



THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURALISM
ON THE POLICY PROCESS OF THE ECONOMIC
COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES
(ECOWAS)

BY
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DECLARATION

I, Abdulwahab Ademola Lawal, do hereby declare that this research work was entirely done by me and that where other works were cited they have been duly acknowledged.

Abdulwahab Ademola Lawal

Ilorin

August, 2005.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:
my wife **Mariam Ogochukwu**
and
my children **Dayo** and **Doyin**
for the peace and joy they provide
which enabled me to embark on this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It gladdens my heart that the journey I embarked upon to reach this academic level has come to fruition. This achievement could not have come without the protection of the Almighty God who continues to spare my life even at numerous split-hair death moments. I thank Him.

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To all golfers who have missed me on the golf course, I say thanks for your understanding and endurance.

Abdulwahhab A. Lawal

Ilorin

August, 2005.

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that this research work was supervised and approved for submission to St. Clements University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Policy Analysis of St. Clements University.

Project Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

This study is about how the structure of the West African society affect ECOWAS policy process. It was intended to isolate those social phenomena that could cause impact on the outcome of policies. In order to achieve this goal, extensive literature review was done to identify the variables involved. It was also to look for the theoretical framework upon which ECOWAS is built and see whether ECOWAS structure is fit for the task.

The procedure adopted was to first establish that the theory upon which ECOWAS is established was valid. This theory from our understanding was based on that if there was a common economic market of West Africa, it would be a beneficial instrument to engage in negotiation with other Sub-regional markets, notably the European Union. This will ultimately lead to the general well-being of the people of West Africa. The study does not find this theory invalid however, it found that there must be conditions precedent to fulfilling this theory. The condition precedent is the social structure which intervenes between cause and effect.

A large market produces greater output (well-being). But the market must have products to sell. In this regards therefore,

ECOWAS theory is not complete. The complete theory is that X can lead to Z depending on Y.

X being the market,

Z being the well-being of its people and

Y being the societal structures.

The study found that unless societal structures are addressed, ECOWAS policy process cannot lead to policy success.

These social structures were broken down into the following concepts:

- a.) Political Actors
- b.) Good Governance
- c.) Enforcement Agencies
- d.) Security
- e.) Values and Beliefs
- f.) International Environment.

The correlation between these variables and the response variable were tested. First the null hypothesis that societal structures were independent of policy process was not proven. Second, the degree of impact of each of the variables was rank-ordered. Three variables emerged as having significant impact and that one group of significance can influence the other group to elicit an outcome. Thus the model “ECOWAS policy production line” emerges. The model states that if Political Actors and the International Environment were

controlled, it would have effect on Good Governance, Enforcement Agencies, Security, Values and Beliefs, which will then produce effect on a good well-being. ECOWAS' efforts should therefore be redesigned to lay emphasis on capacity building in ECOWAS than tariff regulations.

Based on this study, the following essential findings were made.

- a.) ECOWAS structure is defective. It has not created space for mass participation.
- b.) Accountability to the people is not injected into the structure by way of goal-achieving and competition of ideas.
- c.) The World Trade Organization (WTO) has obviated sub-regional trade blocs. ECOWAS has not positioned itself to face the challenges of this emerging trend.

The research therefore proposes that ECOWAS should be re-structured to lay emphasis on capacity building. This can be achieved through:

- Re-structuring political institutions to reflect pluralism.
- Pooling of resources together to build infrastructures.
- Common enactments to improve on social indicators like education, health, the rule of law, corporate governance,

etc.

- Scholars, practitioners and civil society should mobilize to cause changes in ECOWAS policy process.

The model titled “ECOWAS Policy Production Line” can be found in figure 16 on page 142. A recommended ECOWAS Organogram is at Appendix 4, page 202.

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**THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURALISM
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COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 This research work is about policy-making in a multilayered and multilateral environment. Policy analysis has become more intense in the social science as scholars research on rampant policy failures. In monolithic settings, policy failure is rampant. Indeed studies have pointed at ethnic diversity of African States as one of the reasons for government failures. (Miles and Scott, 2002:159). Therefore, to make policies across nations in an heterogeneous setting can be more problematic. It is under this notion that ECOWAS policy process has been studied. The study analyses the framework or the instruments used by ECOWAS to both formulate and implement policies. In this opening chapter, the background of the study, the professional significance, statement of the problem and the methods adopted for the study have been discussed. In order for a clear understanding of

ECOWAS structure, relevant information on ECOWAS has been packaged into Appendix 1.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.2 Certain factors influenced this study. They are:

a. **The Societal Background** Policy-making is not an end by itself. It is a means to achieving the well-being of society. One should therefore ask, "Has the well-being of the people of ECOWAS improved after 30 years of its efforts? This question is necessary for the evaluation of ECOWAS policies. By 1960 when most colonial masters relinquished power around the world, Africa and Asia were at par in terms of well-being. Today Asian countries are astronomically above Africa. For example whereas the Singapore per capita income is at 5 digit (US \$24,200) that of Nigeria, as in other West African States, stagnates at 3 digit (US\$390)(Summers and Heston Penn World Tables at <http://pwt.econ.uppen.edu>). ECOWAS has celebrated 30 years in 2005. It has therefore come of age. Has the impact been felt? Are West African policy-makers succeeding? This study shall examine the impact of ECOWAS policies on the well being of the people.

b. The Intellectual Background Policy analysts as social scientists take society's problems to the "laboratory" to subject them to intellectual analysis with the aim of finding solution to them. This study has used theoretical tools to analyze ECOWAS policy process. Such tools include the delphi technique, the econometric approach, the concept of pluralism and free trade and techniques of objectives setting. It is intended that this work will join other literary works on ECOWAS policy process to improve upon its *modus operandi*

c. The Professional Background Professionals of policy analysis are at work in other sub-regions as consultants, academics, advocates, networking groups, etc, to facilitate knowledgeable governance at all strata of governments. They are involved in the re-shaping of institutions to improve policy-making. Lack of studies on ECOWAS could be obvious from the fact that only limited textual materials are available. Whereas new books and research studies are released into the market and libraries every year in Europe on European Union, this researcher found none on ECOWAS except essays from international relations professionals, some of which scarcely approach the issue with the tools of the policy analysts. Such publications include Nigeria's initiatives in ECOWAS by Prof Aluko Olokun, an international relations expert (Aluko Olokun, 1980:16).

This is why our research effort here is viable because it would go a long way to enrich the academic poverty being experienced in studies on ECOWAS.

d. The Research Background This study was inspired by the literature on the European Union. A look at its library compared to what obtains on ECOWAS to the paucity of research work on an organization that affects our daily lives. This lack of vibrant policy studies has robbed our people of sound policy-making process. This researcher is inspired by the work of European analysts who have highlighted the importance of policy advocacy in a multilateralism involving the private sector, academics, agencies, and governmental institutions. It is inconceivable in West Africa for cocoa farmers of Ashanti region of Ghana to liaise with their counterparts in Nigeria from Ondo State or Cross River State to discuss matters of mutual interest. Such engagement (infra-nation liaison) is common in Europe. This study seeks to encourage research work on policy process in the supra-national settings.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

1.3 The ECOWAS consists of 15 countries with different political structures and cultural diversities. There is the realization that integration could bring about improved economic well-being. However, 30 years on, there seems to have been very little progress made. Can this situation be attributed to the intrinsic structures of individual states? According to one study, bad policy was found to have reduced African output growth by 2.1%. (Miles and Scott 2002: 163).

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.

The purpose of this study is to determine to whether societal structures of West Africans have affected ECOWAS policies and to identify how to address them.

HYPOTHESES

Ho: ECOWAS policy process has been independent of societal structures.

H1: ECOWAS policy process has not been independent of societal structures.

1.5 THE PROFESSIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Government initiatives in policy process seem to characterize policy-making in the West African sub-region. Participation by the people whose interest the policies are to address has not been vibrant. There is the need to change this phenomenon. This study is therefore within the conceptual context that pluralism of policy process can enhance policy success. Policy-makers should embrace both governmental and private engagement in policy design and implementation. The study has therefore highlighted the need to shift emphasis from Government institutions to policy networking in a multilateral and consensus-seeking approach. If our policy-makers get it right by encouraging adequate consultation and networking, the 190 million people within the ECOWAS sub-region would be better off. The study is also significant in that there is conflict of understanding between independence and integration. We need to know that interdependence provide higher benefit and an elevation

from independence. Interdependence (integration) therefore is a higher requirement needing efforts to achieve.

Trade liberalism has been a theory that has been around since Adam Smith (1776) eighteenth century. However, political distortions have caused lack of full implementation within the sub-region as in elsewhere. West African governments continue to engage in selective trade liberalism which signals lack of faith in the theory of free market. The study advises practitioners to embrace trade liberalism as protectionism has not helped and may not help in this age of globalization.

The study is intended as a process advocacy. An attempt is therefore made to look for what ECOWAS must essentially do to strengthen their policy process.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.6 Scholars in the field of policy studies have given a direction on the various methods that can be adopted. In his book *Policy Process in the Modern State*, (Michael Hill 1997:120) explains,

“policy process studies are likely to be case studies, using qualitative methods. Where quantitative methods are used, they are likely to deal with impact from which

deductions can be made back to process. Perhaps the idea here is some combination of qualitative observation of process with quantitative work on impact.”

This approach has been adopted and shall be elaborated upon in Chapter 3. Basically the approach is the use of judgmental techniques to generate data and using the data to test the hypotheses. Literature review was used to examine the elements and contents of the variables. Thereafter in Chapter Three we used statistical methods to test correlations and rank order their impact(s) on the dependent variable.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY.

1.7. This work has been organized with an introductory chapter which explains the purpose and approach of the study. Chapter Two deals extensively with theoretical framework as exemplified in three major areas namely: Policy process, concept of free market trade and the conceptual framework of the variables used as tools to evaluate the outcome of ECOWAS policies. By these extensive theoretical studies, conclusions were arrived at. Chapter three explains and justifies the method used in this research, while Chapter four presents all the statistical data used in the research. Chapter five discusses and analyzes the data presented, while the

last chapter discusses the conclusion, which is an embodiment of our research findings, suggestions and recommendations.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

1.8. This study used the European Union (EU) as the template to mirror ECOWAS. The EU is perhaps the most successful of all sub-regional organizations, yet there are others that may have peculiarities one can learn from. For example, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) could have complemented this study since they operate almost under similar conditions. Due to time constraints and lack of access to the literature on other sub-regional bodies, the EU became the reference point for the study.

Secondly, at ECOWAS secretariat, statistical bulletin was last issued in 1999. Were statistics more available, this report would have been more elaborate. Data were generated from questionnaires issued to respondents deemed to be the practitioners of trade in ECOWAS. Being purely judgmental, therefore perception rather than mathematical or scientific calculation was relied upon.

Thirdly, policy process is essentially the study of political activities regarding decision-making. What forms the basis of these decisions are always hidden under the parlance of security document. As a

result ,what informed some decision-making cannot be thoroughly examined. “The fact is that many power processes are covert” *Policy Process in the Modern State*, (Michael Hill 1997:120). The real influence on why certain things are done may never be known. One can only conjecture. For example Prof. Aluko Olokun (1980:12) has suggested that ECOWAS was initiated by Nigeria for its security purpose. How can one conclude whether this is the true intention? This question is very crucial in view of the Francophone version of the same ECOWAS known as UEMORE comprising eight of the 15 ECOWAS members.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Policy Process: The stages through which issues pass and develop into policies.

2. Community: The State constituting ECOWAS.
3. Policy Community: All actors concerned and interested in a policy arena: professionals, civil societies, academics, organized private sector.
4. Policy Arena: Country, State, Local Government area, etc. where policy is to operate.
5. Policy Networking: Linking up with people within a policy community for education, strategies and persuasion in order to achieve a purpose.
6. Process Advocacy: The engagement among actors on how policy process can be more rational in approach, procedures and techniques.
7. Policy advocacy: The making of an argument and lobby for a particular policy.

8. Policy Domain: Subject matter of the policy i.e. Housing, Health, Agriculture.
9. Multilateral: Vertical inter-governmental collaboration, e.g., across states, across ministries, agencies.
10. Multilayer: Separate levels of government or bodies each with its own legitimate powers, e.g., Federal, State, Local Government ; national, provincial and municipalities.
11. Political Actors: Elective political office holders and their bureaucratic counterparts.
12. Structuralism: Beliefs, values, norms and practices of a society, including their institutions.
13. Pluralism: The participation of all Segments of Society for Policy Attainment.

ABBREVIATIONS.

1. ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States.
2. EU- The European Union.

3. ASEAN- The Association of South East Asian Nations.
4. SADCC – Southern African Development and Cooperation Conference.
5. WTO- World Trade Organization.
6. GATT – General Agreement on Trade and tariff.
7. UEMORE

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London: Prentice Hall.
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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

2.1 This chapter shall dwell on the theoretical and conceptual frame works of the study. The chapter begins by examining the concepts of public, policy and the policy process. The state structure within which policies are framed has also been discussed. Essentially it contrasts policy making in a developed democracy and that of bureaucratic dominance as is the practice in our sub-region. Models have been presented for illustration. Let it be said from this point that five theoretical approaches to policy analysis are dominant they are:

- a. Institutional approach
- b. Group and Network approach
- c. Socio-economic approach
- d. Rational choice Theory
- e. Ideas-based approach (John P,2002:15)

ECOWAS policy-making seems to be more in tune with Institutional approach. This shall be shown later in this Chapter. In addition, the sevenvariables tested in the hypotheses have been discussed leading to conclusions reached in Chapter Five. Prominence has been given to other economic concept within which ECOWAS

policies are situated; that is the concept of the free market. The discussion seeks to provide an understanding of the ideals of free trade proposed by Adam Smith. It reviews its acceptability in the West African States based on political antecedents of colonialism and statism. The Chapter is therefore organized as follows:

- a. The Concepts of Public Policy
- b. The Concepts of free Market.
- c. Discussions on the variables tested in the hypotheses.

SCANNING THE CONCEPTS OF PUBLIC POLICY.

2.2 Two words dominate this study namely, policy and public. J.S. Mill (1968) has said that the essence of public policy is the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This essence makes definition of these two terms to be varied and problematic. The measurement of happiness and how to work towards it defines the concept of policy and public.

a. THE TERM POLICY

Defining policy has not been easy in the manner of precision. Scholars' attempt to capture the entire essence of policy ends up emphasizing one aspect and neglecting the other. Hog wood and Gunn (1983: 19 – 23) identified some characteristics of policy as follows:

* Policy to be distinguished from Decision:

Policy is larger than decision. It involves a series of specific decisions, sometimes in a rational sequence.

* Policy is less readily Distinguishable from Administration:

Administrators under implementation stage take decisions which influence policy.

* Policy involves Behaviour as well as Intentions:

Policy may be shaped by behaviour and intentions in terms of formation, implementation and outcomes.

* Policy Involves Inaction as well as Action:

According to Hecló (1972) a policy can consist of what is not being done. (Hogwood and Gunn: 1984:2).

- * Policy have outcomes which may or may not have been foreseen:

As Heclo states “The term policy needs to be able to embrace both what is intended and what occurs as a result of the intention, any definition which excluded unintended results....would surely be impoverished ”Hogwood and Gunn (1984:2).

- * Policy is purposive course of action but purposes may be defined Retrospectively: it is with this in mind that Anderson (1975) defines policy as “A purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern.”

- * Policy Arises from a process over time.

- * Policy involves intra-and-inter-organization Relationships

- * Public policy involves a key but not exclusive role for public agencies

- * Policy is subjectively defined: Its boundaries and processes are as perceived by the individual.

In spite of these varying perceptions however, policy has been defined or explained by many scholars.

Some of them are reflected below:

- Policy is a course of action or plan, a set of political purposes as opposed to administration (Wilson: 1887).
- Whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye Thomas: 1972).
- A long series of more or less related activities rather than single, discrete decision (Richard Rose: 1969).
- A set of interrelated decisions by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle be within the power of those actors to achieve (W I Jenkins:1978).

b. THE TERM PUBLIC

According to Wayne Parson (2001), the public comprises that dimension of human activities which are regarded as requiring

governmental or social regulation or intervention, or at least common action. This definition is not as simplistic as it appears. Which human activity requires governmental intervention? Over the years scholars have debated this issue of what yardstick to use in deciding intervention. Political economists, however, seem to dominate the thoughts on what should be public and what should be private. They have introduced the notion of “goods” as in commodity for sale, namely the provision of services that will serve common interests.

It does mean that a collection of individual interests can be served as public interest. Proponents of this idea are scholars among who is Harbamas (1989). To such scholars, public interest could best be served “When the interest of economic freedom and market were facilitated by the state rather than being constrained or regulated. “Public interests could therefore be secured by “laws, rights and order and not interferences of the natural balance as a result of the pursuit of self-interests. Economic theorists therefore see public interest as congruent to private interest. Left to economists, market forces should dictate choice and government intervention should be

minimal. To what extent do West African governments agree to this? It seems clear that West African governments intervene quite considerably. The more governments intervene, the more they move towards socialism in the spectrum between liberalism and socialism. There is justification for intervention of governments in the activities of the public. These are as follows:

- Externalities
- Market Inefficiencies
- Monopoly

These are explained in turn essentially to probe into the mindset of the West African policy-maker and his preferences.

a. **Externalities:** These are “goods” whose use cannot be restricted by the provider as exclusive benefits. For example the provision of peace, law and order can be enjoyed by everybody within the environment without restriction the way a commodity can be bought and exclusively enjoyed. In this regard, public intervention is necessary. However in these

modern days, such notion as externalities have come to cover education, health, environmental issues etc. Externalities have therefore greatly expanded the scope of the public. For example alcoholism is no more a private matter. It has become public.

b. Market Inefficiencies: Economic theory assumes that market forces shall produce supply and demand. Where there is no demand there can be no justifiable supply. If this were to operate, those who cannot afford certain essential services like electricity and water may not get them. If electricity were supplied on the basis of effectual demand, that is demand backed up by money, then many poor communities will not get electricity. Hence it is justifiable for the public intervention into such market imperfections. This fact cannot be more obvious than in the West African Communities with 80% in the rural/semi-rural societies.

c. **Monopoly:** Some services cannot be supplied efficiently through competitive environment due to technology and cost. In the case of water supply or electricity, one could imagine the number of poles, wires and pipes that would criss-cross a neighbourhood with the attendant waste of resources through multiplicity of facilities. Therefore even right wing economists agree that there can be monopolies. Monopolies have their negative effect of over pricing hence the need to regulate them in the public interest. Sometimes subsidies are required to keep services affordable and available.

The summation of these concepts is that justification for what is public and what is private is not simple but diffused. The more practitioners favour intervention, the more the tendency towards socialism. The frame of mind of West African policy makers is therefore torn between more governmental control or more private control. Free market enterprise, the concept under which ECOWAS is supposed to function is therefore operated under mixed mindset of the policy-makers.

d. **Defining the State:** Hogwood and Gunn (1984:24)

state that:

“For a policy to be regarded as public policy, it must to some degree have been generated or at least processed within the framework of governmental procedures, influences and organization”.

Even more bluntly has Michael Hill (1997:10) stated his position)

“In the last resort, policy is whatever the controllers of the state institutions decide to do”. An understanding of “the state” is therefore necessary. Again Michael Hill provides a good definition “The basic definition of the state is as a set of institutions with super-ordinate power over a specific territory. It can be defined both in terms of the institutions which make it up and the functions that these institutions perform. State institutions comprise legislative bodies, including parliamentary assemblies and subordinate law-making institutions; executive bodies,

including governmental bureaux and departments of state; and the judicial bodies – principally courts of law – with responsibility for enforcing and, through their decisions, developing the law”. (1bid)

The supra-national or supra-state are geographical areas of sovereign states, each state holding her sovereignty yet yielding decision-making on collective issues to the supra-state institutions. The nature is purely institutional coordination and not territorial authority. Legitimization is by common agreement of treaties and regulations. Examples of this nature include the European Union, the Economic Community of West African States and the Association of South East Asian Nations. The unification of policies and programmes for the benefit of the geographical entity is the goal.

THE POLICY PROCESS

2.3. According to Michael Hill (1997:4) :

“Studies of the policy process is focused on the stages through which issues pass, and attempts are made to assess the influence of different factors on the development of the issue. The studies involve looking at policy process within an organization or the influence on policy in a community or society”. There are many models to explain this context. Notable and most quoted is the “black box”.

Model by Easton (1965;110). The diagram below illustrates the idea.

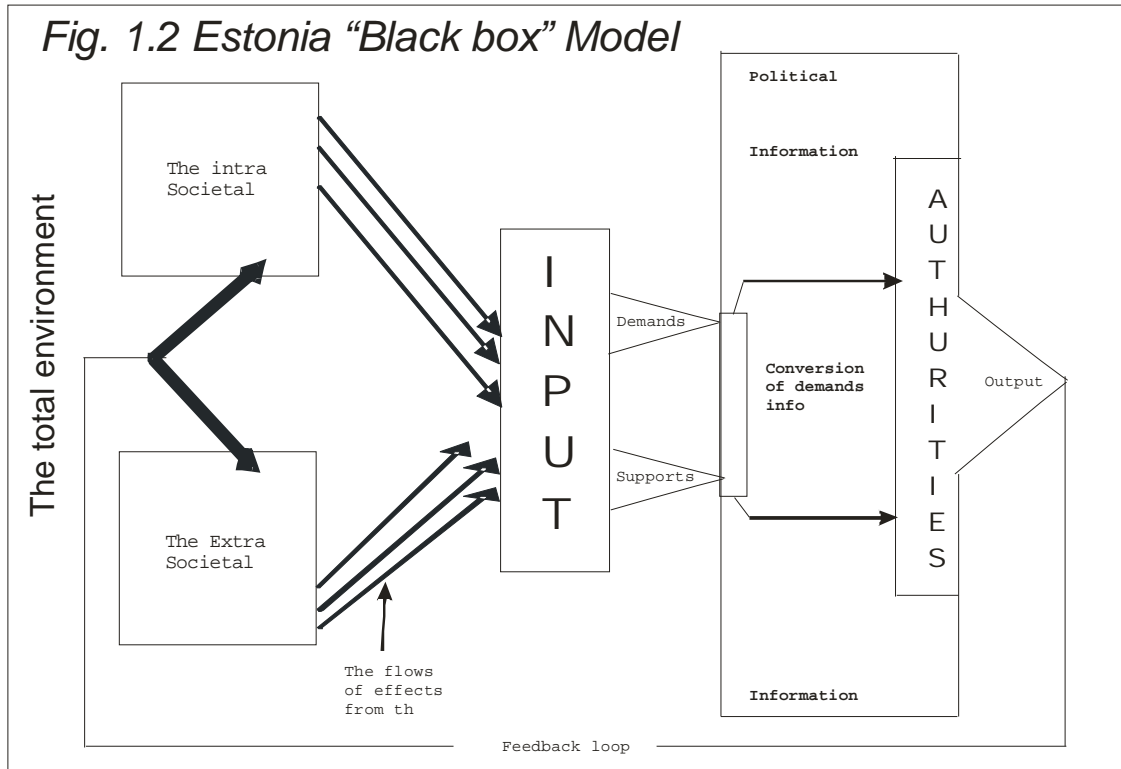


Fig.1: "Black Box" Model
Source: Easton (1965)

A simplified model is also provided below extracted from Michael Hill (1997:21).

