

**IMPACT AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF ECOWAS TRADE
LIBERALISATION SCHEME ON CROSS-BORDER TRADE IN SEME AND
IDIROKO BORDERS, NIGERIA**

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

The completion of this thesis is the hand of Almighty *Allah* manifest and to Him I dedicate and return all the Glory; to *Family* members who missed me when most needed; to *Friends* who showed concern, love and encouragement *en voyage*; and to *Fans* who openly or secretly admired my thirst for knowledge.

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ABSTRACT

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) has created security challenges resulting in loss of lives and destruction of property in Nigeria. Studies on ETLS examined its advantages and implementation challenges but its security implications on cross-border trade among member states have not been adequately addressed. The study, therefore, examined the impacts of ETLS, security implications and efficiency of border security agencies in managing the threats and challenges of border security at Seme and Idiroko borders, Nigeria.

Weaver's Securitisation and Haas' Regional Integration theories were used as the framework, while the case study design was adopted. Primary and secondary data were utilised. Key informant interviews were conducted with 30 purposively selected leaders of relevant institutions and individuals: 4 officials of the Nigeria Custom Service (2 each from Seme and Idiroko); 4 officials of the Nigeria Immigration Service (2 each from Seme and Idiroko); 2 officials of Department of State Security (1 each from Seme and Idiroko); 2 officials of Standards Organisation of Nigeria (1 each from Seme and Idiroko); 2 officials of National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (1 each from Seme and Idiroko); 2 officials of Port Health Services (1 each from Seme and Idiroko); 4 community leaders (2 each from Seme and Idiroko); Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents, Lagos (1); Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja (3); Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Abuja (2); ECOWAS Commission, Abuja (2); National Association of Nigerian Traders, Abuja (1) and one Border Patrol Unit. Secondary data were sourced from books and journal articles. Data were content-analysed.

The ETLS boosted job creation, protected indigenous manufacturers and products, eased cross border movement for locally manufactured products; reduced prices for locally-manufactured goods, promoted Nigerian-made goods and facilitated global competitiveness of the products. However, it led to challenges such as proliferation of small arms and light weapons, human trafficking, undocumented and irregular migration and facilitated emergence of cross-border criminal gangs. Security personnel at Seme and Idiroko borders were not efficient in curtailing security challenges because of limited advanced technologies, inadequate training, low automation and non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic on modalities for implementation of ETLS at the two border posts. The security threats posed by ETLS are more prevalent at Seme border than at Idiroko. Challenges faced by border security agents included: collaboration between border criminals and some residents of border communities, corruption and compromise by some security personnel and non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic on ETLS implementation.

The Trade Liberalisation Scheme of ECOWAS though impacted positively on Nigeria's cross-border trade, but also posed some security challenges at Seme and Idiroko borders. ECOWAS should review the Scheme with a view to synchronising it with contemporary cross-border security challenges among its member countries. The Nigerian government should improve on technologies in border security and facilitate bilateral agreement with Benin Republic on ETLS implementation at the two border posts.

Word Count: 161

Keywords: Coordinated border management, ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation, National security.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ASEAN - Association of South-East Asian Nations
- AU - African Union
- CEAO - Centrale des Etats de l’Afrique du l’Ouest
- CACM - Central American Common Market
- CEMAC - Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l’Afrique Centrale
- CET - Common External Tariff
- CU - Customs Union
- EAC - East African Community
- ECCAS - Economic Community of Central African states
- ECSC - European Coal and Steel Community
- ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States
- EEC - European Economic Community
- ETLS - ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme
- EU - European Union
- GATT - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- HoSG - Heads of States and Governments
- ICBT - Informal Cross Border Trades
- IGAD - Inter-Governmental Agency for Development
- RECs - Regional Economic Communities
- RIA - Regional Integration Agreement
- RIDMP - Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan
- RIDSP - Regional Indicative Development Strategic Plan
- SALW - Small Arms and Light Weapons
- SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa
- UEMOA - Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine
- UNCTAD - United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
- WAMI - West African Monetary Institute
- WAMZ - West African Monetary Zone
- WTO - World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The existence of transnational cross border trade between and among countries in Sub-Saharan Africa before the 19th century, served as a turning point in various ways for states and communities in the region. It served as springboard for the commencement of regional integration and opened the door for formal economic integration in Africa within the time regional integration increased globally. The increase in socio-economic and political integration globally reaffirms the argument that no country is self-sufficient and that international collaboration and synergy are critical components of inter-state interaction between and among countries. The end of the Second World War in 1945, heralded the emergence of various international organisations targeted at maintaining and supporting global peace, security and economic development and growth. Thus, organisations such as European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in 1952 and the European Economic Community (EEC) was formed on March 25, 1957 in Italy.

When in the 1960s African countries began to gain independence, it became imperative for them to address their economic problems of underdevelopment and unfavorable economic conditions. Regional integration introduced major changes in international relations and heightened citizens' expectation and demand from governments. It was also evident that Africa's socio-political and economic progress depended on collaboration and partnership among countries in the region. With its dependency on the developed world, Africa has not attained significant achievements within the context of global development objectives. African leaders viewed sub-regional and regional cooperation as a major pathway out of the continent's economic turmoil. They recognized the importance of collective autonomy in Africa by means of sub-regional economic cooperation.

Between 1970 and 1980, both industrialised and developing countries strengthened their attempts at regional integration. Political leaders in Africa were strongly convinced that regional integration have potentials to enhance stability and economic prosperity in the region. Many of the world's least-developed countries are located in Sub-Saharan Africa; despite the existence and availability of abundant natural and mineral resources, these countries still wallow in underdevelopment, poor infrastructure and poverty. These are essentially due to poor leadership, corruption, low technology, amongst other factors to harness the natural resources optimally. In order to collectively remedy the challenges facing the continent, leaders of the region opted for regional and sub-regional cooperation.

The formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 was a bold attempt by leaders of the region to collectively tackle the economic challenges in the region. It sought to bring West African countries together under the same sub-regional authority. Thus, in 1975, following series of political dialogues championed by Nigeria's Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, and supported by Togo's President Eyadema, the Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique du l'Ouest (CEAO) member countries – Liberia and Sierra Leone, as well as Ghana, The Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau completed the league of nations which together transmuted into the 15-member nations founding the ECOWAS even as Cape Verde joined the organisation a year later as the 16th member state. Mauritania opted out of the Community in 2002 to revert the total number of membership back to fifteen nations.

The establishment of the ECOWAS community marked the beginning of a collective front by member nations to address West Africa's economic difficulties. West African countries recognized the necessity to establish new development frameworks in which greater and enhanced cross-border commerce will play a critical role in the path to long-term economic development in order to achieve exceptional economic growth. As a result, the sub-regional nations adopted the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) as a priority instrument to improve cross-border trade, economic unification, diverse industrial development, and the establishment of a more equitable and competitive international trading system for overall prosperity of the sub-region.

Table 1: Member Countries of ECOWAS, date of independence and colonisers

S/N	Nation	Date of Independence	Coloniser
1	Benin	August 1, 1960	France
2	Burkina Faso	August 5, 1960	France
3	Cape Verde	July 5, 1975	Portugal
4	Cote D'Ivoire	August 7, 1960	France
5	The Gambia	April 18, 1965	Britain
6	Ghana	March 6, 1957	Britain
7	Guinea	October 2, 1958	France
8	Guinea Bissau	September 10, 1974	Portugal
9	Liberia	Established in 1847	Returnees from the USA
10	Mali	June 20, 1960	France
11	Niger	August 3, 1960	France
12	Nigeria	October 1, 1960	Britain
13	Senegal	August 20, 1960	France
14	Sierra Leone	April 27, 1961	Britain
15	Togo	April 27, 1960	France

Source: Compilation by researcher, 2020

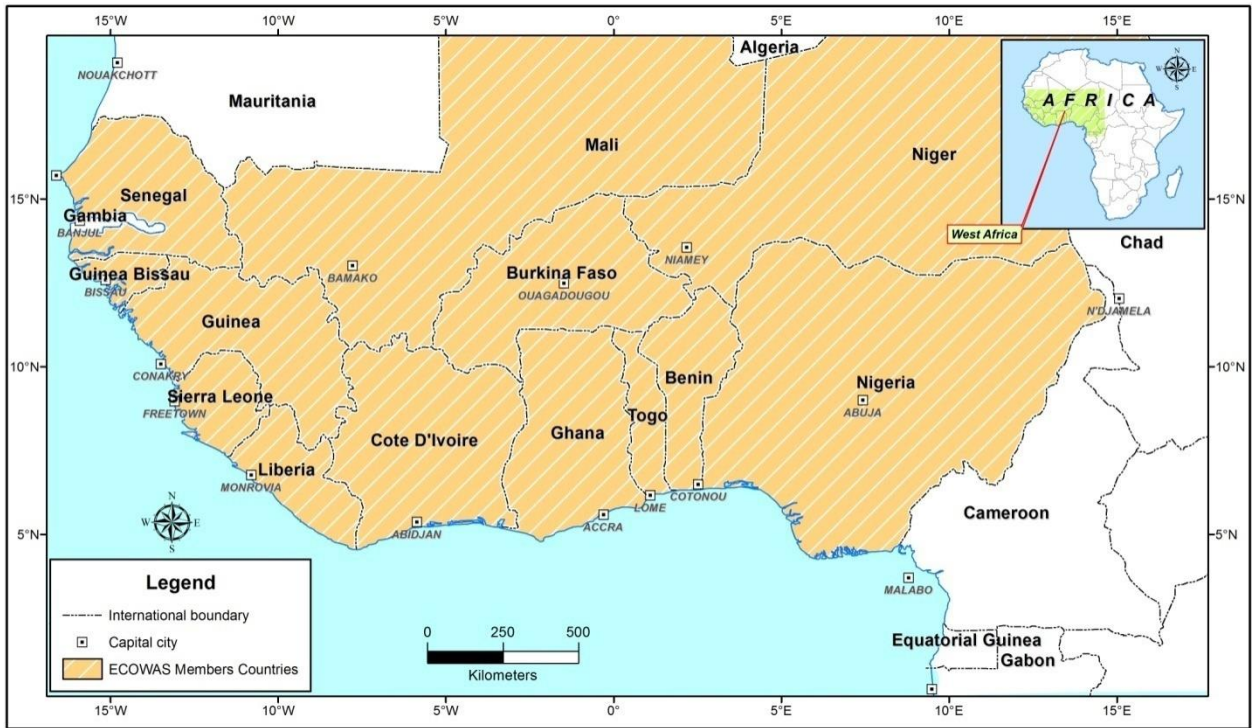


Figure 1: Map of Africa showing ECOWAS Member States

Source: Cartography Unit, Geography Department, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 2018

