

A Critical Analysis of Nigeria's Relationship With ECOWAS

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by

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A thesis submitted to the institute of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

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Political Science and International Relations

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*To my mother and father
for their love and support.*

ETHICAL DECLARATION

I, Johnson Busuyi Sunday, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis, and it is my original work. I declare that I have followed ethical standards in collecting and analyzing the data and accurately reported the findings in this thesis. I have also properly credited and cited all the sources included in this work.

Johnson Busuyi Sunday

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All praises and adorations are due to God Almighty for His love, mercy and blessing upon my life. I also want to appreciate the efforts of my parents for seeing me through my educational journey up to this material time. I also want to acknowledge the efforts of Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Dinç for a job well done. I remain forever grateful to you sir.

ABSTRACT

Nigeria is supposedly recognized as the continent's Strength because of the key part she served in the founding and growth in various world organizations and many other global bodies. Nigeria had demonstrated tremendous passion in the creation of ECOWAS. In order to objectively analyze Nigeria's connection with ECOWAS and its role, The study investigated the past evaluation of Nigeria's involvement in the founding of ECOWAS. The secondary sources used to collect the data were books, journals, newspapers, etc., thus the study was analyzed with a content analysis. The study examines critically Nigeria's association with ECOWAS, Nigeria's role in ECOWA's founding and continued existence, the degree to which Nigeria's involvement in ECOWA's expansion fostered unity and tranquility in the African sub-region, and the ways in which Nigeria's stand has influenced the evolution of global bodies in Africa, specifically ECOWAS. The study's conclusions showed that Nigeria's involvement in ECOWAS had actually strengthened the sub-region's economy. The country has played a significant part in the expansion of ECOWAS' financial operations, but given the country's poor infrastructure, it has not completely benefited from these successes and continues to experience a wide range of financial and political challenges.

Keywords: Nigeria, ECOWAS, International Organization, Development, Africa.

ÖZ

Nijerya, çeşitli dünya organizasyonlarının ve diğer birçok küresel kurumun kuruluşunda ve büyümesinde oynadığı önemli rol nedeniyle kıtanın gücü olarak kabul edilmektedir. Nijerya, ECOWAS'ın oluşturulmasında büyük bir tutku göstermiştir. Bu çalışma, Nijerya'nın ECOWAS ile olan bağlantısını ve rolünü objektif bir şekilde analiz etmek amacıyla Nijerya'nın ECOWAS'ın kuruluşuna olan katılımının geçmiş değerlendirmesini incelemiştir. Verilerin toplanmasında ikincil kaynaklar olan kitaplar, dergiler, gazeteler vb. kullanılmış ve çalışma içerik analizi ile analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma, Nijerya'nın ECOWAS ile ilişkisini eleştirel bir şekilde incelemekte, Nijerya'nın ECOWAS'ın kuruluşu ve sürekli varoluşundaki rolünü, Nijerya'nın ECOWAS'ın genişlemesine katkısının Afrika alt bölgesinde birlik ve huzuru nasıl teşvik ettiğini ve Nijerya'nın duruşunun Afrika'daki küresel kurumların evrimini, özellikle ECOWAS'ı nasıl etkilediğini incelemektedir. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Nijerya'nın ECOWAS ile olan ilişkisinin aslında alt bölgenin ekonomisini güçlendirdiğini göstermektedir. Ülke, ECOWAS'ın mali işlemlerinin genişlemesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır, ancak ülkenin zayıf altyapısı nedeniyle bu başarıların tam olarak faydalarını görmemiş ve geniş bir finansal ve siyasi zorluklarla karşılaşmaya devam etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nijerya, ECOWAS, Uluslararası Organizasyon, Kalkınma, Afrika.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	African Economic Community
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AU	African Union
CAP	Commonwealth Assistance Program
CET	Common External Tariff
CFA/AFC	African Financial Community
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CUCB	Currency Union Central Banks
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ETLS	ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
JAIC	Japanese Agency for International Cooperation
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPLA	Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TACS	Technical Aid Corps Scheme
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Education Fund
UNOMIL	United Nation Operation in Liberia
USD	United State Dollar
VAT	Value Added Tax
WAGPP	West African Gas Pipeline Project
WAMZ	West African Monetary Zone
WAUA	West African Unit of Account
%	Percentage

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a member of several international organizations, including the Organization of African Unity (OAU), later renamed African Union (AU), World Bank, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), United Nations (UN), Commonwealth of Nations, United Nations International Children's Education Fund (UNICEF), and others. Thanks to her enormous population, rich natural resources, economic strength, and arable wide geography, she has long been at the forefront of other African countries in pursuing the continent's integration and cooperation.

The reason Nigeria has historically been referred to as Africa's giant is because of this. As a result, Nigeria is looked up to by many African nations for guidance and support across the continent. Since gaining its independence in 1960, Nigeria has been fervently committed to expanding its political, economic, cultural, and human resources in order to achieve the unification, advancement, growth, and development of Africa. Osundu (2015), affirms that the regional organization focused on local independent thinking, preservation of oneself, and general security has "continued to be driven by Nigeria" (Osundu, 2015, p. 102 -104).

"Nigeria has thus adopted foreign policies that are in line with the beliefs and objectives of this great nation's founding fathers, a foreign policy that is concentric in nature, substance, and has as one of its key characteristics (Gusau 2013, p. 166-181).

The fore mentioned makes it clear that Nigeria's principal foreign policy principle drives her to actively contribute to the expansion of African international institutions. Nigeria has a foreign policy stance that clearly garners support from the population

and places an emphasis on the nation's national interests. After gaining independence, the nation started to position itself as a respectable participant in world politics.

By taking the lead in fostering continental peace, mutual respect among all member nations, the elimination of unhealthy rivalries, and discrimination against smaller member states, Nigeria has shown a strong commitment to Africa's political and economic prosperity.

Nigeria has over the years played a crucial role in the foundation and expansion of a number of international organizations on the African continent. Nigeria, for instance, had a key role in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was founded in 1963 and is now known as Africa Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), all of which were established in 1975, 2001, and 2005, respectively. According to Attah (2011), "it is impossible to overstate the importance of and other West African organizations. Her membership in all of these international organizations, as well as her commitment and loyalty to them, are undeniably strong indicators of her national interests and foreign policy and therefore, Nigerian external relations highlighted African challenges, which have become the pivot of her foreign policy" (Attah, 2011, p. 138).

It is also self-evident that Nigerian foreign policy's fundamental goal is to promote and safeguard the country's national interests in international interactions.

Among these international organizations, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) appears most influential because of the significant role Nigeria has played in the formation and running of the organization. It is instructive to say that ECOWAS was the brainchild of Nigeria.

The purpose of this dissertation is to look at Nigeria's involvement and membership in international organizations in Africa, with a particular focus on the Nigeria's relationship with Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS is a West African regional organization founded in May 1975 by 15 countries. Benin, Burkina Faso (formerly known as Upper Volta), Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo are among these countries.

Map 1

Map of West Africa Showing the 15 Members State of ECOWAS



(Punch Newspaper, 2021)

1.1 Brief History of ECOWAS

Liberian President William Tubman urged the creation of a West African community in 1964. In February 1965, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone signed an accord, but it never materialized. Generals Gowon of Nigeria and

Eyadema of Togo revived the concept in April 1972, drafted recommendations, and traveled to 12 nations to gain their support for the scheme from July to August 1973. The following week, from 10-15 December, 1973, a meeting was held at Lomé to discuss a draft treaty. A ministerial gathering in Monrovia in January 1975 and a meeting of specialists and jurists in Accra in January 1974 both looked into this in more detail.

The Treaty of Lagos, which established the Economic Community of West African States, was finally ratified on May 28, 1975, by 15 West African nations. On November 5th, 1976, the founding protocols for ECOWAS were signed in Lomé, Togo. While Mauritania left the Community in 2002, Cape Verde joined ECOWAS in 1977. ECOWAS was established to help its member states attain collective self-sufficiency through the creation of a single, sizable trading bloc through economic and monetary union. It was chosen as one of the African Economic Community's five regional cornerstones (AEC). The Protocol on Relations between the AEC and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) was signed in February 1998 by ECOWAS, COMESA, ECCAS, IGAD, and SADC.

However, the Treaty of Lagos was updated in Cotonou on July 24, 1993, toward a looser collaboration because of the extremely slow progress toward economic and monetary unification. The ECOWAS countries signed two earlier accords in 1978 and 1981 as well as a non-aggression convention in 1900. On May 29, 1981, in Freetown, Sierra Leone, they also ratified a Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance that called for the creation of an Allied Armed Force of the Community.

The suspension of Niger from the organization by ECOWAS was made public on October 20, 2009. Opposition supporters boycotted the elections when President Tandja Mamadou was accused of seeking to extend his rule. On October 17, ECOWAS

had asked Niger to postpone its contentious elections, which were scheduled for October 20.

At the ECOWAS Summit in December 1999, a Protocol for the Establishment of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, Peace, and Security was adopted. There is a Security and Mediation Council and a Council of Elders within the Mechanism. The latter group's 10 members are the foreign ministers of the ten countries listed below: Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, and Togo.

The two primary organizations responsible for carrying out ECOWAS policy are the Secretariat and the Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development. In 2001, the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development replaced the ECOWAS Fund.

The West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ), which was founded in 2000 by five ECOWAS countries, aimed to create a strong, stable currency called the "eco" to compete with the CFA franc, whose exchange rate is linked to that of the euro and is insured by the French Treasury. With the CFA franc and Eco eventually merging, West and Central Africa will have a single stable currency. The West African Monetary Institute, situated in Accra, Ghana, is getting ready to introduce the new currency. This is meant to serve as the prototype for a unified central bank. However, a number of the WAMZ's member nations experience weak currencies and persistent budget deficits, which are now filled by their central banks printing an increasing number of notes with declining real value (ECOWAS, Report 2000).

On May 28, 1975, they met in Lagos to sign the ECOWAS Treaty, often known as the Lagos Treaty. To enhance cooperation, collaboration, and solidarity among member nations, these countries are bound together by historical, geographical, cultural, and economic links. Nigeria was a key player in the development of the Economic

Community of West African States, which is a historical fact (ECOWAS). “ECOWAS' success has always hinged on the level of determination and commitment of the stronger members and of course, Nigeria is obviously the strongest member” (Adepoju, 2005, p. 28-29).

A subset of international organizations, regional organizations can be both financial and nonfinancial organizations. They are composed of multinational organizations whose participants are the government officials or financial institutions of nations in a specific region of the world. Regional institutions, such as Currency Union Central Banks (CUCB), are created for a number of purposes, including advancing, regulate, and even control over some aspects of financial links or integrative operations between the financial sectors of the different parts of the world (Adepoju, 2005, p. 28–29).

Political agreements between the participants in the group that have the legal force of diplomatic conventions are used to construct regional organizations like the Economic Association of West African States (ECOWAS). As opposed to other global entities, these organizations are accorded the appropriate advantages and exemptions and are not subject to the rules and ordinances of the economy where they are domiciled.

In Liberia, where ECOWAS established a military observation group (ECOMOG) in 1990, both the UN and ECOWAS have had a considerable impact. Additionally, in 1998, it sent troops to Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea Bissau (Fawole, 2002). Created in 1993, The UN Operation in Liberia (UNOMIL), was the first operation to be carried out in conjunction with a peacekeeping operation set up by a different organization, in this case ECOWAS. In more recent times, the AU has been active in Darfur, Côte d'Ivoire, and Chad. In this sense, Resolution 1706, which required creative and significant UN support for the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), could serve as a guide for the future” (Sanda, 2012, p. 409-411).

In November 1975, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established by a group of fifteen West African countries. Its secretariat and primary offices are located in Abuja, Nigeria. According to the ECOWAS treaty, the organization's original goals were, among other things, fostering cooperation and regional integration that would lead to the formation of an economic union in West Africa to increase living standards and maintain economic stability.

“The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which was founded in 1975 as a regional organization primarily to promote the economic integration of the fifteen Member States, has gradually changed under the pressure of political events into an organization also charged with finding solutions to armed conflicts and other political crises that were undermining peace and security within the community space” (Adebayo, 2007, p. 102).

Fundamentally, in order to achieve this goal, which was largely hampered by the political crisis in the region and competition between heads of state for the leadership of regional organizations, it was necessary to gradually give peace, defense, and security issues more weight. This was especially true when considering Nigeria's roles and relevance in ECOWAS. For ECOWAS to become an organization capable of intervening politically and militarily in situations when there are major risks to the security of a member state and within the community space in general, the 1990s have been particularly important. Therefore, ECOWAS was crucial in bringing the deadly civil wars in Sierra Leone (1991–2002) and Liberia (1990–1997 and 2003–2007), which occasionally spilled over into Guinea and threatened to destabilize the entire West African area.