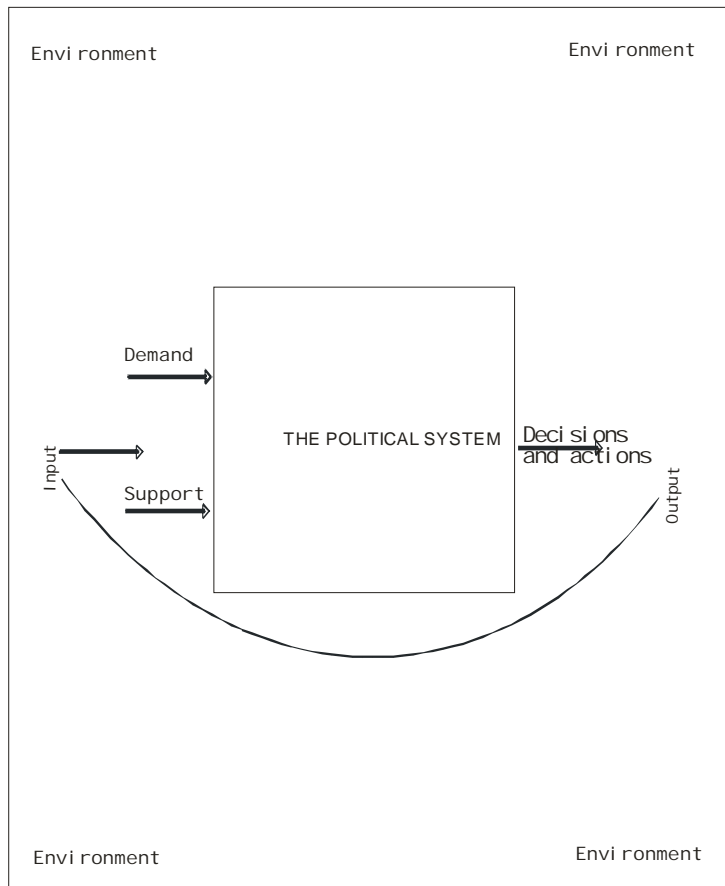


Fig 2. A Simplified model of a political system (Source: Easton 1965a)

The explanatory notes break the environment into intra and extra societal. Under the intra-societal influences, there are:

- Ecological system
- Biological system

- Personality system
- Social system.

At the extra-societal level there are:

- International political system
- International ecological system
- International social system

For this study, the following are relevant

- Personality system
- Social system
- International political system
- International social system

According to Michael Hill, (1997) “The role of the state indicates that a discussion of the public policy process needs to be grounded in an extensive consideration of the nature of power in the state”.

To Hofferbert (1974) “what comes out of the policy process is, for the most part determined by the underlying realities of a country, as opposed to the influence of what would be termed advocacy coalition. Policy outcome is therefore a function of three main factors as follows:

- Historic and Geographic conditions
- Social and Economic composition

- Mass political behaviour.

These factors are moderated through:

- Governmental institutions and
- Elite behaviour.

The policy process is thus likened to the funnel, what goes into it is what comes out. This corroborates the jargon of computer experts- “garbage in garbage out”.

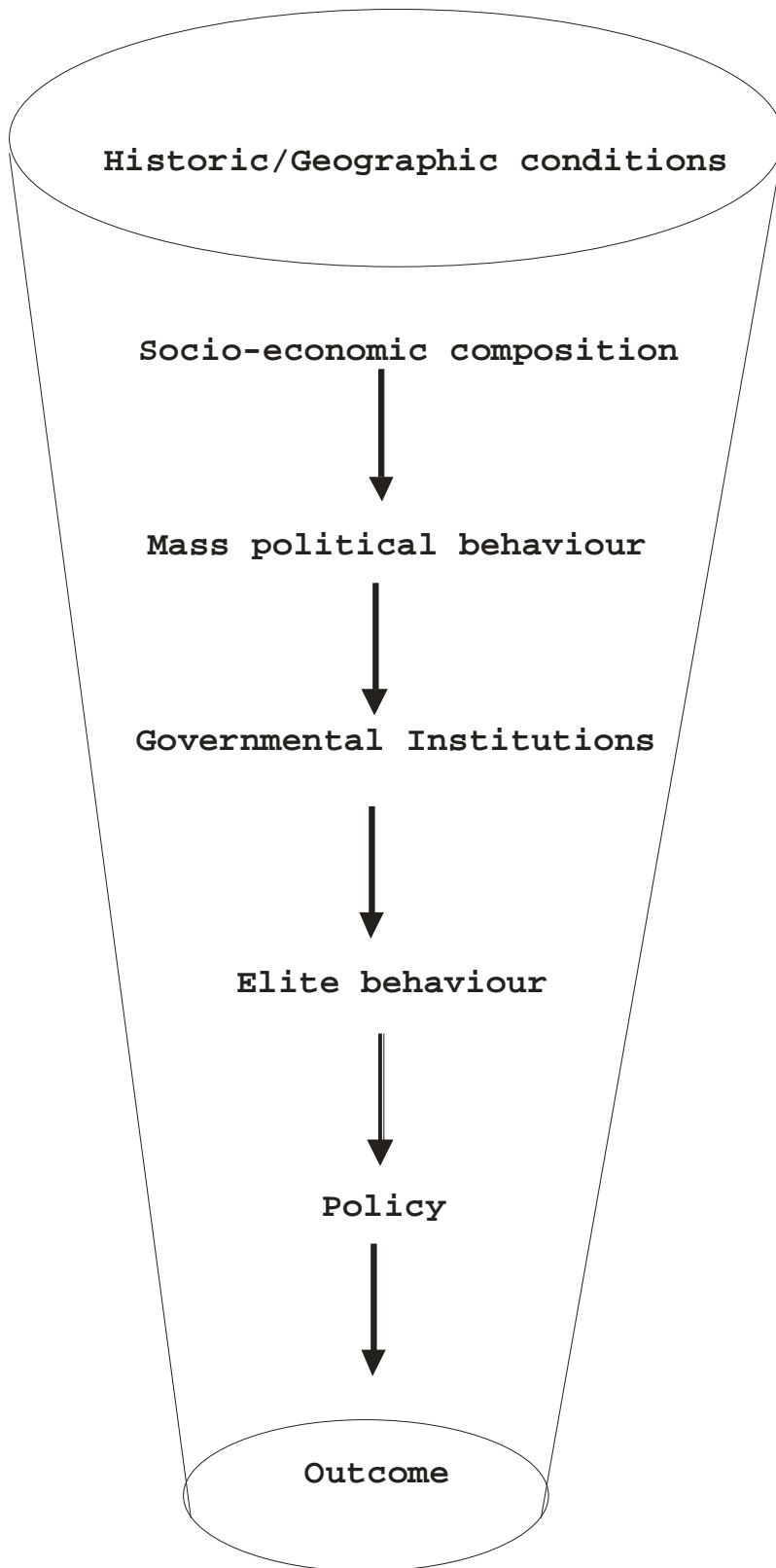


Fig.3: The Policy process as a funnel

In the West African policy environment, governmental institutions overshadow civil private sector and community participation. However, the social system has a lot of impact on governmental institutions.

THE CONCEPT OF FREE MARKET

THE SEMINAL WORK

2.4 The summary deduced from this exposition is that:

- a.) There can always be justification for government intervention into the spheres of life of people.

Those states with less intervention are looked upon as liberal. Those with justification for more intervention are either “mixed” or socialism.

- b.) The character and behaviours of policy actors reflect on the output of policy.

Adam Smith, the father of modern economics in his work – *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) gave great lead-way into the concept of free market. He lived in Scotland in the eighteenth century, at a time where too much restrictions were in place between cities, and among countries of Europe. His work touched virtually on every segment of enterprises

relating to creating wealth and well being. This is what he has to say about the extent of market:

That the division of labour is limited to the extent of the market. As it is the power of exchanging that gives occasion to the division of labour, so the extent of this division must always be limited by the extent of what power, or, in other words by the extent of the market. When the market is very small, no person can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of the power to exchange all that surplus that part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he has occasion for (Adam Smith: 1776: 1).

Adam Smith further illustrated why civilization came early to coastal areas and slowed down in the hinterlands. According to him, sea transportation was easier and cheaper hence reduced costs in prices of goods along the coastal areas. But essentially, that the sea and inland water ways provided inter connectivity among cities and therefore expanded market which in turn created greater productivity and well being.

2. **Political Economy:-** Adams Smith (1776) while discussing issues of restraints upon the importation from foreign countries such goods as can be produced at home says:

by restraining, either by high duties or by absolute prohibition, the importation of such goods from foreign countries as can be produced at home, the monopoly of the home market is more or less secured to the domestic industry employed in producing them.

Adams Smith posits that this tendency will lead to arbitrary deployment of capital and labour to such protected industry and that it is doubtful if that helps the society. For according to him:

no regulation of commerce can increase the quantity of industry in any society beyond what its capital can maintain. It can only divert a part of it into a direction into which it might not otherwise have gone; and it is by no means certain that this artificial direction is likely to be more advantageous to the society than that into which it would have gone of its own accord.

The deployment of capital in a society is based on individual preferences of the most advantageous employment to him. The aggregate individual preferences, lead to the society's industries. As Adams Smith says:

it is the maxim of every prudent master of a family never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy.” What is prudent in the conduct of every private family can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it off them with some part of the produce of our own industry employed in a way in which we have some advantage.

Put together, the concept advocated here is that, individual capital should be where he has comparative advantage and for his product to be marketed unfettered. The bigger the market, the bigger the demand capacity and the higher the incentive to produce more. All these naturally would lead to greater well – being of the society. From the foregoing, two issues have emerged: that the larger the market, the greater the exchange of goods and thus higher productivity and specialization, secondly, that restrictions hurt the home country by buying higher what could be bought cheaper. This leads to arbitrary allocation of capital resources. To take advantage of large market one has to be productive.

2.4.2 The Genesis of Restriction:- Restrictions we are told by the father of modern economics began with manufacturers who sought to ensure that no work of their kind is produced within

certain radius of their localities. It was this spirit of monopoly which manufacturers sought to impose on goods from foreign countries. Due to rivalries among European countries, each country began enactments to restrict each other from free trade. For example in Britain “The Act of Navigation” and alien’s duty were promulgated. Even at that time, trade restrictions were justified with the following reasons; (Adam Smith: 1776 : 7).

- (a) **Security:-** To allow only friendly ships navigate or anchor the ports.

- (b) **Domestic Taxation:-** When taxes are levied to home industries, equal taxation should be levied to foreign in order not to place home industries at a disadvantage.

- (c) **Retaliatory:-** Retaliatory restrictions occur when foreign countries impose tariffs or prohibition to the goods of a country who had done similarly. Lest one may be accused of not including the protection of home industries as a reason for restriction, it should be said that such actions are totally unjustified and bears no evidence of profitability at the macro level.

4. **Globalization:-** Due to improvement in transportation technology and communication, world trade has increased in the last 100 years. However as a result of the First World War of 1914 and the depression that followed, some countries like the United States set in place restrictions to protect their domestic trade. This pattern was harmful and reduced the volume of trade tremendously. (David Miles et al: 2002: 202). Since the Second World War 1939 - 45, the annual growth rate of world trade has been 5%. This has been as a result of the establishment of international institutions to remove trade barriers. These institutions include the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). Below is a reproduction of a table illustrating reduction in rate of tariffs.

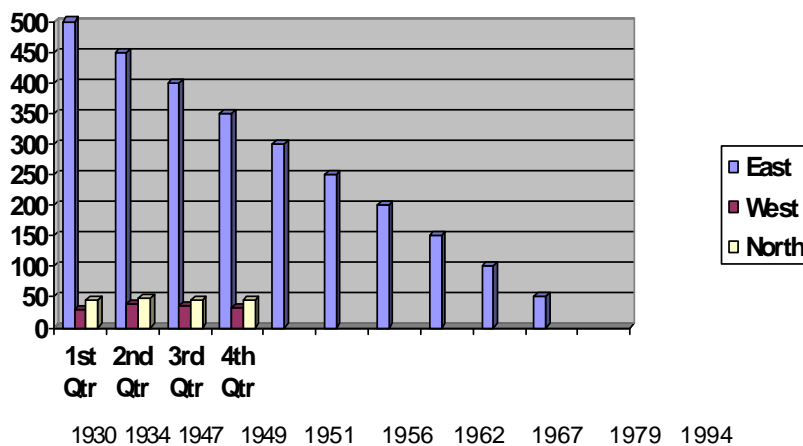


Table 1: Tariffs as Percentage of 1930 Tariffs.

Source: Philippe Lavergne “The Political Economy of US Tariffs

(Ph. D. thesis) from Macroeconomics David Miles et al page (203).

Two reasons have been ascribed to the increase in volume of world trade, namely: cheaper transport cost and decline in trade restrictions.

THE BENEFITS OF FREE TRADE:-

2.5. The benefits of free trade hinge on the economic theory of comparative advantage. Every country will benefit from free trade by specializing in what benefits him most or where he is least disadvantaged. By this, even countries that have no advantage can trade with others. This can equally be illustrated with individuals. A Woman Managing Director can be a good manager as well as a good cook. If she spends one hour in the office, she earns #1000:00 if she decides to cook in that one hour, she loses #1000:00. However if she employs a cook as competent as herself she pays the cook #300 per hour. In so doing, she saves #700:00 and provides employment to an otherwise idle hand. This is the underlying concept that can apply to countries trading among themselves. Trade thus encourages specialization and enhances productivity which improves the wellbeing of a nation. This theory can however work if the citizens are productive. An idle nation whose productive capacity is limited may

find their terms and volume of trade unfavourable. In other words, they are going to consume more than they produce.

CREATION OF A NATION'S WEALTH

2.6. It has been said that trade boosts a nation's wellbeing. By producing what other nations will buy more wealth is created. It means that rather than live a subsistence life, excess production can lead to more income and thus savings and investment. According to Heckscher Ohlin model based on studies, "A country possesses a comparative advantage in a good whose production requires the intensive use of a factor input that the nation possesses in abundance" (David Miles et al : 212). For example in the ECOWAS region, Nigeria has a population more than 50% of the total population of ECOWAS, therefore any production requiring intensive use of labour will give her a comparative advantage. Secondly, any production requiring extensive use of land will give her comparative advantage. This does not also mean that the same type of commodity exported cannot also be imported. Most European import / export trade are in goods of the same type e.g. cars. It does only emphasize that the wider the market, the larger the production with varieties and thus better economy of scale. By theory, ECOWAS countries can as well trade in similar products. For example Nigerian textiles can be

exported to Ghana while Ghanaian textile should be found in the Nigerian markets. This situation will enlarge the textile industry, provide varieties and reduce prices.

OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE

2.7 If free trade was that good, the question is why the formidable opposition to it. It is obvious that once this beautiful idea of free trade hits the real world, opposing tendencies come to play. As noted by Adam Smith, interest groups seek to acquire monopolies in order to maximize benefits. In our modern time these interest groups have become more vocal and pivotal to government. These include groups like Manufacturers Associations, labour unions, environmentalist, farmers unions etc. For the protection of their interests, these groups pressurize successive governments to impose some form of restrictions on foreign goods.

Resource Redistribution:- Free trade warrants a situation whereby those industries or factors of production that cannot compete must give way. The effect of this becomes an issue to be grappled with by governments. No government would wish her labour force rendered idle even though a section has benefits. For example a boom in the textile industry may not compensate for a decline in the beverage

industry. Government then faces the task of redressing the inequality of income and social dislocations. How this issue is approached may distort the perfection theory of free trade.

National Pride:- National sentiments still run deep in the system of most nationalities and nation states. It is therefore common to hear slogans like “Buy made in Nigeria”. Indeed most governments adopt policies that impose national products on consumers. President Olusegun Obasanjo’s avowed policy of non-consumption of foreign food, beverages and clothes is a glaring and instructive example.

Retaliatory Restrictions:- Countries tend to impose retaliatory trade restrictions when trading partners lay restrictive imposition on their products. For example, recently, Nigeria has imposed restrictions on imported textile goods. In response, the EU countries may impose theirs on Nigeria. Such retaliatory impositions hamper free trade. The more ECOWAS countries employ this tactics, the more harmful to trade.

System of Government:- It is obvious that free trade can only be successful under a liberal democratic government. In other words liberal democracy and free trade go together. Where free choice is not practical, free trade can be hampered. This point is necessary to

be emphasized; for Adam Smith states that a merchant can only trade in a foreign land where he knows better the laws from which he must seek redress should he be deceived. Where laws are unpredictable and draconian, no free trade can thrive. It is for this reason that nations under the regime of trade community must practice similar ways of managing their societies.

FORMS OF TRADE RESTRICTIONS

2.8. Trade restrictions are barriers laid by governments against free import of goods from foreign countries. There are many forms of trade barriers:

- (a) Tariffs:-** These are fixed amount of taxes levied on imported items. They range from 0% to 1000%.
- (b) Quota:-** Quota specifies the limits of the quantity to be imported. In Africa, this method is mainly used to redress trade balance.
- (c) Voluntary Export Restriction:-** The exporting country places limits to exports of products either in cooperation with the importing country or as a way of limiting productivity. An example that comes to mind is the OPEC quota.

(d) **Domestic Contents Requirement:-** Government favour imports which have components made from their domestic industries.

(e) **Technical Specification:-** Most countries lay technical specifications or quality controls that prohibit certain goods from importation. In Nigeria, NAFDAC certification is an example.

INSTITUTIONS PROMOTING FREE TRADE

2.9. GATT The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs achieved remarkable success from its inception in 1947 till the 1990s. It however suffered some few flaws, notable among them being the problem of compliance to agreement by member states and the inability to enforce rules.

W.T.O.:- The World Trade Organization replaced GATT. Essentially the organization attempts to overcome the limitations of GATT by the ability to enforce rules and that its arbitration is final and binding on members.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

2.10. There are about 37 regional trade blocs in the world today.

Appendix 2 gives the details. Below are a few leading ones:

- a European Union (EU)
- b North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA)
- c MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay)
- d APEC (Asian Pacific Cooperation Forum)
- e ASEAN (Association of South – East Asian Nations)
- f SADCC (South African Development and Cooperation Conference).
- g ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States)

The proliferation of these associations is indicative of the success the pioneering associations have achieved in removing restrictions to free trade.

THE VARIABLES DISCUSSED

2.11 After a thorough study of ECOWAS' objectives, it is very clear that the organization seeks to improve the well being of West Africans. It intends to achieve this through policies and programmes. What this study does therefore is to look at the ultimate goal of ECOWAS and to look at casualties that can effect the outcome. As

noted in chapter one (Methodology, 1 - 10), the variables identified are as follows.

- Dependent
 - Independent
 - Intervening
- Well being
 - Political Actors
 - Enforcement Agencies
 - Good Governance
 - Security
 - International Environment
 - Beliefs and values

These variables are diagrammatically depicted below:

FIG. 4 VARIABLE CONTRIBUTING TO POLICY OUTCOME OF ECOWAS

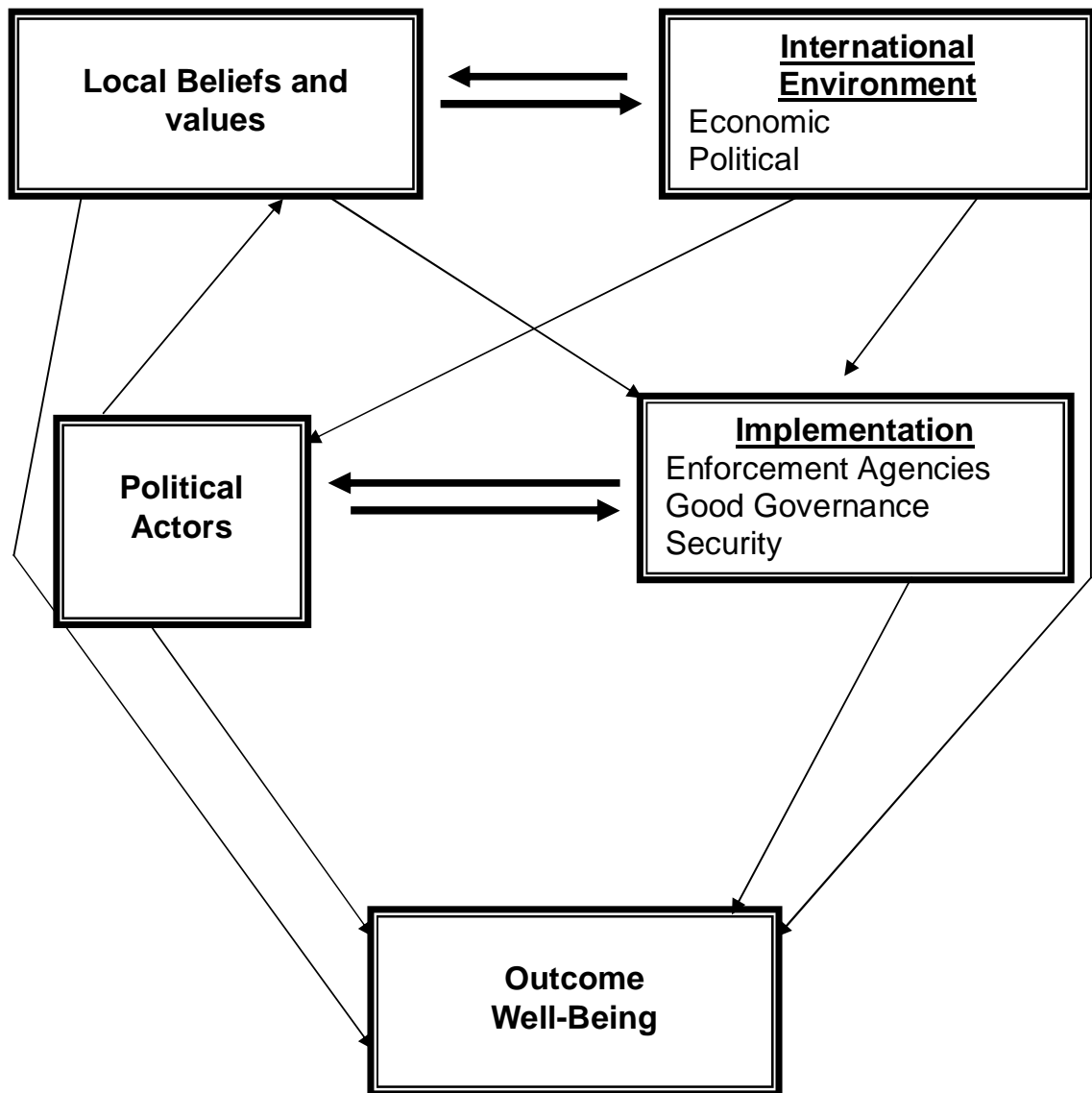


Figure 4: Variables contributing to policy Outcome of ECOWAS.