The fundamental features of the ETLS are duty free movement of goods of origin and other products indigenous to ECOWAS member countries, including the removal of all forms of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. Aside of its duty free nature, ETLS products enjoy “diplomatic cover” at border posts. This means trucks and vehicles conveying ETLS products are given accelerated clearance and granted preferential entry in designated borders (land, air and sea) in Nigeria. The benefits of the ETLS for Nigeria’s cross border trade are geared towards expanded markets, growth and development. This fits into intra-African economic growth agenda, not limited to Nigeria, which include: :

1. Higher gross domestic products
2. Economic diversification
3. More jobs and poverty reduction
4. Lower consumer prices.
5. Overall peace and security

However, increased spate of insecurity in Nigeria has raised questions on the security implications of the ETLS on Nigeria as a result of the “diplomatic cover” enjoyed by ETLS products. This is because of the potential impacts on Nigeria’s border security which in turn has implications on the nation’s national security. Akinyemi, (2013) noted that border security has come to assume heightened importance in the world today as a result of increased rate of criminal activities especially since the end of Cold War and in the aftermath of globalisation. Reaffirming this view, Olomu et al (2018), submitted that cross border security is increasingly attracting significant attention in many countries as a result of its implication on national security. For instance, in the United States of America, Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is a federal agency responsible to stop undocumented migration and smuggling of goods that are prohibited and unfit to enter the United States, amongst other wide-ranging duties. Similarly, in the United Kingdom (UK), it is called Border Force, which is primarily created to protect the UK border by carrying out immigration and customs controls for people and goods entering the UK. But in Nigeria, no such specific framework is in place; which motivates this study. Andrew (2007) submitted that the European Union also offers a positive indication of how improved border related trade controls can contribute to both security and economic development. The ETLS

exemplifies cross border control strategies which recognises the risks involved when goods are moved in an unregulated and uncoordinated manner across countries. Therefore, these instruments exist to ensure that the ETLS does not serve as platform for smuggling of arms, weapons and other prohibited goods which can harm the economy of a member state as well as impact negatively on the national security of member states.

Temisan (2018) noted that Nigeria has her own share of border security challenges, which are made more complex by poverty, lack of good governance, corruption, armed conflict, armed banditry and porous borders. among others. According to Asiwaju (1996), Nigeria shares land borders with Benin Republic which covers a distance of 773km, Niger Republic, 1497km, Chad 85km and Cameroon 1690km. If the total distances of these border areas are summed up, it will amount to 4045km. This implies that if not effectively and functionally managed, these border areas can serve as spaces for informal movement of persons and goods.

The upsurge in insecurity across Nigeria has called to question the sources of arms utilised by kidnappers, Boko Haram terrorists, bandits and cattle rustlers as well as other criminals operating in Nigeria. While the bulk of the blame has been harped on the porous nature of Nigeria's borders which allows for easy inflow of arms and cross border criminals as well as the activities of smugglers; there is need to empirically understudy the ETLS in order to establish how the Scheme has contributed to cross border trade and border management in Nigeria. Accordingly, the security implication of the ETLS on Nigeria's cross border trade and border management needs to be investigated. Bearing in mind that the ETLS allows for the entry of certain category of goods into Nigeria, could these be manipulated to create room for inflow of firearms and light weapons into Nigeria? Are Nigeria's border management agencies well-informed about the ETLS control mechanisms to ensure firearms do not enter the country through ETLS approved goods? What effect(s) does the ETLS have on cross border trade and border management in Nigeria? These issues require methodical academic interrogation considering the humongous resources and logistics Nigeria is losing due to insecurity in the country.

ECOWAS is at the forefront and indeed has become the flagship of the various efforts aimed at building formidable cross border alliances to curb the inflow of arms, ammunitions and

weapons into the sub-region. However, in order to be well placed to rid West Africa of cross border crimes, armed conflicts and insecurity, the ETLS which is one of the ECOWAS cross border trade instruments needs to be investigated in order to identify the security implications.

What further gives fillip to this need is the fact that ECOWAS has worked assiduously to eliminate over 95% of trade barriers along borders for member states. Thus, giving the entry and exit of products with ETLS Certificate a relatively easy passage across the borders in the sub-region. For example, the ECOWAS National Unit in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs proudly announced that:

Under the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), the region has eliminated over 95% of trade barriers along borders of member states. Presently, Nigeria has over 2,400 companies with over 6,900 products under the scheme. Nigeria alone accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of products under the scheme (KII, ECOWAS National Office)

From the above, it is obvious that the participation of Nigerian businesses in ETLS is huge both in terms of volume and value which implications therefore, cannot be ignored. In context, this study examined the impact and security implications of ECOWAS trade liberalisation scheme on cross-border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The management of Nigeria's international borders has constantly been in public discourse because of the importance of safe borders to a nation's national security, peace and development. Asiwaju (1996) gives credence to this when he posited that events at border regions are crucial and fundamental in defining the nation's quest for security and socio-economic, cum political development. Indeed, at the height of kidnappings, banditry and herdsmen rampage across the country, several government officials alleged that those responsible were foreign elements who crossed the country's borders to unleash mayhem on Nigerian nationals.

Nigeria shares land borders with Benin Republic, Cameroon, Niger and Chad Republic. Otoide (2014) submits that the country has a total land border of 4,047km with an 84 entrance approved border control post and over 1,400 illegal routes. Over the years, scholars including Asiwaju and Nugget (2011); Akinyemi (2013); Onuoha (2013) have examined the issue of porosity of borders in Nigeria and managing this large border area has remained a major challenge to border management agencies. Nwogu (2013 cited in Olomu et al, 2018) submitted that porous and unmanned borders contributed and continues to facilitate cross-border crimes, terrorist attacks, drug trafficking, illegal trade such as smuggling of contraband goods like shoes, frozen poultry products, unpaid duty on imported cars and foreign parboiled rice. This situation has also promoted the unregulated influx of illegal migrants and cross border criminality in Nigeria through her Francophone neighbours, which has posed serious security challenges for border management agencies to contend with. Accordingly, Adenubi (2018) revealed that a total of twenty-one million, five hundred and forty-eight thousand, six hundred and eight (21, 548, 608) arms and ammunitions were intercepted across the various borders in Nigeria between 2010-2017. Adeola and Fayomi (2012); Ewetan and Urhie (2014) studies focused on the wave of insurgency attacks across the country and the inability and failure of border security agents to effectively secure the nation's borders from terrorists which they attributed to low manpower among various border security agencies.

The economic diversification drive of Nigeria led to increased cross-border trade with ECOWAS member countries. However, Nigeria has witnessed increased insecurity resulting from farmer-herder conflicts, armed robbery, kidnappings, insurgency, terrorism and banditry across the six geopolitical zones (north east, north west, north central, south east, south west and south-south) in the country which has resulted in loss of lives, destruction of property and internal displacement. Affirming these, Abdulbaqi and Ariemu (2017) and Bagu and Smith (2017) posited that violence related to illegal cross border movement such as herder-farmer conflicts have resulted in massive loss of lives, destruction of property, internal displacement of person, among others. Ilo, Jonathan-Ichaver and Adamolekun (2019) described these conflicts as “among the world's deadliest conflicts”. Sahara Reporters (2019) submitted that between January-March, of the same year, 179 lives

were lost to these conflicts. Similarly, Chilwa and Chilwa (2020) noted that over 10,000 lives have been lost as a result of the conflict in the last ten years and almost 4,000 of them in the last two years alone.

The near collapse of security in Nigeria has largely been attributed to easy and ready availability of small arms and light weapons, improvised electronic devices among others. These constitute threats to peace and security in the country. In response to these threats, the Federal Government of Nigeria has occasionally closed her land borders with neighbouring countries. The most recent being that of August 20, 2019 which lasted till December 16, 2020. Thus, considering that ETLS products enjoy accelerated search and clearance, it is suspected that ETLS may be contributing to insecurity in Nigeria; which this study seeks to investigate Attempts at a detailed examination of the security implications of the ETLS on cross border trade in Nigeria have been relatively rare. This study therefore aimed to carry out an in-depth analysis of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria with a view to unravelling its security implications for cross border trade. Furthermore, the study examined the efficiency of border security agencies regarding the implementation of the ETLS as well as the challenges faced by border security agencies in the implementation of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

The following questions guided the field research:

1. How has the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) impacted on Nigeria's cross-border trade?
2. What are the security implications of the ETLS for Nigeria's cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria?
3. How efficient are border security agencies in curtailing the security implications of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria?
4. What are the challenges faced by border security agencies in addressing the threats posed by the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study examined the security implications of ETLS for Cross Border Trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria. Therefore, the field research was guided by the following specific objectives; which are to:

1. Investigate how the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) has impacted on Nigeria's cross-border trade.
2. Identify the security implications of the ETLS for Nigeria's cross-border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria.
3. Examine the efficiency of border security agencies in curtailing the security implications of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria.
4. Highlight the challenges faced by border security agencies in addressing the threats posed by the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria?

