2021, field interview, Accra)

The view expressed by the above respondent confirmed the assertion of the general secretary of GUTA who referred to Article three (3) of the 1999 ECOWAS Convention that permitted foreigners to stay in a member country for the maximum of 90 days to engage in business activities. The inability of foreign businessmen and women to stay within the confines of this law is one of the sources of trade disputes between traders from both sides. Moreover, the dominance of Nigerian retailers and their deliberate attempt at selling retail goods at wholesale prices was a strategy to stifle the business of the Ghanaian retailer. To the Ghanaian trader, so far as Nigerians were in their retail spaces, there would be no progress in their business activities. However, the irony was that majority of these

Ghanaian traders rely on the Nigerians for their supply and in this case, it could be said that the Nigerian traders were a necessary evil in the business activity of the Ghanaian trader. The fact of the matter was that majority of the Ghanaian traders cannot afford to import their products from China, Dubai, the USA, and other European countries and for this reason, Nigeria becomes their last resort. The Ghanaian retailer expects the Nigerian businessman or woman to serve as a distributor of goods and work within the 90-day period granted by the ECOWAS Convention. If this is done, the intermittent trade disputes between Ghana and Nigerian traders will be resolved.

Responding to a question relating to the conspiracy between some Ghanaian traders and Nigerian businessmen, respondent GT003 stated that

"Some of our people are helping the Nigerian traders involve themselves in these illegalities. Some Ghanaians serve as middlemen for these Nigerians, and due to that, they liaise with them to sell their goods even though their shops were closed by GUTA and the GIPC compliance team. Even though the retail shops of the Nigerians were closed, their warehouses were illegally opened, so these middlemen will direct our customers to these warehouses for business to take place. By so doing, these middlemen would be paid by the Nigerian traders. This very act was destroying our businesses in the market. " (GT003, 06/05/2021, field interview, Accra)

The response above revealed that some individuals in the market were taking advantage of the situation to make money for themselves. Just like some of the Ghanaian women who married Nigerian retailers to register their retail businesses, there were other groups of people who go into agreement with the Nigerian traders to register the Nigerian retail shops in their names as though they are the true owners of the shops. This collaboration between some Ghanaians and Nigerian retailers was seen by the majority of Ghanaian traders as the illegal practice of protecting illegitimate

people in the market. Whiles others are collaborating with the Nigerians to register their retail shops, some serve as middlemen to the Nigerian retailers.

The research further found out that there were some individual Ghanaian businessmen whose job was to serve as middlemen for the Nigerian retailers. Attesting to this fact, respondent GT006 said that,

"I prefer working for the Nigerians because they usually pay me well anytime I give them customers to purchase their products." As for me, I am against Ghanaian authorities for closing down the shops belonging to Nigerian retailers. I would even prefer more Nigerian traders in Ghana because they understand how to do business for both sides to benefit. " (GT006, 06/05/2021, field interview, Accra).

Respondent GT007 confirmed that it is profitable to do business with Nigerian traders because they do not cheat business partners or customers in the market. Nigerians were not selfish and tried to make trade easier for us. According to the respondent, his survival in the market depends on the Nigerian retailers, and he would be happy to see many of such traders in our market. According to the two middlemen interviewed, the closure of the Nigerian retail shops was not necessary because these traders were ECOWAS citizens who had the right to free movement, including their goods and services.

The researcher identified that the attitudes of some Ghanaians (middlemen) create a daunting situation for Ghanaian authorities to properly regulate the activities of foreign retailers in the major trading centers in Ghana. While some were trying to fight this menace, others were seriously looking for ways and means to continue this illegality just to satisfy their interests.

Another underlining factor of the trade disputes between both parties has to do with activities of Ghanaian landlords and landladies in various markets where retail activities by foreigners are predominant. Expressing his displeasure regarding the behaviour of some landlords and landladies in the market, respondent GT005 said that

"most of the landlords and landladies are conscious of money to the extent that, they prefer to rent shops to the Nigerians for retail activities than their Ghanaian people. This is because the Nigerians were willing to pay twice the rent without relenting but the indigenes would not agree on such prices. If landlords and landladies were committed to solving the retail problems in Ghana, they would have done that by renting the shops to Ghanaians only. These landlords and ladies do not care about the protection of our businesses. They are only interested in their money". (GT005,06/05/2021, field interview, Accra).

The causes of trade disputes between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders cannot be attributed to the existence of Nigerian retailers alone. There are sections of Ghanaian individuals who take advantage of the situation and make their gains out of it. From the above responses, it could be stated that landlords and landladies prefer to do business with foreign (Nigerian) retailers because they would pay more for their rented shops than indigenous retailers. In this regard, the Ghanaian landlord or landlady was not concerned about the illegalities of foreigners in the retail space. Once an individual is ready to pay more of the rent, she or he will be given the keys to the shop regardless of nationality and the laws governing trading activities in the market.

The ten (10) respondents among the Ghanaian traders posited that due to the obvious illegalities perpetrated by Nigerian traders with the backing of some Ghanaians (including purported wives, middlemen, landlords, and landladies), fighting the menace becomes extremely cumbersome. Before

GUTA and GIPC compliance teams arrive in the market, some insiders give hints to the illegal traders to close their shops to avoid harassment from the officials. To the Ghanaian traders, the Ghana-Nigerian trade disputes could not be stopped if the conspiracy between Nigerian retailers and some Ghanaians were not prohibited.

5.3 Economic Effects of Ghana-Nigeria Trade Disputes

An economic environment free from disputes among partners ensures economic and trade development. When this environment is created at the international level, there is an opportunity for trade integration and economic growth among members. However, in a situation where trade relationships have been bedeviled with intermittent cases of disputes, economic integration would be impeded. Historically, Ghana-Nigeria trade relations suffered twists and turns and this rocky relation kept lingering in their fourth republic. The effects of trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria in the fourth republic are discussed below.