The Nigerian federal army and other ECOWAS member states make up the group's Ceasefire Monitoring Group. This was also observed during the Malian crisis to stop

the problem from spreading to other regions of West Africa, especially Mali's neighboring nations. "After several years of ECOMOG's military presence under unusually difficult material and security conditions and at the initiative of the regional military power; Nigeria," claims Owunwa (1992), "United Nations peacekeeping operations were conducted in Sierra Leone and Liberia. ECOMOG was really charged with taking part in the conflict as a belligerent or an occupying force in Liberia and Sierra Leone." (Owunwa 1992, p. 200-203).

However, by participating at the height of the conflict and chaos in these two countries, when there was no peace to be maintained, it significantly contributed to the stabilization of the Mano River basin region. ECOWAS was required to intervene aggressively in the management of conflict in the 1990s for peace and security supported by the texts of the organization before creating the institutional and operational framework of a regional authority.

Therefore, the dissertation is focused on analyzing the relationship of Nigeria with "ECOWAS" as a regional body. Apart from Nigeria acting as an associate of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), she is also an autonomous state. And of course, Nigeria has been involved in the affairs of ECOWAS since 1960 and possibly much before. The obligation to comprehend the direction of regional peacekeeping, notably in respect to West African peacekeeping missions, is what spurred this investigation. In light of these circumstances, this study critically evaluates Nigeria's roles and contributions to the growth of regional organizations, with an emphasis on the Economic Community of West African States. It does so by analyzing the difficulties faced and the coping mechanisms used to get by in society.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nigeria's contribution to the creation and survival of African international organizations, particularly ECOWAS, cannot be overstated. Nigeria has made significant contributions to ECOWAS' growth and resources in terms of people, things, and money, and development. Nigeria has long served as Africa's big brother, especially in West African nations, and this role has always been quite vocal and obvious.

The goal of Nigeria's ECOWAS membership is to promote political integration, unity, and conflict prevention, management, and resolution in her sub-region. The nation has paid a high price for this in terms of both people and material resources. Nigeria contributed a large sum of money to support the establishment of ECOMOG forces in Sierra Leone and Liberia, which helped put an end to the hostilities in both nations. Nigeria played a significant role in the UN peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone and Liberia, aiding in the healing and unification of the two war-torn nations.

Nigeria supposedly received a reimbursement from ECOWAS, but this promise was never kept, and Nigeria was never given the chance to gain economically. No Nigerian company has been found to be involved in these two countries' post-conflict reconstruction activities as of yet. It is so simple to understand why Nigeria's attempts to establish international organizations on her continent have shown little or no success throughout time. Nigeria has not been able to benefit from ECOWAS despite the organization being especially created for the growth of Africa. In actuality, Nigeria continues to struggle with a wide range of problems which include insecurity, poverty, inconsistent policies, and bad governance.

This study's primary objective is to critically assess the relationship between Nigeria and ECOWAS, with an emphasis on why Nigeria has not been able to significantly

benefit from the organization despite her enormous commitment to its formation and growth. Secondly, to find out to what extent has Nigeria's involvement in the formation of international organizations in Africa, particularly ECOWAS, benefited in the promotion of peace and unity in the African sub-region.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This thesis's main goal is to evaluate Nigeria's relationship with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The study's further objectives are to:

1. Ascertain why Nigeria has not been able to significantly benefit from ECOWAS despite making significant contributions to the founding and growth of the organization.
2. To determine the extent to which Nigeria's role in establishing international organizations in Africa has benefited efforts to spread peace and unity throughout the continent.
3. To ascertain how Nigeria's contribution has helped ECOWAS and other international organizations in Africa grow.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions designed for this study are as follows:

1. Given Nigeria's significant contributions to the creation and growth of ECOWAS, why has the country not fully benefited from the organization?
2. How much has Nigeria's involvement in ECOWAS' founding helped to advance harmony and peace in the continent of Africa as a whole?
3. In what ways has Nigeria's involvement helped the ECOWAS and other international organizations in Africa grow?

1.5 Assumption/Hypothesis

The basic premise/hypothesis of this research is that Nigeria has not reaped the full benefits of ECOWAS despite making significant contributions to its founding and growth. Is it because of the sort of class difference or class control of the states that ECOWAS has not really succeeded basically to benefit every member state? This is what this dissertation is designed to investigate.

1.6 Significance of the Study

By highlighting Nigeria's contribution to the formation of the Economic Community of West African States, this study will underscore the role of Nigeria in the growth of international organizations in Africa (ECOWAS).

The study would be helpful in figuring out why Nigeria has not reaped enormous benefits from her pioneering role in the establishment of African international institutions. The study will also show to what extent Nigeria's involvement in the formation of international organizations in Africa promotes peace and development on the continent.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This Dissertation's focus is solely on Nigeria's relationship with ECOWAS. The goal of the dissertation is to critically evaluate Nigeria's relationship with ECOWAS, with a focus on why Nigeria has not benefited from her leadership role in the creation of international organizations in Africa, to find out to what extent Nigeria's involvement has aided in the promotion of peace and unity in the African sub-region, and to find out how Nigeria's role has aided the development of international organizations.

1.8 Research Methodology

The research methodology adopted for this dissertation is qualitative method of analysis. The main focus of this study is to critically analyze the relationship between Nigeria and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Hence, non-systematic method was used to collect qualitative data to answer the objectives of this study.

The study espoused a qualitative system using document/ library sources on Nigeria's relationship with ECOWAS. Document sources such as books, seminar papers, journals, newspapers, magazines and the internet and among others, were used to illustrate the Nigeria's relationship with ECOWAS. The researcher employed this approach to content analyze the former studies' strengths and weakness in order to come up with new perceptivity on the content.

The study used a qualitative system to gain in depth information so as to grease instrument designed. The history and standpoint were employed to gather important information for the exploration in textbook, newspapers, magazines, journals, the internet and proved accoutrements through secondary sources of data collection.

Thomas (2011) argued that "the advantage of qualitative styles lies in the fact that it's suitable to gain access to organizational structures, regulatory discovery of unanticipated facts and qualitative system is vital when used to interpret, thirsty gain essential information's from available substantiation to reach conclusion" (Thomas, 2011, p. 511 -521).

Grounded on the nature of this study, a qualitative method of data analysis was employed to dissect the data collected from the secondary data. This involves descriptive and explicatory analyses of data. Content analysis of secondary document on Nigerian's relationship with ECOWAS is done to find out why Nigeria has not

benefitted immensely from ECOWAS as anticipated despite her immense benefactions to the growth of the union.

The documents collected were further used to find out the extent Nigeria's donation to the creation of transnational organizations in Africa has backed in the creation of peace and concinnity in the African sub-region and to determine how Nigeria's part has backed the development of transnational associations in Africa, particularly ECOWAS. This analysis will be grounded on logical approach on development of ECOWAS and review, magazines, book, reiterations of exchanges, periodic reports and websites. Generally written documents were anatomized with some form of content analysis. This approach would enable the researcher to carry out methodical analysis of these documents which will enable the researcher to place styles of event in the literal environment.

Choosing qualitative method to analyze the data for this dissertation is a matter of relevance and convenience to this research topic. Mohajan (2018), defines the qualitative method of data analysis as "a type of social science research method that collects and works with non-numerical data that seeks to interpret meaning from these data that help us to understand social life through the study of targeted populations or places," (Mohajan, 2018, p. 23-48). "It captures a snapshot of people's perception in a natural environment then observes and analyzes how they see various occurrences" (Gentles et al., 2015, p. 12).

In order to comprehend people's social realities, qualitative research emphasizes how people interpret and make sense of their experiences. It uses open-ended questionnaires, interviews, diaries, notebooks, observations and immersions in the classroom, as well as visual and textual content analysis and oral history to collect, examine, and interpret data (Zohrabi, 2013, p. 254–262). It is exploratory and aims to

explain "how" and "why" a certain social phenomena or program behaves in a certain way in a specific situation. It aims to make sense of the social environment in which we live and the reasons behind why things are the way they are (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 137–145).

"The qualitative research data are descriptive, in the form of interview notes, observation records, and documents; and data are evaluated inductively," says Mohajan (2018, p. 23-48), who defined the qualitative research technique. The study gives a lot of weight to overall reasoning and outcomes. The data sources are real-world scenarios and unfettered, unaffected natural environments. The details of the environment have the researcher's undivided attention. (Mohajan 2018, p. 23-48).

The study applies essential study layout ideas such as aligning the subjects of the study to the empirical approaches, considering consideration the difficulties of evaluation and information acquisition as incorporated, and being precise about the study's purposes (Mason, 1996, p. 27).

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The System Theory, probably the most commonly used word in international relations, holds that actual political units interact with one another in accordance with some predictable and observable pattern of relationship. The theory expresses the interconnectedness of all the sub-units inside a system through their interlocking interaction. In international politics, each component of the system is the custodian of its own security and independence.

In addition, according to Bear (2016), “systemic theory in international relations is an effort to describe the relationship between the components of the international system (typically, the states) and those parts of its structure that are most important to their behavior and in a similar straightforward and effective way to how the heliocentric

Copernican model encapsulated the essence of astronomy, the aim is to do the same for international relations” (Bear, 2016, p. 34-36).

In actuality, systemic theory has proved difficult to use in contemporary international relations, according to Bear (2016), “in large part because of the complexity of the international system. Despite the fact that balance-of-power theory, a form of systemic theorizing in international relations, has been around for centuries, the theoretical difficulties and practical difficulties associated with the scientific study of international systems are incredibly intimidating. As a result, there have been very few attempts to develop a comprehensive theory that is theoretically sound and empirically supported, and even fewer of these are considered to be unproblematic” (Bear, 2016, p. 34-36).

Among the most significant and enduring theories in the history of international relations are systemic theories, which aim to encapsulate the most complete understanding of the subject matter. Scholars in this tradition contend that developing theories without considering the behavior of all the system's key players results in a significant loss of information. They compare this to how an understanding of astronomy developed from a number of partial theories of the behavior of individual planets would be much less intellectually satisfying and practical than the current, comprehensive systemic explanation. Early in the 1960s, the Systems Theory was put forth. The System exhibits a major relevance on the empirical study data since the Theory has a conceptual and analytical foundation. According to Mithun (2022), “Systems Theory sees organizations as a network of systems, to put it simply; a system can be referred to as a mixture, assemblage, or complex unitary whole of items or pieces, depending on how ordered or complicated it is” (Mithun, 2022, p. 2-5).

Mithun (2022) further stated that “subsystems are the various components that make up a system and are interconnected with one another. Additionally, according to a specific arrangement plan, the different subsystems are arranged so that the whole system is more than the sum of its parts. By doing so, every system is secured, and the system's effective operation is ensured.

Summary: According to Mithun (2022, p. 2-5), having a theoretical framework can be helpful in management since it can help you assess your duties and make decisions. One such theory is systems theory, which focuses on how each component of an organization interacts. If you're interested in management or understanding how companies' function, learning about systems theory may be quite beneficial. In this thesis, we define the systems theory of management, examine the advantages and disadvantages of using this approach, and show how it characterizes an organization. Like any management theory, there will be certain bottlenecks in the real world. But if the organization is focused on development, nothing is insurmountable.

From this foregoing, it is convenient to say ECOWAS member nations can work to promote and foster peace, cooperation and unity among themselves without necessarily overburdening one another. If the core values of system theory are truly implemented in the ECOWAS sub region, member states will experience laudable improvement and development in their economic and political lives.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Conceptual Review of Related Works on ECOWAS

Some connected literature will be reviewed as related to the topic matter in this research study. Several studies have been conducted on Nigeria's contributions to the formation of international organizations in Africa, particularly the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Here are some conceptual analyses as regards the research questions.

2.2 Conceptual Formation of ECOWAS

Narrating the historical background of ECOWAS, Osondu (2015) stated that “when President William Tubman of Liberia called for a West African community in 1964, the idea for the Economic Community of West African States was initially raised. In February 1965, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone signed a deal, but it never materialized”. (Osondu, 2015, p. 102-104)

According to Osondu (2015, 102-104), Generals Gowon of Nigeria and Eyadema of Togo revived the concept in April 1972, drafted proposals, and toured to 12 countries to solicit their support for the plan from July to August 1973. A summit in Lomé was planned for the next week, December 10–15, 1973, to debate a draft treaty. An expert and legal gathering held in Accra in January 1974 and a ministerial meeting conducted in Monrovia in January 1975 both took a closer look at this. (Osondu, 2015, p. 102-104).