Wayne Parson (2000:88) states that

“a problem has to be defined, structured, located within certain boundaries and given a name. How this process happens proves crucial for the way in which a policy is addressed to a given problem. The words and concepts we employ to describe, analyze or categorize a problem will frame and mould the reality to which we seek to apply a policy or solution. The fact that we share the same data, or at least believe that we share the same data does not mean that we see the same thing. Values, beliefs, ideologies, interests and bias all shape perception of reality”.

It means that environment peculiarities affect policy. These shall now be examined.

THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES :

2.12 POLITICAL ACTORS

The first variable this study identified and analyzed is the political actors of ECOWAS. This factor is a predicator variable, because the actions of those framing the policy affect the outcome of the policy.

One definition quoted earlier is that “policy involves behaviour as well as intentions”. An assessment of the behaviours and intentions of the policy providers or actors is crucial to success. It is therefore appropriate to look at the political antecedents of ECOWAS and their actors.

Emergence to Independence : The various countries constituting ECOWAS basically emerged from colonialism in the 1960s. With the exception of Liberia all other 14 underwent political struggle to gain freedom. Their struggle was often times militant. Under this circumstance, governance was on the verge of either socialism or authoritarianism. Most political leaders ruled until forced out by the military who quickly installed authoritarianism and dictatorship and avoided mass political participation. Civil servants became the rulers. Public sector absorbed the finest human capital and the elite grew from the public sector. As has been defined, public sphere depends on actors’ reasons for state intervention. The more role states assume in the daily lives of citizens, the more socialist the government becomes. With poverty in common place, intervention became common and justifiable. Liberal democracy and capitalism became second place. Secondly, having gained independence, nationalism became a war cry to the extent that patriotism in its raw form dominated decision-making and conduct of affairs. A look at the

list of the political actors at the inception of ECOWAS will illustrate the trend at the time.

POLITICAL ACTORS FROM 1960s

- The Republic of Benin	Matthew Kerekou, a Military Ruler
- The Republic of Burkina Faso	One party Prime Minister
- The Republic of Cape Verde	Prime Minister
- The Republic of Cote D	Houphet Boaghny,
- The Republic of Gambia	Dauda Jawara Ruler from independence
- The Republic of Ghana	Military Ruler
- The Republic of Guinea	Sekou Toure
- The Republic of Guinea	Long serving ruler

Bissau.	
- The Republic of Liberia	William Tubman
- The Republic of Mali	Long serving ruler
-The Republic of Mauritania	Prime Minister
- The Republic of Niger	Long serving ruler
- The Republic of Nigeria	General Yakubu Gowon, Military Ruler and Prime Mover
- The Republic of Senegal	Leopod Seda Senghor
- The Republic of Sierra Leone	Siaka Stevens
- The Republic of Togo	Gnasengbe Eyadema Military – turned - Civilian Ruler

The tendencies of these political actors came through in the organization of ECOWAS as seen from its structure. The authority of Heads of states is the supreme body of the organization.

Influences Upon Actors: West African Countries were under colonialism until the 1960s. These countries were basically broken into two colonial spheres - Anglophone and Francophone. The two colonial masters engaged in rivalries in terms of development and political approach. Whereas the Anglophone countries were colonies which took control of their own destinies, Francophone adopted the assimilationist policy. This simply meant that those French colonial territories were extensions of France, the metropolis. These policies separated the two groups sharply hence uneven development in the sub-region. Unlike the European countries who had enjoyed cooperation among themselves, ECOWAS countries were polarized between the Anglophone and Francophone divisions. A brief detour into the historical perspective of the formation of ECOWAS will illuminate the unfavourable conditions at the time. France sought to hold tight to her colonies by controlling the economies of Francophone countries. France promoted in the 1970s the OCAM (Organization Commune Africaine et Malagache) and the CFA (Communaute Financiere). The CFA remain a strong threat even today to any monetary integration.

Francophone West African countries see Nigeria as a big nation seeking to dominate the sub region. In order to counter balance this weight, France established the CEAO (*Communaute Economic de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*) in 1973. Till date, mutual suspicion between the Francophone and the Anglophone state subsists. This phenomenon can best be placed in the following perspective by Aldrich, 1972 under Power and Resource Dependency. He argues:

“the interaction of organizations is a product of power relationships in which organizations can induce other less powerful and more dependent organizations to interact with them. In turn, those organizations which are dependent on other more resourceful organizations have to engage in strategies of working with more powerful organizations so as to secure their interests and maintain their relative autonomy or space within which to act”.

Wayne Parson (2000. 483). Here therefore lies one problematic area of ECOWAS. Could it be that the fear of dominance of Nigeria pushes others to find interaction with other powerful sources in order to obtain their independence of action? Till today the UEMORE comprising of eight francophone West African countries remain counterpoise to ECOWAS.

“DECIDING TO DECIDE”

2.13. Considering all these obstacles, one then wonders what placed ECOWAS on the agenda setting of the sub-region. In the policy process, initiation of policy or deciding to decide is a step in the analysis. How did the issue of ECOWAS become an agenda in the polity? The following reasons were given by Professor Aluko Olokun (1980) in his essay “Nigeria’s initiative in the Economic Community of the West African States”.

a. Political: Nigeria wanted an arrangement which would put an end to colonial divisiveness in West Africa. It was also believed that such arrangement would put an end to border disputes among the countries. It would strengthen West African countries in the bargain with the European Economic Community.

b. Security: Nigeria did not want to be surrounded by small countries heavily dependent on powers outside the sub-region. Nigeria’s security could not be assured under the external influences on these smaller neighbouring states by France in particular. Security of the Nigerian state became a strong issue

after its civil war experience with Ivory Coast and Benin Republics.

c. **Economic:** Nigeria would gain access to wider markets of the sub-region in drawing raw materials and in supplying to the large market.

By 1975 when ECOWAS was formally established, most countries got involved half-heartedly. This explains the slow pace of growth of ECOWAS and the reason why Nigeria shall continue to dominate ECOWAS arena. The implication of this situation has been explained elsewhere. To draw conclusion about the political actors therefore, it will be appropriate to say on the aggregate, the actors were fierce nationalists and socialists by the historical and socio-economic conditions. What emerges from the “funnel” of such policy process cannot be liberal. These founding fathers left a legacy that the new generation has not been able to turn around. From this variable, one needs to know that a totalitarian ideology cannot produce liberalism necessary for a free market enterprise (output). Looking at the “black box” of ECOWAS policy formation, the input factors which are “demand” and support” are devoid of mass political behaviour. West African States must therefore liberalize more in order to produce the

desired outcome (well-being) under the variable of good governance, this point has been further developed.

POWER APPROACH TO DECISION-MAKING

2.14. How decisions come to be made has been broken into variants according to Wayne Parson (2001). Six approaches to the analysis of decision making have been identified namely:

- * Elitism: which focuses on the way in which power is concentrated.
- * Pluralism: focuses on the way power is distributed.
- * Marxism: focuses on class conflict and economic power.
- * Corporatism: focuses on the power of professionals.
- * Technocracy: focuses on the power of technical experts.

(Wayne Parson 2000: 248).

Making in ECOWAS. Devoid of parliamentary democracy in ECOWAS and with political actors bugged-down in their home states by myriad of problems, technocrats take the centre stage of decision-making. Given that most of these technocrats are found in government employment as bureaucrats, that ECOWAS decision-making is organized around bureaucracy is the reality. The question of garrison state and how it applies to ECOWAS policy-process shall

be discussed further under the variables of security and enforcement agencies. That the elite decision may not in any way relate to the masses can be seen from the theory of free trade.

In Nigeria, manufacturers lobby to ban foreign goods they (manufacturers) produce. In time, prices go up and the masses pay to enrich the elite who use their wealth to further strengthen their hands. Lasswell (1936) was of the view that

“the study of politics is the study of influence and the influential. The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get. Those who get the most are elite, the rest are mass”.

That ban on foreign products benefit only the elite manufacturers has been discussed under trade liberalism. The summation of this section is that the political actors of ECOWAS are elite who constitute “garrison state” against the mass.

Prescription: It has been mentioned earlier that ECOWAS policies are within the precinct of economics. The theory is that free market economy provides the best form of economic enterprise. Its political counterpart is democracy. Variants of democracy exist. Their variations are within the continuum of totalitarian and liberal democracies. A diagram to illustrate this

is at figure 5. In order to mobilize the efforts of people into productivity, their liberal participation is a necessary condition. To this effect, unless the people participate in decision-making via liberal democratic norms,

What begets is techno-structure decision-making. Thus what we have this far is a techno-structure policy process. What could ameliorate this techno-structure is strong civil organization participating fully in policy initiation and implementation. ECOWAS institutional structure has limited participation.

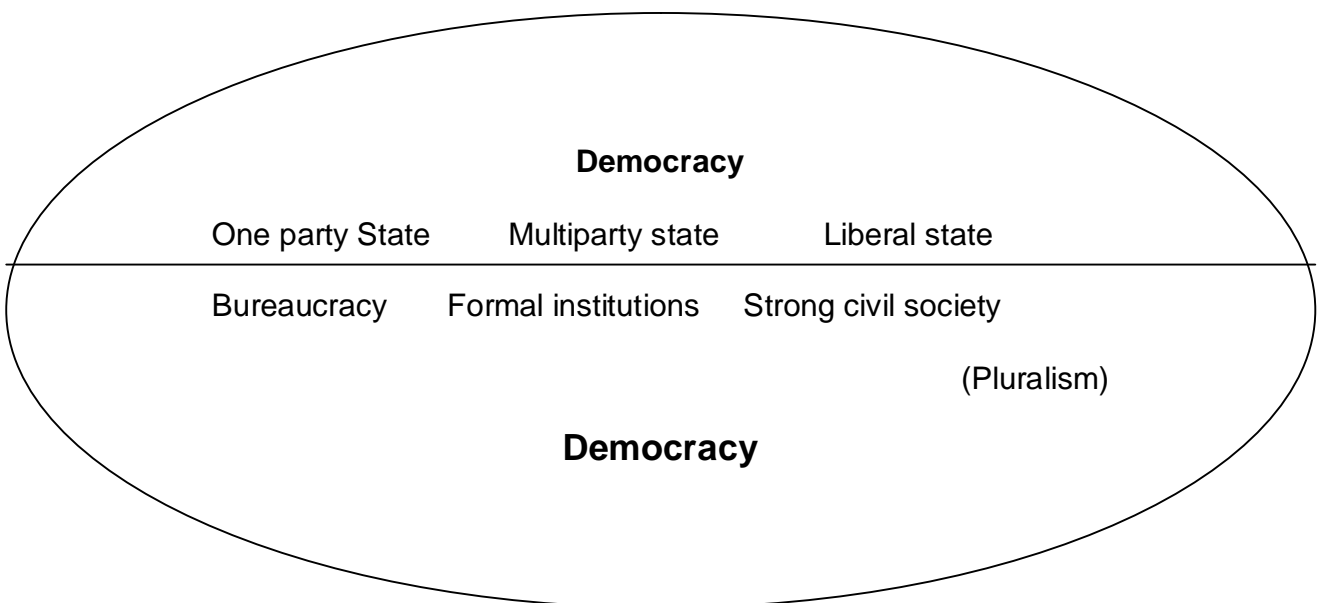


Figure 5: Variants of Democracy

In comparison with the EU, the economic and social committee performs very visible and decisive role in policy initiation quite unlike the ECOWAS where the role of this similar body is deadened. Policy process in the EU takes the form of liberal democracy in which the organization has independent structure of governance as indicated below:

- * Executive represented by the European Commission
 - * The legislature: The European parliament
 - * The judiciary: The European court of justice.
- Institutionalized committees: lobby groups and international liaisons.

From this perspective, it can be seen that ECOWAS is deficient in the liberal structure necessary for free enterprise. Below in figure 6 one can see an overview of EU arrangements.

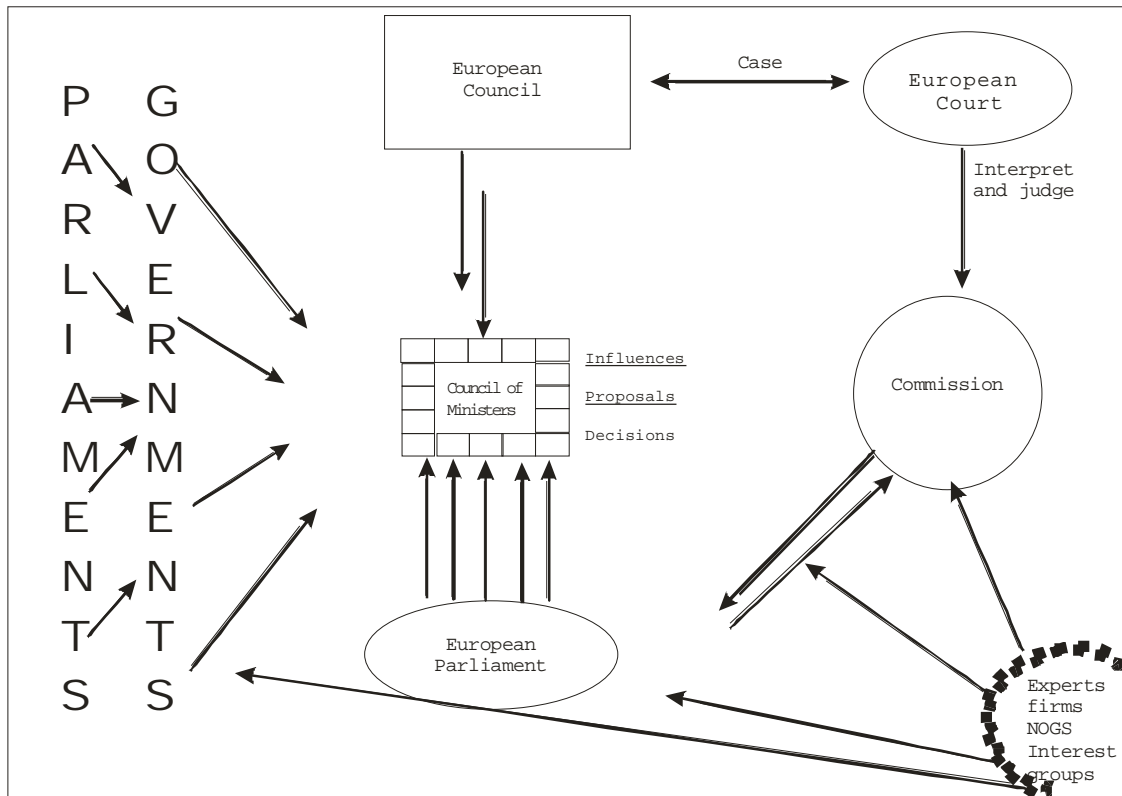


Fig. 6. The EU Instructional overview

Fig 6.The EU Institutional Overview

Source: H. Wallace and W. Wallace (2001:11)

Table 1: The structure of the European Commission, July 1999

Directorate- General	Policy area
DGI	External relations: trade and relations with most of the developed countries.
DGIA	External Relations: Europe and CIS, and CFSP
DGIB	External relations: Mediterranean, Middle East, Latin America
DGII	Economic and financial affairs

DGIII	Industry
DGIV	Competition
DGV	Employment, industrial relations, and social affairs
DGVI	Agriculture
DGVII	Transport
DGVIII	Development (and joint Service for Community Aid)
DGIX	Personnel and administration
DGX	Information, communication, and audiovisual
DGX I	Environment, nuclear safety, and civil protection
DGXII	Science, research and development (and joint Research Centre)
DGXIII	Telecommunications, information market, and exploitation of research
DGXIV	Fisheries
DGXV	Internal market and financial services
DGXVI	Regional policy and cohesion
DGXVII	Energy
DGXIX	Budget

DGXX	Financial control
DGXXI	Taxation and customs union
DGXXII	Education, training and youth
DGXXIII	Enterprise policy, distributive trades, tourism, and cooperatives.
DGXXIV	Consumer policy and health protection

Source: H. Wallace and W. Wallace

Responsible to the President

Secretariat - General

- * Task force for cooperation in justice and human affairs
- * Task force for coordination of fraud prevention
- * Institutional matters

Legal service

Security office

Forward Studies Unit

Inspectorate –General

Joint interpreting and Conference Service

Spokesman's Service

Other Services/Agencies

Statistical Office (Eurostat)

European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO)

Euratom Supply Agency

Office for Official Publications of European Communities (EUR-OP)

Translation Service

TABLE 3: NEW EU STRUCTURE FROM SEPTEMBER 1999

Commissioner	Area of responsibility
President	Secretariat-General Forward Studies Unit Legal Service Media and Communication Service
Vice-President for Administrative Reform.	Personnel and Administration DG Inspectorate – General Joint Interpreting and Conference Service Translation Service
Vice-President for Relations with the Parliament and Transport and Energy.	Secretariat-General, EP Transport DG Energy DG Euratom Supply Agency
Commissioner for Competition	Competition DG
Commissioner for Agriculture and Fisheries	Agriculture DG Fisheries DG
Commissioner for Enterprise and Information Society	Enterprise DG Information DG
Commissioner for Internal Market	Internal Market DG Customs and Taxation DG
Commissioner for Research	Research DG Joint Research Centre

Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs	Economic and Financial Affairs DG
Commissioner for External Relations	External Relations DG Common Service for External Relations
Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid	overall coordination with other Commissioners dealing with external relations Development DG European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO)
Commissioner for Enlargement	Enlargement Service
Commissioner for Trade	Trade DG
Commissioner for Health and Protection Consumer Protection	Health and Consumer DG
Commissioner for Regional Policy	Regional Policy DG and personal deals with inter governmental Conference
Commissioner for Education and Culture	Education and Culture DG Publications Office
Commissioner for Budget	Budget DG Financial Control DG Fraud Prevention Office (OLAF)
Commissioner for	Environment DG

Environment	Nuclear Control Office
Commissioner for Justice and Affairs	Justice and Home DG Home Affairs
Commissioner for Employment and DG Social Affairs	Employment and Social Affairs

The EU Commission (Executive Arm)

Source: H. Wallace and W. Wallace (2001)

OVERVIEW OF THE STRUCTURE OF ECOWAS

Below is an overview of the structure of ECOWAS from the view of the research

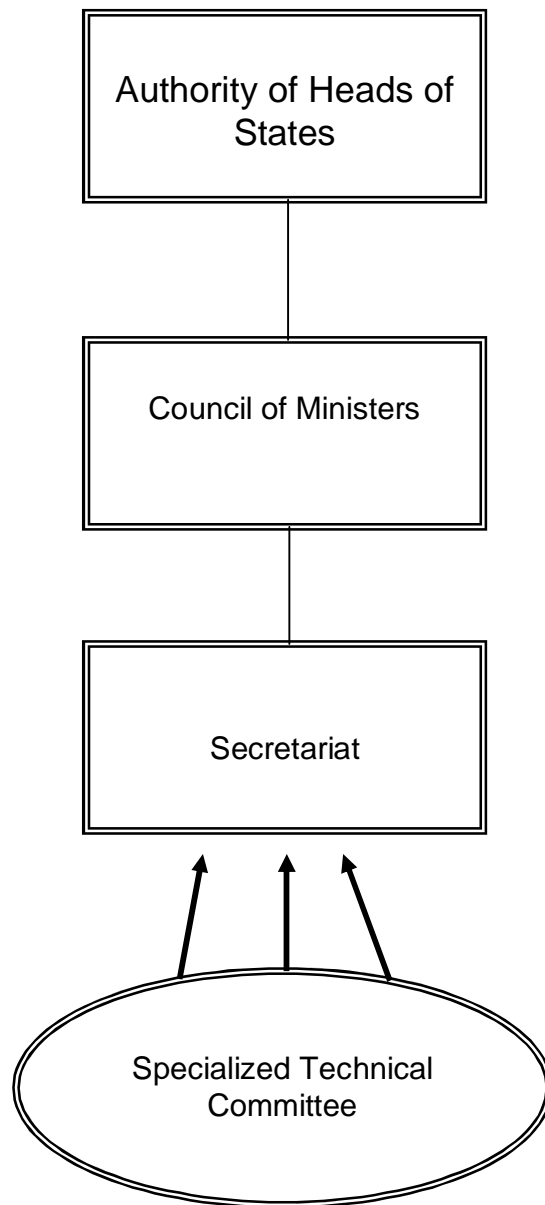


Fig.7 Overview of the structure of ECOWAS

There is a clear distinction between the structure of ECOWAS and that of the European Union. One is bureaucratic the other is democratic liberalism. These two are explained as follows:

ECOWAS BUREAUCRACY ORGANIZATION

2.15. *ECOWAS uses state bureaucracy organizations to formulate policies. Please see Appendix One. Essentially, the executive function is vested in the Authority of Heads of States and Governments. Article 7 of ECOWAS treaty makes this explicit. All initiatives emanate from the body of the Heads of States.*

Secondly, the Council of Ministers comprising of Ministers in charge of ECOWAS and any other Minister in the various countries make recommendations to the Authority.

Thirdly, the Council's parliament is constituted by nominations from parliaments of the various countries. It should be noted that all of these actors have primary assignments in their home countries while ECOWAS functions are their secondary assignments. What is most revealing about ECOWAS parliament in contrast to what it should be

is found in ECOWAS protocol relating to the parliament. The parliament is purely advisory. Article 6 of the protocol states:

The Parliament may consider any matter concerning the Community, in particular issues relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom and make recommendations to the institutions and organs of the Community.

“The Parliament may be consulted for its opinion on matters concerning the Community.

Fourthly, the Economic and Social Council which consists of representatives of economic and social sectors only work in advisory role. This set-up leaves ECOWAS in the hands of bureaucrats who prepare agenda and execute the functions. Please see article 19 in Appendix One. This is quite contrary to the institutions of the European Union.

INSTITUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU)

2.16. The basic Structure of the European Union is as follows:

- The European Commission is both secretariat and executive.
- The Council of EU, a Council of Ministers from Member States

- The European Council, a summit of Heads of States
- The European Parliament, directly elected based on proportional representations from member states
- The European Court of Justice, to uphold the rule of law, and the interpretation of disputed texts
- Other Treaty recognized institutions. These include Economic and Social Committee and Committee of the regions. These establishments offer private sector organizations the opportunity to consult and lobby on policies and for local and regional governments to project their cases on policy matters affecting their locality.

CONTRASTING BOTH INSTITUTIONS

2.17. The basic difference between ECOWAS institutions and those of EU is that whereas ECOWAS rests on governmental institutions, EU attracts divergent participation cutting across governmental and private sector coalitions. As has been noted elsewhere in this thesis, ECOWAS uses state bureaucracy organization forms to formulate policies whereas market organization is firmly linked with economic power. The following differences are thus highlighted:-

- ECOWAS heads of States are the authority - a totalitarian concept; the European Council is a summit to smoothen out difficult areas among the nations. It is to build up support or chart a new course. Wallace and Wallace (2000: 20)
- ECOWAS institutions are run by officials engaged elsewhere. EU officials are full time. Table 1 Shows that Director Generals are in charge of specific areas on full time. Table 2 shows the new organization with President, Vice President and Commissioners.
- EU is run with separation of powers - executive EU Commission; legislative EU parliament; Judiciary, European Court of Justice.
- ECOWAS is hierarchical, EU is multidimensional. See fig 1.
- ECOWAS Economic and Social Councils work in advisory capacity whereas the EU counterpart contributes actively in policy process.
- The EU has intra-national Committee as a forum for hearing local and regional opinions. ECOWAS has no such thing.
- All Ministers of the EU participate in the Council depending on the policy issue in question. In ECOWAS only the Minister in charge of ECOWAS and or one other are members.