1.5 Significance of the Study

There is a renewed emphasis on understanding border management and its nexus with national security the world over. This follows the increasing threats posed by transnational organised crimes insurgency and terrorism globally. A plethora of literature exists on regional economic organisations/schemes such as the ETLS and border management in Nigeria but there is scanty literature, if any, that interrogates the ETLS within in the context of security, trade and border management in Nigeria. Extant studies have not attempted to interrogate if and how the ETLS contributes to insecurity in Nigeria. Consequently, by examining the security implications of the ETLS the findings of this study would help identify gaps which exist and how best to strengthen Nigeria's engagement with multi-lateral policy frameworks that makes balancing the negative outcome of free trade with border security regimes in Nigeria. Thus, this study is novel in academic discourse, because desk top review and search of literature in this thematic area are difficult to come across, but it is of great relevance in researching policy, social, economic and development agenda an independent nation influenced by integration..

1.6 Scope of the Study

The content scope of this study is centred on the impact and security implications of ECOWAS trade liberalisation scheme on cross-border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, Nigeria. The study's geographic scope is situated within the South-west geopolitical zone of Nigeria. The South-west geopolitical zone consists of six states including Ondo, Oyo, Osun, Ogun, Ekiti and Lagos. Specifically, within this geographical scope, the study locations are Seme and Idi-Iroko borders in Lagos and Ogun states respectively. This study is concerned with examining if and how the ETLs has contributed to cross border trade, border management and insecurity in Nigeria. Seme and Idi-iroko borders were purposely chosen as the study's geographical location because both borders are designated as ECOWAS ETLs accredited. Also, the two borders are renowned for robust cross border activities. The time scope of the study is 1990-2020. This is because of the need to appropriately cover the subject matter from the time of its commencement/implementation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Security

In the international system, the idea of security has been subjected to numerous interpretations by researchers or analysts, and it may also be separated into two schools of thought: conventional and nontraditionalist. The former school favors maintaining the Cold War, which is an ideological rivalry between the West and the East that focuses on reversing communism and containing capitalism, as security is defined through military and state-centric approaches, whereas the non-traditionalist school broadens the definition of security to include issues such as human, economic, environmental, and social security. This includes everything that could jeopardize the individual's or the state's survival. With common usage, security refers to the absence of a threat, whereas insecurity refers to the presence of a threat, as is currently the case in Nigeria, particularly with regard to her borders.

Security rises and declines with a nation's ability to repel or defeat an assault, according to Wolfers (1962) referenced in Akinyemi (2013:4). It is defined by Berkowitz and Bock (1968) as "a nation's ability to preserve its own ideals against external attacks." "That which threatens or has the ability to bring down or weaken state structures, both geographical and institutional, as well as ruling regimes," says Ayoob (1997). These conceptions or conceptualizations suggest that security is state-centric, focusing primarily on military strength to deter foreign aggression and favoring the traditional understanding of security. In a condition of insecurity, security has a lot to do with national borders; threat can be considered in flux.

Smuggling and unlawful entry are major concerns in today's border management, both of which threaten the state's security. Border disputes have become one of Africa's major sources of conflict over the years, such as when a neighbor helped to topple Togo's President Eyadema in late 1986, causing Togo, Ghana, and Burkina Faso to sour relations. Togo was also accused for the attempted rebellion of Jerry Rawlings' regime in 1985. (Adelugba & Ujomu, 2008). In summary, antagonistic neighbors could jeopardize the state's economic security by encouraging or allowing border smuggling. Smuggling and unlawful entry are major concerns in today's border management, both of which threaten the state's security.

Walt (1991) also claims that security can be defined as the study of military force threat, use, and control. It investigates the circumstances under which states employ force against individuals in order to prepare for, avert, and engage in war. Security is crucial and linked to the notion of border, which necessitates preventive measures to combat any activity that could damage lives and property while also jeopardizing the state's (Nigeria's) integrity. As a result, security must be prioritized, and border security must be linked to national security, because cross-border arms trafficking is linked to the proliferation of small guns and light weapons that has resulted in violence in several West African countries. Terrorists have used Nigeria's porous borders as a means of entry and other criminal operations, prompting increased worry about the country's border security.

2.1.2 Border

Border researchers define borders as complex spatial or geographic phenomena that demarcate a state's sovereign territory; it is a social, political, or economic expression of belonging or exclusion inside a state's sovereign territory, for example, nations, faiths, organizations, and individuals. Paasi paasi paasi paas (2003). According to Feuer (1983), a sedentary society's border is defined as the territory stretching from the core zone's boundary to the boundaries of its effective political control. It's a zone that sits halfway between the core zone and other places that are considered important and vulnerable to external threats. A border denotes the point or line that divides two separate things, distinguishing one from the other. Individuals who cross the border without the required documents to allow them to do so are considered unlawful. Another illegal way to travel internationally is to use a

fake passport (counterfeit, adulterated, or the passport of impersonation). The political borders set by colonial imperialists caused hurdles to free movement of people and products across international borders in modern African civilizations. The ETLIS, on the other hand, strives to remove these roadblocks.

Because it depicts a limit or a barrier and implies a divide or a separation in space, the phrases border, boundary, and frontier are sometimes used interchangeably. (Haselsberger & Benneworth, 2011; Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999). As a result, these phrases have different meanings, but they are all important in identifying, classifying, communicating, and managing a territory in the sense of allocating items to specific regions and regulating cross-border movement and entry into or out of defined territories. (1986, Sack). On a map and on the ground, boundaries are still unambiguous and fixed lines; (Biggs, 1999; Haselsberger, 2010) borders serve a variety of purposes and duties. They can take the form of a barbed wire fence, a brick wall, a door, heavily armed border guards, or symbolic boundaries, and they can be material or non-material. A legal line in space dividing distinct jurisdictions, nations, civilizations, and so on is referred to as a border. (According to Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999). Border, according to Prescott (1978), is a region that constitutes the edge of populated or developed territory, and it is a projection of some institutions' power to a state's outer borders.

A boundary is a line or notion that separates one aspect from another (e.g., religious and community). There are both natural and man-made limits. Natural boundaries are defined by natural features such as rivers, mountains, and coastlines (Chukwarah, 1967; Konrad & Nicol, 2008), whereas artificial boundaries are defined by social or political agents or agencies to distinguish between national, ethnic, religious, linguistic, legal, or security differences and cut across natural landscapes (Anderson and O'Dowd, 2008). (1999). Frontiers were first employed to define the neutral zone between governments in the 14th century, and they took the form of a relatively vacant terrain with few or no human settlements (Haselsberger, 2010; Konrad & Nicol, 2008). These were developed into populous marchlands, the objective of which was to defend the empire or state against external threats.

2.1.3 Border Security Management

Border management, according to Okumu (2011), can indicate a variety of things, including border control, border security, border monitoring, border protection, and so on. Border management is commonly used to refer to border control, which aims to make it easier or more difficult for people, animals, plants, and things to travel in and out of a country. Securing borderlines (activities along the border) and controlling ports of entry (harbors, border posts, and airports) are the two basic categories of border management (Ibid). Security has always been a fundamental worry in all countries around the world, whether developed and developing. Perhaps it is the assumption that peace and security are the result of social, economic, and political advances. To this purpose, all governments prioritize border management as a top priority. Nigeria has been fighting transnational crimes such as drug trafficking, money laundering, illicit arms trafficking, smuggling of all types (contraband, stolen cars, firearms), theft, advance fee fraud known as 419, abduction, and many more that constitute a severe threat to national security.

It is important to remember that the security challenges stated above have cross-border management dimensions and components. Nigeria is the epicenter of economic activity in the West African sub-region, and as a result, large cross-border inflows of people and goods occur. The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods, as well as the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme, are institutional frameworks designed to manage and control cross-border trade in West Africa, ensuring that such trade does not constitute a security concern to ECOWAS member countries.

However, recent cross-border criminal operations have posed a threat to Nigeria's national security and harmed the country's socioeconomic progress. Another border management difficulty that Nigeria has is the threat of terrorism, which is represented by Boko Haram, the Islamic State of West Africa (ISWAP), and the operations of bandits operating freely in some parts of the nation. Many of these bandits are said to be cross-border criminals from other nations who enter Nigeria, wreck havoc on communities, and then return to their home countries. Has the ETLIS assisted the smuggling of weaponry into Nigeria? What security implications does the ETLIS have on Nigeria's border security management?

Security is particularly important at the border, according to Adesola (2008), and it is also the first assignment of any administration because nothing can be done if people's lives and property are in danger. The social and economic development of a country will be a mammoth effort if its borders are insecure. As a result, poverty, disease, starvation, and dread will be prevalent throughout society. For example, the rising number of transnational crimes and the pervasiveness of terrorist groups in Nigeria distorts the country's socioeconomic development as resources and cash that should be directed toward infrastructure development are diverted to combating insecurity concerns. As a result, border security must be linked to national security, because cross-border arms trafficking is linked to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons that has resulted in communal violence in many nations. There has been growing dissatisfaction with Nigeria's lack of border security since terrorists have utilized it as a means of entering the country and engaging in other illicit activities. This necessitates a greater focus on guarding and managing our borders.

2.2 Trade Liberalisation

There is scarcely any nation which can develop and grow in isolation, thus, nations have formed and continue to enter into various types of economic cooperation, collaborations and partnerships which have remained catalysts for economic growth and emancipation. These cooperation and subsequent agreements that result from them are results of deliberate policies of various governments to allow free flow of trade across their national borders. Trade liberalisation is practiced across various continental, regional and sub-regional levels to facilitate international cooperation and growth. It is also embodied in the objectives and conditions of international cooperation. Economic cooperation in general, is a concept that is consistently being used as a simile for entrepreneurial, industrial, financial or productive cooperation.