On 28th May, 1975, 15 West African countries eventually ratified the Treaty of Lagos, creating the Economic Community of West African States. On November 5th, 1976, the founding protocols for ECOWAS were signed in Lomé, Togo. While Mauritania

left the Community in 2002, Cape Verde joined ECOWAS in 1977. ECOWAS was established to help its member states attain collective self-sufficiency through the creation of a single, sizable trading bloc through economic and monetary union. It was chosen as one of the African Economic Community's five regional cornerstones (AEC). The Protocol on Relations between the AEC and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) was signed in February 1998 by ECOWAS, COMESA, ECCAS, IGAD, and SADC.

But because of the extremely slow progress toward economic and monetary union, the Treaty of Lagos was rewritten at Cotonou on July 24, 1993, in favor of an unsecured collaboration. In 1900, the ECOWAS countries signed a non-aggression protocol, as well as two earlier accords in 1978 and 1981. A Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance that called for the creation of an Allied Armed Force of the Community was also signed on May 29, 1981, in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Guinea in 2008 Niger was expelled from ECOWAS on October 20, 2009, according to an announcement. The ECOWAS urged Niger to postpone the contentious polls on October 20, but opposition supporters boycotted them because President Tandja Mamadou was accused of trying to extend his rule. A Protocol for the Establishment of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, Peace, and Security was accepted by the ECOWAS Summit in December 1999. In addition to a Security and Mediation Council, the Mechanism features a Council of Elders. The latter group has ten members, who represent the following nations: Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, Nigeria, and Togo.

2.3 The Role of Nigeria in the Formation of ECOWAS

It is impossible to overstate Nigeria's contribution to the establishment and continuation of ECOWAS. The establishment of ECOWAS in Lagos on May 28, 1975, was hailed as a major victory in the protracted struggle to bring partnership and economic integration are occurring throughout the entire West African region. Although everyone agrees to the fact that Nigeria was highly involved in the creation of ECOWAS, no system study of the nature of that contribution or its potential effects on the organization exists (Ojo, 1980, p. 214-216).

There are two reasons why Nigeria's participation in the creation of ECOWAS is of relevance. First, it is likely that the same factors that contributed to the beginning of integration also contributed to its continuation, in which case the part Nigeria played in the process may provide some insight into future behavior and the likely outcome of the new institution. Second, Nigeria's position is intriguing in and of itself and provides some understanding of how the organization is maintained (Aluko, 1975, p. 114-115).

Nigeria played a significant role in making the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) a reality in May 1975 when fifteen West African countries (later joined by Cape Verde) gathered in Lagos to sign a treaty establishing the organization. Nigeria was a crucial player in the extensive three-year diplomatic efforts that led to the creation of ECOWAS, disproving the notion that states who are largely independent from their regional neighbors due to their size and resource base show little interest in regional integration.

The process of Nigeria's commitment to the ECOWAS vision, as well as the strategy and tactics used to forge a regional coalition that supported ECOWAS, are all issues that are examined. Both Nigeria's future participation in the organization and the

organization's own future is impacted by these issues and Nigeria's diplomacy. The future of ECOWAS appears bright solely in light of the significant initial negotiations and processes and the ongoing applicability of the circumstances that gave rise to the organization.

Despite the fact that the Brundtland Report on Sustainable Development was published in 1987, Nigerian authorities have in the past made significant efforts toward sustainable development for the benefit of both Nigeria and Africa. In addition to other things, in his first speech following Nigeria's declaration of independence from British colonial rule on October 1, 1960, the country's prime minister at the time, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, said he was "sure that past events will show that the establishment of the country proceeded at the wisest pace... upon powerful foundations." (Ojo, 1980, p. 214–216).

When he remarked that Nigeria and Nigerians would not be afforded the self-indulgent luxury of focusing on our mansions in addition to dealing with serious internal challenges, Sir Tafawa Balewa made an international statement. "Even if we wanted to, we cannot live in seclusion or separate ourselves from the rest of the world in this day of instant communication." This great country is forced to prepare for major global concerns because we need to act quickly to safeguard culture and world peace. (Aluko, 1975, p. 114-115).

In addition to beginning an exciting new phase in the historical record of Nigeria and the whole globe with these proclamations, Prime Minister Balewa also established a general course for future Nigerian administrations. The declarations eventually become Nigeria's foreign policy toward Africa. West Africa is the key component of Nigeria's view of Africa as the centerpiece of its foreign strategy.

When viewed historically, a vision of the Nigerian state becoming a dominant force in its region and a key player in global politics appears to have permeated Balewa's political and economic awareness. By supporting other African countries through successful economic integration as well as cooperation projects, Balewa hoped to ensure that Nigeria will act as her brothers' keeper. According to Tafawa Balewa, Nigeria's attempts to develop its country must coexist with those to establish sustainable, secure neighborhoods since those places will always be exposed to armed warfare and civil disorder where impoverished conditions are persistent. which could have serious ramifications for the entire nation.

After Balewa's government was overthrown on June 22, 1966, Nigeria's first military leader, Major General Aguiyi Irosi, addressed the nation in his first broadcast, saying: "Most of the civilized world looks on us to give accountable leadership in Africa because of our size and capability. Whether politically, economically, or cultural spheres, we are certain that our destiny is tied to our place on the African continent. Nigeria not only joined a number of international organizations (such as The World Bank, Non-Aligned Movement, Pan Africanism, the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, Commonwealth, to name a few), however, it also endorsed or supported the creation of ECOWAS to fulfill the anticipated leadership position on the international scale" (Aluko, 1975, p. 114-115).

It is important to emphasize that ECOWAS's economic integration was not intended to only benefit Nigeria. As will be demonstrated later, the sub-regional organization was instead intended to have an impact on all 16 member states, both immediately and over time. The wider markets for member countries' products would be an immediate advantage of ECOWAS. With time, this ought to help cut their production overhead

costs, enabling the enactment of lower rates, which ought to in return boost market and local economic growth.

The creation of complex industries would also be permitted or encouraged by the expanded markets, if practical. Given the availability of complimentary resources of nature, members would be allowed to make up for their lack of a particular resource for their industrial and export operations, laying a strong foundation for sustainable growth.

Nigeria is estimated to be 923,768 square kilometers in size, making it around four times the size of Ghana, thirteen times the size of Sierra Leone, and eighty-nine times the size of the Gambia. In 1975 when the ECOWAS organization was established. The estimated population of Nigeria was approximately 70 million., compared to the 125 million people that made up the entire ECOWAS (ECOWAS Report, 2000).

Natural gas, coal, limestone, zinc, lead, columbite, iron ore, tin, gold, the metal manganese, crude oil and hydroelectric power were among Nigeria's abundant natural resources. Nigeria's industry has grown during the 1970s to include oil refineries, automobile and truck assembly plants, among others, the industries of iron, aluminum and steel, also chemicals and pharmaceuticals. According to some academics, Nigeria's desire to support the formation of ECOWAS "was to be developed through a functional economic partnership with the aim to not just only fortify the national economies but also to ensure that it would see Nigeria safeguard an existing marketplace for her manufactures." Cocoa, one of her main agricultural exports, cashew nuts, round nuts, palm oil, rubber, and rubberized round nuts. "Oil started to take over as the nation's main source of income in the late 1960s and similar to other West African nations, Nigeria's economy during this time was heavily dependent on agriculture" (Ojo, 1980, p. 214-216).

Due to the fact that the nations in the West African sub-region produced essentially the same range of agricultural goods, the economy in that area was competitive. For the benefit of their previous colonial overlords, the sub-region's trade activity was export focused. The amount of international trade in the region was therefore minimal. Between neighboring francophone nations in West Africa, trade was relatively more valuable. For instance, the Ivory Coast (now Cote D'Ivoire) accounted for about 55% import activity by Burkina Faso from West Africa, while Cote D'Ivoire was the source of nearly 69% of Senegal's imports from the same region. Since industrialization in the sub-region was minimal, its economy was externally focused. Due to the region's relatively small population and low per capita income, the market for produced items in the region was modest, with the exception of Nigeria. Numerous currencies that were either tied to that of France, Britain, or the United States of America also contributed to the region's economic diversity (Aluko, 1975, p. 114-115).

Prior to the creation of ECOWAS, the economic peculiarities of the West African region can be summed up as follows: competitive primary export production; minimal cross-border trade; high reliance on trade with other nation; low population; tiny market size and low capital intensity; very little industrial growth; and a large number of national currencies tied to foreign currencies.

One of the main obstacles to the sub-economic region's integration seemed to be the issue of the diversity of currencies. In order to achieve West African economic cooperation, Aluko (1975) came to the conclusion that the negative impact of the variety of legal tender on the flow of payments, the expansion of intraregional commerce, and the bolstering of the sub-regional economy constituted a new challenge (Aluko, 1975, p. 214-216).

2.4 Why Nigeria has not been able to Benefit Immensely from ECOWAS

Each nation in the globe is a member of a variety of international organizations in order to advance one or more causes. Nigeria is not an exception to this rule because she belongs to numerous international organizations, including the Commonwealth of Nations, ECOWAS, UNESCO, the United Nations, and the African Union. That's what inspired Nigeria to propose the notion of a regional West African organization. In 1975, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as it is known today, was born out of this concept.

When ECOWAS was established as an international organization in Africa, Nigeria was a key player. Nigeria has been a member of ECOWAS since 1985, however the advantages have not outweighed the costs by a substantial margin. Nigeria is anticipated to gain the most from ECOWAS activities given the position it holds and the part it played in the organization's founding and growth. In contrast to her enormous contributions to the expansion and development of ECOWAS, Nigeria has not reaped enough benefits from the organization, according to the research findings cited above.

In support of this, Temitope and Seriki (2017, p. 54-65) assert that “Nigerian society has not benefited materially from its support for other African nations. The vast majority of Nigerians are instead marginalized in contrast to Nigeria's assistance to African nations.” The challenge is in transforming Nigeria's varied resources, which have come under fire for being used to assist African states into effective national expansion.

Ojeme (2022), asserts that “Nigeria unquestionably holds a prominent position within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Both the ECOWAS

headquarters and parliament are located in Nigeria. Given that Nigeria is home to more than 50% of the ECOWAS population, this is understandable. Nigeria has a GDP that exceeds the sum of the GDPs of the other ECOWAS nations. Nigeria actually makes up the lion's share of the ECOWAS budget each year. Nigeria has made the largest community levy payment of any member state since the organization's founding more than 1.177 billion USD to ECOWAS in the past 16 years” (Ojeme, 2022, p. 175).

Orizu (2022, p. 1-10) also pointed out that “despite Nigeria's enormous financial contributions to ECOWAS, the nation and its people have not greatly benefited. Nigeria has provided power to member states, made medical advancements, and supported peacekeeping efforts in member states such as the Gambia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, and Liberia, among others” (Thisday Newspaper, 2022).

The value of ECOWAS for Nigeria is inevitably questioned given the dominance of the Nigerian economy relative to the other ECOWAS states and its correspondingly large financial responsibilities (among other things), according to Orizu (2022, p. 1-10), “who also noted the need to evaluate the benefits and contributions of ECOWAS towards the socio-economic development of Nigeria and Nigerians over the past ten years. In an effort to create a market that is no larger than half the size of Nigeria, numerous regional integration plans have been formed in Africa” (Thisday Newspaper, 2022). Furthermore, Nigeria's domestic industrial production is woefully inadequate to meet the enormous demands of its own market, let alone to support major exports to nearby ECOWAS nations.

Some people have come to the conclusion as a result of this that Nigeria does not require ECOWAS, at least not right away. There is a general perception that Nigeria only really gains headaches from ECOWAS. This has been made worse by recent events at ECOWAS, where it appears that other member states have come to an

agreement to virtually exclude Nigerians from any employment prospects at the commission.

Experts have outlined a few reasons, though, why Nigeria has not been able to fully profit from her enormous contribution to the creation and growth of ECOWAS in Africa. There are different arguments put up by some professionals. These include:

2.4.1 Lack of Suitable Basic Infrastructure

ECOWAS has huge economic benefits for Nigeria's development. Nigeria's ability to accomplish this was hindered, if not impossible, by the sub-lack regions of fundamental infrastructure that would encourage domestic economic development. Nigeria possesses all the necessary resources to dominate the sub-economy regions. The leaders of the nation, however, have not demonstrated a willingness to making use of ECOWAS as an addition of Nigeria's economic progress. Nigeria's economy, which is naturally fragile and heavily dependent on crude oil as its main export, has in many ways inhibited the country from expressing itself economically in the sub-region. Furthermore, "the absence of dependable power is one of the major issues pointing to why Nigeria is having difficulty economically expressing itself in the sub-region. By using ECOWAS as a platform for economic development, the Nigerian state, its people, and commercial enterprises would benefit as much as possible from the sub-region once all of these difficulties have been overcome. (Fawole 2002, p. 366- 371).