A noticeable effect of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes in the fourth republic is the decline in economic cooperation. Ayeni (2020) submitted that trade relations between both countries indicated that relations are stained and their actions are drawing them further away from cooperation. Ademola (2017) further posited that given the current trade relationship between Ghana and Nigeria, no economic and market integration can be achieved if they do not put their houses in order. It can be clearly stated that the intermittent trade disputes have affected economic cooperation between both countries. In response to this position, the general secretary of GUTA stated that,

"You cannot expect economic cooperation between both countries to be smooth if the Nigerian government imposed an embargo on some Ghanaian products under the policy of prohibited items." How do we expect our relationship to increase if they closed their borders after

seeing the deterioration of Ghanaian products on their borders? Indeed, all is not well with us because we are also not going to sit down to allow their citizens to destroy our retail markets in Ghana. " (GUTA general secretary) 27/04/2021. field interview in Accra)

The decline in economic cooperation between both countries was a result of Nigeria's effort in preventing some goods export to Nigeria and the closure of their border in 2019. On the other hand, the shrinking nature of the cooperation between both countries has been attributed to Ghana's policies in preventing foreigners from engaging in certain trade ventures reserved to Ghanaian traders only. West African Civil Society Institute (2020) noted that the perennial closure of retail shops, continues harassment and hostility towards foreigners especially Nigerian traders has been the fundamental driving force of the impasse between Ghana and Nigeria and this threatens economic integration between both countries.

In connection with the above statement, respondent NT004 said that,

"Because of the incessant harassment of Ghanaian authorities, some Nigerian businessmen who have the capacity are relocating to other African countries, including Liberia, Burkina Faso, and Ivory Coast. What is preventing some of us from moving is that we do not have enough capital to relocate to other countries for business". (NT004. 04/05/2021. field interview, Accra)

Ayeni (2020), Ademola (2017), and the West African Civil Society Institute (2020) confirmed the position of the general secretary of GUTA and respondent NT004 regarding the decline in economic cooperation between both countries as a result of intermittent trade disputes. Noticing the ramifications of the trade disputes, respondents were of the view that a lasting solution should be provided where both sides are legally recognized to undertake trading activities without any intimidation or harassment.

Another economic effect of the trade disputes is the loss of capital as a result of the closure of shops and borders. The closure of the Nigerian border in August 2019 led to the deterioration of Ghanaian goods stuck at the borders. Meanwhile, the Nigerian retailers whose shops were locked down by Ghanaian authorities lamented about the ordeal they went through just to feed their families and pay their bills during the period. In Collaborating with Niba (2019), the president of GUTA asserted that,

"The closure of Nigerian borders left Ghanaian traders stranded in Nigeria with thousands of tons of items that were ready to be moved by road." Meanwhile, many of the Ghanaian traders took loans for their businesses, and they are still counting their losses as a result of the closure of the borders". (GUTA president. 27/04/2021; field interview, Accra)

One could conclude that the closure of the Nigerian land borders affected many traders in the subregion, including numerous Ghanaian businessmen and women who rely on Nigeria for their trading activities. The closure of the borders as a protectionist agenda to safeguard the Nigerian indigenous economy can be explained by the Structuralism/Realist Model and the assumptions of the International Regime Theory, which states that states are regarded as rational and they act unitarily to maximize their national interests. In the case of the border closure, Nigeria can be said to act unilaterally because, according to Mwakideu (2020), Abuja failed to give other ECOWAS member states prior notice before closing down the land borders. This act of the Nigerian government clearly shows that in matters relating to the national interest, states act rationally or unilaterally without considering the ramifications such actions and policies may have on neighbours.

Respondent NT007 said, speaking on the losses and difficulties of the Nigerian traders,

"We have turned to be beggars in this country due to the closure of our shops." We cannot even take care of our immediate needs because we are not permitted to open our shops and sell in

the market. Many of us have gone for loans for businesses, and currently, the banks are after us. Those who cannot pay the loan are running to Nigeria to avoid being arrested and prosecuted. The closure of our shops was the worst thing to happen to us in this country." (NT007. 04/05/2021. field interview Accra).

Re-affirming this position, Adanikin (2021) and Matazu & Ogwu (2021) asserted that the largest percentage of locked-up stalls in Ghana are for Nigerians, and this resulted in the revenue loss of the Nigerian traders. These traders beg to be fed since many of them lost their sources of income and remain reluctant to go back to their country. Economically, trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria have caused a lot of damage to traders. This lingering controversy has further worsened the case for poor traders whose ties are inextricably linked to Ghana and Nigeria. The ten (10) respondents among the Nigerian traders asserted that they suffered a great deal of malignity in economic fortune as a result of the rampant harassment and maltreatment they were subjected to in the various trading centers in Ghana.

Lastly, Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes have serious economic ramifications for other ECOWAS member states. Both countries are the economic giants in the sub-region, and hence, continuous trade disputes will affect the economic operations of other member states. The closure of the Nigerian borders to goods has been described by ECOWAS as a worrying situation because it affected the free movement of people, goods, and services, which are regarded as the foundations of the community (Africanews, 2020). A study conducted by Mombert & Aidoo (2012) found out that there were barriers and restrictive rules that prevented the free flow of trade between Ghana and Nigeria. Facilitating trade flows and implementing existing commitments by Ghana and Nigeria will aid the achievement of deeper economic integration within the sub-region. Ayeni (2020) noted that looking at the rocky relationships between the two economic giants of West Africa, there was an indication

that trade relations were strained due to economic nationalism and protectionism. The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is likely to face many challenges in the future. The effects of the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria became very palpable to the extent that Nigeria threatened to retaliate and even considered dragging Ghana to the ECOWAS Community Court for Justice. This action created an international reaction where ECOWAS was interested in solving the underlining issues quietly and responsibly rather than allowing them to escalate, especially during the period where ECOWAS was dealing with a military takeover in Mali. Meanwhile, some European organizations feared the effects that they would experience when there was an escalation in the disputes between both countries. This was because Ghana and Nigeria are considered to be the European Union's largest trading partners in the West African sub-region (Mujeeb, 2020). From the above assertions, it could be concluded that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes do not affect both countries alone but also other West African countries and other countries that trade with both countries.

5.4 The Extent To Which Trade Disputes Affect Both Countries Politically

Political relations between Ghana and Nigeria have been well established since the inception of their independence in 1957 and 1960, respectively. Notwithstanding the strong relations between both countries, intermittent trade disputes were seen as a factor that affected their political relations. The extent to which trade disputes affect both countries politically is discussed below. Politics, according to Lasswell (1986), is defined as who gets what, when, and how. In this regard, decision-making becomes very paramount as to who gets what and who is denied what. At the international level, just as it is in Ghana-Nigeria trade relations, the decision of one party may perfunctorily adversely affect the other party.