Trade liberalisation basically refers to the removal or reduction of restrictions or barriers on the free exchange of goods between nations. This includes the removal or reduction of both tariff (duties) and non-tariff obstacles (licensing rules, quotas). The easing or eradication of these restrictions is often referred to as promoting free trade. Notwithstanding its numerous benefits, the arguments against trade liberalization posit that it leads to job losses as cheaper goods flood the market (which at times may not undergo the same quality and safety check required domestically). Proponents of trade liberalisation, however, submit that ultimately, it lowers consumer costs, increases efficiency and fosters economic growth.

Under a free trade policy, prices emerge from the equilibration of resource allocation. Practically, free trade significantly differs from other types of trade policy where the allocation of goods and services among trading countries are determined by price strategies that may differ from those that would emerge under deregulation. These regulated prices are the result of government intervention in the market place through price adjustments or supply restrictions. Consequently, such governmental interventions can lead to an increase or decrease in the cost of goods and services to both consumers and producers. Over the years, countries and governments have consistently reduced tariff barriers and currency restrictions on international trade through subsidies, taxes and tariffs. Non-tariff barriers, such as regulatory legislation and import quotas, and government managed trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) and any governmental market intervention resulting in artificial prices. However, other barriers that hinder effective international trade such as; import quotas, multiple taxations, among others still exist.

In his submission, Manni et al (2012) contended that trade liberalisation leads to an increase in welfare derived from an improved allocation of domestic resources while import restrictions create an anti-export bias by raising the prices of importable goods relative to exportable goods. He argued that the removal of this bias through trade liberalisation will encourage a shift of resources from the production of import substitutes to the production of export-oriented goods. Citing McCulloch, Winters and Cirera (2001), Manni et al (2012), argue that, the above situation will generate growth in the short to medium term as the

country adjusts to a new allocation of resources more in keeping its comparative advantage. Accordingly, the most compelling argument adduced for greater liberalization is predicated on its effect on economic efficiency, which promotes private investment and economic growth: Higher growth in turn helps in lowering poverty by increasing employment and real incomes of the poor.

2.2.1 Trade liberalisation Mechanisms

The importance of trade liberalisation explains the reason for the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Prior to the advent of the WTO, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was established in 1947 as the first main attempt to liberalize international trade. It was created to reduce trade barriers and to put all nations on the same level playing field in the arena of global trade relationships.

For more than four decades, however, there were disagreements between the major powers in Europe and America, specifically between Britain and the United States. While the former advocated for a blanket supervision of the generality of goods including agricultural products by a reputable international organisation, the latter called for the exclusion of some agricultural products from the GATT regimes. (Olokooba, 2012:1). In the words of Olokooba, “the extent to which global trading activities should be protected was heavily beclouded with controversies and confusions. These occurrences became the source of tension in the global international economic relations”

These events culminated in many rounds of trade negotiations in which the Uruguay Round was the eighth under the GATT in 1994. It was based on a number of principles in order to achieve peaceful trade dispute settlement mechanisms amongst the nations of the world. Among these principles was non-discrimination which contained the principle of the Most Favored Nations (MFN) and National Treatment. Under the MFN principle, “all member nations are bound to grant to each other treatment as favourable as they give to each nation with regard to trade matters.” (Hill, 2001). This principle, according to Carbaugh (1998) made trade liberalization a “public good”. Other principles of GATT identified by Carbaugh

include the settlement of trade disputes, the obligations of members of GATT to use tariffs rather than quotas to protect their local industry.(Carbaugh1998).

In the view of Robert Carbaugh the Uruguay Round was the most extensive and comprehensive trade agreement concluded under GATT. It dealt extensively with tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. It also deals with rules, services, intellectual property, dispute settlement, textiles and agricultural products. The Uruguay round terminates the GATT period in 1994. It led to the establishment of World Trade Organization in 1995. Doha Round is the ninth and last round of trade negotiations. It deals with the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers. It covered agricultural, labor standards, environment, investment and so forth. However, it is not yet concluded. International trade has had its share of difficulties because every round of trade negotiations has happened amid acrimony and mistrust among countries. As countries liberalize so are difficulties such as dumping and the provision of subsidies multiplying. Economically advanced countries continue to support their local producers but those in less developed states cannot do same. China has been accused on the international stage for dumping goods and implementing policies that promote exports and discourage imports, a practice that is known as “beggar-thy-neighbour syndrome”. These difficulties have not discouraged states from promoting trade liberalization (Carbaugh1998). Trade liberalisation, in brief, means the elimination of barriers to the free movement of goods and services between member countries of an economic community. According to Jebuni, Oduro and Tutu (1994), trade liberalization means the elimination of quantitative restrictions and reduction in import tariff rates. For Marchand (2008), it means “a significant reduction or removal of trade barriers that restrict a country’s international trade. These trade barriers include tariffs, non-tariff barriers, subsidies, and other restrictive trade instruments”. Trade liberalisation generally involves the removal or reduction of tariff such as duties or surcharges and the non-tariff barriers like quotas, licensing rules to free movement of goods and services between two states. Broadly, it entails “the progressive removal of restrictions on trade and the replacement of quantitative restrictions, such as quotas, with tariffs; the reduction of these; lower variance in the levels of protection across sectors and activities; and increased market orientation and transparency of trade policy.” (Cepal 2007) Trade liberalization involves greater cooperation with international market. It is linked to economic

openness. It is a means through which countries attain a free trade area, a customs union, a common market, a full economic union and political union. With trade liberalization countries can easily develop their economies and this will help them to solve their socio economic problems.

Effects of trade liberalisation

This section focuses on literatures on trade liberalisation. The argument is based on whether trade liberalization has led to positive or negative export performance. While some studies have found a positive association between trade liberalization and export performance (Svedberg, 2000, Santos-Paulino, 2003, Ahmed 2000, Michaely et al 1991, Thomas et al 1991), some other studies have also found little empirical evidence to support a link between trade liberalization and export performance (Shafaeddin, 1994; Greenaway and Sapsford, 1994; Jenkins, 1996; Agosin, 1991, Clarke and Kirkpatrick, 1991).

Singer and Gray (1988) queried if trade policy influences export performance. Using empirical data (67-73, 77-83) they show that changes in world demand carried greater weight in determining export performance than changes in trade policy. The (Spearman) rank correlation between export orientation and growth is high and significant when world market conditions are favourable. Also the correlation is stronger (and significant) for higher-income countries for both sub periods than for lower-income countries. More recently, Ahmed (2000) investigated the response of Bangladesh's aggregate merchandise exports to a real exchange rate-based trade liberalization programme during the period 1974-1996. Empirical results suggest that there exists a unique long-run or equilibrium relationship among real quantities of export, relative export price and export-weighted real effective exchange rate, relative export price (lagged two quarters), real effective exchange rate, predicted values of real GDP (lagged one quarter) and a dummy variable capturing the effects of trade liberalization programme have all emerged as important determinants of an aggregate export supply function for Bangladesh.

Similarly, Santos-Paulino (2000) examined the impact of trade liberalization on export performance for a sample of developing economies using the export demand function approach. Results from his study showed that exports react negatively to an increase in relative prices and positively to an increase in world income growth, while export duties have detrimental effect on export performance although the impact is relatively small. Among regional blocs, her result indicated that Latin America and Africa possessed high-income elasticities and highest long run price elasticity. He concluded that trade liberalization emerges as a fundamental determinant of export growth in all the countries in their sample.

Utkulu et al (2004) argued that a traditional model of export supply with explanatory variables such as export prices, variable home and foreign costs, and productive capacity can be further extended by taking the effects of trade reform which consists of measures to reduce anti-export bias. He argued that trade reform leads to the reduction of anti-export bias and strong supply response. The result revealed that prices, relative prices, and real exchange rates have no significant effect on the Turkish export supply in the long run. In addition, the result from the extended model also showed that factors such as trade reform, import compression, and technological innovation have significant effects on the Turkish export supply. Sanguinetti, Pantano and Posadas (2002) examined the consequences of the unilateral liberalization and regional agreements on the trade structure of Argentina. They found evidence that the trade structure of Argentina has suffered a significant modification. In particular, imports and exports have been subject to a process of de-concentration due to trade reform. Their result revealed that tariff preferences and economies of scale were responsible for these changes.

Nevertheless, evidence tends to show that successful trade liberalization has been associated with devaluations either at the same or beforehand. (Ahmed 2000, Edwards, 1993). For instance, Jenkins (1996) established that one of the anticipated gains from the trade liberalization policies adopted by many Latin America countries in recent years is improved export performance. He concluded that improved export performance is largely the result of a more realistic and more stable real exchange rate after, while the trade policy reforms have had little impact. He noted certain deficiencies of Bolivia's export performance, such as the

increased emphasis on primary and semi-processed products, and the lack of diversification in terms of both products and markets.

In the same vein, Cameron, Kihangire and Potts (2002) examined the long-run elasticity of response of its predominantly agricultural primary commodity exports during the floating exchange rate regime in Uganda. The results suggest that Uganda's exports are positively and significantly correlated with relative prices and the levels of exchange rate, but negatively correlated with the terms of trade, capacity utilization, and exchange rate variability. Closer examination of individual sub-sectors indicates that the negative response to exchange rate variability is not universal for all products. Policy-wise, the results suggest that Uganda's export-led growth strategy must recognize the importance of these issues, but that it should also take full account of the differences in supply conditions and responses of particular sub-sectors.

It has been argued that the adoption of unilateral liberalization can enhance the performance of a country in preferential trade agreements. Austria (2001) paper examined the policies pursued by the Philippines in response to the increasing economic integration and interdependence of nations and regions around the world, focusing in particular on the country's multi-track approach to trade and investment liberalization. The country's experience points to the importance of domestic policies that foster domestic efficiency and competitiveness before one can participate in regional integration and face global competition. The country first pursued trade and investment liberalization policies in the 1980s and 1990s to eliminate the inefficiency of domestic industries arising from its past protectionist regime. The unilateral liberation efforts resulted to a better allocation of resources and improvement in the overall competitiveness of domestic industries. The improved competitiveness enabled the country to participate in the 1990s in regional trading arrangements, AFTA and APEC, and in the much bigger WTO. The challenge facing the country now is how to deepen and expand its participation in regional integration as the proliferation of regional trading arrangements has brought forth many new competitors for the country, both for its export markets and sources of foreign direct investment. Areas where

further reforms are necessary are identified to enable the country to realize the full gains from economic integration.