2.4.2 Non-Tariff Barriers Trade Policy

“Non-tariff barriers are a significant hurdle keeping Nigerian government from fully using the economic potential of the ECOWAS. The biggest obstacles to West African trade and integration are non-tariff barriers. Imported goods are not subject to tariffs in ECOWAS member states during formal trade. As a result, products like automobiles, manufactured products, chemicals, machinery, drinks, cereals and

tobacco are imported into Benin and then re-exported to Nigeria” (Fawole, 2002, p. 366- 371). Meanwhile, “Nigeria's export quantity or volume to the ECOWAS area, which represented an average of almost 7% of its overall exports between 2001 and 2006, fell to just 2.3% in 2010. Nigeria's imports from other ECOWAS nations decreased as well, from 4.4% in 2009 to less than 0.5% in 2010” (Fawole, 2000, p. 20-40). In addition, “just 2% of the overall Nigeria exports and 3% of the overall imports are within the region or area. Nonetheless, this makes it challenging for Nigeria to leverage the ECOWAS market as an engine for economic growth” (Fawole, 2000, p. 20-40)

2.4.3 Administrative Bureaucracy and Endemic Corruption

Administrative red tape and pervasive corruption are two examples of unofficial non-tariff barriers that hinder trade. Other examples include bureaucracy, corruption in customs procedures, sluggish port operations, and inadequate road and communication infrastructures. Over the years, the negative effects of the unofficial non-tariff barriers have become a significant obstacle for some commercial groups, individuals, and government agencies working to support economic growth or progress in Nigeria from the auxiliary-region (Abiante, 2013, p. 127).

2.4.4 Import Prohibition and Quota Restrictions

Governmental measures like import bans and quota limits are another obstacle preventing Nigeria from reaping significant economic benefits from the success of ECOWAS. “Official (run by the government) and unauthenticated barriers are the two categories of non-trade obstacles. More or almost half of the ECOWAS member states continue to use government-motivated non-tariff barriers as a tool for trade regulation. Contrary to the principles on which ECOWAS was founded, import bans and quota limitation have frequently appeared in the trade policy operation of West African

countries. For instance, Nigeria continues to forbid the import of some goods, even those coming from ECOWAS members” (Egbo, 2003, p. 105-125). As regards sectorial scope, Nigerian import restrictions is extended to a variety of chemicals, rubber, wood, textiles, and agricultural products like fruits, vegetables, grains, meat, and fish.

2.4.5 Disproportionate Gains from the Nigerian Market

“More than 52% of the ECOWAS market is made up of Nigerians. As a result, there are worries that the smaller markets of the other ECOWAS members will benefit them disproportionately at the expense of Nigeria's market, while Nigeria will receive little benefit from this” (Egbo, 2003, p. 105-125).

For example, "concrete economic advantages flowing from its engagement is likely to stay minimal for the predicted future, while the value may continue to be on the high side. However, there is optimism for positive developments in some years to come, such potential increase in intra-ECOWAS trade is a great optimism” (Osundu, 2015, p. 102-104).

The Nigerian government has handled the subject of international organizations as a crucial diplomatic factor ever since Nigeria gained independence in 1960. After gaining independence, Nigeria immediately became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. She then joined the OAU (now the AU), the World Bank, OPEC, UNESCO, etc., and actively participated in the creation of ECOWAS. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Nigerian government has viewed the problem of international organizations as a crucial diplomatic factor. Nigeria soon embraced international organizations like the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. She later joined the OAU (now the AU), the World Bank, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Organization

of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), etc., and actively participated in the creation of ECOWAS. (ECOWAS Report 2007).

Therefore, she has received less benefit than expense from a number of international organizations, of which Nigeria is a member. Due to these circumstances, Nigeria's involvement in and commitment to the ECOWAS cause since August 1985 has given rise to some serious issues. The Murtala/Obasanjo administration, which succeeded General Gowon, pleaded for the support of ECOWAS' ideals, but the administrations of President Shehu Shagari and General Buhari showed little commitment, while succeeding governments up to the current administration have been acting as the organization's father.

What political objectives does Nigeria intend for ECOWAS to achieve, given that Nigeria is primarily responsible for maintaining the existence of the group? Nigeria beyond reasonable doubt, contributed immensely to the upkeep of ECOWAS in the areas of trade (Osundu, 2015, p. 102-104).

Because of the excessive procedure and lopsidedness in the recruiting process, several Nigerian MPs vowed to draft a motion suspending all recruitments during the ECOWAS parliament's first ordinary session in 2022. There is no equivalent return on investment for Nigeria in ECOWAS for all the country has done and is doing for the region, according to the Nigerian MPs, who also underlined the enormous financial obligations that Nigeria makes to the body while devoting resources to its domestic security issues (Agency Report, 2022).

According to the study above, some analysts have explained why Nigeria has not reaped the full rewards of her enormous contributions to the ECOWAS. The essence of Nigeria's foreign policy toward ECOWAS, according to Egbo (2003), “was to consolidate on its developed Afrocentric doctrine of foreign policy that Nigeria was

familiar with in the international arena before the formation of ECOWAS. This was done in order to maintain its resourceful leadership status in the sub-region and Nigeria's oil money gives the country a fresh impetus to maintain neutrality and a non-aligned attitude in world affairs” (Egbo, 2003, p. 105 -125).

The oil revolutions accelerated Nigeria's economic development, and the country now pursues a foreign policy that includes economic expansion into her neighboring African states. As a result, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which is made up of fifteen member states in West Africa, was established in May 1975 (Institute of Army Education, 1977, p. 11-13).

Automobiles, manufactured products, machinery, chemicals, drinks, tobacco, and grains are imported into Benin before being sent back to Nigeria through official trade, (Oche & Charles, 2003, p. 366 –371). But "Nigeria's export to the ECOWAS region, which between 2001 and 2006 averaged around 7% of its total exports, fell to just 2.3% in 2010," according to the report. Additionally, from 4.4 percent in 2009 to less than 0.5 percent in 2010, Nigeria's imports from other ECOWAS countries.” (Fawole, 2002, p. 366-371).

Furthermore, just 3% of imports and 2% of exports from Nigeria are local. As a result, Nigeria finds it challenging to exploit the ECOWAS market as a driver of economic growth. Non-tariff barriers are one of the main obstacles preventing the Nigerian government from utilizing the economic potential of the ECOWAS. The most major hurdles to trade and integration in West Africa are non-tariff ones.

They consist of the government's instruments, such as import restrictions and quotas. The two types of non-trade barriers are official (controlled by the government) and unofficial barriers. More than half of the ECOWAS member nations still utilize non-tariff trade barriers as a means of trade regulation. Import bans and quota restrictions

have repeatedly appeared in the trade policy processes of West African countries, which is at odds with the ideals on which ECOWAS was created. As an illustration, Nigeria still has import restrictions on a variety of products, including those from ECOWAS member states. (Sanda, 2012, p. 409-411).

In terms of sectorial scope, (Sanda, 2012, p. 409-411) stressed that “Nigerian import restrictions have extended to a variety of chemicals, rubber, wood, textiles, and agricultural products like fruits, meat, vegetables, fish and grains”. Bureaucracy, corruption, customs procedures, sluggish port operations, inadequate roads and communication infrastructures, to name just a few unofficial non-tariff barriers, all directly affect trade facilitation.

Over the years, the negative effects of the unofficial non-tariff barriers have become a significant obstacle for some commercial organizations, individuals, and government agencies working to support economic progress in Nigeria from the local administrative unit (sub-region). Since the turn of the millennium, Nigeria has profited from investments that span the sub-region in the field of telecommunications. Nigeria's privately held telecom business, Globalcom, not only serves Nigeria but also certain West African nations including Ghana and the Benin Republic (Aribisala, 2015, p. 2-11).

The economic benefits of ECOWAS for the growth of Nigeria's economy, according to Aribisala (2015), were further argued to be significant. However, Nigeria's ability to achieve this goal was said to be difficult, if not impossible, due to the sub-region's lack of basic infrastructure.

Nigeria does undoubtedly possess the necessary resources to dominate the sub-economy in the area, but the government of the nation has not yet shown that it is committed to using ECOWAS as a means of extending Nigeria's economic

development. Nigeria's domestic economy, which is inherently fragile and heavily dependent on crude oil, has in many ways hindered the country from having a significant economic impact in the sub-region.

Additionally, one of the main problems pointing to why Nigeria is having trouble economically asserting itself in the local administrative unit (sub-region) is the lack of reliable power. By utilizing ECOWAS as a launching pad for economic development, the Nigerian state, its citizens, and corporate organizations will benefit as much as possible from the sub-region by the time all these challenges have been resolved.

2.5 Nigeria's Contribution to the Creation of ECOWAS in the Promotion of Peace and Unity in the African Sub-Region

Many authors have written extensively about Nigeria's involvement in ECOWAS and how it has aided in the organization's growth. "Nigeria has made a significant human and material contribution to the security and peacekeeping efforts in the sub-region of Africa. Africa's continued peace has been made possible in large part thanks to Nigeria as she had sent peacekeepers to several nations driven by conflict" (Yakubu, 2011, p. 101-103).

"The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which served as a mediator in the Liberian civil war, received funding from the Nigerian government which amounted to \$8 billion" (Yakubu, 2011, p. 103). Nigeria served as the impetus for the establishment of ECOMOG and was essential to the restoration of peace and security in a number of nations, notably Sierra Leone and Liberia. More than 70% of the ECOMOG commandants were made up of Nigerian soldiers. Nigeria provided 4,908 soldiers ten battalions out of the 8, 430 total soldiers in February 1995. Nigeria's participation in ECOMOG with its manpower and material resources, though, was

viewed by certain countries in West Africa as having a hegemonic undertone (Ogele, 2022, p. 157).

It is a universal truth in international politics that domestic politics naturally extends to foreign policy (Osuntokun, 2015, p. 73-74). This claim is true since Nigeria's external relations with ECOWAS have been significantly impacted by domestic politics in the years following 1999. In actuality, pressure from the public, the legislature, and the media is more prone to affect democratic and civilian regimes. Because of this, since 1999, Nigeria's approach to similar development during President Olusegun Obasanjo's, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's, and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's regime have been noticeably different from that of the military government of Babangida's, Abacha's, and Abudsalami's. In particular, the military interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone were a burden on Nigeria from ECOWAS (Aworawo, 2011, p. 386-404).

Nigeria did, in fact, play a significant role in efforts to find a long-lasting resolution to the turmoil and divisions that engulfed Cote d'Ivoire when Gbagbo refused to give power to Alassane Ouattara after the latter's election victory in November 2011. The ECOWAS multilateral system was considered by the three succeeding governments of Obasanjo, Yar'Adua, and Jonathan as a possible means of crisis resolution. As a result, Obasanjo worked with President John Kuffor of Ghana to broker a peace agreement that the warring parties ultimately rejected. Therefore, Nigeria's participation in the ECOWAS-mediated resolution of the Ivorian conflict during the Obasanjo administration was restricted to a diplomatic approach (Aworawo, 2011, p. 386-404).

Nigeria therefore declined to take part in the Sub-regional Organization's decision to send a 1,500-strong armed force to join the French soldiers in. Only Benin, Ghana,

Gambia, Togo, and Niger offered ECOWAS soldiers as a result. Similarly, as part of an ECOWAS-led military intervention in Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria has rejected to provide food for its forces. The nation decided to use diplomacy as a substitute. Due to Nigeria's absence from the ECOMOG forces, which also comprised smaller countries, the mission was terminated early after four months (Osuntokun, 2008, p. 141-150).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, when civil wars broke out in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the Nigerian government adopted a very different approach (Sanda, 2012, p. 409- 411). In those circumstances, Nigeria took the lead, sending by far the largest contingent and bearing more than 75% of the operation's costs (Adebajo, 2008, p. 178-180). The governments of Umaru Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan upheld Obasanjo's position on the Ivorian conflict between 2007 and 2015. For starters, Yar'Adua and Jonathan had several obstacles before winning the presidency, and they were busy and occupied with proving their legitimacy and advancing national stability. Jonathan became acting president of Nigeria following Yar'Adua's illness and his subsequent demise (Aworawo, 2011, p. 366-404).

Along with all of this, Nigeria has also experienced its own set of problems, most notably the Boko Haram insurgency, which various leaders have tried to address with varying degrees of success. According to Chikendu (1987), “violent conflicts in Nigeria—whether social, political, or environmental have significantly exacerbated the crisis situation by causing a loss of material and human capital adding that Nigeria has specifically faced a breach of peace from all six geographical zones during the past ten years.”

According to Aligwara (2009), “all these violent conflicts have led to Nigeria's underdevelopment as well as the loss of lives, livelihoods, destruction of infrastructure

and natural resources, and employment opportunities. This directly correlates with a weakened social safety net and a decline in the state's ability to provide services like health, education, and security for the people and in a single judgment, Nigerians' safety, security, and overall good have all been significantly jeopardized” (Aligwara, 2009, p. 101 -102).