Leaders from both countries are cognizant of the ramifications of trade disputes on political relations between their countries, so leaders from both sides always make an effort to diplomatically deal with the disputes anytime they surface. It could, however, be said that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes were partly a result of the actions of leaders from both countries. Noticeably, Ghana's implementation of GIPC 2013 Act 865, leading to the closure of retail shops by foreigners, is a leadership decision that affected many Nigerian traders in Ghana. Moreover, the "policy of prohibited goods" by Nigeria against Ghana and the closure of the Nigerian land borders are the decisions of the leadership of Nigeria, which was hostile to the Ghanaian traders. The antagonistic economic decisions from both sides mar their political relations to some extent.

Ghana's relations with the Nigerian traders in Ghanaian markets triggered a political reaction from some Nigerian leaders where they advocated for retaliatory and tit for tat diplomacy as a result of the implementation of neck-breaking trade policies and the closure of Nigerian retail shops in the major trading centers in Ghana. According to Oxford Business Group (2012),

"The evidence indicated through the closure of Nigerian retail shops has adversely impacted the existence of Nigerians in the Ghanaian markets and this crackdown heightens the tensions between the two countries where some Nigerian politicians are calling on their government to sever diplomatic ties with Ghana as a retaliatory measure to deal with the issue."

Political relations between Ghana and Nigeria were soiled and stakes were heightened due to the trade disputes, occasional disagreement, and antagonistic economic policies from both sides. The situation was more intense to the extent that some Nigerian experts were calling for severing diplomatic ties with Ghana. Regardless of these demands from some Nigerian politicians, the

government stated that bilateral relations between the two countries would not be compromised (Oxford Business Group, 2012).

However, a study conducted by Ayodele (2021) to interrogate contending issues in Ghana-Nigeria relations revealed that the rocky nature of Ghana-Nigeria relations was a result of Ghana's use of retaliatory measures against Nigerian citizens living and trading in the country. It is also interesting to note that due to the occasional trade disputes and the ways of dealing with Nigerian traders in Ghana, many Nigerians (both at home and abroad) have attributed the destruction of the Nigerian government building in Accra to the existing trade issues, where many Nigerians called for an act of revenge against Ghana.

Ayodele further stated that, *"political relations between both countries have not been rosy in recent times and this has heightened tension, counter-arguments, and negative comments from both sides due to the persistent attack of Nigerian businesses in Ghana and the demolition of the Nigerian High Commission building in Accra"* (Ayodele, 2021).

The above assertion of Ayodele (2021) can be criticized on the basis that he was looking at the issue from the Nigerian point of view. He was unable to constructively analyze the contending issues from both sides and hence concluded that Ghanaians were attacking Nigerian citizens living and trading in Ghanaian markets. Moreover, it could be stated that there are underlining issues relating to trade policies that these Nigerians were violating, and this triggered the ill-treatment of violators in the Ghanaian markets. Again, Ayodele (2021) was unable to capture the illegalities of some Nigerian traders in the Ghanaian retail spaces, which formed the basis for which Nigerian shops were locked down by Ghanaian authorities.

To a larger extent, it could be said that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes do not seriously affect political relations between the two countries. This is because leaders from both countries usually make a conscious effort to prevent an escalation of trade disputes and their effect on their political relations. Once there was a misunderstanding between traders from both sides and the tendency of the misunderstanding to degenerate into weightier situations, the governments of the two countries developed diplomatic means of resolving the issues.

A diplomatic step taken by the two countries in resolving the recent trade disputes was the visitation of the Speaker of Nigeria's House of Representatives, Femi Gbajabamila, and his entourage to Ghana on 2nd September 2020, based on the invitation of Ghana's Speaker of Parliament, Professor Aaron Mike Oquaye, for a legislative, diplomatic, and bilateral meeting with both parties. According to the speaker of Nigeria's House of Representatives,

"We came to a peace-making effort through parliamentary diplomacy, which is the modern tool for resolving complicated issues between many countries. We will not do anything to wither the friendly seeds sown by our forefathers between the two countries "(Dapatem, 2020).

Touching on the GIPC Act 2013 (865), which mandated every foreign investor in Ghana to invest not less than a million dollars in cash or its equivalent worth of goods in the Ghanaian economy and employ at least twenty (20) skilled Ghanaian workers, the Speaker proposed a review of that policy and pleaded with the Ghanaian government to approve and assent to the issues discussed regarding ways of resolving Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes.

Responding to the request of the Nigerian delegation, Ghana's President, Nana Akufo Addo, assured the Speaker of Nigeria's House of Representatives of Ghana's preparedness to consider the decisions made at the legislative diplomatic bilateral meeting between the two countries.

Stating his readiness to deal with the issues, the Ghanaian president said,

"I think the most important matter and the way forward in this situation that I find more acceptable is the idea of constituting a Ghana-Nigeria Business Council under the laws of the two countries and the formation of the joint ministerial committee responsible for superintending and shepherding matters relating to trade and investment." (Pixabay, 2020).

The above elaboration indicated that both parties are not oblivious of the political ramifications Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes may have on their bilateral relations, and hence both governments sought modalities to resolve the misunderstanding and an enabling working environment for foreign traders, especially the Nigerian businessmen and women in Ghana. The diplomatic gesture of the Nigerian delegates to the shores of Ghana can be said to be an attempt in the right direction. This was because the arrival of the Speaker of Nigeria's House of Representatives and his entourage minimized the already heightened stakes between the traders and their respective associations from the two countries.

An interview with an official from the Ghana Investment Promotion Center indicated that the GIPC Act 2013 (865) is currently under review to deal with the existing challenges. Moreover, the review would not be rushed because GIPC was waiting for the protocols of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) to be established so that both policy frameworks could be incorporated to facilitate free trade and investment among African countries in general and Ghana in particular.

The swiftness of the leaders from both countries to deal with the trade disputes lowered the tendency of the issues to escalate. This process can be said to be a factor that limited the political effects of the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria. The shreds of evidence have indicated that even though

Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes have affected their political and bilateral relations, the effect was very minimal due to the diplomatic measures taken by both governments.