The entire difference is that while the EU is a collective political system and not an inter-governmental system, ECOWAS is a bureaucratic inter-governmental regime.

THE IMPLEMENTATION

2.18. This study asked the question “can ECOWAS deliver?” Implementation is at the core of this question. This section therefore looks at implementation theories.

The Theories. Implementation in the policy process did not receive serious attention until the 1970s when it became obvious that policies were not meeting their goals. Terms began to emerge like, “implementation gap”, “Implementation failure”, “Implementation deficit”. Gunn (1978:1) observes, “academics have often seemed obsessed with policy formulation while leaving the practical details of policy implementation to administrators”. In a pioneering work by Pressman and Wildavsky, (1973) implementation was defined as: “The transmission of policy into a series of consequential actions”. Many other scholars followed these studies of implementation with other definitions as follows:

- Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:445) “Those actions by public or private individuals or groups that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions”.
- Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20-1) “Implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive order or court decision”.
- John P. (1998:204) “the stage in the policy process concerned with the turning of policy intentions into action”.

We wish to state here that policy process has been accepted more of a cyclical process than the stagiest process for as Anderson (1975:79) describes it: “Policy is made as it is being administered and administered as is being made”. Once policy hits the real world, reaction to it causes modification and reformulation. The impact of this assertion is to state that political actors as well as administrators are all involved in both the formulation and implementation, embroiled together.

PERFECT IMPLEMENTATION.

2.19. What we are dealing with in this study is about delivery or implementation. It is necessary to examine what an ideal implementation should look like. According to Christopher Hood (1976), five conditions must exist for a perfect implementation of policy:

- that ideal implementation is a product of a unitary “army”-like organization, with clear line of authority,
- that norms would be enforced and objectives given,
- that people would do what they are told and asked,
- that there would be perfect communication in and between units of organizations,
- that there would be no pressure of time.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) give ten pre-conditions namely:

- Circumstances external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints.
- Adequate time and resources are made available to the programme.
- Not only are there no constraints in terms of overall resources but also at each stage in the implementation

process, the required combination of resources is actually available.

- The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect.
- There is a single implementing agency which need not depend upon other agencies for success or, if any agencies must be involved, the dependency relationships are minimal in number and importance.
- There is complete understanding, and agreement upon, the objectives to be achieved; and these conditions persist throughout the implementation process.
- In moving towards agreed objectives, it is possible to specify, in complete detail and perfect sequence, the tasks to be performed by each participant.
- There is perfect communication among, and coordination of, the various elements involved in the programme.
- Those in authority can demand and obtain perfect obedience.

Having brought out the ideal type of implementation, one needs to look at the implementation arena of ECOWAS.

IMPLEMENTATION ARENA OF ECOWAS

2.20. The institutions for implementing ECOWAS policies are both multilateral and multilayered in nature. From ECOWAS protocols, it is clear that implementing institutions are basically individual state institutions. The relationship among the states therefore is that of horizontal inter-organizational collaboration. We talk here of agencies responsible for administration and enforcements of policies. These agencies include branch of government:

- Executive
- The Customs
- The Police
- The immigration
- The Judiciary

These agencies are predicator variables brought under enforcement agencies. E.g. Standards organization of Nigeria (SON), National Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) The organizational behaviours of these agencies determine the way of implementation of ECOWAS policies. According to Lester and Goggin (1985), in order to understand more fully the strategic choices of implementors and to be able to explain and predict implementation outcomes, we also need to know what are the interests, motives, and

resources of individual implementers. In other words, what role orientation do they ultimately adopt and whose interests are served. Bowe et al (1992) also state that:

“policies are textual interventions but they also carry with them material constraints and possibilities. The responses to these texts have real consequences. These consequences are experienced in the arena of practice to which policy refers. Policy is not simply received and implemented within this arena rather it is subject to interpretation and then recreated”.

These agencies work on behalf of the state but the role they play in the overall governance of the state is equally crucial. Hence, an understanding of governance and how devolution of power and legitimacy play within these states affect implementation. The negative role of government agencies can play in policy implementation can best be described in the words of the President of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA) Chief John Odeyemi who spoke to the Punch Newspaper Nov 17, 2004: Page 22.

“The Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture has expressed concern over the numerous check points along the boarder routes.”

A fact finding mission by the Export Action Group to Seme Cotonou border of the Republic of Benin revealed outrageous and worrisome numbers of checkpoints (numbering over 30). Numerous government agencies both along the route and at the border post itself were seen. The development apart from contravening the ECOWAS protocol of which Nigeria is a signatory also creates avenue for extortion by officials of these agencies.

The following variables therefore need to be discussed.

- a. Good Governance: to what extent has governance within the State legitimized and devolved responsibility.
- b. Enforcement Agencies: How have their organizational behaviour affected outcome.
- c. Security: How has freedom of movement being administered in ECOWAS.

Analysis of each of these variables is presented in the succeeding paragraphs:

GOOD GOVERNANCE

2.21. For policies to be formulated and implemented smoothly, the system has to be conducive. It has thus been said that free trade and liberal democracy are siamese twins. The extent to which democracy gets to the ideal, the better for policy. Hence this section looks at the meaning and context of “good governance”. First of all we want to look at the normative context then the ideal type. According to Wikipedia in the internet website: The terms governance and **good governance** are being increasingly used in development literature. Governance describes the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented): Whereby, public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources, and guarantee the realization of human rights. Good governance accomplishes this in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law.

Good governance defines an ideal, which is difficult to achieve in its totality. However, to ensure sustainable human development, actions must be taken to work towards this ideal. Major donors and international financial institutions, like IMF or World Bank, are increasingly basing their aid and loans on the condition that, reforms

that guarantee **good governance** are undertaken. Good governance can be understood as a set of 8 major characteristics:

- * participation,
- * rule of law,
- * transparency,
- * responsiveness,
- * consensus oriented,
- * equity and inclusiveness,
- * effectiveness and efficiency and
- * accountability.

These characteristics guarantee that

- * corruption is minimized,
- * the views of minorities are taken into account and
- * that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making.

PARTICIPATION.

2.22.* Participation by both men and women

- * participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives.
- * Participation also means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.

RULE OF LAW*

2.23. Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially.

- * Full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities.
- * It also means independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.

Transparency

- * Decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations.
- * Information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement.

Responsiveness

- * Institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.

Consensus oriented

- * Need of mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best

interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved.

- * It also requires a long-term perspective for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development.

Equity and inclusiveness

- * Ensuring that all members of society feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream.
- * This requires all groups, and especially the most vulnerable to have opportunities to maintain or improve their well-being.

Effectiveness and efficiency

- * Processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal.
- * It also means sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Accountability

- * Government institutions as well as the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and their institutional stakeholders.
- * In general organizations and institutions are accountable to those who will be affected by decisions or actions.

Scholars on public policy stretch the dimensions of good governance even further. Some samples are:

- Lynn et al (1999:2-3) : “regimes of laws, administrative rules, judicial rulings and practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable governmental activities”
- Rhodes (1997:15) “governance refers to self-organizing, inter-organizational networks”.
- Huxham (2000) “collaborative governance”. The definition this study has adopted is as below:

Milward and Provan (1999:3) say:

“Governance is concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rules and collective action, often including agents in the private and non profit sectors, as well as within the public sector. The essence of governance is its focus on governing mechanisms-grants, contracts, agreements -

that do not rest solely on the authority and sanctions of government”.

These ideas are conceptualized that governance may be designed “to incorporate a more complete understanding of the multiple levels of action and kinds of variables that can be expected to influence performance” (O’ Tool, 2000:276).

CONCLUSION:

2.24. There is no gain saying that implementation is best under good governance. Going by the criteria illustrated above, ECOWAS needs more efforts in good governance. No merchant of foreign land will send his goods to lands where he believes his goods and his interest shall not be protected by law and by the business conduct of agents of government. ECOWAS protocols mandate all member states to ensure harmony of operations and policies, These are far cry from the situation on ground. If ECOWAS is to ensure well-being and development for its people, a dedicated institution for good governance is essential. Indeed 80% of survey population of this study, mention good governance as a factor for trade within ECOWAS.

The study therefore recommends a directorate of good governance under the political directorate of ECOWAS due to the following reasons:

- * Mass participation in policy design of ECOWAS is low.
- * Participation by representatives is low, organized civil societies are hardly involved.
- * The rule of law is very weak as arbitrariness in conduct of affairs of agents of government is still rampant. Courts are congested and are manipulated. Private sector accountability is poor.
- * The legislative arm which should scrutinize rules and regulations are not properly constituted

ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AS A VARIABLE

2.25. Many of ECOWAS policies are in the areas of regulations (regulatory policies). These include:

- Trade tariffs
- Technical specifications or quality control
- Movement of people
- Mobility of labour
- Investment code etc.

The second major aspect of policy of ECOWAS is in the area of constituent policy which deals with establishments like:

- Joint venture
- Financial union
- Development Funds etc.

These areas are implemented by the following institutions:

- a. Executive Arms of Government i.e. Ministries/parastatals
e.g. National Agency for Food, Drugs Administration and Control, (NAFDAC).
- b. The Customs and Excise departments
- c. The Immigration Department
- d. The police Force
- e. The Judiciary

This indicates that policy implementation needs

- Inter-governmental collaboration
- Cross border multilateralism.
- Internal multilayered system as in Federal, State and Local Government structures/state-provincial peculiarities.

A lot of studies have gone to show that many things could go wrong under these circumstances. Here again one can refer to the President of NACCIMA in the same publication

“commenting on the issue of multiple taxes and levies by the government, the president said, the trends was of great concern to the business community and was a constrain to investment initiatives in the country especially among the Small and Medium Enterprises. The incessant harassment of delivery vehicles of business enterprises by government officials, especially at the state and local government levels should be stopped forthwith and complaint desks put in place in all local governments to promptly handle the complaints of business operations”.

It has been noted earlier the conditions for perfect implementation. Multilayered and multilateral structures pose considerable problems. Some of these can be analyzed here.

Single Implementing Agency: The single implementing Agency as a factor cannot be achieved in this circumstance. However, what organizations embark upon is codifications of operating procedures and guidelines. These are not available in ECOWAS except broad protocol memorandum of understandings which can be textually interpreted. For example, the customs department of all member countries should have a standard operating procedure which should be a well circulated field manual. None of these exist in ECOWAS. In the EU, field manuals are available to

implementing agencies. Of course these coded guidelines are normally authorized by the EU Parliament.

Communication: The coordinating agencies at the multilateral levels must have perfect communication among themselves. These are not available at the operational levels of the ECOWAS.

THE PRESENCE OF DISCRETION AMONG ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

2.26. It is characteristic of enforcement agencies of the West African States to apply discretion to their duties. While application of discretion is not new to policy implementation, its lack of control has made the phenomenon detrimental. Rules and discretion in public policy have engaged the study of scholars. Discretion is liberty to act at pleasure. It is also described as the freedom to choose an action to take at a given circumstance. K. C. Davis (1969:4) defines discretion as:

“A public Officer has discretion wherever the effective limits on his power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action and inaction”.

Discretion can violate the rule of law when applied without control or adequate supervision. In the case of ECOWAS enforcement

agencies, the mechanism for the control of discretion is not in place.

These include basically two components:

- * Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs): Large and diverse implementing organizations attempt to harmonize operations by the extensive use of rules, guidelines and regulations issued to the field operations. For example immigration or the customs should have ECOWAS field manual operating throughout the sub-region. There are none. The lack of this, subverts the intentions and purposes of policy as each agency at the multilateral level interprets the textual contents of policy according to its organizational behaviour.

- * Supervisory Directorates: In order to harmonize these enforcements, ECOWAS need to have directorates to liaise and supervise across borders. What ECOWAS has is grossly deficient in structure and modalities. ECOWAS has only four directorates lumping many major sectors together. For example, the directorate of Infrastructure and industry lump the following together:
 - Transport
 - Energy
 - Telecommunications,

- Mineral Resources,
- Industry.

Each of this is a sectoral area needing intensive attention. Based on reality therefore, figure 10 suggests a more comprehensive organogram for ECOWAS.

ORGANOGRAM FOR ECOWAS

2.27. In organization theory, institutions should be structured to fit. That structure must be contingent upon tasks.

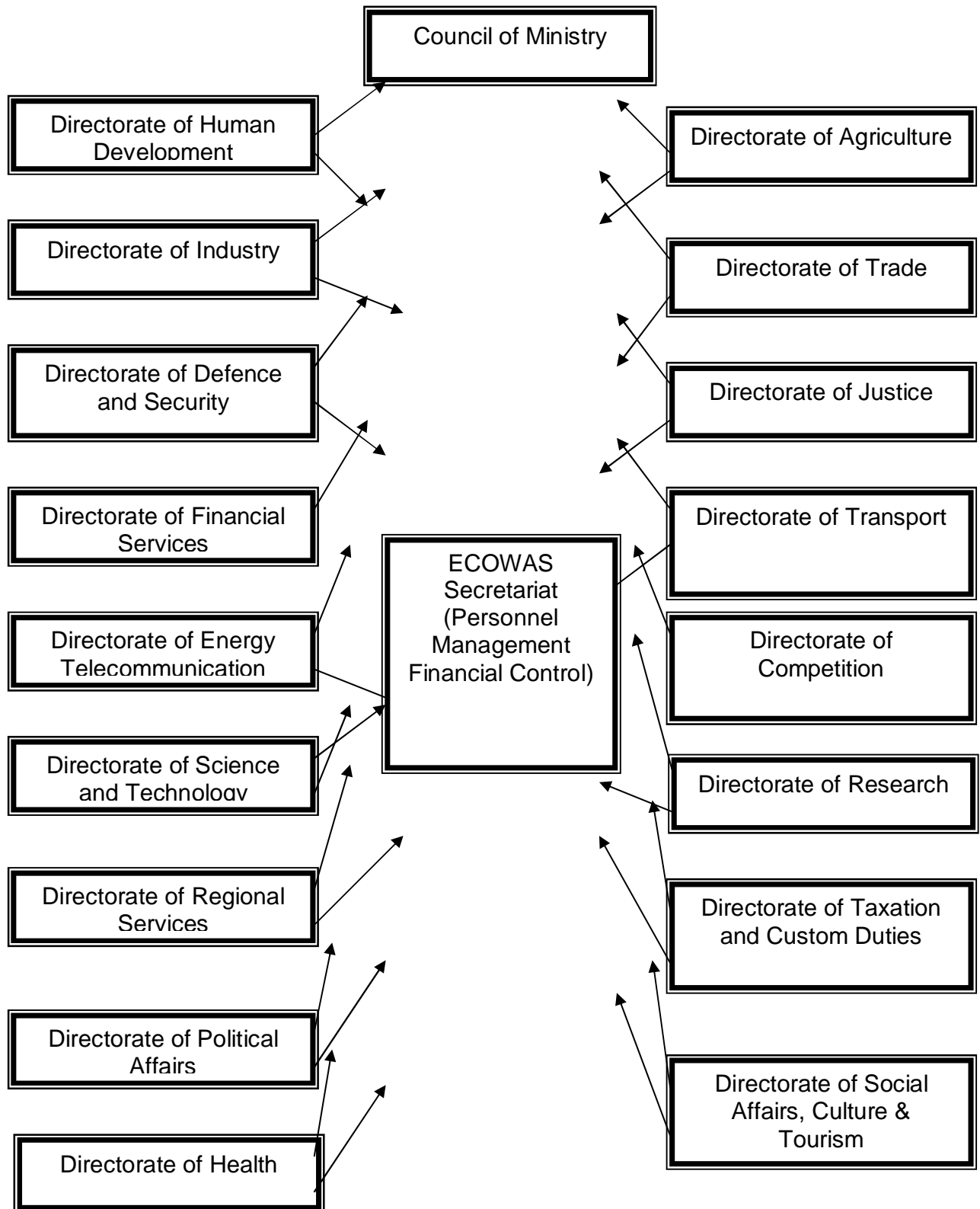
Concept of the Structure. The present structure of ECOWAS is the top-down model. Critics of this top-down model have argued that implementation of policies is far more complex than the hierarchical framework often applied. The emphasis in the re-structuring of ECOWAS should take into account delivery of policies and services, improving human resource management and better monitoring and evaluation. ECOWAS should therefore embrace new liberal institutionalized approach to policy delivery. ECOWAS structure should decentralize and be more performance-oriented. It should be driven by a sense of mission rather than red-tapism. It should be structured for prevention rather than cure.

Proposal: The structure of ECOWAS should be broken into two namely: the Administrative Headquarters and the Operational Directorates.

- **Administrative Headquarters.** The Secretary-General should lead this structure and be responsible for coordination and personnel management.
- **Directorates.** The directorates should be the operational arm of ECOWAS. Each should be headed by a Director-General. Each directorate should.
 - define objectives and formulate plans
 - monitor implementation
 - analyse for modification of policy
 - implementing change to remedy failures.

These directorates should have political heads who could be called commissions or ministers. The directorates should be responsible to the council

Fig. 8 Proposed ECOWAS Organogram



ORGANIZATION OF THE DIRECTORATES

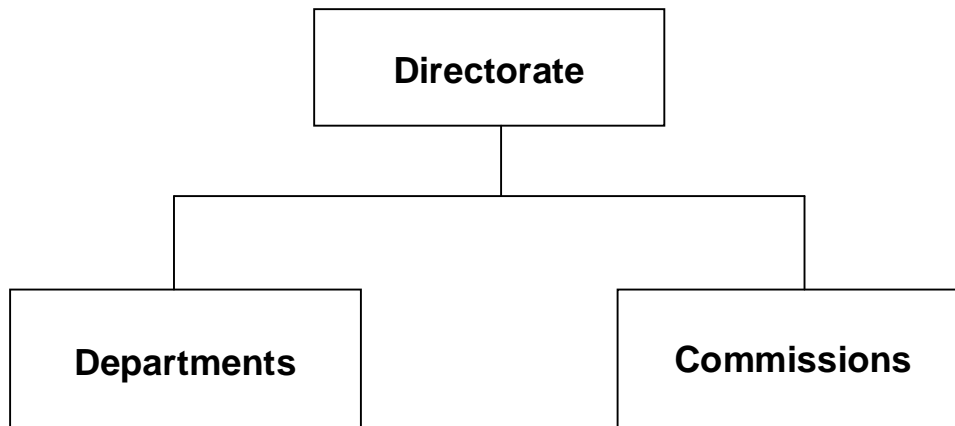


Fig. 9. Proposed ECOWAS ORGANOGRAM

***ECOWAS Parliament:** Legitimacy of rules and regulations of ECOWAS implementation should come from the ECOWAS Parliament. Accountability of enforcement agencies emanate first from ECOWAS laws and interpreted or adjudicated upon by the courts. These have not fully materialized. In the absence therefore of all these mechanism, discretion has been allowed to run wild and thus subvert the true intentions of policies. On this note, one would allow Proffas (1978:298) to place the summary in proper perspective.

“A general rule in the analysis of power is that an actor with low compliance observability is relatively autonomous. If it is difficult or costly to determine how an actor behaves

and the actor knows this, then he is under less compulsion to comply”.

Referring back to perfect implementation, it is incumbent that resources are available. Is there enough provision in the ECOWAS budget to supervise enforcement? It is the considered opinion of the research that ECOWAS has weak monitoring structures, funds towards this all important part of policy process is negligible.

ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY

2.28. The Judiciary plays very vital role in policy process. As we have seen, the parliament has not been active. What then will the judiciary work on? Citizens of the community are supposed to seek adjudication on matters of multiple levies, road blocks and other discriminatory practices. The lacks of these have caused local trade restrictions not contested by anybody. Indeed, imposition of levies by different layers of government within a member country as expressed by NACCIMA President needs to be contested at ECOWAS courts. Cartels exist in markets and motor parks. These hamper ECOWAS objectives. If plantain and banana are cheaper in Accra than Lagos, why cannot plantain be brought daily from Accra to Lagos markets? Courts should remove such barriers. The judiciary therefore has not been fully involved in ECOWAS policy process. Nor did the

originators of ECOWAS believe in the need for the court to be functional. The Community Court became functional in 2002, 27 years after ECOWAS was established. A look at the protocol establishing the court indicates that individual citizens or corporate bodies of ECOWAS cannot sue or be sued. Article 9 of the Protocol (July 1991) states inter alia:

The court shall also be competent to deal with disputes referred to it, in accordance with the provisions of Article 56 of the Treaty, by Member States or Authority, when such disputes arise between member states and institutions of the community on the interpretation or application of the provisions of the Treaty.

A member state may, on behalf of its nationals, institute proceedings against another Member state or institution of the Community, relating to the interpretation and application of the provisions of the Treaty, after attempts to settle the dispute amicably have failed.

Obviously individuals have no place in the minds of the policy framers. Quite unlike the EU example where individuals and corporate organizations seek legal interventions.

HOW ENFORCEMENT IS DONE IN THE EU

2.29. In the EU, policy enforcement strategies are designed to meet the needs of each policy domain. In most cases, they evolve from study groups and informal meetings of stakeholders. Going through most of these implementation strategies a pattern is discernable as follows:

- **National Regulatory Authority.** National regulatory authorities enforce policies using national resources.
- **Working groups.** Stakeholders and professionals meet informally to review matters of concern and proffer solutions. Their proposals are adopted for implementation. For example, quoted here below is a Council Resolution on the drafting, implementation and enforcement of community environmental law “In June 1997, the Environmental Council of the European Union, adopted a resolution. In this Resolution, the Council recognizes that IMPEL (the European Union Network in Implementation and Enforcement of Environmental Law) is a very useful informal instrument for the improvement of implementation, inspection and enforcement, through exchange of information and experiences on different administrative levels, as well as through training of inspectors and in-depth

discussions in environmental issues and enforcement aspects". It considers that the IMPEL Network "should also play in the future an important role during the different stages of the regulatory chain and could in particular give advice – on request or in its own initiative – on general questions regarding implementation and enforcement as well as on new draft proposal for community legislation in particular where input of practical experience is necessary". (Goinga, Betske, Fifth International Conference on Environmental Compliance and Enforcement. Brussels 2003). What this implies is that private organized initiatives are welcome on implementation of policies. It also goes to practicalise the policy phenomenon that policy formation could be approached incrementally particularly where professional input is required.

Supervisory Role of EU:

2.30. EU Commission carries out supervisory functions and authorization.

CONCLUSION

On the whole, private participation in ECOWAS policy process is lacking quite unlike in the EU.

SECURITY AS A VARIABLE

2.31. All societies need security in order to grow and prosper. Trade among nations can only prosper under a peaceful atmosphere. Thus many European leaders have attributed the prosperity of Europe to dividend of peace arising from 50 years of peace after the Second World War. Historically speaking, powers have signed treaties for free movement of goods and people. ECOWAS treaty does the same As it is well known, intentions or declarations are not an end by themselves. Prevailing real peace conditions are the situation upon which prosperity rest. What then is this security? Security is a vast term covering numerous fields like financial security, food security, national security, home security. In this work, security refers to safety. Therefore the following terms are referred to:

- Freedom from danger - crime, accidents, fire outbreak, natural disaster.
- Freedom from anxiety and fear
- Confidence - a feeling of trust in someone or something.