Halima (2016), averred that “those who were linked to the causes of the extremity in Nigeria, youths who shared in Boko Haram bellicosity against the Nigerian government did so because they're jobless, some because they're illiterate, and they're motivated by poverty. These youths engaged in Boko Haram activities like bombing private and public installations and killing innocent people believed that in order to enhance the socioeconomic conditions of their citizens and people, it's the duty of the West African countries to concentrate on good administration” (Osundu, 2015, p. 23 - 25).

According to Osundu (2015, p. 23-25), “ECOWAS countries witness lapses in terms of profitable growth and development as a result of poor governance, weak institutions, and problems with security, which are aggravated by severance, corruption, poverty, and the failure of the government to give introductory services to the crowd. Temitope & Seriki (2017, p. 54-65), stated “that the significance of ECOWAS in the change of the region cannot be emphasized. Since its founding, ECOWAS has been a leader in advancing an indigenous strategy for resolving problems with peace and security. The outbreak of civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia forced the indigenous institution to prioritize the creation of peace and security as conditions for indigenous integration, which served as the primary base for its founding.”

Halima (2016), agreed that “ECOWAS is known for having the stylish peace and security armature on the mainland. The surge of bloody civil wars in West Africa

throughout the 1990s gave the region's institution the incitement to produce a workable medium for discouraging, reducing, and precluding a comeback of violence” (Halima, 2016, p. 23-25). To effectively alleviate, help, and guarantee peace and security in the disturbed zones, ECOWAS established a conflict resolution structure that facilitates the conformation and deployment of ECOMOG to carry out peacekeeping duty.

Ogele (2022, p. 157-159) asserts that “peacekeeping is an unprejudiced, Non-violent third- party intervention that acts in agreement with a set of guiding principles, including the cooperation of the parties to the conflict.” The word “peacekeeping” is generally used to relate to operations supported by the UN’s duty with the primary thing of conserving world peace and security. Madyo (2008), defines peacekeeping as a military action that substantially entails bystander operations and smoothly fortified labor force operating in a static mode with the agreement of the parties involved.

In history, keeping peace meant limiting conflicts, enlisting the backing of unprejudiced third parties to settle differences and prevailing combatants to halt conflict. Thus, Sanda (2012) stated that “for a peacekeeping operation to be successful, it must also gain the backing of the transnational community, including indigenous and sub-regional associations like the African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the United Nations (UN)” (Sanda, 2012, p. 409-411). “The ECOWAS monitoring force (ECOMOG), which Nigeria led in the 1990s to resolve the conflict in Liberia and Sierra Leone, was one of the prominent exceptions, spending allegedly between \$8 and \$9 billion. The massive fiscal investments made in the conditioning in the face of the nation's savage poverty are brought into mistrustfulness. Nigeria has nearly nothing to gain from each operation at the end of it” (Ogele, 2022, p. 157-159).

Arguing further, Ogele (2022, p. 157-161), stressed that “changes may have an impact on a region's geographical setting, which has an impact on indigenous, public, and worldwide profitable development.” This is pivotal since the West African sub-regional countries created ECOWAS as an association to advance profitable growth and global integration. But indeed, after numerous times since its founding, the West African nations continue to face colorful difficulties.

In these circumstances, Nigerian authorities made the sensible decision to borrow Obasanjo's strategy of minimum participation in the Ivorian extremity. In particular, during the Obasanjo administration, when importance of the violence in the country took place, some experts on Nigeria's transnational relations say Nigeria's station toward and participation in the resolution of the Cote d'Ivoire Crisis was lower than remarkable. According to Aworawo (2011), “the main determinant factors were the difficulties Nigeria faced as a result of its involvement in the heads in Liberia and Sierra Leone, as well as a significant portion of Nigerian society's negative station against similar wide involvement and in actuality, the Nigerian crowd opposed similar meddling” (Aworawo, 2011, p. 366-404).

Since 1999, Nigeria and ECOWAS have cooperated. This, along with the service's slow progress in Liberia and Sierra Leone, exposed severe sins. Due to his guests in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Obasanjo declined to shoot colors from Nigeria. In other words, Nigeria had grown sick of peacekeeping, and the government's strategy was in line with the general feeling and belief of the crowd.

Upon near examination, it becomes apparent that several of the books deal with ECOWAS's history. There's farther material that discusses specific pretensions Nigeria has tried to negotiate within its frame, but it does not say if she has succeeded or is close to reaching them. Still, the ECOWAS Committee Report (2005) and Owunwa

(1992), show that “the West African Sub-region, anyhow the charges associated with her participation, give inconsistent information as to whether Nigeria is playing a significant part.”

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is an indigenous African association, and Nigeria played a crucial part in its conformation. Since joining ECOWAS in 1985, Nigeria has served for further than it has cost. For instance, Osundu (2015) asserts that “the expenditure may remain high, but the real profitable prices arising from her engagement are likely to remain limited for the foreseeable future.” Nonetheless, there's a stopgap for favorable developments in the coming times, including a rise in intra-ECOWAS trade” (Osundu, 2015, p. 102-104).

Since its independence in 1960, Nigeria's government has seen transnational groups as a significant politic factor. Soon after attaining independence, Nigeria joined the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. She latterly joined the World Bank, UNESCO, OPEC, the OAU (now the AU), and other associations, and she played a caviling part in the creation of ECOWAS. West Africa's indigenous integration process was underway in May 1975 with the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The passion and dedication of the stronger members have always been vital to ECOWAS' success. Really, Nigeria is the most potent member (Adepoju, 2005, p. 28).

CHAPTER 3

NIGERIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECOWAS

The contributions of Nigeria in the development of ECOWAS are discussed in this chapter by pointing out the part played by Nigeria in the development of international organization in Africa and also the relationship between ECOWAS and other international organization such as OPEC and the United Nations.

3.1 The Part Played by Nigeria in the Development of International Organizations in Africa, Particularly ECOWAS

There has been a lot of writing about Nigeria's part in ECOWAS. The history of ECOWAS is a central theme in several of the publications, according to a critical analysis of this. Again, there are fresh notations concerning specific pretensions Nigeria has tried to negotiate within its frame without demonstrating whether she has succeeded in achieving them or is on the verge of doing so. Still, there are reports that question whether or not Nigeria is taking the lead in the West African Sub- region, disregarding the charges she must pay as a condition of her class, analogous as in the ECOWAS (Committee Report, 2005).

Explaining more on the Nigeria immense contribution to ECOWAS, Owunwa (1992) added that "Nigeria plainly contributed significantly to the establishment of ECOWAS and numerous other African associations. History demonstrates that Nigeria had a significant part in the creation and foundation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As beforehand as 1964, the Nigerian government had contemplated creating an Economic Community of West Africa." Nigeria participated significantly in the processes that led to the establishment of ECOWAS, starting with the conferences held between 1966 and 1968 to produce the Economic Commission

for Africa (ECA) for African profitable cooperation. Nigeria and Guinea were chosen at the Monrovia peak in 1968 to study the areas of cooperation that should be prioritized among the actors and to advance profitable cooperation in Africa.

The study was submitted in 1969 but was not taken into consideration, mainly due to the lack of a strong and effective sub-indigenous leadership in West Africa of that time directly after its civil war ended in 1970, Nigeria revived interest in a West African Economic Community (Owunwa, 1992).

The Gowon administration first wrote to the other West African countries to ask for their backing in establishing the Economic Community, starting with a review of the Nigeria- Guinea Report from 1969. The response was underwhelming despite Gowon's particular politic intervention. As a result, Nigeria and Togo agreed to adopt a reasonable and practical station in a pact that was signed in 1972 and was appertained to as the "Embryo of West African Economic Community" by President Eyadema. The process of putting the generality of sub-indigenous union into practice actually began with this (Odey, 2005, p. 200-203).

Nigeria renewed interest in a West African Economic Community nearly directly after its civil war ended in 1970. Starting with a review of the Nigeria- Guinea Report from 1969, the Gowon administration firstly wrote to the other West African nations to request their support in forming the Economic Community. Despite Gowon's private politic intervention, the response was miserable. As a result, in a deal reached in 1972 and appertained to by President Eyadema as the " Embryo of West African Economic Community," Nigeria and Togo agreed to take a reasonable and practical position. This actually marked the morning of the process of bringing the idea of sub-indigenous union into effect. At its conference in Accra in October 1972, the confederation

espoused a resolution on the establishment of the Economic Community (Odey, 2005, p. 123).

On May 28, 1975, 15 West African nations gathered in Lagos, Nigeria, to subscribe the ECOWAS Treaty, also appertained to as the Lagos Treaty. The fifteen nations included Benin, Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), Coted'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea- Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. To encourage cooperation and integration among West African nations and eventually produce a profitable and fiscal union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Treaty was established. Two times subsequently, in 1977, Cape Verde became the sixteenth member of ECOWAS. The Nigerian government's part in the creation of the association, as well as the group's successes and difficulties, will be critically assessed in this study of Nigeria's donation to the development of ECOWAS.

The analysis done by Halima (2016) revealed that “Nigeria continues to remain vital and relevant in the scheme of things among African heads. As a former head of state and special representative to President Buhari, Olusegun Obasanjo demonstrated recently in his efforts to end the conflict in Guinea Bissau and similarly, Vice President Osinbajo also acted as Nigeria's representative to secure a popular government in Burkina Faso” (Halima, 2016, p. 23-25).

One of the important findings, according to Halima (2016), is that Nigeria is seen as a model for other nations to imitate. This cooperation might be distributed as crossbred because it acts on African enterprises without staying for others to do so. On the base of this, Halima (2016) contends that Nigeria, when compared to the United States and China in terms of military and profitable power as well as global influence, can't be regarded a hegemony because this might be connected to Nigeria's incapacity to

successfully change the root of the global system as a result of ignorance” (Halima, 2016, p. 23-25).

Halima (2016) further reveals that “since its foundation, Nigeria has made the highest financial contributions among all ECOWAS members. For instance, Nigeria contributed more than 177 billion USD in Community Levy payments since the inception of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). According to the documents the ECOWAS Commission presented to the Parliament's Plenary at its fictitious alternate extraordinary session, Nigeria handed UA (West African Unit of Account) for the time period under discussion. The West African Unit of Account is the sanctioned currency of ECOWAS (WAUA). One unit of account equals to \$1.3799633 in agreement with the July ECOWAS exchange rate. With the exception of Ghana and Togo, Nigeria's payment, which represents 40.42 percent of the total payment made by the 15 member countries, exceeds those 12 countries combined (West Africa, 1991).

The Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TACS) program, which was launched in 1987 and aims to share Nigeria's experience with beneficiary nations by deploying young Nigerian professionals based on requirements provided by participating countries, is one more way that Nigeria has contributed to the West African sub-region (Ola, 2011, p. 27). It should go without saying that for those who benefit from it, this program is a distinctive and innovative catalyst for peace, progress, and growth.

"The TAC scheme has been instrumental in promoting cooperation between Nigeria and the ACP countries. It is the only operational volunteer technical service program in Africa. The program disproves the widely believed belief that African countries only receive assistance, not give it.” (Ola, 2011, p. 27). In fact, a number of foreign organizations have expressed interest in the TACS. The Commonwealth and the

Nigerian government signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2003. The Commonwealth Assistance Program (CAP), which assists 63 underdeveloped member states and is run by the Directorate of TACS in Nigeria, is required by the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to receive expertise from Nigeria. Both the Japanese Agency for International Cooperation (JAIC) and the United Nations Volunteer Service have shown interest in TACS (Ola, 2011, p. 28).

The goal of this program is to supplement Nigeria's existing aid programs for disadvantaged countries. Nigeria has continued the concept, sending young professionals to impoverished African countries. The two-year period is extended upon request from the beneficiary states. The host nations are required to provide the participants with lodging and local transportation, but Nigeria is responsible for the participants' monthly salary. Up until this point, interested African states have continued to support the initiative (Fawole, 2002, p. 366-371).

Nigeria once again demonstrated its desire in regional cohesion by supporting ECOWAS. The organization was established out of concern for the shared interests of the member states, which would improve intra-sub-regional economic, technical, and political cooperation, lessen enduring and frequent political and boundary disputes, ensure member states a more respectable position in international society, encourage coordinated development, and reduce their dependence on foreign powers (West Africa, 1979).

As a result, Nigeria has taken ECOWAS since its founding in 1975 to aid other West African member states. This position is supported by the fact that the organization's annual dues make up more than a third of its whole budget (Fawole, 2002, p. 366-371). In a similar vein, the OAU was chaired by Nigeria at the time the African Economic Community Treaty was signed in Abuja in June 1991. (West Africa, 1991).