Similarly, Mengistae and Teal (1998) examined the role of trade liberalization, regional integration and firm performance in Africa's Manufacturing Sector. Their study attempted to understand the role of regional trade and its effects on the performance of firms. The evidence from the study revealed that unilateral tariff reductions have enhanced regional trade. Regional trade can be a method for firm growth provided it is treated as a stepping stone to the international market and not used as a device to protect firms that cannot compete internationally. In a similar study, Kagira (2001) examined the effects of regional integration on the performance of intra- industry trade in Eastern and Southern Africa. The PTA Treaty specified eight groups of NTBs that had to be relaxed and eventually eliminated. These included quantitative restrictions, export and import licensing, foreign exchange allocation, stipulation of import sources, prohibition of imports advance import deposits, conditional permission for imports and special charges for acquiring foreign exchange.

By 1992, significant progress had been made in relaxation of these NTBs. However, restrictive import licensing and the system of foreign exchange allocation remained as bottlenecks to intra-COMESA trade expansion. Despite these efforts, the success of integration programmes in terms of increased trade between the COMESA member states has been at its best marginal. In contrast to the argument of earlier studies, Jebuni (1997) recognized the challenges of trade reform in Africa and argued that full trade liberalization is a more useful approach to development than merely engaging in preferential trade agreements. He argued that regional trade integration may difficult to be enforced since it may lead to losses in government tariff revenues and instability in the balance of payments. He observed that African countries usually face high transportation costs for intraregional trade compared to the costs involved in relations with industrialized countries. He finally concluded that these factors undermine the arguments in favor of trade integration in SSA.

Amphonsah (2002) examined the analytical and empirical evidence of trade policy effects of regional integration within African framework. Greater trade policy liberalization may lead to stronger economic growth, notwithstanding the controversies pertaining to trade and development policies, and the mixed results of specific impacts from various studies. A major complement of RTAs is the ability to import knowledge, ideas, investment goods and intermediate inputs (such as technology, skilled management, etc.,) from successful integrating regions. He also noted that Pursuit of open economic strategies is the key incentive to gaining greater access to markets. Therefore, countries must adopt trading systems that are open, transparent, rules based, and fair. They must also learn to negotiate as a trading bloc.

Ajayi (2005) reviewed the process of regional financial and economic integration in West Africa. She sought to determine the prospects for further integration in West Africa given the region's unique characteristics and the particular experience of ECOWAS countries. Based on results from a gravity model analysis, she revealed that participation in the CFA monetary union and ECOWAS' preferential trade agreements appear to have improved intraregional trade. However, the challenges of political instability, maintaining fiscal resources, and finding a suitable monetary anchor present considerable concerns for the creation of a single West African Monetary Zone.

Asante (1996) studied the Strategy of Regional Integration in Africa. He views regional integration as "the only viable strategy for optimal development of all the peoples of Africa in the contemporary economic and political circumstances as well as in the world as a whole". He also noted that regional integration in Africa did not succeed because of factors such as lack of the commitment by African ruling class, lack and viable national institutions for managing the regional cooperation process, deficiencies of the community institutions to formulate and carry out policy making functions effectively, limited role of the private sector and interest group in the integration process among others. He observed that almost all regional integration arrangements in Africa focused on market integration. This approach, according to him "is inappropriate to effect growth in regional settings in Africa because African countries lack the prerequisites necessary for successful economic integration to take

place.”(Asante, 1996) The market approach, to him, is appropriate for developed countries where infrastructure is already in place. Moreover, Asante provides some measures which need to be taken to enhance regionalism in Africa. These measures include: the strengthening of national institutional and managerial capacity, the adoption of production approach to integration, the strengthening of national integration structures, the active involvement of the private sector in the integration process and so forth.

Antwi-Danso, (2006) examined the prospects and challenges of regionalism and regional integration in West Africa. He discussed the theory of integration. In his view, integration is vital in enhancing development since it creates larger markets and fosters economies of large scale production. In addition, he noted that integration protects against the vagaries of globalization. However, he argues that integration in Africa failed because of several factors such as instability, weak economic bases of African countries, low intra African trade, proliferation of integrative groupings, elites non-complementarities and several barriers to trade. Besides, integration in Africa, according to Antwi-Danso, also failed because of lack of grassroots support. In the case of Ghana, he noted that, Ghana has been strongly spearheading the integration process in Africa generally and in West Africa, particularly. However, he observed that, participation in the process seems to be elitist. Many Ghanaians are usually not aware of ongoing integrative arrangements. They are hardly part of the integrative process. He encouraged the leadership to do everything possible to involve the people in the integration process through education and other awareness programmes.(Antwi-Danso, 2006)

Ernest Aryeetey and Abena-Oduro (1996) in their overview of regional integration efforts in Africa argued that, “the small economic sizes of nations is one of the problems that hampered the ability of Africans to industrialize efficiently, especially within the context of import-substitution.”For them, the expected benefits of establishing regional arrangements will not materialize, unless non-tariff barriers to integration, non transparent forms of discrimination against third parties and the issue of how to distribute gains and costs of regional integration are adequately addressed. Further, Ernest Aryeetey and AbenaOduro argued that before a regional integration becomes an effective development strategy, constraints to integration

such as multiple objectives, overlapping membership, poor private sector participation, absence of strong supra-national institutions, inadequate sanctioning authority, non-implementation of harmonization provisions, lack of political commitment, unclear perception about gains, inequalities in the distribution of the gains from integration, inadequate compensation mechanisms, stringent trade liberalization schemes must be addressed.

They also see the role of bilateral and multilateral donors in Africa's regional integration efforts as relevant, because the donors in their view will be in the better position to finance regional infrastructure projects to provide technical expertise and advice to assist in the strengthening of already existing regional institutions and to provision financial resources to support compensatory schemes.(Aryeetey, Ernest & Abena Oduro, 1996). However, according to Moyo, (2009) African leaders must be wary of donors to avoid that their fiscal and material support not to increase Africa's dependence on the advanced countries.

In his paper entitled Regional integration in SADC, retreating or forging ahead?, Kalenga noted that because African countries have small economies with limited economic markets, establishing economic integration in African countries can facilitate efficiencies in production, investment and trade, therefore enhancing development outcomes.(Kalenga, 2012) For Kalenga, SADC made significant efforts towards tariff liberalization. Most SADC countries, he noted have reduced and eliminated tariffs and quotas under the protocol on trade since 2000. However, he noticed that the potential benefits of tariff liberalization are limited by restrictive, product-specific rules of origin, especially on clothing and textiles and agro-processed products. The potential benefits in his view are further destroyed by the proliferation of non-tariff barriers. He noted that potential benefits from the trade protocol will only be materialized if the SADC member states comply with the commitments undertaken in the trade protocol. Moreover, he views the infrastructure development as a necessary pillar for regional integration, competitiveness and development. It wants the Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan (RIDMP) of the SADC to be accompanied by regulatory reform that promotes access to competitive infrastructure services inputs.(Kalenga, 2012)

Saurombe (2009) examined the problems and prospect of regional integration under the context of SADC. In his paper entitled “Regional integration agenda for SADC, Caught in the winds of change, Problems and Prospects, Saurombe highlights some of the obstacles SADC experienced while trying to push for a regional integration agenda which is development-oriented and globally relevant. He noted that institutional framework of the organization was previously oriented a cooperative, and not on an integration approach. For this reason to him institutional challenges remain. He also finds in his research a huge gap between SADC regional initiatives and the member states’ national objectives. He argued that lack of resources weakens the organization and over donor dependence is also a problem. He finally gave some recommendations to overcome these problems.

Seeking to know how the SADC Free Trade Area has been implemented in the SADC member countries, Mudzonga finds that, the implementation of the SADC trade protocol has not been smooth. Member states faced a number of challenges while implementing the Trade Protocol. for instance, he noted that the enforcement mechanisms for implementing the SADC trade protocol are weak and do not always comply with decisions taken by the member states. He also finds that some member states were not willing to remove tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade because of the fear of loss of revenue; he finds that countries such as Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia back-loaded their tariff reductions. He also noticed that the restrictive rules of origin have a negative impact on the implementation of SADC protocol on trade. (Mudzonga, 2008)

2.3 Regional Integration

Haas (1964) asserted that the concept of regional integration becomes operational when independent nation-states enter economic, political or social agreements to facilitate cooperation, with their region. Most regional integration agreements are conducted under the supervision and coordination of regional institutions or organisations. The overreaching aim in most instances is mutually beneficial relationships geared towards economic, social, political and military growth and development. Basically, regional integration frameworks and policies are usually operational in a given geographical region or area. It also involves

“letting go” of some level of sovereignty by member countries of the integrating region. In essence, this implies “collectively working for the common good”.