The measures being taken by both governments to diplomatically resolve the trade disputes and the effort to prevent the issue from ruining the well-established political relations can be explained by the International Regime Theory. The theory involves the collection of the implicit and explicit norms, principles, rules, regulations, and decision-making processes and procedures that govern the relations of international actors (Krasner, 1983). The visitation of the Nigerian delegates to Ghana to develop the modalities for resolving the trade issues between both countries indicated that in the modern system of international relations, there are decision-making procedures that are followed in dealing with misunderstandings between states at the international level. The Grotian model of the International Regime Theory assumes that the international system is made up of laws, morality, and the constitutional means of dealing with emerging issues peacefully (Culter 1991). The Grotian model of the International Regime Theory best explains the diplomatic gesture of both governments in dealing with trade disputes through liberal procedures and processes. It further expounded the assertion that international actors are bound by norms and rules when relating to state leaders in the international system. As opined by Tony and Wilson (1992), International Regime Theory is a bargaining and negotiation process of international trade that produces a desired outcome. Even though states have their own national interests and they strive to maximize these interests, bargaining and negotiation with others within the international system become very paramount to ensuring harmonious coexistence amongst them. The theory helped to appreciate the steps, including bargaining and negotiations, taken by each government in dealing with trade disputes between the two parties.

5.5 Measures For Curbing Ghana-Nigeria Trade Disputes

The occasional trade disputes between the two economic giants of the West African sub-region can be curtailed if appropriate measures are taken generally by ECOWAS and specifically by the two countries. It is a truism that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes may escalate and destroy the politicoeconomic fabrics of the two countries and to the larger extent adversely affect other members of the ECOWAS sub-region if conscious efforts are not made to deal with the issue. It is in this regard that this research highlighted some of the measures that can curb the trade disputes between the two countries.

At the sub-regional level, ECOWAS must make a deliberate effort to ensure that there is a balance between national laws and ECOWAS protocols. This measure is in connection with the report of the West African Civil Society Institute (2020), which suggested that the supreme authority of members within the West African Sub-region to implement national laws must be used in tandem with the ECOWAS protocols and conventions. The research identified that one of the fundamental causes of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes was the disparities inherent in the ECOWAS protocols and economic policies of individual member states.

In response to measures for curbing Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, respondent GI002 from GIPC said,

"Foreigners" in our retail markets are justifying their legitimacy with the reference of ECOWAS protocols on the free movement of people, goods, and services. Meanwhile, Ghana has laws that restrict foreigners from engaging in certain trading activities. These disparities must be addressed and clarifications made to avoid the occasional trade disputes between Ghanaian and foreign traders" (GI002. 30/04/2021. field interview, Accra)

To provide a lasting solution to this problem, there must be harmony between ECOWAS protocols and local laws governing trade within the West African sub-region. Agreeing on the modalities relating to trade between members of the sub-region would result in stronger politico-economic integration and the tendency to trade among members easily. Hoppe (2014,18) cited by (Ayodele, 2021), indicated that to avoid the occasional contentions between the two parties, trade and investment policies of both countries must be done following the procedural and legal review to comply with ECOWAS protocols and conventions. The research has discovered that Ghana Investment Promotion Center policies, which formed the basis for the trade disputes, are currently under review to address trade and investment challenges, especially the difficulties that might be encountered in the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).

At the inter-state level, both countries continue to work hand in hand to ensure that trade policies are harmonized. There must be an establishment of inter-state bodies that may spearhead and facilitate the integration of trade activities between the two countries. It is very heartwarming to state that the visitation to Ghana by the Speaker of Nigeria's House of Representatives and his entourage to resolve Ghana-Nigeria trade issues led to the decision to create the Ghana-Nigeria Business Council and a ministerial committee to drive Ghana-Nigeria trade policy harmonization and ensure that trade disputes are dealt with. The recent announcement by the Speaker of Ghana's parliament for the review of the GIPC Act 2013 (865) to allow the Nigerian traders in the retail markets and the call for the Nigerian government to review the "prohibited goods" policy to permit Ghanaian goods into Nigeria was a step in the right direction. The research further looks forward to seeing the commissioning of these bodies, and the study envisaged that their activities might address the challenges. The West African Civil Society Institute (2020) also stressed the need to intensify

diplomatic measures, including the adoption of joint trade legislation that may help in resolving the underlining trade issues.

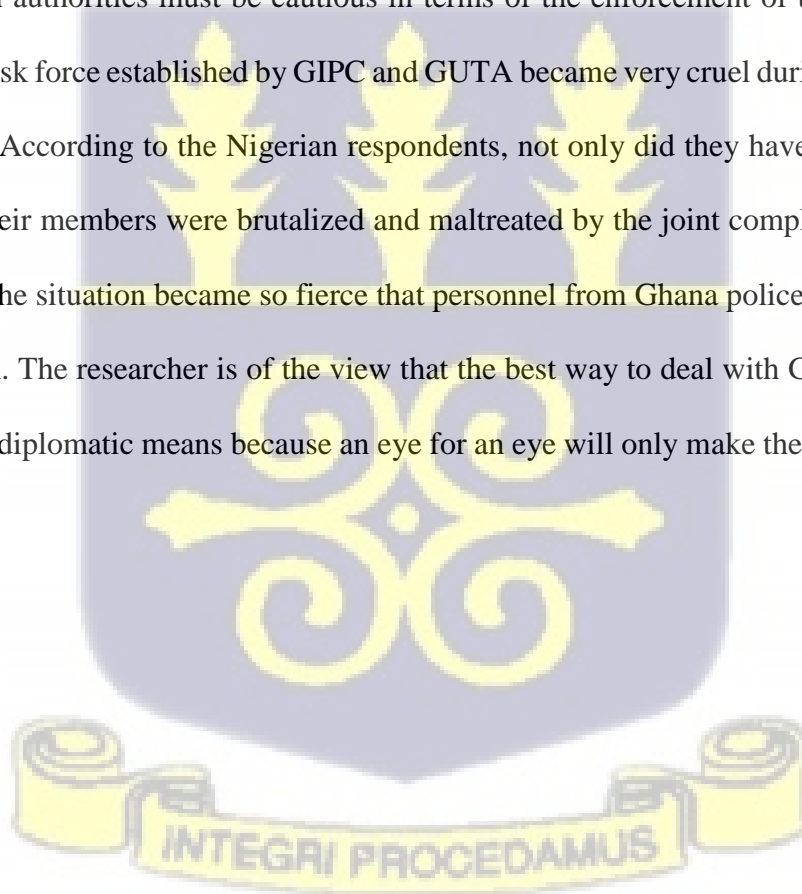
The research identified the lack of knowledge by foreigners (Nigerian traders) regarding Ghana's trade policies before entering the Ghanaian markets for business. All the respondents from the Nigerian traders indicated that they are oblivious to the GIPC policies that prevent foreigners from engaging in some trading activities, and for that matter, they started their businesses before they became aware of these national trade policies. Many of them lamented that they would not have entered Ghanaian markets for business if they had had fair ideas about Ghana's trade policies right from their country. Given this issue, the research proposed intensive education and awareness creation of Ghana's trade policy guidelines at the various points of entry as a measure of curbing challenges as a result of ignorance of Ghana's trade policies. While it is important to educate foreigners entering Ghana, it is very necessary to ensure that measures are put in place to discourage illegal entry into the country through porous routes. According to the general secretary of GUTA,