The African plenipotentiaries' visit to Abuja and their agreement to the founding of the AEC were both made possible by Nigerian diplomacy. The idea was that working together will prevent many African economies from being completely left behind in terms of development since they are too small and weak to do so on their own (West Africa, 1991). Due to Nigeria's diplomatic efforts, a record number of 30 heads of state, 48 foreign ministers, and three vice presidents were present in Abuja in 1991 for the signing of the AEC Treaty (West Africa, 1991).

Actually, the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action and its accompanying Final Act of Lagos supported the creation of an African Economic Community (West Africa, 1991). The strong anti-apartheid rhetoric and the threat to censure Gulf Oil for failing to pay royalties to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government in Lauda are two examples of Nigerian measures in support of African states that have actually jeopardized the country's interests.

Temitope and Seriki (2017, p. 54-65) came to the conclusion that “Nigerian society has not benefited much from its support for African nations. Instead, Nigeria's assistance to African nations is contrasted with the marginalization of the vast majority of Nigerians.” There is a challenge in converting Nigeria's various resources which have come under fire for being utilized to support African states into beneficial national prosperity, creative social engineering, committed and deliberate governance is required for this” (Seriki, 2017, p. 54-65).

In contrast, Temitope and Seriki (2017, p. 54-56) submitted that “Nigeria would require innovative and transformative leadership at all levels of society to achieve this. A dedicated leadership that is ready to give up personal gain for the good of the larger good and it may be time for Nigeria to make the welfare of its people the main and ultimate objective of its foreign policy.”

Nigeria was one of the first members to approve the free zone and trade policy. The implementation of the trade liberalization program and the elimination of tariffs are to blame for this. Such as inadequate transportation and communication infrastructure in member nations, issues with the local currency, rivalry with other sub-regional economic unions, etc.

There has been a lot of writing about Nigeria's role in ECOWAS. The history of ECOWAS is a central theme in several of the publications, according to a critical analysis of this. Again, there are additional writings concerning specific goals Nigeria has attempted to accomplish within its framework without demonstrating whether she has succeeded in achieving them or is on the verge of doing so.

ECOWAS Committee Report (2005) and Owunwa (1992) are two publications that discuss whether or not Nigeria is leading the West African sub-region without taking into account the costs associated with her membership duty. Nigeria was a key player in the establishment of ECOWAS as an international body in Africa. It is clear that Nigeria's benefits from membership in ECOWAS since 1985 have not outweighed the expense. For example, "concrete economic advantages flowing from her engagement are likely to stay minimal for the foreseeable future, while the cost may continue to be on the high side. However, there is optimism for positive developments in the next years, such as a potential increase in intra-ECOWAS trade", (Osundu, 2015, p. 102-104). According to Osundu, (2015, p. 102-106) "the Nigerian government has handled the subject of international organizations as a crucial diplomatic factor ever since Nigeria gained independence in 1960. After gaining independence, Nigeria immediately became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. She then joined the OAU (now the AU), the World Bank, UNESCO, OPEC, etc., and actively participated in the creation of ECOWAS.

However, over time, both the Nigerian government's priority placed on the various international organizations of which Nigeria is a member and her involvement in them have altered. This is understandable given that some of them have significantly benefited her survival and development, while others have endangered her independence in the process of providing assistance to her. While professing to help her, other groups have taken more from her than they have given, and yet other organizations have forced the Nigerian government to spend a lot of money and people on issues that did not seem to be of any immediate material benefit to Nigerians (ECOWAS Report, 2007).

In other words, Nigeria has received less benefit than expense from some international organizations, of which she is a member. These facts led to some major doubts being raised about Nigeria's involvement in and dedication to the ECOWAS since the Babangida administration in August 1985. Recall that while the Murtala/Obasanjo administration, which succeeded General Gowon's, pleaded for the support of ECOWAS ideals, the regimes of President Shehu Shagari and General Buhari displayed little commitment, while subsequent governments up to the current administration have been acting as the organization's father. What political objectives does Nigeria intend to achieve through ECOWAS, for which it is primarily responsible for maintaining the organization's existence? Without a doubt, Nigeria has made significant trade-related contributions to the maintenance of ECOWAS.

3.2 Empirical Review

Many academics have studied the history of Nigeria's relationship with ECOWAS in order to determine how Nigeria has benefited from the organization, how Nigeria has helped ECOWAS promote peace and unity in the African sub-region, and

how Nigeria has contributed to the growth of organizations like ECOWAS. Here, a selection of these professors' works is discussed.

3.3 Benefits of ECOWAS to Nigeria

The high goals of ECOWAS include promoting economic integration in all areas of endeavor, particularly in business, industry, transportation, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, trade, monetary and financial policies, social and cultural issues. The ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET) could be viewed as a precursor to a regional union based on the harmonization and convergence of member states' national fiscal, monetary, and trade policies in order to achieve economic integration by the 15-nation economic community with a combined population of approximately 500 million. The common tariff rate that each union member agrees to apply to imports of products from outside the union is known as the common external tariff.

Since Nigeria is an ECOWAS member, all imports into Nigeria must adhere to the CET 2015-2019 and 2015 Fiscal Measures rates without resorting to the rates in effect before the adoption of the ECOWAS CET 2015 and 2019. Much later, in order to further its objectives, ECOWAS pushed for CET adoption among its members. By strengthening its customs union and creating a market with a potential consumer base of 320 million people, the sub-region will, practically speaking, gain an advantage over smaller rivals. The CET also calls for the abolition of the export and import ban lists, import levies, import tax waivers, and national control over tariff policy.

It is simple to draw the conclusion that Nigeria will very likely crash-land into the highly anticipated customs union, losing the advantage of its mass market to its tiny neighbors. Infrastructure conditions in Nigeria are still far from ideal, and in many cases worse than those in smaller sub-regional countries. Security issues are also out

of control. Some stakeholders are right when they claim that the advantages of CET will increase turnover because of a bigger domestic market, the expansion of the industrial sector in member states thanks to greater economies of scale, higher production and productivity, higher capital accumulation, and the bolstering of national institutions thanks to peer learning among members.

Additionally, Nigeria has supported specific programs to promote African economic integration and development, as Dunmoye (2011) argues, and has been devoted to economic cooperation among Member States. A Nigerian trust fund was formed by the African Development Bank in 1976. The fund was designed to aid the OAU's less developed countries, and more than 30 member states have benefited from it” (Dunmoye, 2011, p. 254).

Chamber (2018) asserts that “the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is working assiduously to achieve its vision of a borderless West African region where people can freely access the vast resources of the area and utilize them by creating opportunities in a sustainable environment. However, resources in the area are not distributed fairly, just like resources elsewhere. Countries vary in terms of population and market size, territory, and the abundance of natural resources, as well as in the size of their Gross Domestic Products (GDPs) and the purchasing power of their national currencies; and these elements have sparked worries that inclusion in a common trading area would provide smaller nations with an unfair advantage over their larger rivals” (Chamber, 2018, p. 5-6).

According to Chamber (2018), ECOWAS offers Nigeria tremendous economic benefits. Many of these advantages have yet to be experienced because of the ECOWAS initiative's delayed progress. It goes without saying that ECOWAS members must demonstrate a better dedication to the group by honoring their financial

obligations on time, approving and carrying out decisions in a timely manner, and placing the group's interests ahead of those of rival organizations. The ECOWAS project will not be fully effective until Nigeria and the other members are able to benefit the most from the organization (Chamber, 2018, p. 7).

The benefits of joining a trade union, according to Pillay (2016, p. 27), “include access to bigger markets, economies of scale, foreign capital and technology, and tax harmonization to reduce harmful tax competition. Madyo (2008) also averred that “these advantages might be static or dynamic using Carbaugh as support, the main advantages of regional trade unions are those connected to customer welfare and production efficiency” (Pillay, 2016, p. 27). As a result of lower or zero tariffs, for instance, output will rise, and the cost of goods will decrease. On the other hand, regional trade unions benefit significantly from the expanded markets brought about by the bloc's free movement of goods and services. Price stability, reduced transaction costs, investment security, heightened competitiveness, large-scale economies, and factor productivity are a few of them.

Nigeria has benefited from its membership in ECOWAS in a number of ways, and further gains are anticipated in the future. According to Kazeem (2019), Nigeria has enjoyed some of the benefits from ECOWAS which he highlighted as follow:

3.3.1 Increased Commerce and Customer Choice

Zero tariffs on commodities transported between member states stimulate trade, boost profits, and most importantly, increase consumer choice in Nigeria.

3.3.2 Increased Tax Revenue

Nigerian consumers profit from more competitive product markets, the government gains from higher Value Added Tax (VAT) collections as a result of more commercial activity.

3.3.3 Strengthening her Political and Economic Institutions

Within the bloc, the use of national currencies in trade and non-trade operations has resulted in significant savings in the use of Nigeria's foreign reserves. This allows the country's dollar reserve to be put to better use for other critical needs. ECOWAS supports Nigerian multinational corporations to expand by liberalizing the services industry. (Kazeem, 2019, 22 -24).

3.3.4 Keeping Nigeria's Foreign Reserves Safe

Nigeria's foreign reserves have been far less heavily utilized within the bloc as a result of the usage of national currencies in both trade and non-trade operations. This enables the nation's dollar reserve to be used more effectively for other pressing needs. Nigerian multinational firms are encouraged by ECOWAS to grow through liberalizing the services sector.

Kazeem (2019) quoting Madyo (2008) points out, trade union participation may pose some obstacles to member countries, which includes Nigeria in the following instances:

3.3.5 Reduced Sovereignty

Nigeria is a signatory to several agreements as an ECOWAS member, some of which may conflict with the nation's present policy aims. As a result, the government is left without its own economic policy tools, and Nigerians must bear the financial costs associated with fulfilling ECOWAS obligations. Since petroleum products are subsidized in Nigeria, arbitrageurs acquire petroleum products at the subsidized market price in Nigeria, resell them at a higher price in regional markets, and as a result, there is a shortage of petroleum products in Nigeria (Kazeem, 2019, p. 22-24).

3.3.6 Gains from the Nigerian Market are Disproportionate

More than 52% of the market in ECOWAS is made up of Nigerians. There are concerns that other ECOWAS nations may gain unfairly at the expense of the Nigerian market as a result, while Nigeria will gain nothing from these smaller markets (Kazeem, 2019, p. 22-24).

3.3.7 Asymmetry in the Bloc's Economic Strengths of Currencies

Due to the economic strength of the Nigerian Naira, which is stronger than the majority of the currencies of the other ECOWAS member countries, exports of manufactured goods from Nigeria to these other countries are overly expensive and less competitive. As a result, the majority of Nigerian trade which consists mostly of finished goods rather than raw materials and other intermediary goods takes place inside the region (Kazeem 2019, p. 22-24)

Kazeem (2019) further asserts that “the advantages of joining regional trade bloc and trade liberalization far outweigh any barriers or potential difficulties that such membership would present.” However, Osondu (2015), reveals that “Nigeria's involvement in the creation of ECOWAS since 1975 has not been beneficial to the nation in commensurate to the number of contributions and efforts she has made towards of development of ECOWAS adding that Nigeria's economy and population suffer as a result of the nation's substantial payments to ECOWAS, which far surpass those of all other member states put together.”

The question that needs to be answered from this perspective is how Nigeria can make the most of the advantages of her participation in ECOWAS. To retain its negotiating position in this regard, the nation should enhance the environment for both domestic and foreign investment, stabilize the economy, and continue to boost its

competitiveness within the bloc. Beyond avoiding the negative effects of local labor unions, this drive to become more competitive exists.

3.4 Benefits of the Economic Laws

Authors claim that Nigeria's intention to sponsor and join ECOWAS is very much in line with the basic right protocol and that the country has already begun to fulfill these expectations in terms of the economic advantages of the right. Nigeria has made direct investments in other Community Member States' secondary industries, food production, and raw material production. Nigeria, for instance, to meet its domestic demand for iron ore for its iron and steel industries, has invested in the production of iron ore in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea.

Despite the country's public denial, it has been asserted that Nigeria's sizeable iron ore deposits in Liberia were one of the reasons it funded and organized the ECOMOG to engage in that country's conflict in the 1990s. Since 1978, Nigeria has provided petroleum products to a number of the organization's members in an effort to meet their domestic energy demands and develop Nigeria's oil market, including Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Benin, Togo, and Ghana. Additionally, to aid community members with their mobility concerns and to advance Nigerian trade, Nigeria exports automobiles made there by Peugeot, Volkswagen, Leyland, and Mercedes (Ezenwa, 1985, 14-31)

The West African Gas Pipeline Project (WAGPP), which was finished in 2000, has also allowed Nigeria to start exporting gas to Benin, Togo, and Ghana. Political analysts have stressed the benefits the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) provided for Nigeria's economy, saying that we (Nigerians in the sub-region) now understand that the (market) integration offered by ECOWAS may be found in our ability to sustain economic growth, which depends only on ourselves. Since the trade

liberalization initiative started in January (1990), Nigeria has designated a variety of products as being eligible for export to other nations in the local administrative unit (sub-region).