Further conceptualizing political integration in terms of politics, Haas noted that it involves the process in which political actors from different countries agree to release certain components of their nation’s loyalties, expectations and interests to a central unit often coordinated by a regional organisation or agency. Economically, integration implies series of decisions, policies and actions deliberately undertaken, entered into or agreed upon voluntarily by two or more independent nations to collaboratively partner or merge in order to pursue common economic policies and specific objectives in certain and clearly defined areas of specific economic field of common interest to the mutual advantage of all the participating countries (Asante, 1997). Closely related to this is Antwi-Danso’s definition of integration. He defined integration from the perspective of trade. According to him, regional integration involves the deployment of restrictive and discriminatory economic and commercial policies aimed at reducing or eliminating trade barriers among selected nations who are members of the trade integration (Antwi-Danso, 2006). He further submitted that regionalism or integration can serve as an important component for rapid economic growth for developing countries in Africa. He posits that a major factor for economic integration by states is for creation and expansion of regional economic markets. This is attributable to the potentials of a regional market to fast track the economies of member states through the stimulation of large scale production specialisation as well as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

The rise of integration as an economic model gained ground immediately after the Second World War, with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. Other post-war integration institutions that emerged are: European Economic Community (EEC), founded in 1957 and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) established in 1960. Affirming the influence and impacts of regional integration, Asante (1997) observed that the European Union (EU) facilitated economic growth with the EU; thus attracting the attention of political and economic leaders in other regions who decided to integrate the economies of their region as well as protect their region from the control and

influence of the European Union. Consequently, this led to the emergence of various regional integration schemes such as Latin America Free Trade Association (LAFTA) established in 1960; Central American Common Market (CACM) founded in 1961; the Central African Economic and Customs Union (UDEAC) which was established in 1964; Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) created in 1967 and the Caribbean Free Trade Association established in 1968.

With regard to Africa, the rise of regional integration was largely attributable to the social and economic impacts and influence of colonialism; at the twilight of colonialism and independence of many African countries, the population of many of these nation-states was too insignificant to wield any serious influence on the global economic arena hence necessitating the need for regional integration. Echoing the low population of many African countries, Asante (2007) noted that as at the end of Apartheid in South Africa, out of 53 independent African states, 39 have fewer than fifteen million people, and a third have fewer than three million. Specifically, nine countries had a population of less than one million and thirty five with a population of less than ten million. Only five African countries- Ethiopia, Egypt, Nigeria, Zaire and South Africa have a population of more than thirty million.”.

In addition, most African countries were economically weak at independence. African states include a high proportion of the world’s least developed countries. Of the 46 countries worldwide classified as least developed, majority are in Africa. Further, African people are very poor and they are among the lowest per capita income and the highest mortality rates in the world. In 1989, the gross national product (GNP) of all sub-Saharan African countries excluding South Africa was approximately equal to that of Belgium. Furthermore, African countries have low incomes. For instance thirty two countries have per capita incomes below \$500 a year or 10% of the world average of \$5000. Although Africa has 12% of the world’s population, it produces only two % of its output, and exports primary products mainly.(Asante, 2007)

The majority of African states acquired poor rails and roads transport infrastructure after independence. Poor infrastructure affects the cost of undertaking business and this can discourage investors from investing in Africa. S.K.B Asante states that In 2000, Africa had an average of 4 kilometers of paved roads per 100 square kilometers of surface area- ranging from 0.02 kilometers in Ethiopia to 80 kilometres in Mauritius. Only Mauritius had more than 10 kilometers of paved roads per 100 square kilometers of surface area. African countries also have limited telecommunication network: “with an average of just 14 telephones per 1000 Africans in 2000 ranging from 1 per 1000 in Democratic Republic of Congo to 120 in South Africa. Twenty four countries have fewer than 10 telephones per 1000 peoples. In most advanced economies there are more than 450 telephones per 1000 people.(Asante, 2007)

In summary, African states have opted for regional integration because the processes of regional integration can help provide large market size for trade, solve the economic problems such as poverty and weak production methods in order to stimulate regional economic development. For Adebayo Adedeji, “economic cooperation among African states is a sine qua non for the achievement of national socio economic goals, and not an “extra” to be given thought to after the process of development is well advanced.”(Adedeji, 1976)

2.3.1 Regional Integration in Africa

Globally, many regions have established regional group to promote trade and development. In Africa, the search of a Pan-African approach to regional development can be traced to the Manchester Conference of 1945 and the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. These efforts, which were mainly devoted to continental unity, were relevant because most SSA states were then colonized. It was believed then that the de-colonization of the continent was important to enable African states to address their own socio-political and economic problems. The defunct OAU also pursued initiatives that were expected to promote continental development. At the regional levels, interest in regional integration was also heightened. This led to the creation of many regional groups such as Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Customs Union of Central African States (UDEAC), West African Monetary

and Economic Union (UEMOA), Inter-Governmental Agency for Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC).

This was as a result of the developmental needs of the second decade of independence, which coincided with the harsh economic policies of the Bretton Woods institutions because of structural adjustments. In addition, economic difficulties of the early 1970s, particularly the oil price shocks which weakened the economies of many countries in SSA also influenced states to form regional groups.(Antwi-Danso 2006) The establishment of regional groups was not the only remarkable feature of the second decade of independence. For example, to mitigate the negative effects of structural adjustments and development deficits of African states, many programmes were started. These include the Lagos Plan of 1980, the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, (1986-1990), the African Alternative Framework for Structural Adjustments (AAF-SAP) of 1989, and the African Charter for Popular Participation for Development, 1990.(Adedeji, 2004).

The 1991 Abuja Treaty, which established the African Economic Community (AEC), is the most recent framework setting out the strategy for attainment of the AEC. The broad aim of the Treaty was to establish a continent wide single market by 2025. In addition, the Abuja Treaty emphasised that the ultimate objective of a continent-wide integration was to be achieved through the building blocks of the lower level regional integration arrangements. A proposed Tripartite-Preferential Trade Agreement among three African Regional Economic Communities (RECs), namely the Southern African Development Community, (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern States (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC) provides a guide to overcoming the problem of overlapping membership facing Africa's multiple RECs and the attainment of a continent-wide REC . The AEC Treaty indeed expects that one REC would exist in each of Africa's five sub-regions (i.e., Central, Eastern, North, Southern, and West).

Over the years, implementation of the strategies that have been mentioned above were not successful. Despite these setbacks the continental and regional development are still being pursued. These regional groups believe that trade liberalization is what is required for development. Developing countries including those in SSA have not been able to take advantage of the several opportunities of trade. This is because of several reasons such as the low volume of intra-regional trade, lower levels of exports and limited manufacturing capacity, lower human capital formation, higher population growth rates and lower productivity, among other factors.(Adedeji, 2004) With about only two percent of global trade, SSA remains on the margins of the Liberal International Economic Order (LIEO). This accounts for some of the reasons why SSA has failed to use trade as a tool for development.

Differing views exists on why Africa find itself in this poor state. While some theorists, particularly Dependency theorists, say that historical forces account for Africa's inability to develop,(Todaro, 2010) modernization theorists cite issues such as poor production facilities and lack of modernization as explanations for lack of development in Africa.(Rodney, 1972) For theorists that emphasize historical forces, they would concludes that the asymmetrical trade relations between Africa and developed states has emerged because of the influence of colonialism and the continued influence of developed in international trade and finance.

It is these factors which have led to Africa's inability to adequately trade with the rest of the world, limited by some of the factors noted by modernization theorists such as weak production methods and lack of complementary goods and leadership deficits. With widespread poverty and lack of sustained economic growth, Africa risk being marginalized further by the LIEO. The socio-economic features of Africa, therefore, cannot help to promote unless there is a multilateral platform, such as the establishment of regional economic groups, to help eradicate these challenges and promote trade. Trade has become an important aspect of regional economic groups because of the potential to increase government revenue, generate employment, economies of scale, promote industrialization and diversification of exports, etc.

2.3.2 Economic Integration in West Africa

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was established in 1975 had the goal-objective of ensuring the liberalisation of trade relationships between and among member countries; it is also mandated to work towards eliminating all forms of trade inhibiting tariffs and barriers with the aim of achieving a West African monetary and economic union for countries in the region. In furtherance of its mandate, ECOWAS developed an all-encompassing trade policy to guide member countries trade and economic relationship. This policy is what is known as the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS). The scheme is embedded with various phases and stages of implementation. The various implementation stages for the ETLS ranges from an immediate/instant and full liberalisation of trade in unprocessed goods and traditional handicrafts; to Phased liberalisation of trade in industrial products, with the phasing reflecting the differences in the levels of development of three categories of ECOWAS member states and finally, the gradual establishment of a Common External Tariff (CET).

Going from the above, it is obvious that the ETLS was conceived and developed to serve as the economic vehicle for the unification of West African economies beginning with the elimination of all tariff and non-tariff barriers to the adoption and use of the Common Currency in the West African region. Reviewing the successes, achievements and challenges in the implementation of the ETLS in late 1999, the Authority of Heads of States and Government of ECOWAS agreed to adopt a fast-track approach to achieve economic integration objectives of the ETLS. This led to the proclamation of the sub-region as a free trade area (FTA) in 2000 and a 1 January 2001 date set for its transformation into a Customs Union. However, the declaration date for the West African Custom Union was deferred.

2.4 Approaches to Regional Integration and Trade Liberalisation

Essentially, production and market approaches are the two major approaches to regional integration exist in terms of trade liberalisation. According to Rostow (1990), the production approach involves the harmonization of sectoral policies in agriculture, industry, transport, energy etc and in policies integration. The essence and rationale for the production approach is to help states develop their production infrastructure to boost production levels, and a

capacity to diversify exports. For the ECOWAS, the production approach can help solve the dependence on obsolete agriculture practices and an effective manufacturing sector. The Market approach is the second liberalization of trade relations common with many regional economic groups. It aims at quickly establishing preferential and free trade areas, customs unions and common markets between and among member countries. This is usually organised in phases and stages such as Preferential Trade Area, Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union and political Union.

The preferential Trade Area is the first phase of economic integration; basically, it involves charging of lower tariffs on goods imported from member countries while higher tariffs are charged on goods imported from the third party states. The motive is to encourage member states of the economic group to engage each other in trade relations while minimizing same with non-member countries. The Free Trade Area (FTA) is the second phase of economic integration; this stage involves the removal of both tariffs and non-tariff barriers, such as quotas or administrative barriers among members of the same economic community. Notwithstanding this however, each member state is allowed to maintain its domestic barriers against trade with third parties. Examples of Free Trade Area: the European Free Trade Area established in 1960; the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) established in 1994. Customs Union is the third phase of regional economic integration. It implies the removal of all barriers to trade among member of the same economic community and the adoption of a common set of external barriers. A common set of external tariff is when an economic community has a common (unified) tariffs it levies on imports from non-member states.