- Continuity, reliability.

www.answers.com/main/ntg-s-security has defined effective security as “a system which does exactly what we want it to do and nothing that we don’t want it to do even when someone else tries to make it behave differently”. By contrast insecurity is the quality or condition of being erratic, undependable, instability, precariousness, shakiness, unsteadiness, unsureness. All these words are attempts to capture the entire perception of security. What are its implications to ECOWAS? Without gainsaying, all the qualities of insecurity enumerated above apply to ECOWAS namely, the environment is erratic as communal clash can easily erupt, governments can close borders, unsteadiness in government pronouncements, shakiness in business deals etc. How serious does the European Union take security? A brief excursion into the literature of EU security policies is instructive.

THE EUROPEAN UNION SECURITY STRUCTURES

2.32. At the website of the European Union’s common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), credit to the success of the Union has been attributed to peace. Portions of the literature are quoted here:

Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history. The creation of the European Union has been central to this development. It has transformed the relations between our states and the lives of our citizens. European countries are committed to dealing peacefully with disputes and to co-operating through common institutions. Over this period, progressive spread of the rule of law and democracy, has seen authoritarian regimes change into secure, stable and dynamic democracies. -

[Http://europa.eu.int/comm/externalrelations/cfsp.](http://europa.eu.int/comm/externalrelations/cfsp)

Through this regime of peace, flow of trade and investment, the development of technology and the spread of democracy have brought freedom and prosperity to the people. The EU therefore has in place organs to address the serious business of security these are:

a. **Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)**. This is a body established with the following objectives:

- To safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, interdependence and integrity of the Union.

- To strengthen the security of the Union in all ways
- To preserve peace, in accordance with the international security and, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.
- To promote international co-operation.
- To develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There are several ways in which these objectives are to be pursued namely:

- defining principles and guidelines
- deciding on common strategies
- adopting joint actions and common positions
- maintaining presence in conflict areas by special representatives,
- responsible for humanitarian, development assistance, rehabilitation and reconstruction and sanctions regulations.

The CFSP has the following structures among others:

- Office of the High Representative (HR) for CFSP.
- The Committee of permanent representatives.
- Political and security Committee.
- Policy Planning and early warning unit.

- The European Military Committee.
- The European Union Military staff.
- The Politico-military Group.
- The Committee for Civilian Aspect of Crises Management.

b. **European Defence Agency.** This Agency is “to support the member states in their efforts to improve European defence capabilities in the field of crises management.

c. **Civilian Crises Management.** This is a body charged to specialize in:

- police capability,
- strengthen the rule of law,
- Civil Administration expertise,
- Civil protection.

d. **The Organization for Security and co-operation in Europe (OSCE).** Although this body is not under the umbrella of the EU, it plays a very vital and collaborative role with the EU. Its functions include:

- Anti-trafficking,
- Arms control,
- Politico-military security,

- Conflict prevention,
- Border Management,
- Anti-terrorism,
- Democratization.

NATIONAL MINORITY COMMISSION

A feature worthy of note is the National Minorities Commission. This is a commission which seeks to mediate in a proactive manner all internal state conflicts. Were this to be in place, Ivory Coast would not have lapsed into war when minority rights were being denied in their constitution. One would wonder here what role is ECOWAS playing in the Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria.

ECOWAS DEFFICIENCY.

2.33. ECOWAS is yet to address the issue of security with the seriousness it deserves. It should be noted that security is a precondition for development. Conflict not only destroys infrastructure, including social infrastructure, it also encourages criminality, deter investment and makes normal economic activities impossible. EU studies have stated that Sub-Saharan Africa is poorer than it was ten years ago. These failures have been linked to political

problems and violent conflicts. In West Africa, conflict is rampant as we have seen in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and in low intensity, Togo and Nigeria. All these have to do with minority rights. Structures required to address all these problems should include the following:

- a. ECOWAS Minorities Commission
- b. Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Commission.
- c. Security Co-operation Commission.
- d. Court of Conciliation and Arbitration.

In order to avoid this work becoming too comprehensive, these areas mentioned above are not expanded. for they constitute studies in themselves. One area of security hardly discussed is the dimension mentioned under the definition of security: business ethics, how the sanctity of business transactions among partners and associates can be assured. National laws should be harmonized while private sector accountability need to be strengthened in order to establish confidence among business associates and partners across the community. This is where cooperation among professional bodies across the community need to be encouraged. This requires special efforts. A literature review on EU indicates that Europeans, work hard on this aspect to achieve a measure of success. West Africans have not worked hard on theirs.

VALUES AND BELIEFS AS A VARIABLE

2.34. The starting point for the discussion of this variable is perhaps to let the European Union example set the tone. Helen Wallace and William Wallace (2000:5) make the following point:

First, the European Union policy process is based on the West European experience. So far the member countries of EU and its various precursors have been West European countries with market economies and liberal democracy policies. Second, the West European experiences in which the EU is embedded is one of which dense multilateralism is a strong feature...Western Europe is a region of countries with an apparent predisposition to engage in cross-border regime building. In part, this relates to specific culture of history and geography, but it seems also to be connected to a political culture of investing in institutionalized co-operation with neighbours and partners.

What then do we mean when we say structuralism? Chambers Dictionary gives the meaning as “the belief in and study of unconscious, underlying patterns in thought, behaviour, social

organization etc”. These refer to issues of ethnicity, religion, customs, practices, nationalism and all those things that characterize a society. The totality of these characteristics shape policy process and in the end, outcome. In the Estonian “black box” theory, input into policy formulation stage relate to the societal structures. What therefore goes into ECOWAS decision-making process and the outcome is a function of structuralism. A thorough discussion of values and beliefs in the ECOWAS sub region is therefore necessary.

Under examination here is the political and economic practices of the people of West African States. Schwarzmantel expresses a point on the influence of structure to policy process that

running through any policy process is a series of strong biases and influences on action..., social change in which the policy process plays an important part, involves a dynamic in which structure influences action and is at the same time altered by that action.

Hill (1997:62). These structures need to be put in the historical perspective.

a. Political Practices. Historically, West African kingdoms were ruled by kings who made laws, administered them, and adjudicated in them. They apportioned patronages according to their

wishes. In return, the people revered their kings unquestionably and oppositions were dealt with ruthlessly. This antecedent has cast in the mind of both modern rulers and the masses, the totalitarianism of government even in these modern states. The masses defer the business of governance to government institutions and public officers unquestionably. Therefore instead of confronting government, abandon or yield to them is the refrain.

The concept of good governance which embraces devolution of powers between the public and private sectors has not taken shape. Political actors on their part apply power with absolute might. Inter ethnic and inter tribal cooperation has not been embraced. The history of West Africans is basically that of tribal wars and rivalries. At the emergence of democracies in nation-states, political actors played on ethnicity and class to attain power and remained in it by playing ethnic card. Rivalry over the sharing of national resources polarized and still polarize people. Secondly, colonialism made sure West Africans were pigeon-holed in Anglophone and Francophone dichotomies. After independence and to this day nationalism still runs high at the international arena. In sum, ECOWAS political environment is divorced of liberal democracy where political mass movement is involved, where professionals make input into policy and where deliberative networking is popular. Miles and Scott (2002:159) write that “one explanation for Africa’s poor growth

performance that has been the subject of much research is its ethno-linguistic diversity. Many African countries are composed of several large cultural groups, each with its own language and practices. In part this is the legacy of European Colonialism, which at the end of the nineteenth century created national boundaries that served government policies. Such polarized societies may be more prone to competitive (rent-seeking) as each group tries to extract resources from other ethnic groups and to find it more difficult to reach agreement over public goods". According to Easterly and Levine (1997): "If Nigeria had the world average level of ethno-linguistic diversity, it could have doubled its growth rate" Ethno-linguistic diversity may also lead to civil wars. Wars tend to destroy internal infrastructures and leave legacy of distrust which hinders economic growth. The more convergent a people are, the more prosperous they get hence the European success.

That ECOWAS has therefore not invested in good governance is a puzzle. Civilian conflict management needs to be instituted to educate the people on the reality of ethno-linguistic problems and how to overcome them. As developed as the EU is, civilian conflict management remains high profile in their affairs. It is with this in view that a department of conflict management in the ECOWAS as under the directorate of good governance is suggested.

Economic Practices. West Africans basically live in subsistence economy. This is an economy whereby a family produces its own food requirement, build their own homes through their own labour and give away their surpluses free to their needy neighbours. Specialization of labour is therefore limited to urban areas. Demography of the people indicates that only 37% live in urban areas. European needs rather than boundaries that created ethnic homogeneity. Ethno-linguistically diverse nations tend to have poor Trade in modern technology thus takes place among less than 50% of the people. Besides, traditional values like lending and profiteering is offensive both by religion and by traditional values. This makes entrepreneurship initiative low. Quite contrary to Europeans of the industrialized world, making money by entrepreneurship has little room for primordial sentiments. The volume of output in productivity is thus low as a result of this mentality of West Africans. Monetary economy, is at the core of trade. Economic structures and institutions in the West African Community is very weak. Another dimension on the economy is the penchant for West Africans to operate in cartels. Local cartels rule in the spheres of commerce in particular. Local unions operate in authoritarian manner to exclude others from their local markets. For example, a garri merchant cannot divert his goods to another geographical market place. Unorthodox methods of

sanction by unions have always created fear among themselves. These local practices, shackle progress in the ECOWAS community. In order for ECOWAS policies to come to fruition, these local cartels need to be outlawed. ECOWAS has left this phenomenon go on in individual states without a challenge. Do West Africans then believe in trade liberalization? The conclusion here based on observed practices is no.

THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

AS AN INTERVENING VARIABLE

2.36. A consideration of world trends and forces in policy analysis began to be more prominent from the 1980s and 1990s when the influences of globalization became more prominent. Policy agendas are no longer set and defined within purely national boundaries. Karl Deutsche (1981:331) remarks that in the present-day world, the state is both indispensable and inadequate. It is an indispensable instrument to get things done and to deal with many problems. But it is inadequate to cope with an increasing number of other problems of life and death for many of its inhabitants. In order to bring growth and improved standard of living to West Africans, issues like poverty, trade, environment, drugs, transnational cooperation

permeate the world today. The influence of world economy upon states now defines policy-making. At the initiation of ECOWAS, one reason adduced was to use ECOWAS as a bargaining power in world economy where institutions like the European Economic Community dictated trade. ECOWAS was also supposed to be an emulation of the successes of the EEC. Harrop (1992:263) observes that the international environment forms much of the context of national policy-making. Policy makers in each country share a policy context formed by the international economic cycle of prosperity, recession, depression and recovery...policy-makers in one country seek to emulate the success of colleagues overseas. West African countries cannot therefore have independence of action based on the world economic order. The West African community is indebted to the industrialized world of the West in a manner that debt burden cripples the growth of the sub-region. On account of this, decisions at the group of 8 industrialized nations must necessarily have impacts upon the well-being of West Africans. As a postscript, it is noted here that African nations have just been granted 60% debt pardon. Writing in Peter Dicken (1988) notes that the main sources of global shift are transnational corporations which organize production on a world-wide basis, the policies pursued by national governments and the enabling technologies of transport, communication and production. As patterns of change are increasingly the outcome of forces operating on a

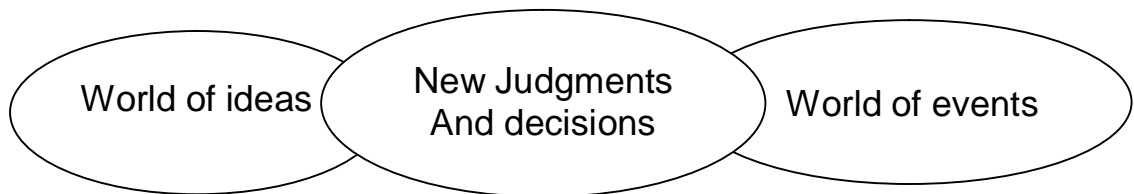
global scale, the ability of national governments to formulate policies independently of these changes is being fundamentally weakened. In effect this means that the well-being of nations, regions, cities and other communities depend increasingly not merely on events in their own local levels but on what happens at a much larger geographical scale. Thus, international environment becomes an intervening variable which ECOWAS policy-makers cannot control. What seems more helpful by way of policy-making therefore is the creation of the right kind of business climate for the new modes of production and trade. It may then seem more expedient for ECOWAS to create a more conducive environment for world economic order rather than the “us versus them” approach. If for example Nigerian-produced cement is costlier than the third country cement, will it be helpful for Ghana to buy from Nigeria? It seems logical therefore that ECOWAS encourages core competence in non technology based products and services rather than engage in trade barriers. The economic reality is that ECOWAS countries cannot buy more than their resource capacity. In order to raise resource capacity, there is need to massively inject foreign investments. Capacity building seems rather more realistic under this circumstance of world economic system. The treaty of ECOWAS needed therefore to be re-written to lay emphasis not on creating trade territory but by creating relationships leading to integration with the world economic system. As it is presently

constituted, ECOWAS trade regime is based on free trade among the community but not outside the community. Such trade discriminatory policies have not been helpful in the last 30 years.

SITUATIONAL SHIFT

2.37. Policy-making operate within situations. The context under which ECOWAS was structured has changed since the last 30 years. According to Vickers (1965) Policy-making is something which may be seen as the outcome of a conjunction of the world of ideas and the world of events: new judgment and decisions are the result. Analysis of policy-making must seek to map and chart how such conjunction has taken place to produce new policies or decision. Figure 10 illustrates this idea.

Figure 10: The Integration of Ideas and Events.



Source: Adapted from Vickers (Wayne Parson)

In responding to the international environment therefore, it is imperative for ECOWAS to re-design and re-strategise to meet the realities of the world environment. ECOWAS policies should shift from trade discrimination of third countries, embrace world trade system and concentrate on capacity building to accommodate the new world order of transnational corporation.

CAPACITY BUILDING MEASURES

2.38. What follows pursuant to the above assertion is how to build ECOWAS capacity. These measures are examined hereunder.

Total Factor Production. The policies and the policy styles of national governments differ due to differences in the pattern of business i.e. – government relations, state traditions, institutional arrangements and the role of labour organizations (Daniels: 1992).

This view is corroborated below: *“The success of nations economic performances will diverge notwithstanding the convergence of the global economy. Total factor production is the measure of efficiency with which factor input are combined to produce output. These range*

from technological progress to social conventions that dictate which careers are respectable (Miles and Scott, 2002:76).

What this theory explains is that where capital stock might be the same, labour output and the environmental conditions of how business is conducted reflect the social and cultural institutions and mores. In a study by the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, “Why Do some countries produce so much more output per worker than others?” (Hall and Jones (1999:83-116), revealing statistics were produced. For example the output per worker of the United States is 35 times more than that of the Nigerien (The Republic of Niger) worker yet the difference in capital and labour is 4.7 times higher in favour of the United States. Similarly, output per worker in India is only 9% than that of the United States, whereas it could have been 71%. ECOWAS could do with removing all social infrastructural impediments by investing in institutions to promote total factor production. Such institutions abound in the European Union. Towards capacity building therefore, EOCWAS should finance institutions like Institute for Peace and Security, Institute for Good Governance, ECOWAS Business School, Research and Development Centre, etc. In addition, studies should be commissioned on how to improve our ways of life.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Foreign Direct Investments is the capital stock inflow into a nation. This investment is injected directly in form of foreign firms building factories, etc in recipient countries. Why cannot ECOWAS jointly negotiate for FDI to build strategic industries across the community? If they can jointly negotiate for debt relief, they should be able to jointly attract FDI to boost the economies. ECOWAS should therefore open their markets and take advantage of globalization. Asian countries have done this to success.

BUDGETING AS MECHANISM FOR DISTRIBUTION

2.39. One of the objectives of ECOWAS is to pool resources together. It seems that 30 years on, ECOWAS has no projects for the infrastructural development of the sub-region. A look at the budgets of ECOWAS indicate that budgetary allocation is basically recurrent. Where there are capital budgets they are meant for ECOWAS administration. ECOWAS should identify crucial infrastructures in individual states and finance them. Such infrastructures include: bridges as for example the lagoon between Lungi and Freetown in Sierra Leone, etc.. ECOWAS budget should therefore move away

from administrative expenditure to heavy investments on infrastructures.

THE INTEGRATION EFFORTS

ECOWAS seeks to integrate its 15 member states into a community. One of the key aims and objectives of the union is to promote cooperation and integration. Economists generally believe that all countries undergoing economic modernization must increasingly resemble one another. They must unify nationally on the basis of a centralized state, urbanize, replace traditional forms of social organization like tribe, sect and family with economically rational ones based on function and efficiency and provide the universal education of their citizens. Integration efforts should be at two fronts - at the national and community levels. At the national levels, a social revolution must take place such that common and predictable pattern of behaviour should be established. At the community level, common pattern of doing business should be entrenched. Policies to integrate the sub-region should broadly be along the line of executive, parliamentary and the judiciary.

The Executive Arm Full time ministers should serve on the executive commission. The executive presidency should be rotated among countries and based on competence of personalities. The president should have his agenda upon which he is elected and his success or failure determined by the agenda. There should be ministers as cabinet members who should fit into an agenda with measurable evaluation. Through this system all, segments of the community can relate to the commission for whatever intra-national agenda suitable to its peculiarities.

The Legislative Arm: To integrate the sub-region properly, ECOWAS parliament has to function independently. At the moment, representatives are nominated from national parliaments. Currently, the speaker of ECOWAS parliament is the Deputy Senate President of the Nigerian Senate. This trivializes the functions of the parliament. What should take place is that the entire community should be delineated into electoral constituencies. Elected representatives of the people should legislate at the parliament. This approach will foster real integration as all peoples of the community would be represented. It is only then that debates and decisions shall be truly from the people.

It is noted that article 7i(i) of the protocol establishing ECOWAS parliament states that election into the parliament shall be by direct universal suffrage by citizens of member states, this has not been practised. (ECOWAS Official Journal vol 27, Jul/Aug 1994).

The Judiciary The judiciary should work hand in hand with the legislature. In this circumstance, the judiciary can only interpret the Charter. All details of infringements or what constitutes it in detail cannot be adjudicated upon. For example is it legal for multiple taxation and road blocks to exist on ECOWAS highways? What is the position of ECOWAS regulations on the subject matter. What standard operating procedures are the Customs and Immigration adopting? Are the proforma to be filled by ECOWAS members proper and conforms with standards? What about competition laws? Do country laws and regulations promote or impede ECOWAS policies? These are issues which must first be codified by the parliament and then interpreted by the judiciary. These are lacking. It is therefore the contention of this study, that integration is far from being achieved.

Budgetary System It has been mentioned that budgeting is central to integration. The present budgetary system is defective due to the weakness of other institutions, namely the executive and

legislative. Presently, ECOWAS budgets are essentially re-current expenditure to cover administration.

Budgeting to promote things like infrastructures, capital projects etc are lacking. There are no ECOWAS capital projects the way there are EU funded capital projects. It is therefore the considered view of this study that budgeting as a means for integration of the community is inadequate.

EVALUATION

2.40. The hypothesis of this research work conjectures that beliefs and values of the West African states are skewed against the delivery of the objectives of ECOWAS. This necessitates that the mechanism for delivery be examined and delivery outcome assessed. This part of the research explains how well-being becomes the variable for the assessment and rationale for the measurements adopted. All data relating to the empirical study are presented in chapter 4. The definition of Thomas Dye (1987:351) is preferred in this research and has been used to define what this evaluation should do. It says:

Policy evaluation research is the objective, systematic, empirical examination of the effects on-going policies and

public programme have on their target in terms of the goals they are meant to achieve.

Article 3 of the treaty of ECOWAS states the aims and objectives.

These are highlighted as follows:

- To promote cooperation and integration
- To establish an economic union
- To raise standard of living of its people
- To maintain and enhance economic stability.
- To contribute to the progress and development of the continent.

WELL- BEING AS A DEPENDENT VARIABLE

2.41. It has been said, the outcome ECOWAS policies seek is the well- being of the peoples of West African States. The outcome is said to be successful if well- being rises. Good outcome is therefore measured by the well-being. The issue of well being as the dependent variable shall therefore be discussed from the perspective of the economist.

The economist's meaning of well-being is human welfare; the satisfaction of human wants and desires. The measurement for these wants and desires is difficult to establish due to different values and

beliefs. This is particularly tasking in the West African community where there are different religions, ethnicity and cultures. For example due to religious beliefs, some people do not engage in business speculation and lending with interest. To such people, such practices are exploitation and therefore ungodly. To the industrial society, credit and risk taking is a huge contribution to economic development. To some others, materialism does not offer true happiness or well-being. It is the spiritual well-being that matters. Regardless however, economists have attempted to provide measurement for well-being. The United Nations Human Development index is an annual assessment of well-being of people across the world. The measurement adopted by the body was developed in 1990 by the Pakistani Economist, Mahbub UI Hag.

These measures are as listed below:

- Life Expectancy at Birth
- Adult Literacy Rate
- Combined Gross Enrolment Ratio for Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Schools
- Gross Domestic product Per Capita.

(Source: www.worldbank.org/data)

One shortcoming of this economist's approach has been that basing a nation's total output on monetary terms does not embrace all outputs. In particular, domestic work and assistance rendered to neighbours and community free of charge are not computed. Whereas in West Africa, these un-monitized productivity constitute a huge contribution to well-being of West Africans. In the absence of any other yardstick however, the researcher sticks to the HDI measurement.

Economic Growth. At the core of ECOWAS objectives is economic growth measured by per capita income. How can ECOWAS assist West African countries in economic growth. It is economic growth that improves the standard of living. According to a study (OECD: 1995), it is the rise in labour productivity that increases standard of living. In 1870, the United States workers produced output worth \$2.26 (in 1990 prices) every hour. In 1992, it was \$29.10. This measurement through productivity shows how many hours a worker has to work in order to consume certain commodities. The higher his output per hour, the more his capability to consume desired things. One is thus justified to use productivity and income to assess well-being.

EVALUATION

These determinants shall now be presented through authoritative data as prescribed.

UN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX 2002

S/N	COUNTRY	LIFE EXPECTANCY (YEARS)	COMBINED GROSS SCHOOL ENROLMENT UP TO TERTIARY (%)	PER CAPITAL (US \$)
1.	Norway	78.9	98	36,600
2.	Canada	79.3	95	29,480
3.	United States	77.0	92	35,750
4.	Japan	81.5	84	26,940
5.	United Kingdom	87.1	99	26,150
6.	Singapore	78.0	87	24,040
7.	Mauritius	71.9	69	10,810
8.	Cape Verde	70.0	73	5,000
9.	South Africa	48.8	77	10,070
10.	Ghana	57.8	46	2,130
11.	Togo	49.9	67	1,480
12.	Nigeria	51.6	45	860
13.	Gambia	53.9	45	1,690
14.	Senegal	52.7	38	1,580
15.	Guinea	48.9	29	2,100
16.	Benin	50.7	52	1,070
17.	Cote	41.2	42	1,520

	D'Ivoire			
18.	Mali	48.5	26	930
19.	Burkina Faso	45.8	22	1,100
20.	Niger	46	19	800
21.	Sierra Leone	34.3	45	520

Source:

http://encyclopedia.laborlawtalk.com/un_human_development_index

From the data above one can see that those countries with school enrolment of above 90% lead the high income bracket (Norway, United Kingdom, Canada) people of these countries also live longer in age whereas those in the low bracket of school enrolment 22% - 45% etc. earn far less per capita and live shorter.