Meetings with the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria are planned in order to encourage more of their members to participate in the program. The plan includes an import duty that the importing nation forfeits via the (ECOWAS) Secretariat. In addition to ensuring that the importing nation does not suffer losses due to intra-regional trade, this will allow our products to travel more freely and with drastically lower duties within the sub-region. So, in my opinion, this will expand the market for Nigerian products (Ezenwa, 1984, p. 14-31).

The Nigerian government's plans state that the ETLS has actually increased the market for Nigerian goods across all of West Africa. Examining Nigeria's trade volume and patterns prior to the establishment of the ECOWAS in 1975 and the ETLS in 1990 can bring attention to this fact. For instance, in 1970, Nigeria bought commodities at a rate of 85.2% from established nations, compared to 8.3% from rising nations and 0.1% from Africa. She exported 89.6% of her products to industrialized countries, 7.3% to third-world countries, 0.7% to developing countries, and 0.7% to other African countries in the same year. Intra-African trade was exceedingly low prior to the establishment of ETLS. Eight countries' exports to other West African countries totaled less than 10%; the lowest percentages were for Sierra Leone (0.4%), the Gambia (0.8%), Nigeria (0.7%), Ghana (1.2%), and Liberia (0.2%). West Africa imported little more than 10 million USD worth of goods (Ezenwa, 1985, p. 14-31).

Re-exports made up the majority of trade, which largely took place between neighboring nations. Except for Nigeria, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire, very few West African nations engaged in trade with more than five other members of the continent;

instead, they preferred to focus on their immediate neighbors. But with the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 and the ensuing adoption of ETLs, a system developed in Nigeria, in 1990, the historically marginal importance of intra-West African trade history has been rendered obsolete. Imports and exports into and out of the ECOWAS member states have grown in quantity and value.

Nigeria's imports from other ECOWAS Member States increased from 14 million USD in 1989 to 44 million USD in 1993 to 98 million USD and 120 million USD, respectively, in 1996 and 1997. Nigeria's exports increased during the time from 456 million USD to 592 million USD, 618 million USD, and 699 million USD. Additionally, trade between ECOWAS member states has grown significantly. Over the same time periods, the country's exports climbed from 444 million USD to 720 million USD and 817 million USD, while its imports of goods from other West African countries increased from 44 million USD to 550 million USD in 1993 and 597 million USD in 1996.

It is also vital to emphasize how the primary trade goods have evolved in terms of composition and structure in addition to increasing in quantity. Manufacturing activities were primarily concentrated on the manufacture of plant and animal oils and fats, as well as various types of food processing, preparations meat, dangerous goods, and fish processing also, prior to the founding of the ETLs. However, with ETLs in place, manufactured goods and mineral resources now make up the majority of trade items (Ezenwa, 1984, 14-31).

Ezenwa (1984) described how the advantages were accounted for in the policy statements as follows: The freedom of movement of people inside the sub-region is the first. Since Nigerians are well known for their entrepreneurial spirit, we in Nigeria account for more than half of ECOWAS' population. He predicts that many Nigerians

will travel abroad to find employment once there is free movement of people throughout the sub-region. They will start enterprises, start farms, and operate in a larger area, all of which he believed would be very beneficial. They will not only make money for themselves abroad, but one would anticipate that eventually they will begin to send money back home in support of trade liberalization plans. Several goods from Nigeria are recognized as eligible for distribution to other sub-regional nations. (Ezenwa, 1984, p.14-31)

However, there are significant challenges facing the ECOWAS Market Integration Scheme, such as the extortion of citizens by border guards, the imposition of unlawful customs fees on goods, bribery, the infringement of people's socioeconomic rights, and the lack of a common currency. With these barriers, Nigeria's participation in the ECOWAS Market Integration Scheme has not yielded significantly to economic benefit of the nation and its people.

In spite of all these, it is obvious that Nigeria has not been able to benefit maximally from ECOWAS despite the organization being especially created for the growth of Africa. In reality, Nigeria continues to make great effort with a wide range of problems which include insecurity, poverty, inconsistent policies, and bad governance.

3.5 Detrimental Effects of Nigeria's Relationship with ECOWAS in Relations to OPEC

According to Onuoha and Akogwu (2022), Nigeria has maintained its leadership position in ECOWAS by advancing its interests to give the organization the necessary resources and to lead the organization strategically and financially. However, this is due to several factors, some of which are negative, such as insecurity, Nigerian delegates' absences and carefree demeanour. This implies that to some extent; Nigeria has not derived a full benefit from the commission.

Given that it obscured Nigerian voices and perspectives during such deliberations, in addition to causing organizational disassociation about the conversations and choices on important issues of significance to the country. As a result, there have been persistent allegations that Nigeria's participation in the commission's conferences was frequently eliminated from the closing minutes about these debates.

Ngara (2022), states that Nigeria has been unable to fully capitalize on its dominant perspective to accomplish a number of its sincere ambitions within the framework of ECOWAS due to persisting internal discrepancies like poor administration, and ideological influence of political figures. As such, Nigeria's poor governance, nepotism, and domestic inability have led more participants, such as individuals who have benefited from her benevolence, to wonder if Nigeria deserves to be referred to as the dominant country in the region.

Garba and Yeboah (2022), argues that Nigeria's capacity for management at the sub-regional level has been weakened by the absence of strong leadership at home. As a result, some nations challenge Nigeria's validity in sub-regional affairs. Only a handful of the nations that benefited from Nigeria's efforts are unwilling to support Nigeria under dire circumstances.

Findings from Garba and Yeboah (2022), revealed that Nigerian authorities have frequently adopted poorly planned strategies to solve the country's financial and safety problems without first resolving the politically liberal climate that encourages these sorts of problems. This is due to a lack of tactical and prospective leadership.

This indicates, however, that Nigeria should exercise determined management in delivering ideas to a number of the Commission's issues, such as inadequate solidarity impose payment, unshared-monetized fiscal and economic regulations, slow pace of locale equipment approval.

Nigeria is home to a large, well-informed, and technologically proficient millennial demographic. The nation has been deprived of the chance to use its relative advantages of an extensive sector and a tech-savvy populace to set a course toward establishing a sustainable knowledge-based society due to the authorities' short-sightedness. Undoubtedly, a based-on-expertise market reduces the proactive weakness brought on by mono-economic rentiers, which encourage dishonesty and idleness. Furthermore, eliminating many of the internal dispute that feeds the nation's fragile state depends on finding a fiscal solution. The Nigerian government needs to act quickly to address the systemic flaws in the electoral process, including widespread nepotism, poor governance, and rising uncertainty, amongst others.

As opposed to ECOWAS Since joining OPEC in 1971, Nigeria has benefited from several of the organization's accomplishments and has acquired advantages that might have been extremely challenging, if not impracticable, to get from the oil firms on an individual basis (Okeke, 2018, p. 63).

Olumide (2018), identifies that the more effective preservation strategy, raised investigation of oil, higher royalty prices, and petroleum-based substances taxation, and the use of industrial and service agreements in place of the typical concessionary framework for running the energy sector are some of these. Nigeria's electoral standing in the international community has risen as a result of its participation in OPEC. This indicates that it is capable to play pivotal positions in African leadership owing to the oil industry's ability to promote her as an influential person on the continent.

As an OPEC member, Nigeria has been successful in fostering relationships with other emerging economies and keeping a unified position among itself on all international subjects of shared interest. Nigeria has reaped enormous benefits from involvement in OPEC due to its commitment to global prosperity and the idea of cooperation amongst

countries through OPEC. The argument that Nigeria should leave OPEC is arguably most persuasive when it comes to both quality and price, arguing that, in the absence of OPEC constraints, she will be liberated to regulate the cost and choose the number of her petroleum products to correspond with marketplace demands.

It presumes that the market for Nigeria's petroleum products has excessively high price and earnings its flexibility of requirements; that other OPEC participants, especially Tunisia and Saudi Arabia, will remain withdrawn beyond OPEC which may be successful in transforming into a price determiner as opposed to a valued follower.

3.6 Relationship Between ECOWAS and The European Union

The European Union (EU) is regarded as the most significant political and fiscal force currently in existence. The EU's goal, as stated in the Lisbon Strategy and the Strategy 2020, is to become the greatest economic power in the globe, a market whose impact relies on the electoral power of each member country and its background in the global marketplace. Nigeria's abundant resources ensure the nation's growth and leadership position in the area. Since the Treaty of Lagos was signed in 1975, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has dominated the region's economy (Aniche et al., 2022). However, Çelik et al. (2023), found that all attempts at growth in economics have the potential to fail because of a volatile political environment that generates multiple, protracted confrontations.

According to Aniche et al. (2022), Since the 1990s, there have arisen an increasing number of global safety concerns in this area; among them are the effects of the West African countries losing sovereignty over the areas they govern. Local extremist and terrorist organisations' growth is impacted by this.

Jammeh (2022), states that Political unrest encourages the illicit trade of funding, illicit substances, and weaponry while also fostering immigration. An international world,

particularly the European Union, has turned its attention specifically to the West African region as a result of these challenges. This corroborates with Çelik et al. (2023), findings that the frameworks of the EU's political and economic interactions with the various African nations and areas are beginning to emerge against the backdrop of the development of national African organizations and the EU.

Jammeh (2022), asserts that the West Africa has been posing a threat to the European nations because of its uncertain political environment. The EU faces significant problems from illegal economic flows, drug trafficking, illegal fishing, and the emergence of terrorist organizations. As a result, there is a noticeable resurgence relevant in the vicinity, as seen by the EU's rules, regulations, and tactical orientation. The main tool for controlling complying business between the EU and the African countries is bilateral economic treaties. The West African nations' concern that removing import restrictions could affect the developing regions has put a stop to the negotiations. When the West African nations came to an understanding on a trade bloc two years ago, discussions were able to move on once more (Müller, 2022).

Nkansah et al. (2022), state that members like Ghana and the Republic of Ivory Coast, ECOWAS contributed to the harmonization of the laws. The ECOWAS member nations of West Africa are now the most developed bloc in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) discussions. The primary declaratory premise of the new laws is a progressive and over-time transition of the ECOWAS-EU interactions from their present reliance into a collaborative relationship in commerce, considering the account of the enactment of EPA in West Africa.

The deals are intended to support regional economic development and diversity, preferably in practice. However, there are issues related to the two socioeconomic regions' disparate growth (Nkansah et al., 2022). Aniche et al. (2022), States that

despite the EU's approval of the ECOWAS nations' use of some safety measures to safeguard the newly established sectors of the economy as well as delicate goods, such worry about the countries' economic reliance stopped the nations from implementing the accords. The concept of parallelism is highlighted by the EPA regulations. In addition to the restricted and restrictive reciprocal responsibilities of the West African nations, this entails the full entry of the EU economy. Nevertheless, these nations are helped by the EPA Developmental Project. Because of their weakened industries and inability to contend with major actors on the international stage, Less Developed Country (LDC) nations do not demonstrate that they are comparable partners with the European Union (Aniche et al., 2022).

The West African nations would be compelled to purchase less expensive commodities from the EU since they might be unable to ship their exports to European markets. This could result in the loss of industrial output in the world's impoverished nations and a rise in their reliance on the European Union (Aniche et al., 2022).

Countries that ratify the fresh treaties will be responsible for paying for the reorganization and modernization of many different industries. While shipping delicate commodities or relying on assistance, West African nations are unlikely to foster competitiveness. It is questionable whether they are prepared for a marketplace reopening despite protective measures. The accords have produced significant rewards (Çelik et al., 2022).

The procedure of integrating regions can come to an end if the economies of the nations that must export inexpensive commodities from the EU are fast deteriorating. The governments of West Africa and non-governmental organizations oppose the EPA agreement. It is important to note that most ECOWAS nations currently gain from the benefits that EPAs would bring (Jammeh, 2022). The finest illustration is Sierra Leone,

which enjoys complete access to the European markets except for the movement of armaments.

Consequently, these nations typically don't show an overwhelming commitment to implementing the contract. After additional regulations controlling the entry of EU markets were established, the discussions moved forward more quickly (Jammeh, 2022). Müller (2022), states that the time frame for putting temporary measures into effect has been established. Refusal to meet the deadline will result in the loss of the government's preferred entry to the EU economy, which is currently assured. However, since most of the West African nations are among the most primitive, they will have the chance to qualify for the European Banking Authority position, which ensures quota- and without tariffs trading access to the EU.