"There were some illegal Nigerian migrants who are without appropriate documentation in the Ghanaian markets and are engaging in prohibited enterprises. These foreigners engage in other illegal activities including tax evasion, selling of inferior goods and engaging in black marketing"
(general secretary, GUTA, 27/04/2021, Accra)

As a measure of resolving Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, it would be very essential to look for ways to prevent these illegal migrants from entering the country. Moreover, steps must be taken to deport illegal foreign traders engaging in unauthorized trading activities in Ghana. This must be done diplomatically to avoid hard feelings, fights, and arguments.

Furthermore, the policy of "prohibited goods" by the Nigerian government against some Ghanaian products must be reviewed as proposed by the speaker of Ghana's parliament. According to Ademola (2017), the Nigerian government laid an embargo on the importation of some ninety-six (96) Ghanaian products into Nigeria. This draconian economic policy has adversely affected Ghanaian businessmen and women in the Nigerian markets. This policy created some sort of acrimony in the heart of Ghanaian traders in Ghana and always refers to it anytime drastic measures are taken to deal with Nigerian retailers in the Ghanaian markets (improve on sentence). The research conceived that if these bottlenecks are removed, trade disputes between the two parties would be resolved.

Finally, Ghanaian authorities must be cautious in terms of the enforcement of the GIPC Act 2013 (865). The joint task force established by GIPC and GUTA became very cruel during the enforcement of trade policies. According to the Nigerian respondents, not only did they have their shops closed down, some of their members were brutalized and maltreated by the joint compliance team, and on some occasions, the situation became so fierce that personnel from Ghana police had to intervene to calm the situation. The researcher is of the view that the best way to deal with Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes is to use diplomatic means because an eye for an eye will only make the whole world blind.



The image features a large, semi-transparent watermark of the University of Ghana crest in the background. The crest is a shield with a blue field containing three golden palm trees at the top and a golden scrollwork design below. A golden banner at the bottom of the shield contains the Latin motto "INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS".

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this research project presents the summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The purpose of the study was to assess the driving forces, politico-economic effects, and the ways of curbing the intermittent trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria.

The phenomenon of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, according to Boahen, 1974 and Newbury, 1971, cited by Aremu (2013), emerged during the pre-independent and post-independent eras. Olaniyi (2004) and Ademola (2017) assert that the occasional trade issues are still lingering in the fourth

republics of both countries. This research was, however, limited to the trade disputes that occurred between the two West African economic powers in their fourth republic. The central question of the study was "what are the fundamental driving forces for the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria?". The research further answered a question relating to the economic effects of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes; the extent to which the trade disputes affect both countries politically; and measures for curbing the trade disputes between both countries.

The researcher relied on the expert opinions of officials from the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), Nigeria Union of Traders Association Ghana (NUTAG), and officials from the Ghana Investment Promotion Center (GIPC), as well as the views of ordinary Ghanaian and Nigerian traders. The research also made use of reports from government officials and other experts that are linked to the study. There was a comprehensive consultation of literature to generate secondary data that helped to unearth the driving forces, effects, and measures for curbing Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes. Interview guides and personal observations were used as a tool to generate data on the issue under study. Qualitative case study data analysis was employed in the analysis and discussion process.

6.2 Summary of Research Findings

In respect of assessing the fundamental driving forces of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, the literature and the empirical data gathered found out that the underlining factors of the disputes were, among other things, the disparities in national trade policies and ECOWAS protocols. The problem lies in Article Two (2) of the 1999 ECOWAS compendium on free movement, right of residence, and establishment in a member country (ECOWAS, 1999). The research found that foreigners, especially Nigerian traders, based their legitimacy to reside, establish themselves, and retail businesses in

Ghana on the ECOWAS compendium of free movement of people and resources. Meanwhile, Ghanaian authorities, including GUTA and GIPC, referred to Article three (3) of the 1999 ECOWAS Convention that provided a ninety (90) day ultimatum to foreigners who want to trade in Ghana. Article three (3) states that foreign traders are permitted to export their goods to Ghana, distribute them within ninety (90) days and return to their home countries. The disparities inherent in the ECOWAS convention formed the basis for the trade disputes.

With regard to disparities in sub-regional protocols and national trade policies, empirical data gathered from experts from GUTA, GIPC, and reports from government officials and literature including Jouanjean & Engel (2015) and Mombert & Aidoo (2012) revealed that Ghana's trade policies, especially GIPC laws, are in sharp contrast with the ECOWAS protocol on the movement of people, goods, and services. While the ECOWAS protocol permitted members within the community to freely trade in member countries, the Ghana Investment Promotion Center laws demand that members within the sub-region can only trade in Ghana if they have a minimum capital investment of one million US dollars. The study discovered that the inconsistencies in trade policies formed part of the challenges between the two countries.

The literature and the empirical data gathered from the field revealed that the closure of the Nigerian land borders on Ghana and other neighbours in August 2021 led to reprisal action by Ghana. The West African Civil Society Institute (2020), Mujeeb (2020), and TRT World (2019) confirmed that Nigeria's protectionist agenda to close her major land borders on her foreign trading partners has influenced Ghanaian authorities to pursue similar retaliatory policies, including the enforcement of the GIPC Act. The enforcement saw the lockdown of Nigerian retail shops in major trading centers in Ghana.

The findings further revealed that the policy of "prohibited goods" by the Nigerian government against Ghanaian traders formed part of the underlining trade disputes between the two countries. Ademola (2017) indicated that the Nigerian government placed an embargo on some ninety-six (96) Ghanaian products imported into Nigeria. This policy was implemented to protect the manufacturing and agriculture sectors of the Nigerian economy. Meanwhile, the Ghanaian business community in Nigeria lamented the negative effects of the policy on their trading activities.