It can therefore be deduced from this data that the well beings of individuals improve by their income. The theory deducible from here is that: **Education generates higher income, income promotes longevity.**

From ECOWAS policies to make meaningful impact to the people, their levels of education need to be raised in order to enhance their productivity.

Determinants of Economic Growth. Several empirical studies have been conducted by scholars on what accounts for standard of living. In one of such studies, the determination of economic growth, the following variables were identified:

- Human capital (secondary and tertiary years of education) + effect
- Life expectancy + effect
- Fertility Rate - effect
- Government Consumption As share of GDP- effect
- Rule of law index + effect
- Terms of trade + effect

Source: The Determinant of Economic Growth
(Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1997)

Protectionist Policies. Yet another study on why Africa is poor, has identified strong protectionist policies (what militates against us is what ECOWAS seeks to strengthen) and **ethno-linguistic diversities**. These are areas ECOWAS should study and create institutions to eliminate such obstacles. Proper integration could be the answer. It is in realization of the shackles of ethno-linguistic

diversity that this work had to touch on sovereignty and integration. Suffice to say as a closing remark here that investment on how to improve productivity of workers in the sub-region is more paramount to tariff regimes etc. For it is only when you are a player in the competitive market that one can create monopolies. Right now ECOWAS is not in a position to do that neither were they in such strong position.

DATA FROM CITIZENS

In this study, data of volume of trade was collected from practitioners in the informal sector. This has been fully explained in Chapters Three and Four.

SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRATION

2.42. It has been mentioned how various studies have indicated that ethno-linguistic diversity has hampered growth in Africa. ECOWAS countries embody this phenomenon. This has caused the polarization of the society and affected social infrastructures. Government policies have often times failed due to poor distributional policies arising from ethnic rivalries and animosities. In the European Union, there is Minority Nationality Commission. This Commission helps to remove

minority fears and marginalization. ECOWAS has no such mechanism. At the bottom of this problem is the notion of sovereignty: Sovereignty as in supremacy syndrome and creation of fiefdoms for the purpose of monopoly. This tendency to be an authority onto ourselves permeate the entire spectrum of the sub-region. The challenge of ECOWAS therefore is how to integrate the society. Integrative ventures need to be embarked upon rigorously in order to obviate the problem of little power bases. It is integration that will release the entire region as one market. One major way is to encourage shared values and beliefs, budgetary allocation to distribute social infrastructures and the creation of institutions for the solution of our common problems. The problem of low productive capacity is a collective issue arising from our geographical location. Studies have shown that:

- Agriculture is less productive in tropical areas and agricultural innovations tend to be designed for the temperate regions, making their adoption problematic in the tropics. Since 93% of Sub-Saharan Africa is tropical, this is a major restraint on its standard of living.

CONCLUSION

2.43. In this chapter, several literature reviews have been done to shed light on how ECOWAS policy process has been and ought to be (analysis of the policy process and analysis in the policy process). The variables examined conclude that:

- Political Actors are restricted. Instead of being pluralistic in a true liberal democratic setting, it is dominated by bureaucratic type decision-making. This has therefore not enhanced policy output. The “funnel was used as illustration of what goes in producing what comes out. This is why ECOWAS organization is more institutional than structural.

- Good governance involves devolution of power to society in general. All elements of good governance namely accountability, the rule of law, private participation in governance and decision-making are essential elements to free trade regime that ECOWAS seeks. Enough has not been done in creating institutions for good governance. If civil wars and upheavals are prevalent, need not ECOWAS address them proactively?

- Approach to enforcement of policies has not measured to the required standard. Regulatory authority rests with national authorities yet ECOWAS has no monitoring mechanisms nor capacities to cross check implementation on the field. This anomaly has created discretionally powers in individual states, such that the multilayered and multilateral nature of the policy arena has created non compliance. The institutions for policy implementation have shut out private professional participation. The parliament and judiciary that should legitimize and adjudicate are in comatose. Organizational differences were also identified leading to a proposal of a modified ECOWAS organogram.
- Peace is a precondition to development and so security as a variable was examined. Insecurity is prevalent in the community but ECOWAS has not painstakingly addressed the issue in the manner done elsewhere like the European Union. Security fears exist and have to be addressed by legislations and professional sanctions in both the public and private sectors. Here the rule of law cannot be over-emphasized.

- Values and beliefs of the people have not enhanced vibrancy of business. The greater numbers of the society are still traditional in nature and therefore entrepreneurship sagacity and astuteness are lacking. Till date, many look at speculation and interest on loan as unwholesome. Capital investment is limited as a result and low risk taking reduces returns on capital.

- The international environment has changed since the last 30 years of ECOWAS. Integration and globalization are the wisdom now. Trade barriers are no more fashionable. ECOWAS still creates the environment of ECOWAS versus “third countries”. This should be reviewed as capacity building should rather be preferred to trade barriers. In line with this, ECOWAS should re-define its objectives.

- Well-being is difficult to measure, yet the United Nations have adopted one from the economists. The measurement scale adopted by the Human Development Index is respected. These yardsticks are life expectancy, literacy levels, per capita income. The verdict of studies by

institutions and scholars reviewed indicate low productivity of Africans and thus low standard of living. The data on this has been presented in this chapter

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CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

3.1 One of the conditions for a policy success is that the theory upon which the policy is based is valid. This research work is based on the theory of if X happens then Y will follow and if Y follows Z will result. In a plain language, the assumption is that, if ECOWAS policies are right, the volume of trade or GDP will increase and that will lead to the well-being of the West African people. In this study, well-being is aggregated to volume of trade or gross domestic product. It is an accepted economic theory that growth in domestic production means growth in well-being. What is therefore tested is that whether the current policy process of ECOWAS can best assure economic growth.

In this case, policy process is X and economic growth is Y. Being a social research work, extensive literature review was done to identify the variables associated with the hypotheses. These variables were extensively discussed in Chapter Two. They are as follows:

a.) Dependent Variable (Y): Traders' attitude to doing business in the Sub-Region was used as an indication of policy success. It has been established by economists that the well-being of a people can be gauged by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the nation. The statistics required for the calculation of GDP in ECOWAS is outdated; the last statistical bulletin having been published in 2001 to cover 1995 – 1999. This study used the perception of ECOWAS traders as the dependent variable. This approach can be justified with judgemental techniques Delphi Approach which states that practitioners can be assembled to gauge their perception through questionnaires. Hogwood and Gunn (1984:135). The aggregate perception of the respondents was used as a dependable variable.

b.) Independent Variables (X): The following were adduced as having causality on the response variable:

- Political Actors (X1)
- Good Governance (X2)
- Enforcement Agencies (X3)
- Security (X4)
- Values and Beliefs (X5)

These factors are referred to in this study as 'structuralism'. These elements of structuralism were tested against the response variable to ascertain the effects.

c.) Intervening Variable: The International Environment (X6) was considered a powerful force outside the control of ECOWAS but can have effect on ECOWAS policy success.

STRATEGY

3.2 This research work used three approaches as discussed below:

3.2.1 CASE STUDY: Nigeria being the largest country and contributing 50.8% of ECOWAS population was chosen as the case study. The research population or respondents were all Nigerians.

3.2.2 SURVEY. Due to wide area covered by ECOWAS and the varied location spanning across West Africa, a representation population was adopted. Two groups in the informal sector of trade were selected. These were traders and road transporters. 20 respondents each were selected from those plying the Accra, Abidjan, Monrovia, Freetown, Banjul, Dakar route. This route in the opinion of the researcher, is the busiest route in comparison to the

Northern bound route of Kano, Niamey, Tamale, Ouagadougou, Bamako, Dakar.

3.2.3 PHENOMEMOLOGY: According to Denscombe (2003:96) “When a simple dichotomy is called for, phenomenology has been useful for some writers as an umbrella term covering styles of research that do not rely on measurement, statistics or other things generally associated with the scientific method”... This approach emphasizes:

- Subjective (rather than objective)
- Description (rather than measurement)
- Agency (rather than structure).

It therefore deals with perception or meaning, attitude and beliefs, feelings and emotions. The respondents interviewed/questioned applied basically their perceptions and experiences rather than measurements.

METHODS

3.3 The following methods were adopted:

- **Questionnaires/Interviews.** Please see Appendix 5 for details of the questionnaires served the respondents. These questions were aimed at assessing the practitioners' view on the variables.

- **Observations.** The researcher noted other traits of the traders relevant to the research. The reasons for choosing specific countries for their trade were generally observed. Their routines were also noted.

- **Document Survey.** ECOWAS statistical Bulletin were examined in relation to some of the variables, while literature reviews of the European Union were extensively done on the variables being tested. In addition, statistics from World Bank, United Nations Human Development Index were examined randomly.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE SIZE

3.4 There are large numbers of traders trading across the ECOWAS in Nigeria. Notable places where they can be found are cities like Lagos, Oyo, Ogbomosho, and Kano. Lagos has the largest concentration of such traders who trade in the following goods:

- Textiles.
- Plastic Materials.
- Beverages.
- Toileteries/Detergents.

In Kano, trade is mainly on produce goods like spices and cereals. In Lagos, the various markets where the traders can be found are Balogun, Mushin-Olosha, Agege, Oshodi and Mile 2. Vehicles load daily to the destinations along the West Coast of Africa. For the purpose of this interview, 20 traders and 20 transporters were interviewed/administered with questionnaires. The interview covered a period of 7 days. Cluster sample was preferred, therefore, traders at Balogun and Mushin –Olosha markets were selected while in case of transporters, Mile 2 and Agege were chosen. These figures were adjudged to be representative of the total population. 1 in 4 people commuting on the route per day was interviewed.

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES USED

3.5 Descriptive statistics were generally used as explained below.

3.5.1 ORDINAL SCALE. The ordinal scale was used to measure the values attached to each question. Questionnaires were asked in negative terms. Scale points of 3 were awarded in each questionnaire. This means that point 3 was of highest concern while point 1 was the least concern.

3.5.2 NOMINAL SCALE: The variables were numbered as follows:

1. Political Actors.
2. Good Governance.
3. Enforcement Agencies.
4. Security.
5. Values and Beliefs.
6. International Environment.

Thus in the theory, we have X1 X2 X3 X4 X5 and X6. The numbering is not related to value, weight or precedent.

3.5.3 MEAN ORDINAL RANKING (MOR) By use of the MOR, the variables were rank-ordered on their impact on the response variable.

3.5.4 CHI-SQUARE TESTS:The Chi-square Test was used to test the null hypothesis which is that “societal structures are independent of the policy process of ECOWAS”

Having concluded the test on the hypotheses, further tests were made to identify the preferences of the two groups – traders and transporters.

3.5.5 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE (ANOVA)

Analysis of variance tests was done on each of the variables to determine the significant differences between traders and transporters. With the aid of **Duncan Multiple Range Test**, attempt was made to find correlations among the variables.

3.5.6 T.TEST: The independent sample test (T.Test) was used to see if there was any significant difference between the views of the traders and the transporters to each of the variables.

3.7 CONCLUSION: In general what this study has done is to use judgemental technique Delphi Approach to model probabilistic formulation of the model finally arrived at. Next, the econometric approach of modelling technique was highly relied upon. This simply means an economic prediction based on if X is applied to Y, Z will result. It is not a mathematical calculation (deterministic).

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CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

INTRODUCTION

4.1 Data presented in this Chapter is generated from the questionnaires in Appendix 4. The questionnaires sought to know the impact of ECOWAS policies on their trade and which factors enhanced or inhibited their trade. In this regard, the independent variables were tested on the perception of the respondents who symbolized the dependent variables. The responses have been used to calculate the mean ordinal ranking and null hypotheses. Therefore, the variables were individually tested to identify patterning of correlation. Each group (traders and transporters) was also tested for the variables that most impacted on their businesses. In addition to this main data gathering approach, statistics from authoritative bodies like ECOWAS, World Bank, the United Nations Human Development Index are also presented in this chapter as a back-up information data to illuminate further on the issues.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

		POLICY				Total
		1.00	2.00	3.00		
SOCIETAL	1.00	5	14	21		40
	2.00	15	14		11	40
	3.00	4	19		17	40
	4.00	11	16		13	40
	5.00	17	13		10	40
	6.00	3	16		21	40
Total		55	92	93		240

Fig. 1: Combined Cross Tabulation

Fig. 2: Personal Chi Square

VALUE	df	Asymp Siq (2-sided)
28.959 ^a	10	.001

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

4.3 Ho: Policy processing of ECOWAS is independent of societal structures.

Hi: Policy process of ECOWAS is not independent of the societal structures.

The calculated X_n value is 28.959 with 10 degrees of freedom. The P-Value was obtained as 0.001 which is less than the level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$). The null hypothesis is therefore rejected and we conclude that the policy process in ECOWAS is not independent of societal structures.

The formula adopted is:

$$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^c \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}} \quad \chi^2 (r-1) (C-1)$$

Where: O_{ij} is the observed values in the ij th cell

E_{ij} is the expected cell count.

Fig. 3: MEAN ORDINAL RANKING

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std
	Statistics	Statistics	Statistics	Statistics	std Error	
POLSTRNS	40	1.00	3.00	2.4000	.1121	.70892
GOODTRNS	40	1.00	3.00	1.9000	.1281	.81019
ENFORTRN	40	1.00	3.00	2.3250	.1038	.65584
SECUTRNS	40	1.00	3.00	2.0500	.1238	.78283
VALTRNS	40	1.00	3.00	1.8250	.1285	.81296
INTERTRN	40	1.00	3.00	2.4500	.1010	.63851
Valid N (listwise)	40	1.00	3.00			

In the MOR, the weight of each variable is assessed. From figure 3 above one finds that International Environment (V6) scored highest.

The order is as follows:

Fig 4: ORDER OF RANKING

Ranking	Variable	Mean Score
1	International Environment	2.45
2	Political Actors	2.40
3	Enforcement Agencies	2.32
4	Security	2.05

5	Good Governance	1.90
6	Values and Beliefs	1.82

GROUP ANALYSIS

Each group was analyzed and their data are as follows:

Fig 5: GROUP A: TRADER'S CROSS TABULATION

		POLICY PROCESS			TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	3.00	
SOCIETAL	1.00	5	6	9	20
STRUCTURES	2.00	8	9	3	20
	3.00	2	7	11	20
	4.00	4	8	8	20
	5.00	4	7	9	20
	6.00	26	6	12	20
TOTAL		25	43	52	120

Fig. 6: GROUP B: TRANSPORTERS' CROSS TABULATION

		POLICY PROCESS			TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	3.00	
SOCIETAL	1.00	0	8	12	20
STRUCTURES	2.00	7	5	8	20
	3.00	2	12	6	20
	4.00	7	8	5	20
	5.00	13	6	1	20
	6.00	1	10	9	20
TOTAL		30	49	41	120

Descriptive

Fig 7: TRADERS' DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std
	Statistics	Statistics	Statistics	Statistics	Std Error	
Political Stab	20	1.00	3.00	2.2000	.1864	.83351
Good Govern.	20	1.00	3.00	1.7500	.1602	.71635
Enfor. Agen	20	1.00	3.00	2.4500	.1535	.68633
Security	20	1.00	3.00	2.2000	.1717	.76777
Values & Beliefs	20	1.00	3.00	2.2500	.1758	.78640
Inter. Environ	40	1.00	3.00	2.5000	.1539	.68825

Fig. 8: TRANSPORTERS' DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std
	Statistics	Statistics	Statistics	Statistics	Std Error	Sta.
Political Stab	20	2.00	3.00	2.2000	.1864	.50262
Good Govern.	20	1.00	3.00	1.7500	.1602	.88704
Enfor. Agen	20	1.00	3.00	2.4500	.1535	.61559
Security	20	1.00	3.00	2.2000	.1717	.78807
Values & Beliefs	20	1.00	3.00	2.2500	.1758	.59824
Inter. Environ	20	1.00	3.00	2.5000	.1539	.59824
Valid N. (Likewise)	20					

INDEPENDENT SAMPLE TEST: Having presented the descriptive statistics, t-test was conducted to find out if there is any significant difference between the view of the traders and the transporters to each of the variables. Please see Fig. 9.

Fig. 9: INDEPENDENT SAMPLE TEST

		t-test doe Equality of Means				
		t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std.Error Diff.
POLIT	Equal variances Assumed	-1.838	38	.074	-.4000	.31764 .25495
GOOD	Equal variances assumed	-1.177 1.213	38	.247	-.3000	.20616
ENFORCE	Equal variances assumed	1.219	38	.233	.2500	24602
SECU	Equal variances Assumed	3.847	38	.230	3000	.22094
VAL	Equal variances Assumed	.490	38	.000	8500	.20391
INTER	Equal variances assumed		38	.627	.1000	

Looking at the column 4, it shows that all groups agree that values and beliefs have no effect. P-value is less than the level of significance (0.05). The rest have P-Value greater than the level of significance.

ANALYSIS OF VARIATION (ANOVA)

The two groups responses were also tested to look for significant difference in the way they view the variables.

Fig; 10: ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
TRADER Between Groups	7.075	5	1.415	2.526	.033
Within Groups	63.850	114	.560		
Total	70.925	119			
TRANSP Between Groups	17.642	5	3.528	7.683	.000
Within Groups	52.350	114	.459		
Total	69.992	119			

For the traders, P-Value was 0.33. This means that the level of significance is greater than 0.05. This shows that they view all the variables differently.

For transporters, P-value was 0.00 which is less than 0.05 level of significance. This indicates that all the variables play significant role in the policy process.

DUNCAN MULTIPLE RANGE TEST(DMRT)

Attempt was made in the tests to group variables in their similarities of effect on the dependent variable. The Duncan Multiple Range Test was applied.

Fig. 11: TRADERS

Duncan ^a	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
		1	2
2.00	20	1.7500	2.2000
1.00	20	2.2000	2.2000
4.00	20	2.2000	2.2500
5.00	20	2.2500	2.4500
3.00	20		2.5000
6.00	20		2.4500
Sig		.055	.267

Means for groups in homogenous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 20.200.

Fig. 12: TRANSPORTERS

VAR00001	N	Subset for alpha=.05			
		1	2	3	4
2.00	20	1.4000			
1.00	20		1.9000		
4.00	20		2.0500	2.0500	
5.00	20		2.2000	2.2000	2.2000
3.00	20			2.4000	2.4000
6.00	20				2.6000
Sig.		1.000	.190	.126	.080

Means for groups in homogenous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 20.200.

From this test, it shows that traders view the variable in 2 groups.

Fig. 13: GROUPING OF VARIABLES (TRADERS)

GROUP A	GROUP B
Good Governance	Political Actors
Political Actors	Security
Security	Values & Beliefs
Values & Beliefs	Enforcement Agencies International Environment
.055	.267

The transporters view the variables in 4 groups:

Fig 14: GROUP OF VARIABLES (TRANSPORTERS)

GROUP A	GROUP B	GROUP C	GROUP D
Values & Beliefs	Security Good Governance Enforcement Agencies	Good Governance Enforcement Agencies International Environment	Enforcement Agencies International Environment Political Actors
1.00	.190	.126	.080

AREA OF CONGRUENCE/CONVERGENCE

Looking at the grouping of the variables and matching them with the preferences of the traders and the transporters, it is clear that the traders preference in Group B and the transporters preference in Group D converge.

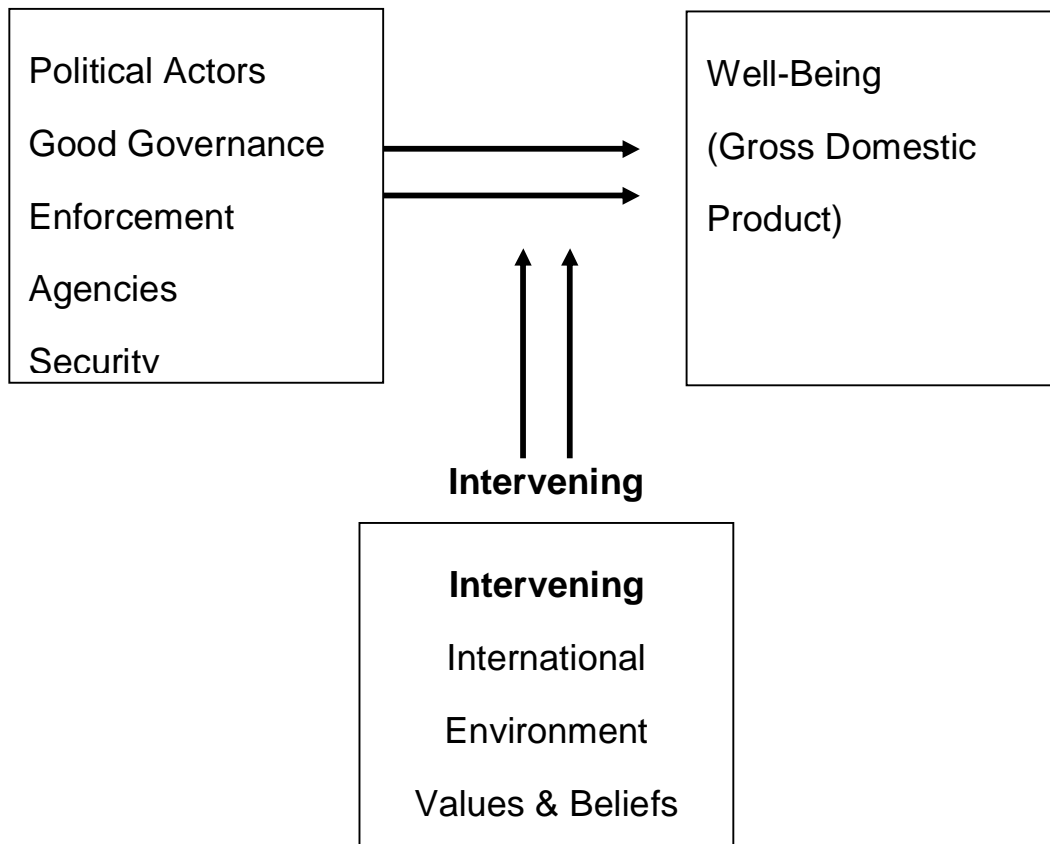
In summary, the interpretation is that political actors, international environment and enforcement agencies are the main causality to effective policy success of ECOWAS.

THE MODEL

From the data generated about the variables, a model has emerged. The basic theory of this model is like the conventional theory of causes and effect; if X then, Y follows. For example, the basic assumption of ECOWAS is that if ECOWAS is integrated with free trade, higher standard of living will follow. In this research work, the hypothesis is that if the societal structures influence good policy process, policy success will follow. These two concepts, policy process and political success have been deconstructed to variables of dependent, independent, and intervening.

These can be depicted as follows:

Fig. 2 ECOWAS POLICY PROCESS CAUSALITY MODEL



What this simply means is that political actors, governance, enforcement agencies and security have direct causal effect on policy success of ECOWAS.