Common market is the fourth phase of regional economic integration. It involves complete and absolute freedom of labour and capital migration between and among members of the same economic community. This implies that factors of production can move freely within a region without any barrier. Asante (2007) noted that at this stage, it is expected that states within the regional economic group would have attained “a significant degree of harmony and cooperation on fiscal, monetary, and employment policies since labour and capital are supposed to move freely between and among states.” Assessing regional integration in

Africa, it can be concluded that to a significant degree none of the regional groups have been able to achieve common market. Full or complete Economic Union is the last and final phase of regional economic integration; it is the stage where member countries harmonize their economic policies in all areas such that every member country in the economic group have common polices in the area of health, education, finance, judicial, It means the integration of all member states' economic policies, including monetary, fiscal, and welfare and the unification of policies toward trade and factor migration. This has been fully achieved by the European Union.

There are several benefits of trade liberalisation for regional integration and these are discussed below. Regional integration helps to create large markets, economies of scale and the operationalisation of the principle of comparative advantage. Social and cultural benefits can also arise out of harmonization and standardization in the areas like labour standard, products quality, social security, environment, health and so forth. Integrated states will be in a better bargaining position than that of the separate constituent states. In addition to peace and security dividends that member nations may benefit from integration, other benefits include democracy, respect for human rights, peaceful resolution of disputes, and so forth (Cepal 2007). Regional integration enables relatively small states to acquire strong bargaining power when dealing with powerful states in the international system. For example, it is better for ECOWAS to negotiate with EU than when individual members negotiate with the EU. With a united front, it is possible for regional groups to engage competitively in multilateral diplomacy.

The above benefits of regional integration are reinforced by that of the benefits of trade liberalization. Trade liberalization enables countries to specialize in producing goods and services in which they have a comparative advantage. By specializing in goods where countries have a lower opportunities cost, there can be increase in economic welfare for all countries. Comparative advantage helps to prevent waste in resources; instead countries become competitive because they are able to apply their resources based on their strength. In addition the removal of tariff because of trade liberalization lowers prices for consumers. For instance if the west remove food tariffs, it would help to reduce international price of

agriculture commodities. This would benefit particularly countries that import food. The reduction of tariff barriers can lead to trade creation. The trade creation occurs when consumption switches from high cost producers to lower cost producers.

Trade liberalisation increases competition: with trade liberalization, firms face greater competition from abroad. This can act as an incentive to increase efficiency and cut costs or it can act as a spur for an economy to shift resources into new industries where they can maintain a competitive advantage. For instance trade liberalization has been a factor that encouraged the United Kingdom to concentrate less on manufacturing and more on the service sector. Trade makes use of surplus raw materials. Countries that are rich or poor in raw materials without trade they will be very poor. For instance Middle Eastern Countries such as Qatar are endowed with oil reserves, but without trade there would be not much benefit in having so much oil. Japan on the other hand has very few raw materials without trade it would be very poor.

From the above, we have seen some benefits of trade liberalisation. What about if a country fails to liberalise its trade is there disadvantages for it? The local producers of countries that adopt protectionist policies will not benefit from international specialization. Their goods will not be efficient because they do not face any pressure from competition that will oblige them to produce efficiently and this can lead to economic stagnation. Furthermore, consumers will suffer because they will only consume the local goods since there are no imported goods in their market. The price of goods will also be high. Moreover, the protectionist country will not benefit from technological spill-over that would have helped them to increase their productivity.

2.5 ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme

The history of trade liberalisation in West Africa is found in the establishment of the ECOWAS in 1975, and the Community's focus on trade liberalization to help promote regional development through free trade in the sub-region. This led to the introduction of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS). The components of the ETLS include free movements of persons, goods, and transportation. The ETLS aims at eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers on intra-ECOWAS trade. It also seeks to create a Common External Tariff (CET) and commercial policy against none ECOWAS countries.

The ETLS proposes a phased liberalisation of trade in industrial products, with the phasing reflecting the difference in the levels of development of three categories of ECOWAS member states; and gradual establishment of a common external tariff against non-members. It comprises two phases; consolidation of customs duties and non-tariff barriers (NTBs), and total trade liberalization. The second phase entails total liberalization of trade of three-product types and three groups of countries for the implementation. The three-product types include unprocessed goods that comprise animal, mineral and plant products, not eligible for compensation for loss of revenue suffered as a result of their importation from member states. These include livestock such as fish, snail, crab, fresh milk, eggs, natural honey, life plants, yam, cocoyam, plantain, vegetables, edible fruits, coffee, pepper, cereals, salt and sugarcane.

The second group of products is composed of traditional handicrafts which are articles made by hand, with or without the help of tools, investments or devices that are directly made by the craftsmen. These include hides and skin, handbags, wallets, purses, toilet cases and other articles of leather, blankets, coverlets, rugs, carpets, pot covers, game pouches made of skin; cotton materials containing at least 85 percentweight of cotton worked by hand, dyed or printed by hand; and footwear, gaiters and the likes, parts of such articles, sandals, including light sandals with leather soles, leather babouches, Turkish slippers et cetera.

The third group of products is classified as industrial goods produced within the community. The industrial products involved are products on the ECOWAS list of agreed enterprises and industrial products. This means that the companies manufacturing them must be registered with the ECOWAS secretariat in their respective countries in order to benefit from the ETLS, and must satisfy the conditions of acceptance for goods originating within the community and must have obtained the requisite approval for inclusion in the scheme. This implies that a certificate of origin and an ECOWAS export declaration form must accompany the goods.

ECOWAS expanded the list of products which benefitted from the ETLS by its Decision A/DEC.1/5/83 dated 30 May, 1983 through its Article 5. It stipulated the Trade Liberalization Scheme for Industrial Products originating from Member States as well as the time-table for the elimination of tariffs on the said products by the groups of Member States. The Article created three country groups and two sets of industrial products namely, priority and non-priority industrial products. Group 1 comprising: Cape Verde, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Niger were expected to liberalise priority products within eight years; Group 2 (: Benin, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo) within six years and Group 3 (comprising the remaining member countries) in 4 years. Additional 2 years were given to liberalise non-priority industrial products.

By 1992, there was another Decision A/DEC.6/7/92 of the ECOWAS which attempted to eliminate the difficulties encountered in effectively implementing the ETLS, particularly in respect of fulfilling the rules of origin, the minimum national participation in the equity capital of production enterprises, and the structure of the scheme involving the categorization of industrial products as priority and non-priority goods. This was with a view to simplifying the scheme in order to speed up effective implementation. Hence, a new the Trade Liberalization Scheme for Industrial Products originating from Member States and time-table for the elimination of tariffs on the said products by the groups of Member States was established

Although established in 1983, the ETLS was launched in 1990 and was reaffirmed as part of the revised treaty in 1993. With ETLS, the region effectively became a Free-Trade Area (FTA). The ETLS seeks to promote intra-community trade in goods originating in or produced in member states by eliminating tariff and non-tariff barriers (such as customs duties, quotas and prohibitions) to make these goods more competitive than those imported from third countries, which are subject to duties. To qualify for benefits, originating goods must fall into one of these three classes:

1. Unprocessed goods –Includes livestock, fish, plant or animal products that have not undergone any industrial transformation
2. Traditional handicraft products — includes products made by hand with or without tools and machinery (e.g., wood products, weaving products and handcrafted objects)
3. Industrial products of community origin — includes both processed and semi-processed goods

Furthermore, industrial products must satisfy the ECOWAS rules of origin and, on export, must be accompanied by a certificate of origin and an ECOWAS export declaration form. Also, approval is required on a product-by-product and enterprise-by-enterprise basis; many businesses operating in the region see these rules as cumbersome.

2.5.1 Elements of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme

As described above, the ETLS seeks to deepen the status of the region as a free trade area and also fast track the establishment of a customs union by ensuring the free movement of originating goods across the territories of member states, without being subjected to any form of tariff or non-tariff barriers. The ETLS is designed to create opportunities by:

- i. Opening new markets for goods and services:
- ii. Increasing investment opportunities:
- iii. Making trade cheaper-by eliminating all customs duties; and
- iv. Making trade faster-by facilitating goods transit through customs and setting common rules on technical and sanitary standards.

However, it should be noted that not all originating goods are covered under the Scheme.

2.5.2 Coverage of the ETLS

Goods involved in the ETLS are as follows:

1. Unprocessed goods: These are livestock, fish, plant or mineral products and raw materials that have not under gone any industrial transformation
2. Traditional handicraft products: These articles made by hand with or without the help of tools, instruments or devices that are activated directly by the craftsman. Such include wooden cooking utensils, basket works, fancy goods, small cabinet work, mats, carpets, lace embroidery, bed linen, footwear, headgear, prepared feathers, etc.
3. Industrial products: These include both the processed and semi-processed products of Community origin.

2.5.3 Conditions to be fulfilled by the Importer

- i. Goods must originate in member states of the community. This means that such goods must be produced or sourced from any of the fifteen member countries of the ECOWAS region.
- ii. Goods must appear on the list of products annexed to the Decisions of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of States and Governments liberalising trade in these products.
- iii. The goods must be accompanied by a Certificate of Origin and an ECOWAS Export Declaration form. These are issued by Custom officials of each member state upon certification that a good is an originating one and complies with requirements under the ETLS. The Certificate of Origin only applies to industrial goods.
- iv. Such goods must be subjected to Customs formalities as necessary in the importing country,
- v. Must satisfy the sanitary and phyto-sanitary requirements of country of origin
- vi. Exemption of goods whose value is not above USD500 from documentation.
- vii. The beneficiary of the scheme must be resident within the ECOWAS Sub-region.