From the findings, it emerged that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes were a result of some illegalities engaged in by Nigerian traders in the retail spaces. As pointed out by Niba (2019), non-nationals in Ghana are prohibited from engaging in domestic retail trade. However, foreigners, especially Nigerian traders, have dominated Ghanaian retail spaces, and they have seen the practice as normal and a good opportunity to flourish in that business. The findings also uncovered other illegalities, including unlawful entry into Ghana through unapproved routes for trading, improper ways of registering businesses, tax evasion, and engaging in black markets. These phenomena made room for Ghanaian authorities, GUTA, and Ghanaian traders to develop an antagonistic approach towards the Nigerian traders.

Regarding the assessment of the fundamental driving forces of the trade disputes: The findings revealed that there were new approaches developed by the Nigerian traders to legitimize their stay in the retail spaces in Ghana. An interview conducted among the Nigerian traders in Ghana revealed that Nigerian retailers were marrying Ghanaian women to register their retail shops and thereby remain in business regardless of the GIPC policies. Another conspiracy emerging in the Ghanaian markets was the activities of middlemen. While some of the retail shops of Nigerians were closed down, there was a section of Ghanaian traders known as the middlemen who usually scout for customers and direct them to the Nigerian traders for underground transactions. The conspiracies

between middlemen and Nigerian retailers have been seen by Ghanaian traders as a means to destroy their market and hence the call for drastic measures against them.

Finally, the findings revealed that landlords and landladies were aiding the Nigerian retailers to remain in business. An interview conducted among the Ghanaian traders revealed that landlords and landladies preferred to rent retail shops to Nigerian traders because they would offer two times the rent to them than the Ghanaian traders. To a larger extent, the existence of the Nigerian retailers in major trading centers in Ghana was attributed to the landlords and landladies who were obsessed with money from the Nigerian traders.

Concerning the economic effects of Ghana-Nigerian trade disputes on both countries, the findings and the literature revealed that economic relations continue to deteriorate due to occasional trade issues. Ayeni (2020) noted that trade relations between both countries indicated strained relations and their actions were drawing them further away from cooperation. In the literature, Ademola (2017) also posited that given the nature of the current trade relationship between Ghana and Nigeria, no economic and market integration can be achieved if they do not put their houses in order. An interview with Nigerian traders revealed that, as a result of the intermittent harassment of Nigerian traders in Ghana, many businessmen who distributed goods to the Ghanaian traders relocated to other countries to establish their businesses there. This led to a shortage of some imported goods into Ghana.

The findings further revealed that there was a loss of capital and revenue as a result of the closure of Nigerian land borders and the lockdown of Nigerian shops in Ghana. Niba (2019), in collaboration with the GUTA president, indicated that Ghanaian businessmen lost their investment capital due to the closure of the Nigerian borders for almost two years. Meanwhile, many of the traders secured

loans, and they were unable to pay back these loans. On the other hand, Adanikin (2021) and Matazu & Ogwu (2021) asserted that the largest percentage of locked-up stalls in Ghana were for Nigerians, and this resulted in the revenue loss of the Nigerian traders. The effect was that many Nigerian retailers had turned to beggars just to feed their families and pay their bills.

The findings and the literature discovered that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes continue to disturb other ECOWAS member countries. This is because both countries are the largest economies within the sub-region and smaller economies rely on them for trade. It was indicated that the closure of the Nigerian borders to goods has been described by ECOWAS as a worrying situation because it affected the free movement of people, goods, and services, which are regarded as the foundations of the community (Africanews, 2020).

With regards to the extent to which trade disputes affect both countries politically, the findings and literature discovered that leaders from both sides always make the effort to deal with the problem diplomatically. However, the excesses of the disputes generated some reactions from some politicians and government officials, especially from Nigeria. The closure of Nigerian retail shops in Ghana as a result of the inability of Nigerian traders to abide by the GIPC Act 2013 (865), led to the call by some Nigerian authorities to cut diplomatic ties with Ghana. Ayodele (2021), posited that the call to sever diplomatic ties with Ghana was a result of the occasional harassment of Nigerian traders in the Ghanaian markets. Regardless of the call for retaliatory measures against Ghana, the Nigerian government stated that the bilateral relations between the two countries would not be compromised (Oxford Business Group, 2012). To deal with the twenty-five-year-old retail trade impasse between Ghana and Nigeria, the Speaker of Ghana's parliament, Rt. Hon. Alban Kingsford Bagbin, announced that the GIPC Act would be reviewed to exempt Nigeria from the \$1 million minimum

capital requirement under the GIPC Act 2013 (865). In the same vein, the Speaker called for a review of Nigerian policy banning the importation of some Ghanaian products into Nigerian markets (Kumatsey, 2021). Meanwhile, GUTA held an opposing view and condemned the speaker's decision to allow Nigerians to engage in retail businesses in the Ghanaian markets (Nixon, 2021).

Concerning measures for curbing Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, the findings and the empirical data revealed that ECOWAS, as a sub-regional body, has to ensure that trade policies of member states must be in tandem with its protocol. The West African Civil Society Institute (2020) discovered that the occasional trade disputes between the two countries were a result of disparities in ECOWAS protocols and the trade policies of individual member states. The responses from the interviewees indicated that the problem would be solved if the sub-regional protocols and national trade policies were reviewed to agree with each other. It is heartening to state that much work has been done by both countries to resolve Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes. This is evident in the recent announcement made by the Speaker of Ghana's parliament to permit Nigerian traders in the retail spaces even though the Ghana Union of Traders Association opposed the idea of the Speaker (Nixon, 2021). In addition, Kumatsey (2021) reported that in addressing the members of the Nigerian House of Representatives, the speaker, Rt. Hon. Alban Bagbin, called for a review of Nigerian policy that bans the importation of specific products into the Nigerian market.

The findings further discovered that the proposed establishment of joint legislation, a Ghana-Nigeria Business Council, and a Joint Ministerial Committee to provide the modalities for addressing trade issues between the two countries would likely have a greater impact in dealing with the challenges. From the findings, it emerged that foreigners (Nigerian traders) were not privy to the trading laws of Ghana and hence were naïve to the GIPC Act. The research proposed that to deal with this issue,

foreigners must be educated on the general rules, including the trading policies of Ghana. By so doing, no foreigner can claim ignorance of the Ghanaian trading laws.