Nkansah et al. (2022), state that the establishment of a trading area for commodities, expenditures, and other services represents one of the most significant advantages of the union. Businesses, business owners, and banks that conduct business in the EU markets gain from this, which also contributes to the preservation of economic stability in the area.

Müller (2022), found that a lack of interest exists concerning the source of the items. There is no competitiveness between both places as a result of the diverse items that are traded among themselves regularly. Lower taxes could eventually have an impact on the expense of importing goods from Europe, which might be beneficial for regional companies and industries. By doing so, the economy may expand, more employment could be created, and inequality might be decreased. A marketplace for commodities may grow, the amount of trade could increase, and investor confidence may improve, according to some observers. Rivalry among competitors for a position of a key

associate has a significant impact on how the EU and ECOWAS's relationship develops (Nkansah et al., 2022).

Nigeria's hesitant stance, brought on by its reluctance to forego export levies on commodities and energy-producing supplies, was an adequate reason for criticism. Nigeria was concerned with how the deal might affect some of its most important industries (Jammeh, 2022). Nigeria's perspective was presented at the summits; it was stated that, given its existing status as an economic system that depends extensively on purchases, it would prove unproductive to entirely unlock the market to importation while first improving the nation's factories to be competitive on a global basis. However, the ECOWAS has internal differences as well. Therefore, the dynamics between us and other people have been impacted by socioeconomic differences.

Müller (2022), states that a division of West Africa between those nations that require a framework for free trade to maintain their advantageous status in the markets of the European Union and those that do not have been predicted by the EPA discussions. The behaviour of multiple countries affects the EU's stance regarding West Africa. This circumstance was a byproduct of colonialism and informs the overall strategy of the EU's participation in the area.

Çelik et al. (2023), state that a regulated culmination of the local governance of the EU member states is what is meant by "European engagement." History has a crucial role in the relationships between the EU and West Africa. The mindsets of nowadays are a result of past events. The historical lessons have been utilised by the West African nations as an ideological base for collaboration.

Regional organizations in Africa are becoming more powerful, although their influence in working with the EU has remained little. On the one hand, the EU limits

its involvement in the locale and gives municipalities the authority, particularly when it comes to worries about upholding protection or resolving local problems.

The EU, on the other hand, wants to forge close commercial relations with West African nations. The EU continues to work with its member states on finance-related issues despite some disruptive features that exist in interactions between the EU and regional organizations (Aniche et al., 2022).

When examining the economic ties between the EU and ECOWAS, it is important to consider that the consolidation of regions in West Africa has not offered sufficient opportunities for interaction with the EU; increasing reliance on forming inter-institutional relationships as it has no immediate impact on bilateral ties due to intensifying rivalry.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the discussion of findings based on the research questions as well as conclusion and recommendations.

4.1 Discussion of the Findings

Given the various contributions and sacrifices Nigeria has made to enable the formation and growth of ECOWAS in the African sub-region, it is clear from the discussion of the findings that there is a genuine relationship between Nigeria and ECOWAS. First, findings from research question one point to several significant causes or challenges that have prevented Nigeria from reaping the full benefits of ECOWAS despite her enormous contributions to its foundation and growth. Among other things, these difficulties include the lack of basic infrastructure, such as electricity. According to Fawole (2002), “one of the main problems pointing to why Nigeria is having trouble economically asserting itself in the sub-region is the lack of reliable power. By utilizing ECOWAS as a launching pad for economic development, the Nigerian state, its citizens, and corporate organizations will benefit as much as possible from the sub-region by the time all these difficulties have been resolved” (Fawole, 2002, p. 20-40).

The adoption of non-tariff trade barriers is another element that the study has identified as a factor preventing the Nigerian government from fully utilizing the economic potential of the ECOWAS. Since imported goods are duty-free in ECOWAS member states, this really had an impact on formal trade with the West African sub-region. For instance, “products that are imported into Benin, such as cars, manufactured goods, machinery, chemicals, beverages, tobacco, and grains, are then exported back to Nigeria and as a result, the Nigerian government is precluded from profiting from such

trade duty income and turning Nigeria into a dumping ground” (Fawole, 2000, p. 20-40).

The results also showed that “Nigeria's export to the ECOWAS area, which between 2001 and 2006 averaged roughly 7% of its overall exports, has significantly decreased to 2.3% in 2010. Additionally, the volume of imports of items by Nigeria from other ECOWAS nations decreased from 4.4% in 2009 to less than 0.5% in 2010.” Similar to this, there is no obvious sign that Nigeria's exports or imports will increase from where they currently are in the region. However, this makes it challenging for Nigeria to leverage the ECOWAS market as an engine for economic growth (Onwuka, 1982, p. 225-227).

In addition, research has indicated that administrative red tape and pervasive corruption are some of the reasons Nigeria has not benefited from the economic success of the ECOWAS. Unofficial non-tariff trade barriers, such as bureaucracy, fraud in customs procedures, sluggish port operations, and inadequate transportation and communication infrastructure, can all have a negative impact on trade facilitation. Nigeria's inability to gain significantly from the economic success of ECOWAS is further hampered by government policies like import bans and quota restrictions, as the findings make it clear. Due to import restrictions, Nigeria is unable to take advantage of other West African regions' agricultural products, including rubber, wood, textiles, and other chemicals, as well as fruits, vegetables, grains, meat, and fish. Finally, because Nigeria accounts for 52% of the ECOWAS market, other ECOWAS nations benefit more from the Nigerian market. Therefore, while Nigeria does not truly benefit much from these other ECOWAS countries' smaller markets, other ECOWAS countries gain disproportionately at the price of the Nigerian market. In light of the aforementioned conclusion, several analysts have provided an explanation for why

Nigeria has not fully benefited from her substantial contributions to the ECOWAS. According to Egbo (2003), the main goal of Nigeria's foreign policy toward ECOWAS was to build upon its existing Afrocentric theory of foreign policy, which Nigeria was already familiar with in the international arena before to the foundation of ECOWAS. To keep up its position as the sub-resourceful region's leader, this was done. Nigeria's oil revenue provides the nation with fresh motivation to uphold neutrality and a non-aligned stance in international affairs (Egbo, 2003, p. 105-125).

According to the results of research question two, Nigeria made a significant contribution to the founding and growth of ECOWAS as well as the promotion of peace and unity in the African sub-region. Nigeria has made commendable sacrifices in the area of promoting peace to ensure peace in several ECOWAS member states, particularly the restoration of peace and stability in Sierra Leone and Liberia. More than 70% of the ECOMOG commandants were made up of Nigerian soldiers. Nigeria provided 4,908 soldiers, distributed into ten battalions, out of the 8, 430 total soldiers in 1995. Nigeria's participation in ECOMOG with its manpower and material resources, though, was viewed by certain countries in West Africa as having a hegemonic undertone (Agency Report, 2022).

When it comes to ensuring that peace in Africa is maintained, "Nigeria has been essential. Nigeria had deployed peacekeepers in several war-torn countries. ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which served as a peace broker during the \$8 billion civil war in Liberia, allegedly received funding from Nigeria" (Yakubu, 2011. p. 101) The results also make it abundantly evident that Nigeria has made significant contributions to the expansion and development of ECOWAS. Nigeria contributes more to dues and levies than any other ECOWAS member state in terms of revenue generation. Without doubt, Nigeria has made significant trade-related contributions to

the maintenance of ECOWAS. She has made significant financial commitments to the organization while devoting resources to its own security issues, and despite all that Nigeria has done and is still doing for the region, there is no comparable return on investment in ECOWAS (Agency Report, 2022).

Nigeria makes significant sacrifices in the areas of commerce and investment, in addition to spearheading the West African sub-region's peace mission. In the domain of telecommunication, Fawole (2000, p. 20-40) claims that various commercial organizations, individuals, and government agencies working to promote economic development in Nigeria from the sub-region have profited from investments throughout the sub-region. Globalcom, a privately held telecom business in Nigeria, offers telecom services not only in Nigeria but also in several West African nations including Ghana and the Benin Republic.

Nigeria, in particular ECOWAS, has contributed significantly to the growth of international organizations in Africa. Nigeria has served as a big brother to other West African nations that are less developed. According to the research findings, Nigeria has made herself available to steer the affairs of ECOWAS in order to secure its survival. Nigeria gave the ECOWAS a large financial contribution. The contribution made by Nigeria, which represents 40.42% of the \$2,913,088,908 billion USD total payment made by the 15 member states, exceeds that of the other 12 countries combined, with the exception of Ghana and Togo (Agency Report, 2022).

The research found out that another way Nigeria has helped African nations is through the Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TACS) program, which was launched in 1987 and aims to share Nigeria's expertise with recipient nations by placing young Nigerian professionals in response to needs identified by participating nations (Ola, 2011).

4.2 Final Comments

The objective of this study was to evaluate critically the relationship between Nigeria and ECOWAS. A few prior research studies were reviewed as background information for the study. Additionally, the conceptual framework and empirical findings from related investigations were reviewed. The system theory was used in this research work as theoretical framework to explain the interactions between and among the component parts of a system or structure. The study is based on a historical analysis of Nigeria's connection with ECOWAS, and secondary material sources such books, journals, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet was used to obtain the data. The researcher was able to determine some reasons why Nigeria has not benefited sufficiently from ECOWAS despite her enormous contributions to its growth and development based on the research questions.

The following are a few of the causes:

- Insufficient basic infrastructure.
- trade policies with non-tariff barriers.
- Administrative red tape and widespread corruption.
- Import bans and quota restrictions.
- Disproportionate gains from the Nigerian market.

However, Nigerian society does not directly profit from its support to other African countries. Nigeria's assistance for African countries is opposed by the marginalization of the vast majority of Nigerians. Utilizing Nigeria's considerable resources, which have come under fire for aiding African states, to promote beneficial national development is the difficulty. This calls for both deft social engineering and committed, focused government.

To achieve this objective, Nigeria needs transformative leadership at all levels of its society a committed leadership that is willing to sacrifice short-term gain for the sake of the larger good. It could be time for Nigeria to make the overall welfare of its population and review the major objective of its foreign policy.

Even though Nigeria has not fully reaped the rewards of membership in ECOWAS, she nevertheless upholds a positive relationship with the organization and continues to assume leadership roles. According to the research findings, one of the main factors contributing to Nigeria's economic struggles in the sub-region is the lack of infrastructure facilities like a reliable electricity supply. Additional barriers to trade facilitation in Nigeria include bureaucratic bottlenecks, corruption in customs procedures, sluggish port operations, and inadequate transportation and communication infrastructures.

Secondly, the biggest obstacles to trade and integration in West Africa are non-tariff barriers. Within ECOWAS member states, imported goods are not subject to tariffs in formal trade. And once more, Nigeria continues to impose import restrictions on specific goods, particularly those coming from ECOWAS member nations. Due to all of these factors, Nigeria has found it challenging to fully capitalize on ECOWAS's economic potential.

It is clear that Nigeria cannot continue to support ECOWAS nations while its people endure hardship. Nigeria would prosper and aid Africa if she prioritized and met their basic needs, provided outstanding national leadership, and managed her natural resources effectively. This could be achieved by building a society with a high degree of cohesion that ensures justice, fair play, equality of opportunity and adequate opportunities, ensures that there is less selfishness and more accountability on the part of the elite, and safeguards society from polarizing situations

4.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of this research work, the following suggestions are made:

1. The Nigerian government should demonstrate strong leadership that can guarantee the viability and sustainability of infrastructure across the entire nation. This would significantly advance the cause of sustainable development.
2. Nigeria should put more effort into fostering the growth and capacity of its people if it wants to claim its rightful place in the ECOWAS sub-region.
3. Nigeria should be provided with all the possibilities and supports she needs to build her economy, her population, and her politics and, ECOWAS should make sure she gets them because if anything bad occurs to Nigeria, West Africa as a whole will suffer.
4. Nigeria should figure out how to effectively take advantage of the advantages of her ECOWAS membership.
5. ECOWAS members other than Nigeria should demonstrate their commitment by contributing to union dues and levies; this should not be left to Nigeria alone to bear.
6. ECOWAS needs to express some worry and attention regarding the problems with internal security, particularly the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast of Nigeria.
7. If ECOWAS member states are to continue to support Nigeria in her leadership role, they must be prepared to treat her with the deference and honor she so richly deserves.
8. Nigeria must take the fight against pervasive corruption and bureaucratic problems, which are impeding the nation's economic development, seriously.
9. ECOWAS should assist and promote the welfare of ECOMOG soldiers and staff in the area of peace and security. No country should fall behind in the early payment of dues and levies intended to support sub-regional security forces.

10. ECOWAS should permit sub-regional nations to impose minimal tariff, import, and export taxes on such goods in order to avoid or limit the rate of dumping of reasonably used products.

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