In addition, international environment and values and beliefs may have distortionary impact on the independent variables to cause enhancement inhibition.

From the data generated and the test of hypotheses done, it is clear that Political Actors willing to abide by international norms can cause delivery success.



Fig. ECOWAS Policy Production Line

The metaphor of production is used to model a prescription. In Chapter 2, a political actor as a variable was clearly defined. In this context, systems of pluralism need to be evolved. In this regard, the submission is that ECOWAS should concentrate on the creation of a pluralistic society. How then does ECOWAS attain this? ECOWAS needs to be re-structured to lay emphasis on mass participation.

OTHER INDICATORS

Tables 1 to 6 below show that data indicating how ECOWAS people fair in the well-being index as indicated in life expectancy, per capita income, civil liberty schooling and rad/rail infrastructures. From these figures, one can find correlation between policy delivery and well-being. Examples are as follows:

TABLE 1: OTHER INDICATORS

COUNTRY	CIVIL LIBERTIES	FERTILITY	GOVERNMENT CONSUMPTION	EDUCATION	INVESTMENTS	LIFE EXPECTANCY
EGYPT	4.8	5	28.3	3.14	6.0	59.6
SOUTH-AFRICA	5.2	4.6	20.5	4.96	16.4	59.4
NIGERIA	6.2	6.6	20.6	-	8.75	50.1
SIERRA LONE	5.2	5.6	29.7	1.72	1.64	40.3
USA	11.84	11.8	11.79	24.1	11.79	74.9
KOREA	3.2	2.3	8.1	7.9	33.1	68.7
ITALY	1	1.42	11.1	6.3	26.4	76.3
FRANCE	1	1.82	13.5	6.5	27.5	76.6
JAPAN	1	1.73	7.7	8.5	36.7	77.3
AUSTRALIA	1	1.85	10.9	10.2	29.7	75.8
BRAZIL	2.2	3.6	11.2	3.49	17.9	64.3
SWEDEN	1	1.74	20.2	9.5	24.3	76.4
MEXICO	3.8	3.8	8.96	4.42	15.0	68.1
INDIA	2	4.48	18.5	3.05	17.7	56.7

UN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX 2002

S/N	COUNTRY	LIFE EXPECTANCY (YEARS)	COMBINED GROSS SCHOOL ENROLMENT UP TO TERTIARY (%)	PER CAPITAL (US \$)
1.	Norway	78.9	98	36,600
2.	Canada	79.3	95	29,480
3.	United States	77.0	92	35,750
4.	Japan	81.5	84	26,940
5.	United Kingdom	87.1	99	26,150

6.	Singapore	78.0	87	24,040
7.	Mauritius	71.9	69	10,810
8.	Cape Verde	70.0	73	5,000
9.	South Africa	48.8	77	10,070
10.	Ghana	57.8	46	2,130
11.	Togo	49.9	67	1,480
12.	Nigeria	51.6	45	860
13.	Gambia	53.9	45	1,690
14.	Senegal	52.7	38	1,580
15.	Guinea	48.9	29	2,100
16.	Benin	50.7	52	1,070
17.	Cote D'Ivoire	41.2	42	1,520
18.	Mali	48.5	26	930
19.	Burkina Faso	45.8	22	1,100
20.	Niger	46	19	800
21.	Sierra Leone	34.3	45	520

Source:

http://encyclopedia.laborlawtalk.com/un_human_development_index

TABLE 3: EXTERNAL TRADE

Destination	% of total value Export	% of total value Import
Intra ECOWAS	11.6	11.97
Other African Countries	14.74	14.68
European Union	31.86	5.64
North America	25.68	10.86
Asia	18.7	20.7

TABLE 4: LIFE EXPECTANCY INDEX (2002)

Country	Years	Index
Norway	78.9	.90
USA	77.0	.87
Canada	79.3	.90
UK	78.1	.88
Germany	78.2	.89
Singapore	78.0	.88
Nigeria	51.6	.44
Ghana	57.8	.55
Cape Verde	70.0	.75
Togo	49.9	.41
Sierra Leone	34.3	.16
Niger	46.0	.35
Burkina Faso	45.0	.35
Mali	48.5	.39
Guinea Bissau	45.2	.34
Cote D'Ivoire	41.2	.27
Benin	50.7	.43

TABLE 5: AVERAGE SCHOOLING YEARS

	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
Australia	6.52	3.04	0.67	10.23
Botswana	3.40	0.26	0.03	3.69
Brazil	2.39	0.88	0.21	3.48
Canada	5.33	3.87	0.97	10.17
Denmark	8.01	1.76	0.56	10.33
Germany	7.43	0.87	0.24	8.54
Ghana	2.26	0.93	0.03	3.22
India	2.11	0.81	0.13	3.05
Japan	5.29	2.65	0.52	8.46
Mexico	3.38	0.82	0.22	4.42
USA	5.85	4.90	1.04	11.79
Venezuela	3.69	1.35	0.34	5.38

TABLE 6: LENGTH OF RAILWAYS (In 1000 km)

Country	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Benin	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Burkina Faso	0.6	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Cape-Verde					
Cote d'Ivoire	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Gambia					
Ghana	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Guinea	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Guinea Bissau	0.5				
Liberia					
Mali	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Mauritania	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Niger					
Nigeria	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
Senegal	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Sierra Leone					
Togo	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
ECOWAS	12.1	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.3

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

5.1. Having presented all the document surveys in literature review and statistical data in chapters 2 and 4, the discussions and analysis, follow the line of the variables. In this chapter, each of the variables has been discussed leading to conclusions and recommendations that will be presented in chapter 6.

5.2 PROOF OF HYPOTHESES

5.2.1 The hypotheses to be tested were that:

- a.) Policy Process of ECOWAS is independent of societal structures.
- b.) Policy Process of ECOWAS is not independent of societal structures.

By way of literature review, seven variables were identified. Practitioners of trade along the coast of West Africa were used as the respondent variable. Up to date statistics could not be obtained in

ECOWAS secretariat. Since the societal structures can be gauged from ordinary people in the society, the informal sector of business community was used. five independent and one intervening variables were applied to the respondents to gauge their reactions in terms of the fortunes of their business. The question therefore was if X1 X2 X3 X4 X5 happens how will it affect Y?, Y being traders and transporters who trade across the states within ECOWAS and X1 - X5 being the independent variables. The judgemental technique (Delphi) has been applied.

5.2.2 THE NULL HYPOTHESIS

From the result of the hypothesis tested, using the Pearson Chi square test, the level of significance that policy process of ECOWAS is independent of societal structures were not proven as the score was 0.0001 which is less than 0.05. Figures 1 and 2 of Chapter 4 refers. In view of this therefore, it has been established in this study that indeed societal structures affect policy process of ECOWAS. This by itself is not a new finding. There is the need to isolate those factors within the social structures that affect policy process. This led to testing the independent variables to ascertain the level of impact or causality to the response variable.

RANK-ORDERING OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

5.2.3 Two different methods were used to rank-order the independent variables. In both cases, the results were almost similar. The Mean Ordinal Ranking (MOR) showed the following order of influence on the dependent variable:

- a.) International Environment.
- b.) Political Actors.
- c.) Enforcement Agencies.
- d.) Security.
- e.) Good Governance.
- f.) Values and Beliefs.

The second method used was the Duncan Multiple Range Test (DMRT). In this test, traders grouped the first three as similar while transporters did the same; Figures 11 and 12 refers. We shall now look at these variables one by one.

5.3 DISCUSSIONS ON THE VARIABLES

While it is not surprising that the political actors and enforcement agencies have been identified as strong factors, the importance of international environment may seem exaggerated based on the spirit

of nationalism. Most countries abhor interference into their internal affairs. However, studies have proven that similarities in ideas and conduct among countries enhance increased cooperation and productivity (D. Miles and A Scott:2002:154). What this study shows is that ECOWAS people contrary to their governments' position of non-interference into internal affairs welcome its influence over their businesses. The implication is that, for ECOWAS policies to succeed, the process must conform with international norms. It in effect also mean ECOWAS states must open to international accountability. For all these to happen however, the political actors have to be properly selected in a way acceptable to all and in conformity to international norms. In this regard, because international environment has the most causality on policy process, all factors for the attraction of favourable international environment must be pursued. This study therefore seems to be saying *meet international standards and all other benefit shall trickle to the people.*

It is also to be noted that the influence of France on the Francophone West Africa is still very strong. This is indicated by the separate organization they run by name UEMORE. UEMORE contrary to belief that it reinforces ECOWAS really undermines it. Movement of goods and persons among these countries is by far better than in ECOMOG. This means that while Francophone countries are ready

to relinquish sovereignty to UEMORE, they see it differently from ECOWAS.

5.3.1. Political Actors. In chapter 2, it was shown through a study of the psychology of political actors that their disposition reflect in the kind of policy they made. It is no surprise therefore that what emanated from the decision to form a union reflected a more authoritarian and less mass participatory nature of organization. Hence, ECOWAS has the Authority of Heads of States. That apex authority is not pluralistic unlike in the European Union where authority is devolved. Power is shared among several segments of the union. The first step therefore is that ECOWAS must democratize. The institutions or organs should follow the concept of liberal democracy i.e

- * Separation of Power
- * Devolution of authority to the society rather than having institutional and bureaucratic policy-making. Presently, vibrancy of policy advocacy is weak in ECOWAS policy process.

The implication of this is that, the mass movement necessary to harness the energies of the people of West African States has been

bottled. ECOWAS today is seen like any other bureaucracy with little relevance to the people. Under enforcement variable, the issue of implementation deficit will further buttress this point of mass participation. A model has been produced to illustrate that the more government moves toward liberalism, the more enterprising the people. This results in growth in output and thus well-being.

Secondly, that the tendency of political actors to be too nationalistic comes from this ethno-linguistic division which inhibits integration and promotes suspicions. Politicians are too engaged in both steering and rowing the course of governance in their various countries such that relinquishing sovereignty is a luxury. For example, individual countries continue to unilaterally close borders without consultation with other members. And when it happens, no sanction is even imposed. Nigeria, a major actor in ECOWAS does this border closure more than occasionally. Thirdly, the concept of free trade is still treated with caution. This happens everywhere, including the industrialized world which is the apostle of free trade. She still engages in trade protectionism as we find in agricultural policy, steel policy etc. This emboldens West African leaders to embark on trade barriers without re-think. Free trade in the real world has not therefore been fully embraced yet it is the way forward.

Fourthly, there is still rivalry between the Anglophone and the Francophone states. The UEMORE comprising of eight Francophone West African Countries is still very strong in operation.

5.1.3. Enforcement of ECOWAS Policies. Literature review of policy implementation has shown that policy by itself is not an end; the implementation strategy has to be appropriate in order to deliver. ECOWAS cannot deliver because implementation strategy has hinged solely on bureaucracy. Secondly, the structure itself has not been “Fit for purpose”. In organization theory, the contingency theory makes it clear that structures are designed to suit the mission or objectives. In view of this, an organogram has been recommended for ECOWAS. The rationale for the recommended organogram has been discussed under enforcement variable in chapter 2. Key institutions to process ECOWAS policies need to be reviewed. These are the ECOWAS parliament, the Judiciary and the Technical Committees. They play symbiotic role in the policy process. The roles assigned to them now is not appropriate hence, the failure to mobilize the citizens towards ECOWAS policy process.

What ECOWAS ought to do is to invest in capacity building for good governance, strengthen institutions for anti-corruption, engage in peer reviews and sanction of members etc. Such institutions should include:

- * ECOWAS Institute for Peace.
- * The Commission for Minority Rights.
- * The Institute for Arbitration and Corporate Governance.
- * Institute for Crises Management.

These institutions are necessary to harmonize the codes, guidelines and norms of enforcement agencies. The lacks of these Joint Institutions have increased the gap in implementation. As it has been said, interpretation of contextual text affects implementation.

Another aspect of enforcement is Standard Operating Procedure (SOP). All implementing agencies across the spectrum either in the multilateral or multilayer must operate with an SOP. For these SOPs to be legitimate, it has to be prepared with inputs from all stakeholders namely, agencies, private sector organization, policy communities etc. The parliament must codify it for implementation. This is the only time citizens can then seek redress or hold agencies to

account. The lack of these procedures make business risky and uncertain.

5.1.4 Good Governance. The variable for good governance has been enumerated in 2-18. ECOWAS countries have been marked down for:

- * Corruption.
- * Lack of Transparency.
- * Human Rights Abuse.
- * Poor Rule of Law.

In a table of civil liberties, Nigeria was ranked among the lowest. The difference between Nigeria and countries like the US, France, Japan was in ratio 1 to 6.2 where 1 is the highest degree of liberty. Under the literature review of free trade, it was mentioned that no one will send his goods where he thinks he will not be fairly treated in case of dispute. ECOWAS countries need therefore to invest in areas of:

- * Anti – Corruption.
- * Human Rights.
- * Rule of Law and.
- * Devolution of authority to civil Societies.

In the areas of structure, ECOWAS has not followed the path of true democracy. There is no separation of powers. The treaty of ECOWAS provides that the Authority of Heads of State is Supreme. It has been brought out in the literature review that free trade can thrive best in a liberal democratic setting. An example was drawn from the European Union procedures where policy making is pluralistic. Policy revolves principally around the Commission (executive branch), Parliamentary (elected representatives in the legislature), the judiciary and most importantly a forth strong body generally referred to as the Technical Committees. The structure of ECOWAS is therefore faulty and need to be reviewed to make it more pluralistic in the sense of civil participation and separation of powers. As presently constituted, it is government, bureaucratic structure not suited for mass participation. The new structure should establish the following:

- **Executive Arm** (Council of Ministers). This should be made up of full time ministers (not ad hoc as presently practised) nominated by each member country. Each should run a directorate. Please see ECOWAS Recommended Organogram 2.13. Nigeria with 50.8% of the population should run 5

directorates while each other country run a directorate. Ministers should account to the people of West Africa through ECOWAS parliament.

- **The Legislative Arm.** Presently, ECOWAS Parliament is not fully operational. Membership is by nomination from each country's parliament and they meet by special sessions. This arrangement does not place the parliament in the centre stage of running ECOWAS. Quite unlike the EU where laws are made, guidelines and regulations are approved by the EU parliament. ECOWAS parliament should be full time and by direct elections from the electorates. Constituencies should be delineated across the region such that each ethnic group or nationality is represented. If integration is to be sought for, the people must of necessity participate. What is more serious about this structure is that the parliament is purely advisory. It makes no laws nor regulate any activity. The protocol on ECOWAS parliament must be changed to meet the reality of our time. Again, what exists, reflects the frame of mind of the political actors who constructed ECOWAS.

- **The Judiciary.** Similarly, the protocol on ECOWAS judiciary need to be reviewed. If the parliament is not making laws and

regulations, what will they adjudicate on. That is why the ECOWAS Judiciary is dormant. The Judiciary is an essential giver of policy by the judgment they make. This essential element is now lost in ECOWAS. Please refer to the discussion at 2.18. The protocol on ECOWAS needs to be reviewed to enable individuals and corporate bodies to seek legal arbitration and adjudication on issues relating to business activities of the people of West African States. It has earlier been observed that cartels are the norms in ECOWAS local markets, such prevailing circumstances are against the norms of free trade. It does appear that emphasis is on manufacturing. This should not be so. For example, if Ivorien coffee is cheaper than Nigeria's why must the Nigerian beverage industry buy coffee from Nigeria? Same goes to the textile industry, sugar etc. The agricultural sector which forms 59.5% of the working population does not maximize the benefit of ECOWAS free trade. Statistics has shown this.

5.1.5. Security. Peace and tranquility has been described as the necessary condition for development. ECOWAS countries continue to erupt in conflicts. Almost all countries without exception are involved in one conflict or the other. Ethnic militia, civil wars, political upheavals are the

characteristics of the geographical area called West Africa. Studies have shown that the sub-saharan region continues to suffer growth due to ethnic conflicts. Therefore, one would have expected therefore for ECOWAS to work on this security situation vigorously. In Europe there are about five separate organizations working on security, some are under the auspices of the EU and at least one is in collaboration with another region. These organizations proactively prevent wars and upheavals.

Secondly, structures are in place in the EU to quickly restore normalcy, should peace be breached. The Niger republic is but a recent example. ECOWAS has no structure to restore food security in that country. Reliance has once more been placed on the outside world. Besides the safety of people and foods, corporate security has also been mentioned. Lack of integrity in business among associates, under the table dealings and unwholesome business practices have affected business in ECOWAS. Disasters like fire outbreak, collapse of building structures, inside abuse etc have helped to prevent investment in the sub-region. Corporate security therefore need to be addressed by ECOWAS in order to cleanse the sub-region for healthy investments. Joint ECOWAS institutions, to pool

resources together can also be of help. The EU example has been presented in chapter 2 where member countries are identified with specific capabilities which can be galvanized for crises management.

5.1.6 Values and Beliefs. The prevailing values in ECOWAS limit entrepreneurship. These include:

- Religious beliefs
- Monopolistic tendencies e.g. village and artisan cartels
- Singleton Syndrome.

Only sound education can break down these tendencies. ECOWAS capacity building should provide laws for schooling, child labour laws, regulation of professional bodies for good practices etc.

5.1.7. Outcome/Well-Being The definition of public policy by WI Jenkins (1978) lays emphasis on defining goals and the means of achieving them, ECOWAS political actors elaborately defined the goals. Please refer to paragraph 1-12. Statistical evidence has shown that ECOWAS has not been able to meet these goals. However, it should be mentioned that all is not about failures. That ECOWAS countries sit to discuss their problems is an achievement. In terms of security, they have

been able to get the sub-regional force, the Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to solve security problems in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. These steps have been retroactive. The real essence of ECOWAS is economic growth. Statistics adduced have shown that much more is desired than ECOWAS has provided. The growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continues to be low. Trade with ECOWAS is not near trade with outside ECOWAS. Individual countries have not done much. Between 1991 – 1999, Nigeria recorded an average of 1.11% in growth output while population growth was an average of 2.88%. Sierra Leone recorded -8.3% growth. The United Nations index for Well-being has been discussed. In table 13, West African sub-region continues to trail behind in life expectancy, mortality rate, education per capita income. For example the **per capita income** of Singapore and Hong kong which were at similar levels with West African States have moved to 5 digits while that of West Africans reverse with 3 digits. According to 2005 World Development Indicators database issued by World Bank, 16 April 2005, slow growth in sub-saharan Africa has meant increases in both the poverty rate and number of the poor in the 1990s leaving it as the region with the largest proportion of people living below \$1 a day.

Human Capital Whereas in the USA, average year of school attendants is 11.79, in Ghana it is 3.05 years. ECOWAS Social and Economic Indicators show that of 1000 children only 152 go to primary school, 39 to secondary school and 5 to tertiary institutions. West African Countries continue to be listed in the bottom of human development index.

INFRASTRUCTURE

5.1.9 The opening up of rural areas where 65% of the population resides has not seen progress. Table 6 in chapter 4 has shown how rail lines have not increased; road network per 1000km is so limited. Agriculture from rural areas cannot therefore be moved at cheap cost to markets. These are areas ECOWAS should pool resources together and work upon to open up the sub-region through road and rail transportations.

Trade Export and Imports

ECOWAS has not been able to achieve much in trade policies. Table 11 shows ECOWAS intra trade. Export to themselves totaled 11.26% in 1999 while imports from among themselves amounted to 11.97%.

With European Union, export was 31.86 % while imports amounted to 50.64%. What trade barriers could ECOWAS then lay against the EU or even the Americas where exports averaged 25%, more than half with the ECOWAS themselves?

Consumption and investment. Due to heavy government involvement in interventions, government consumption of Gross Domestic Product is high - Table 1: Other indicators, show that the Nigerian Government consumes 20.6% its GDP and invests 8.75%..., Sierra Leone consumes 29.7% and invests 1.63%. Compare this to Japan that consumes 7.7% and invests 36.7%. ECOWAS should therefore set up institutions to help member countries to reduce government expenditure and raise investment. This can be achieved by pegging governments expenditures and for governments to be sued by policy communities to enforce their compliance. What comes to mind in this aspects is the Nigerian example where the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) continuously demand that the Nigerian government should spend 26% of its budget on education. Were ECOWAS to legislate on such matters for West Africa, it could have provided a means for ASUU to compel compliance.

Research and Development (R&D) Institute. It has been mentioned that due to geographical location: weather, soil texture,

tropical diseases, productivity of the West African worker is reduced. Diseases like malaria, polio, river blinders, tuberculosis etc ravage the sub-region. Research work in these fields have always come from outside the sub-region. ECOWAS can pool resources together to find solutions to these problems. Most products to solve these problems come from the temperate region e.g., fertilizers, drugs farm implements. ECOWAS should invest in research work to produce what can meet the peculiar needs.

CONCLUSION.

5.7. From all perspectives, it is clear that ECOWAS has only succeeded in bringing the two blocs separated by colonial history together as one union to discuss common problems. In the areas of tangible outcome, ECOWAS has not meant much to the people because:

- It has been merely a bureaucratic institution that has not mobilized the people to achieve the objectives.
- The focus has been wrong. Emphasis should move from economic to political stability.

The basis for this conclusion is found in our econometric technique namely that if $X_1 + X_6$ happens X_2, X_3, X_4 will produce Z .

Translated, it means Political Actors + International Environment influences, Good Governance, Enforcement Agencies, Security and Values and Beliefs. These will then cause greater well-being.

5.8 The combination of low schooling, short life expectancy, huge government expenditure has reduced the well-being of the West African people.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

6.1.1. LITERATURE REVIEW The following findings were made:

- a.) That policy process is cyclical. It starts from policy initiation, to policy implementation, to evaluation leading to fed back and modification. The starting point is anywhere in the circle.
- b.) That each phase must be addressed abinitio.
- c.) That input leads to output and finally outcome. In this respect, those who initiate policies inject their values and beliefs in them. With regards to ECOWAS, majority of the initiators of ECOWAS were authoritarians and therefore ‘ structure mirrored their disposition.
- d.) That for implementation to be perfect, all participants must act and think alike. This study found that no effort is being made to achieve perfect implementation. There is

sharp dychotomy between the Anglophone and the Francophone settings.

- e.) That evaluation is absent in ECOWAS. Statistical data are not prepared in good time. The last one was published in 2001 to cover years 1995 - 1999.
- f.) ECOWAS structure compared with the EU structure is defficient and thus need overhauling.
- g.) Budgeting is generally on recurrent expenditure.
- h.) Free trade is not being faithfully implemented. Discriminatory powers still run wild in ECOWAS due to political pressure.

6.1.2 TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

It was found out that societal structures heavily affect policy process. In the case of ECOWAS, the impact is crippling. The variables tested indicated the following:

- a.) Community's disposition towards West African countries affect well-being tremendously. It is listed highest.
- b.) Political Actors have a great impact on all other variables namely, good governance, enforcement agencies, security, values and beliefs.
- c.) That if political actors are right all other variables shall respond positively.