Finally, the Ghana-Nigeria trade issue must be handled devoid of violence. Ghanaian authorities must be cautious in terms of the enforcement of the GIPC Act 2013 (865). The findings revealed that the joint task force established by GIPC and GUTA became very cruel during the enforcement of trade policies and some members of the compliance team molested some Nigerian traders in the retail spaces of major trading centers in Accra.

From the above elaboration, it could be concluded that if these suggested measures are put in place, the twenty-five (25) year old trade disputes between the two countries would be resolved. The researcher was also very excited upon hearing the announcement by the Speaker of Ghana's parliament regarding the decision to review the GIPC Act to allow Nigerians into Ghanaian retail space and the call for the Nigerian government to review their policy of "prohibited goods". When this is done, the major challenge that triggers Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes will be eradicated.

6.3 Conclusion

This study examined the politics of trade disputes in the fourth republic between Ghana and Nigeria. The literature and the empirical data revealed that Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes were not a novelty. The tension started during the pre-independent era, post-independent era, and is still lingering in their fourth republic. Regarding the first objective, which was to assess the fundamental driving forces of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes, the study discovered the inconsistencies of ECOWAS protocols with national trade policies as one of the major factors in the occasional trade disputes. Moreover, the protectionist agenda of both countries to safeguard the economic and national interests regardless of other neighbours continued to hurt trade relations between both countries. It was also discovered that

the inability of the Nigerian traders in Ghana to abide by the GIPC Act 2013 (865) normally leads to the intermittent closure of Nigerian retail shops in major trading centers in Ghana.

The policy of "prohibited goods" by the Nigerian government against Ghanaian traders in Nigerian markets also formed another fundamental driving force for the intermittent trade disputes. In line with the second objective, the research revealed that the trade disputes led to a decline in economic cooperation between the two parties. Scholars such as Ademola (2017) posited that, given the current rocky trade relationship between Ghana and Nigeria, no economic and market integration can be achieved if trade issues are not resolved. It also emerged that the closure of the Nigerian borders and the lockdown of Nigerian retail shops in Ghana led to the loss of capital and revenue for traders from both sides. The findings further revealed that the trade disputes do not only affect both countries but also affect the trade activities of other ECOWAS member countries. With regard to the third objective, the study revealed that political actors from both countries tried their best to deal with the issue diplomatically. However, the claim that the Ghanaian authorities were occasionally harassing the Nigerian traders in the Ghanaian markets led to the call by some Nigerian politicians and leaders to sever diplomatic ties with Ghana. Nonetheless, authorities from both countries stated their commitment to protecting the long-standing cordial relationship between the two countries.

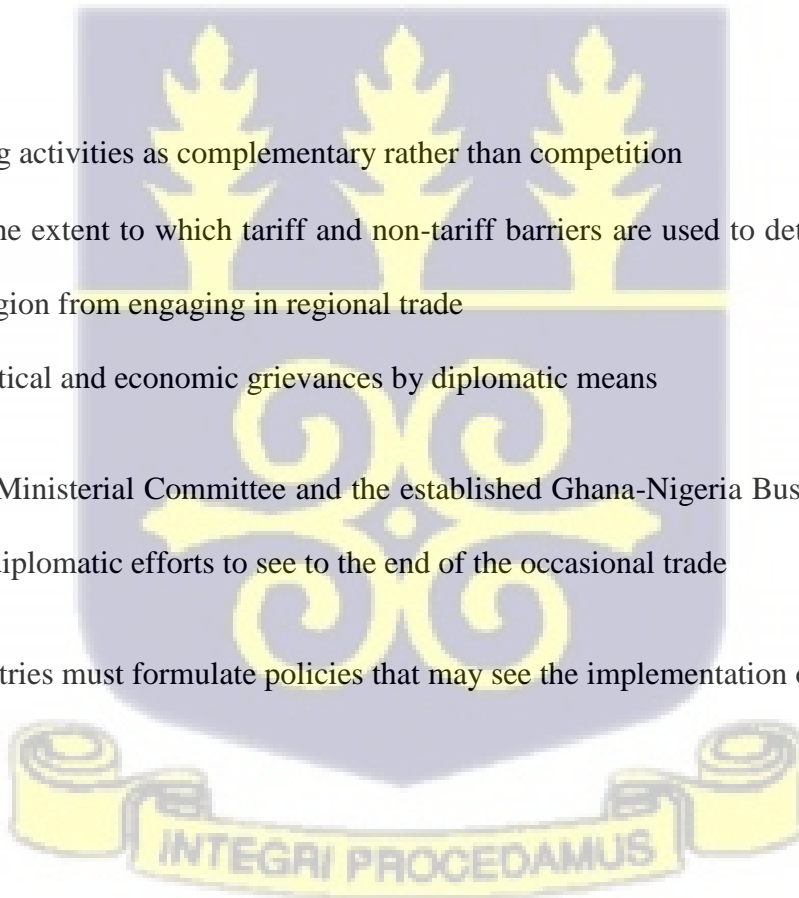
Finally, it could be stated that all the respondents demonstrated their fair ideas on the subject matter and they displayed individuality in answering questions based on their point of view.

6.4 Recommendation

In line with the findings and subsequent conclusion, my research makes the following recommendations on ways to curb Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes. The study recommends that:

- There must be a need to balance national trade policies and ECOWAS protocols on the free movement of people, goods, and services.
- Both countries should avoid contingency economic policies that are detrimental to trading partners
- Intensive education on the rights and privileges of members within the West African
- The need for both countries to review their trade policies, as proposed by the Speaker of Ghana's
- Both countries must spearhead the intensification of trade among African countries

- See trading activities as complementary rather than competition
- To limit the extent to which tariff and non-tariff barriers are used to deter members within the sub-region from engaging in regional trade
- Solve political and economic grievances by diplomatic means
- The joint Ministerial Committee and the established Ghana-Nigeria Business Council must intensify diplomatic efforts to see to the end of the occasional trade
- Both countries must formulate policies that may see the implementation of





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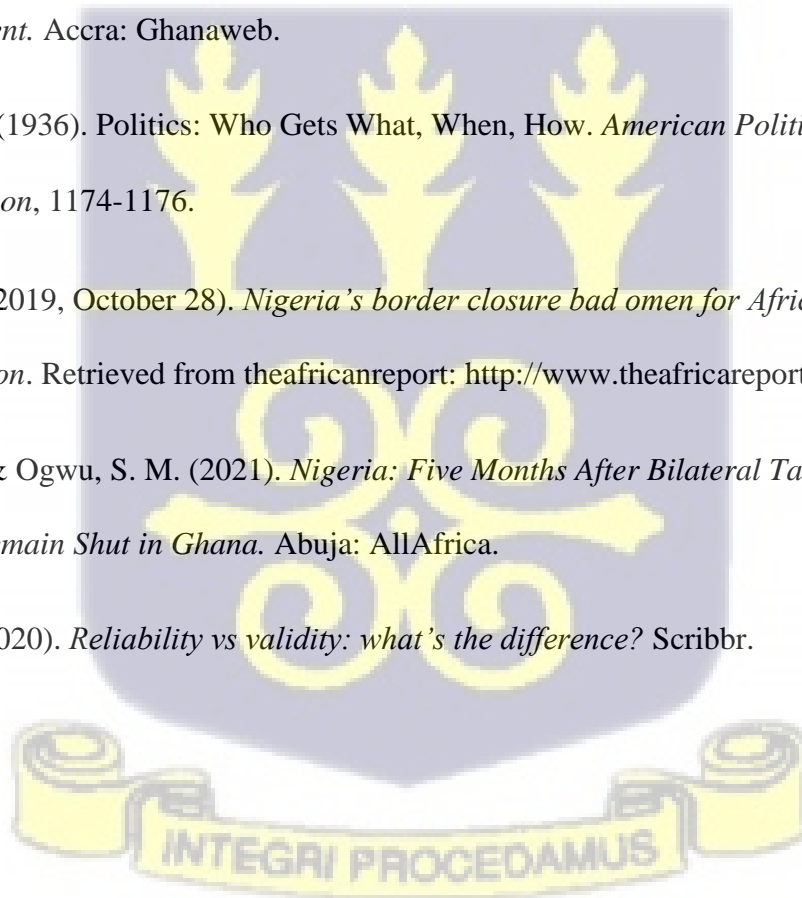
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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE

**THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
LEGON**

INTRODUCTION

I am John Akoeda, a second-year MPhil student from the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. This study is conducted in partial fulfillment of my requirement for the award of MPhil Political Science Degree. The topic under study is “**The Politics of Trade Disputes in the Fourth Republic: The Case of Ghana and Nigeria**”. This interview guide is desired solely to solicit your view on the topic and the information will be used for academic purposes only. Please the interview is estimated to last from 15 to 25 minutes and I seek your consent to record your voice in course of the interview because I cannot afford to miss anything you say.

Thank you for the opportunity.

Interviewee: John Akoeda

Date:

Institution: University of Ghana, Legon



I. INTERVIEW GUIDE (FOR GUTA)

1. How can the relationship between the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) and Nigerian traders be described?
2. What are the driving forces of trade disputes between GUTA and Nigerian traders?
3. What are the roles of GUTA in controlling foreign traders (Nigerian traders) in Ghana?
4. Why were the Nigerian shops locked by GUTA in major trading centers in Ghana?
5. Does the closure of Nigerian Land borders trigger the closure of Nigerian shops in Ghana?
6. What are the effects of the closure of Nigerian land borders on Ghanaian traders?
7. Are there any plans for GUTA to permanently resolve trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria?
8. Is GUTA ready to lower its policies to accommodate (foreign) Nigerian traders?
9. What are the challenges of dealing with Nigerian traders in Ghana?
10. The policies of GUTA and ECOWAS regarding trade are not compatible. Please what are your views on these policies?
11. What are some of the political effects of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes?

12. What are some of the economic effects of Ghana-Nigerian trade disputes?

13. Is there any possibility that these conflicts can emerge in the future?

Thank you for your cooperation



II. INTERVIEW GUIDE (FOR NUTA)

1. What are the factors leading to Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes?
2. What are the roles of NUTA in safeguarding the trading activities of Nigerians in Ghana?
3. Are Nigerian traders aware of Ghana's foreign trade policies?
4. Why did GUTA close Nigerian shops in major trading centers in Ghana?
5. What effects do the closure of Nigerian shops have on your traders?
6. What are the economic effects of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes?
7. What are the political effects of Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes?
8. Are there ways of resolving Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes? Please what are some of the measures?
9. Does the closure of Nigerian land borders affect Nigerian traders in Ghana? What are some of the effects?
10. Is it likely that the trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria will emerge again?

Thank you for your cooperation

III. INTERVIEW GUIDE (GIPC OFFICIALS)

1. What is the minimum capital requirement of foreigners investing in Ghana?
2. Please what are some of the complaints of foreigners regarding the higher nature of the minimum capital requirements in establishing businesses in Ghana?
3. Is your office aware of the violation of these requirements by Foreign (Nigerian) traders?

Are there plans for reducing the minimum capital investment for foreigners?

4. What are some of the measures taking by your office to enforce GIPC policies?
5. There is an incompatibility between GIPC Act (865) and ECOWAS protocols on trade.

Please what is your view on this?

6. How can GIPC ensure that trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria are resolved?

Thank you for your cooperation

IV. INTERVIEW GUIDE (FOR GHANAIAN TRADERS)

1. How do the businesses of Nigerian traders affect your trading activities?
2. What is the relationship between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the market?

3. How did the closure of the Nigerian shops by GUTA affect you?
4. What do you expect Nigerian trader in Ghana to conduct their trading activities?
5. In your opinion, what should be done by your authorities to prevent the worries of Nigerian traders?
6. How did the closure of Nigerian land borders affect your trading activities?
7. Do you see trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria emerging in the future?
8. How can trade disputes between Ghana and Nigeria be solved?

Thank you for your cooperation

V. INTERVIEW GUIDE (FOR NIGERIAN TRADERS)

1. Are you aware of the foreign investment policies in Ghana?
2. How can the relationship between Ghanaian traders and Nigerian traders be described?
3. What do you have to say about the GIPC'S minimum capital requirement? Are you abiding by it?
4. Why did GUTA close down your shops in 2019/2020?

5. What are the effects of the closure of your shops by GUTA?
6. How does the closure of the Nigerian borders affect your trading activities in Ghana?
7. Are there possibilities that the trade dispute between Ghana and Nigeria emerge in the future?
8. What are the ways of solving Ghana-Nigeria trade disputes?

Thank you for your cooperation