CONCLUSIONS

6.2 The following conclusions are drawn:

- a.)** ECOWAS is being weighed down by the societal structures. Therefore the organization of ECOWAS should principally redress societal structures. In doing this, ECOWAS should attempt to reach the grassroots.
- b.)** Integration of sovereign nations is far from the dream. Other bodies within this sub-region are competing with ECOWAS. Efforts need to be made to integrate them.
- c.)** There should be three independent arms of government namely, Executive, Legislative and Judiciary. They should be completely separated from national governments.
- d.)** The sub-region should be delineated into ECOWAS constituencies for direct adult suffrage into the legislature.
- e.)** Institutions should be established to promote good governance, security and promote corporate governance.
- f.)** Standard operating procedures should be harmonized among all enforcement agencies.
- g.)** Values and beliefs can be changed through high level schooling.

- h.) Productive capacity is low due to low schooling, low life expectancy and huge government expenditure.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

6.2.1. Professionals. There is lack of connections between policy analyst and government. Therefore a private initiative policy institute should be established by both practitioners and academics. This will provide a forum for exchange of ideas and produce what is referred to in the parlance of policy analysts as “policy premerial soup” - a pool of policy ideas waiting to be adopted at the time of need. An example of such institute is the Association of Public Policy and Management of the USA.

Secondly, there is the need for a study on how discretionary powers of bureaucrats should be curbed.

6.2.2. ECOWAS. ECOWAS should be overhauled to devolve power along the following lines:

- a. Authority of Heads of State.** Their role should be only a club of patrons to resolve major political differences. The council should give ECOWAS more autonomy in policy

process. This body should be redesignated council of Heads of State.

b. Structure. ECOWAS should be structured along the line of autonomous government and a super-ordinate body to make laws and arbitration. There should therefore be the 3 arms of government:

(1) **Executive:** Run with president and ministers and answerable to parliament and council of Heads of States. They should have tenures of office and set goals and meet targets. They should prepare budgets and execute programmes.

(2) **Parliament:** The protocol on ECOWAS parliament should be reviewed. There should be an elective representatives of West Africans with delineated constituencies to reflect the nationalities. They should make laws, approve budgets, procedures and regulations. Legislation and accountability is the intention.

(3) **Judiciary:** The Judiciary should be functional for arbitration and adjudication. The protocol on ECOWAS court of Justice should be reviewed to provide a more active role in ECOWAS.

(4) **Technical Committees:** Specialized commissions should be recognized as legitimate contributors, initiators, policy process agents of ECOWAS and not as mere advisory committees. The commissions should be independent and work with all the arms of ECOWAS bodies.

(5) **The Secretariat:** ECOWAS should be proto executive, meaning that it should be both bureaucratic and political. Directorates should be run by executives who have targets and are held responsible for their performances. The details of the organogram has been given in Fig10. It comprises of 17 directorates covering all sectoral fields.

(6) **Budgeting for Integration:** ECOWAS budgets should focus on capacity building (infrastructural, research work, enforcement) and not merely recurrent expenditure as is the current practice.

(7) **Aims and Objectives:** ECOWAS treaty should be reviewed. It has not been re-visited since 1975. it is no more in consonance with modern reality. A body of experts should be commissioned to work on this review. Many of such exercises have taken place in the EU e.g. the Romano Prodi review of 1999. The report should be ratified by the council of Heads of States and thereafter codified into law by the ECOWAS parliament. Secondly and most importantly, ECOWAS policies should shift from tariff regulation to production capacity building.

APPENDIX 1

ORGANISATION OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

1.10. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional economic grouping comprising of 15 independent countries in the West African sub- region. These countries are:

- The Republic of Benin
- The Republic of Burkina Faso
- The Republic of Cape Verde
- The Republic of Cote D'Ivoire
- The Republic of The Gambia
- The Republic of Ghana
- The Republic of Guinea
- The republic of Guinea Bissau
- The Republic of Liberia
- The Republic of Mali
- The Republic of Niger
- The Federal Republic of Nigeria

- The Republic of Senegal
- The Republic of Sierra Leone
- The Republic of Togo

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania left the Community in the year 2000. This organization came into existence by the treaty of Lagos signed on 28th May 1975 by the Heads of States and Governments of these countries.(ECOWAS Revised Treaty, 1991 page 1).

OBJECTIVE OF THE ORGANIZATION

1.11. The founders of the organization amply stated what inspired them into the treaty with the following powerful clauses:

- Consciousness of the over-riding need to encourage, foster and accelerate the economic and social development of our states in order to improve the living standards of our people.
- Convinced that the promotion of harmonious economic development of our people calls for effective economic co - operation and integration largely through a determined and concerted policy of self -reliance.
- Convinced that the integration of the member states into a viable regional community may demand the partial and gradual

- pooling of National sovereignties to the community within the context of a collective political will.
- Accepting the need to face together the political, economic and socio-political challenges of the present and the future, and to pool together the resources of our people while respecting our diversities for the most rapid and optimum expansion of the region's productive capacity.(Revised Treaty of the ECOWAS, Preambles 1991 page 10. Article 3 of the treaty then set out details of the aims and objectives of the Community as follows:

ARTICLE 3

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims of the community are to promote co -operation and integration to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise standards of its peoples, to maintain and enhance economic stability, among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the Continent.

2. In order to achieve the aims set out in the paragraph above, and in accordance with the relevant provisions of this Treaty, the community shall, by stages, ensure:

- (a) The harmonization and co-ordination of national policies and the promotion of integration programmes, projects and activities, particularly in food, agricultural resources, industry, transport and communications, energy, trade, finance, taxation, economic reform policies, human resources, education, information, culture, science, technology, services, health, tourism, legal matters;
- (b) The harmonization and co-ordination of policies for the protection of the environment;
- (c) The promotion of the establishment of joint production enterprises;
- (d) The establishment of a common market through:
 - i. The liberalization of trade by the abolition, among Member States, of duties levied on imports and exports, and the abolition, among Member States non-tariff barriers in order to establish a free trade area at the Community
 - ii. The adoption of a common external tariff and a common trade policy with third countries;

- iii. The removal, between Members States, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment;
- (e) The establishment of an economic union through the adoption of common policy in the economic, financial, social and cultural sectors, and the creation of a monetary union.
- (f) The promotion of joint ventures by private sector enterprises and other economic operators, in particular through the adoption of a regional agreement on cross - border investment;
- (g) The adoption of measures for the integration of the private sectors, particularly the creation of an enabling environment to promote small and medium scale enterprises;
- (h) The establishment of an enabling legal environment;
- (i) The harmonization of national investment codes leading to the adoption of a single Community investment code;

- (j) The harmonization of standards and measures;
- (k) The promotion of balanced development of the region, paying attention to the special problems of each Member State particularly those of landlocked and small Island Members States;
- (l) The encouragement and strengthening of relations and the promotion of the flow of information particularly among rural populations, women and youth organizations and socio-professional organizations such as associations of the media, businessmen and women, workers, and trade unions;
- (m) The adoption of a Community population policy which takes into account the need for a balance between demographic factors and socio-economic development;
- (n) The establishment of a fund for co- operation, compensation and development; and
- (o) Any other activity that Member States may decide to undertake jointly with a view to attaining Community objectives.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 4

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, in pursuit of the objectives stated in Article 3 of this Treaty, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

- (a) equality and inter - dependence of Members States;
- (b) solidarity and collective self - reliance;
- (c) inter -State co-operation, harmonization of policies and integration of programmes;
- (d) non - aggression between Members States;
- (e) maintenance of regional peace, stability and security through the promoting and strengthening of good neighbourliness;
- (f) peaceful settlement of disputes among Members States, active co - existence between neighboring countries and promotion of a peaceful environment requisite for economic development;

- (g) recognition, promotion and protection of human and people's rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights;
- (h) accountability, economic and social justice and popular participation in development;
- (i) recognition and observance of the rules and principles of the Community;
- (j) promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of governance of Members State as envisaged by the Declaration of Political principles act Abuja on 6 July, 1991; and
- (k) Equitable and just distribution of the costs and benefits of economic co operation and integration.

CONSOLIDATION

ARTICLE 5

Members States undertake to create favourable conditions for the attainment of Objectives of the Community, and particularly to take all necessary measures to harmonize their strategies and policies, and to refrain from any action that may jeopardize the attainment of the said objectives.

2. Each Member State shall, in accordance with its constitutional procedures take necessary measures to ensure the enactment and dissemination of such legislation and statutory texts as may be necessary for the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty.
3. Each Member State undertakes to honour its obligations under this Treaty and abide by the decisions and regulations of the Community.

It thus appears that what the Objectives seek in a nutshell is economic integration through common policies and programmes in order to remove trade barriers. Similarly, it seeks consolidation of a democratic system of governance.

THE ORGAN OF ECOWAS

1.15. ECOWAS has put in place an implementation structure to fulfil the objectives of the organization. The structure is hierarchical as follows;

(a) The Authority of Heads of States and Governments. This body is the Supreme authority that has the responsibility to direct the body for the fulfilment of the objectives. Other functions are:

ARTICLE 7

AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENT, COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS.

There is hereby established the Authority of Heads of States and Government of Member States which shall be the supreme institution of the Community and shall be composed of Heads of States and/or Government of member States.

2. The Authority shall be responsible for the general direction and control of the Community and shall take all measures to ensure its progressive development and the realization of its objectives.

3. Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article, the Authority shall;
 - (a) determine the general policy and major guidelines of the Community, give directives, harmonize and co-ordinate the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and social policies of Member States;
 - (b) oversee the functioning of Community institutions and follow-up implementation of Community objectives;
 - (c) prepare and adopt its Rules of Procedures;
 - (d) Appoint the Executive Secretary in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty.
 - (e) appoint, on the recommendation of Council, the External Auditors;
 - (f) delegate to the Council, where necessary, the authority to take such decisions as stipulated in Article 9 of this Treaty;
 - (g) refer where it deems necessary any matter to the Community Court when it confirms, that a Member State or institution of the Community has not honoured

any of its obligations or an institution of the Community has acted beyond limits of its authority or has abused the powers conferred on it by the provisions of this treaty, by a decision of the Authority or a regulation of the Council;

- (h) request the Community Court of Justice, as and when necessary, to give it opinion on any legal questions; and
- (i) Exercise any other powers conferred on it under this Treaty.

(b) The Council of Ministers: This Council comprises of Ministers in charge of ECOWAS matters in the various countries. Their roles are as follows;

ARTICLE 10

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

ESTABLISHMENT, COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS

There is hereby established a Council of Ministers of the Community.

2. The Council shall comprise the Minister in charge of ECOWAS Affairs and any other Minister of each Member State.
3. Council shall be responsible for the functioning and development of the Community. To this end, unless otherwise provided in this Treaty or a Protocol, Council shall:
 - (a) make recommendations to the Authority or any action aimed at attaining the objectives of the Community;
 - (b) appoint all statutory appointees other than the Executive Secretary;
 - (c) by the powers delegated to it by the Authority, issue directives on matters concerning co-ordination and harmonization of economic integration policies;

- (d) make recommendations to the Authority on the appointment of the External Auditors;
- (e) prepare and adopt its rules of procedure;
- (f) adopt the Staff Regulations and approve the organizational structure of the institutions of the Community;
- (g) approve the work programmes and budgets of the Community and its institutions;
- (h) request the Community Court of Justice, where necessary, to give advisory.
- (i) Carry out all other functions assigned to it under this Treaty and execute powers delegated to it by the Authority.

4. **The Community Parliament:** This should comprise of selected members from each State of the Community. It should be noted here that the community has not commenced the election method of constituting the Parliament rather, for now; members are drawn from existing parliament of each State. ECOWAS official Journal Vol. 27 (Revision) of Jul / Aug 1994 Article 7 page 3.

- (a) **The Economic and Social Council:** This Council shall consist of representatives of economic and social sectors. It works in advisory role.
- (b) **The Community Court of Justice:** The court shall adjudicate on matters concerning the community and Judgment shall be binding on all concerned.
- (c) **Arbitration Tribunal:** This tribunal shall be governed by protocol relating to it and shall arbitrate on disputes between organizations.
- (d) **The Executive Secretariat:** The Executive Secretariat of the Community shall have an Executive Secretary, deputies and Staff to run the day to day affairs of the community, their functions include the following;

ARTICLE 19

FUNCTIONS

Unless otherwise provided in the Treaty or in a protocol, the Executive Secretary shall be the chief executive officer of the community and all its institutions;

2. The Executive Secretary shall direct the activities of the organization. The Executive Secretary, shall, unless otherwise provided in a Protocol, be the legal representative of Institutions of the Community in their totality.

3. Without prejudice to the general scope of his responsibilities, the duties of Executive Secretary shall include;

- (a) Execution of decisions taken by the Authority and application of the decision of the Council;
- (b) The promotion of Community development programmes and projects as well as multinational enterprises of the region;
- (c) Convening as and when necessary meetings of sectoral issues which promote the achievement of the objectives of the Community;

- (d) Preparation of draft budgets and programmes of activity of the Community and supervision of their execution upon their approval by Council;
- (e) Submission of reports on Community activities to all meetings of the Authority and Council;
- (f) Preparation of meetings of the Authority and Council as well as meetings of experts and technical commissions and provision of necessary technical services;
- (g) Recruitment of staff of the Community and appointment to posts other than statutory appointees in accordance with the Staff Rules and Regulations;
- (h) Submission of proposals and preparation of such studies as may assist in the efficient and harmonious functioning and development of the Council;
- (i) Initiation of draft texts for adoption by the Authority or Council.

SPECIALISED TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

1.19 The following specialized technical committees operate:

1. Food and Agriculture.
2. Industry, Science and Technology and Energy.
3. Environment and Natural Resources.
4. Transport, Communication and Tourism
5. Trade, Customs, Taxation, Statistics, Money and Payments.
6. Political, Judicial and Legal Affairs, Regional Security and Immigration.
7. Human Resources, Information, Social and Cultural Affairs.
8. Administrations and Finance Commission.

The functions of each are as follows:

- 1.20.1. Prepare Community Projects and programmes and submit same for consideration of Council through the Executive Secretary, either on its own or at the request of Council or the Executive Secretary.
2. Ensure the harmonization and co-ordination of projects and programmes of the Community.
3. Monitor and facilitate the application of the provisions of this Treaty and related Protocols pertaining to its area of responsibility.
4. Carry out any other function assigned to it for the purpose of ensuring the implementation of the provisions of this Treaty

DIVERSITY

1.21. ECOWAS countries are diverse in language, culture and well-being. They speak English, French and Portuguese as official languages and numerous ethnic languages. All the countries except Nigeria run the unitary system of government. Religious diversity and beliefs run deep among the various ethnic groups. There are

Christians, Muslims and Traditionalists with different beliefs on the meaning of well-being and entrepreneurship.

APPENDIX 2

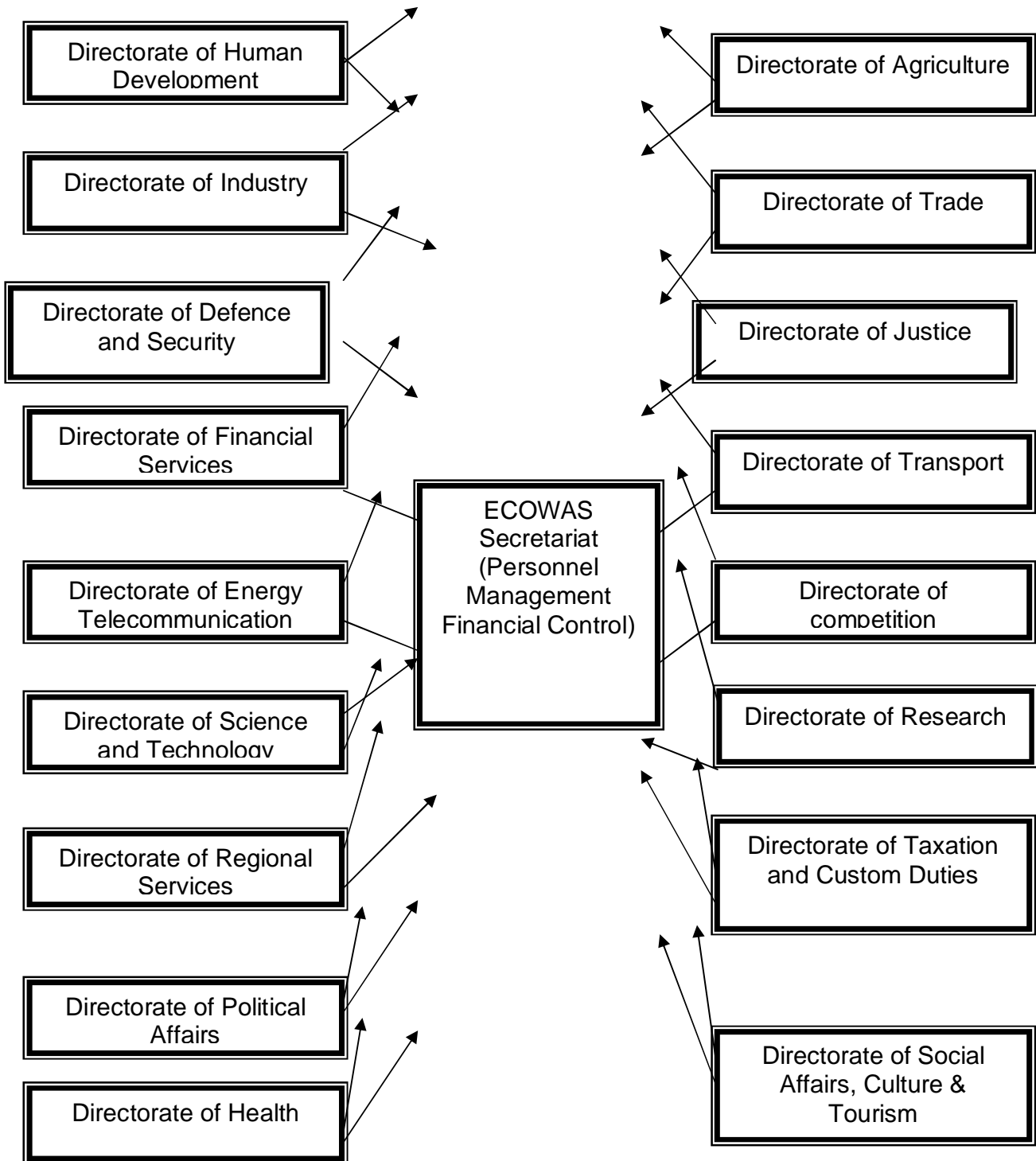
REGIONAL BLOCS

APEC	-	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
CEFTA	-	Central European Free Trade Area
CIS	-	Commonwealth of Independent States
EMFTA	-	Mediterranean Free trade Area
FTAA	-	Free trade Areas of Americas
EU	-	European Union
NAFTA	-	North American Free Trade Area
ACS	-	Association of Caribbean States
CACM	-	Central American Common Market
Andean Group		
CARICOM	-	Caribbean Community and Common Market
Central American Group of Four		
LAIA	-	Latin Americas Integrated Association
MERCOSUR	-	Southern Cone Common Market
OECS	-	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
CEMAC	-	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa

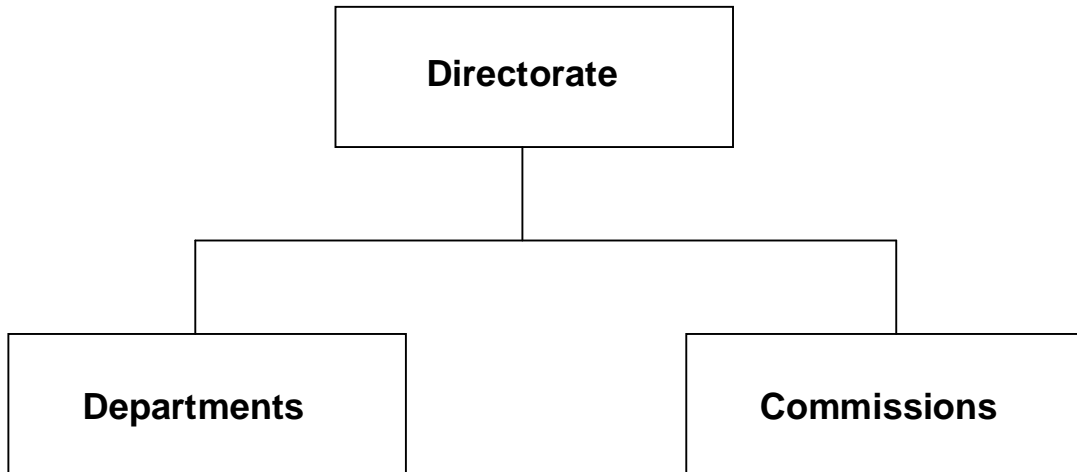
CEPGL	-	Economic Community of Countries of the Great Lakes
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.
CBI	-	Cross Boarder Initiative
EAC	-	East African Community
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
IOC	-	Indian Ocean Commission
MRU	-	Mano River Union (West Africa)
SADC	-	Southern African Development Commission
CACEU	-	Central African Custom and Economic Union
UEMOA	-	West African Economic and Monetary Union
ASEAN	-	Association of South-East Asian Nations.
Bangkok Agreement		
EAEC	-	East Asian Economic Caucus
ECO	-	Economic Cooperation Organization
GAFTA	-	Greater Arab Free Trade Area
Gulf Cooperation Council		
SAAC	-	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.
UMA	-	Arab Magred Union
ECCAS	-	Economic Community of Central African States.

Appendix (4a)

Proposed ECOWAS ORGANOGRAM



APPENDIX 4(b)
ORGANIZATION OF THE DIRECTORATE



APPENDIX 5

QUESTIONNAIRES/ INTERVIEW TO TRADERS/TRANSPORTERS

(Please TICK () the appropriate box)

1. When did you start plying the West Africa Coast?
() Before 1999 () After 1999
2. Are you a trader or Transporter?
() Trader () Transporter
3. Which countries do you go to
() Benin () Togo () Ghana
() Cote D'Ivoire () Sierra Leone () Liberia
() Guinea () Gambia
() Senegal () Mali () G. Bissau
() Burkina Faso () Niger
() Cape Verde
4. Why do you choose the country?
() Close home () understand them better
() more profitable
5. How long do you stay per trip
() Less than a week () More than a week
6. What problems do you encounter
() immigration () Customs ()
PoliceHostile
() Local People () Laws
7. How do you solve them?
() Official () unofficial
8. How do you change your currency
() Unofficially () Officially

9. If unofficially why?
 Bureaucratic Problems No official Presence
10. Before 1999 and after which period has been better for you
 Before After
11. Is your volume of trade now more or less
 More Less

Political Actors

12. Political Problems are the cause of problems of free movement and trade in West Africa

Strongly Agree		3
Somehow bit not much		2
No effect		1

Good Governance

13. Do Roads, electricity, telephone regulations affect your trade?

Yes		3
Fair		2
No		1

Enforcement Agencies

14. To what extent do custom/police immigration/support your business?

Big problem		3
Normal		2
Good enough		1

Security

15 How peaceful and confident are you when you are in the other country where you trade?

Not confident		3
A little confident		2
Confident		1

Values and Beliefs

16. How does the way of life of the people you trade with help your trade?

Difficult		3
Fair		2
Good		1

International Environment

17. If America, Europe and other foreign countries have problem that do not concern us will it affect your business?

Negatively		3
Cannot be predicted		2
Positively		1

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