Furthermore, in order to satisfy the ECOWAS Rules of Origin (RoO), as highlighted in item (iii) above, the goods must:

- i. Be produced from materials of community origin whose value is equal to or higher than 40% of the total cost of raw materials employed
- ii. Be produced from materials of foreign or indeterminate origin whose CIF value does not exceed 60% of foreign or indeterminate origin whose CIF value does not exceed 60% of the total cost of materials employed or whose quantity is equal to or more than 40% of all raw materials employed in its manufacture;
- iii. Have received in the process of production a value added or at least 35% of the ex-factory price before tax

2.5.4 Nigeria and the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme

Nigeria's overriding priority in the ETLS is two-pronged, namely; securing greater regional market access, and promoting industrialization through an export-led growth. The adoption and implementation of ETLS was geared towards facilitating private sector development and global trade competitiveness. The benefits sought by Nigeria under the ETLS include:

- i. Market Access assurance- given that ETLS provides a certainty for companies/product to diversify exports away from the dominant petroleum sector;
- ii. Capacity Building which provides strong potentials to stimulate human and technical capacity building required to meet competition in the global market, and
- iii. Increased productivity and earnings to companies.

Currently, many informal or un-enumerated trading activities take place along Nigerian porous borders. These activities lead to a reduction in collected tariff revenue, the influx of products that do not meet Nigerian product standards, and prevent the collection of adequate statistics on imports and exports. These informal trading activities are the result of lengthy import procedures, certain quantitative restrictions on imports, Non-tariff barriers and other high costs of trading across borders. To prevent such informal trading activities, multiple checkpoints along the border corridors etc have been set up, absorbing time and effort of Customs officials and leading to additional delays in cross-border trade which therefore defeats the essence of the ETLS.

In order to address this issue of informal trade, the government of Nigeria on the one hand is currently considering removing remaining quantitative restrictions on imports which should lead to a substantial reduction in smuggling activity and simplify cross-border trade. At the same time, however, the Ministry of Trade has since the 90s attempted to establish transnational and regional border markets in different parts of Nigeria where trade procedures would be simplified and where adequate trade infrastructure would permit traders from Nigeria and neighbouring countries to come together and do business essentially under the ETLS.

The establishment of such trans-national markets is perceived as a potential panacea to existing large scale problems that would reduce smuggling activities along the border and increase security, encourage promotion of clusters of trade and services, support regional integration, reduce poverty by creating wealth and employment in rural areas, increase revenue generation for the government, and improving data collection on trade flows. The border markets are also envisaged to facilitate the implementation of the ETLS in Nigeria in addition to facilitating an increase in Nigeria's trade in the region.

2.6 Cross-border security

various scholars such as Adekanye (1998), Babatunde (2009), Wali (2010), Asiwaju (2011), Adeola and Fayomi (2012), Onuoha (2013), Akinyemi (2013), Ewetan and Ese (2014), Odoma (2014), Okereke (2016), Adaramodu (2016) and many others have attributed Nigeria's cross-border security challenges specifically to issues like border porosity, inter-agency rivalry, poorly-manned security system and Intelligence sharing weaknesses. There is no gainsaying that the issue of border security is dominated by porosity; thus encouraging all sorts of cross border or trans-border criminal activities such as human trafficking, smuggling, drug trafficking, terrorism, armed robbery, money laundering and illicit arms trafficking. If a state cannot regulate what passes across its border, it cannot control what happens within it. It is on this basis that Akinyemi (2013) argued that one of the main responsibilities of a state is the extent to which it controls its borders especially in the globalization era which has made transnational crimes easier. Consequently, arms smuggling

is common and is basically due to poor cross border security. Scholars such as Stohl and Tuttle (2009), Nte (2011), Sunday, Oji and Okechukwu (2014) had further attributed the problematic issue of cross border insecurity in Nigeria to the diverse and vast nature of the country and her poor border management system.

2.6.1 Issues and Challenges in Nigeria's Cross Border Security

Scholars such as Dokunbo and Oche (2003), Eselebor (2008), Bassey & Osita (2010), Buzan (1983), and Lafaji (2003) have written extensively about the issues and challenges of Nigeria's border management. The studies uncovered the following issues, which are detailed below:

Porosity of Borders

In the West African sub-region, border permeability has contributed to and continues to fuel cross-border crime and instability. It has also encouraged illegal commerce and smuggling of weapons and ammunition, contraband commodities, tainted and counterfeit drugs, cross-border auto theft, and other unlawful activities. The usage of dried trees, oil drums, and tyre rims to demarcate national borders could possibly explain the porous borders; this causes the border to be chaotic, poorly managed, and insecure. This encourages an unchecked influx of illegal migrants and cross-border activity. However, indefinable corridors or regions functioned as a path for these illegal migrants, posing a severe threat to the country and its boundaries. For example, it was determined that Nigeria has 1497 irregular and 84 regular routes, indicating that unlawful routes were used. Nigeria Immigration Service (Nigeria Immigration Service, 2017). There are a plethora of options for smuggling things across the border.

Corruption

The security officers' unscrupulous behaviors at the borders pose a severe threat to border security. Border security was also harmed by border officers' dishonest and unskilled attitudes, which resulted in a slew of bamboo checkpoints strung from oil barrels. It is vital to remember that these checkpoints are designed to extract money from people rather than examine passports. When a result, as smugglers bribe their way into the country, criminals

readily infiltrate the borders. It also explains why we have so many criminals and terrorists in the country as criminals move in arms and ammunition, killing thousands of innocent Nigerians and leaving many more to die in the hands of Islamic factions as smugglers go about their business unpunished.

Inadequate Manpower and Logistic Support

Another issue with border security in Nigeria is a lack of manpower or staff, which has a negative impact on our national boundaries' security. It makes it impossible for security personnel to adequately mark the country's borders and patrol the several passageways that lead to the country. The lack of staff prevents adequate patrolling of these unlawful routes, which are used by criminals as a means of entry into the country. Due to a lack of staff and logistical issues, criminals have also been known to outsmart border patrol agents.

Poorly patterned Borders

Nigeria's boundaries are a result of colonialism's artificial creation, and they continue to pose a severe threat to the country. The colonial masters demarcated the borders without regard for the people's culture, as evidenced by cultural linkages such as marriages, religious celebrations, language, and so on. It should be noted, however, that boundary delimitation affects the cultural and ethnic homogeneity of border communities to the point where one cannot distinguish a Nigerian from a Nigerien due to culture and linguistics in which communities with homogeneous culture and language are found on opposite sides of the borderline, making it difficult to enact immigration laws when members of the same ethnic group live on opposite sides of the borderline.

Lack of provision of Basic Amenities

The government's failure to invest in rural and border regions in order to offer basic social amenities. Another factor working against good border security is that when people in rural areas and border communities live in abject poverty and lack basic infrastructure, they are more likely to encourage cross-border activities and engage in clandestine activities like armed banditry, smuggling, and other illegal activities. The government must invest in the development of rural areas and border communities.

Political Instability and Economic Crises in Neighboring Countries

Nigeria is the most populous and wealthiest country in West Africa, dwarfing all of the other countries in terms of economics, population, and military capability. This explains why crises in adjacent nations, such as political unrest, famine, and illness, spread to Nigeria because her immediate neighbors rely exclusively on her. This was also clear in Babangida's statement as the former President of Nigeria, when he stated that no one benefits from the sub-economic region's collapse. This essentially means that Nigeria's national security is dependent on the security of its near neighbors, as seen by the scope and severity of cross-border smuggling activities that occur on a daily basis. However, while Ghana was in the midst of an economic depression, many Ghanaians fled to Nigeria to make ends meet. Nigeria was so adversely damaged by the illegal aliens that entered the country that she had to deport them back to their homeland.

Inter-agency rivalry among border management agencies

Scholars such as Adekanye (1998), Wali (2010), Odoma (2014), Okereke (2016), and Adaramodu (2016) have recognized concerns such as unhealthy inter-agency rivalry and lack of cooperation as important barriers and hurdles to cross-border security in Nigeria. Inter-agency rivalry is a term used to characterize conflicts between government agencies over supremacy, such as competition between the Customs and the Army or Police, the Army and the Navy, the Army and the Air Force, or the Navy and the Air Force. Rivalry between Customs services (individually or collectively) and the police or other internal security agencies may also arise. Rivalry within an agency is referred to as "intra-agency" (Omoigui, 2006:11). Inter-agency rivalry is a global phenomena, but it appears to be more established and visible in Nigeria, where individuals tend to prioritize self-promotion and personal interests over national interests (Adekanye, 1998; Okereke, 2016). The lack of intelligence that characterized the 1st of October, 2010, bombing incident at the 50th anniversary celebrations in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, which resulted in the deaths of several people, is a good example. This failure, according to Adaramodu (2016), can be attributable to agency rivalry.

The fundamental problem of inter-agency cooperation along Nigeria's border posts is inter-agency rivalry. Agency rivalry, according to Omogui (2006:66), is a state of competition, dispute, or emulation within and across agencies over something of perceived value to the contending interests. This could be in the form of concrete or intangible acknowledgment, as well as other imagined "benefits to self-esteem," which can be positive (nice) or negative (bad) (associated with injurious consequence, for instance the inability to cooperate optimally in support of national defence and security objective). Individual viewpoints, fresh strategic concepts, powerful functional and regional orientations, and technical initiatives, according to Bagdanos (2004) and Adekanye (1998), could all contribute to rivalry, with each having different force structure implications.

Musa (2013) explains in his paper that a country's border management system becomes bad and ineffective when it includes issues such as insufficient staff, patrol cars, observation aircraft, and equipment, as well as intelligence services neglect or non-functioning. All of these are undeniably important aspects of Nigeria's key border challenges. For example, Hazen and Horner (2007) found that border security challenges in Nigeria have worsened as a result of the fact that none of the security agents currently have the training, resources, or personnel to perform their duties effectively due to the lengthy and porous nature of Nigerian borders. According to Nte (2011), there is a direct correlation between the acquisition of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and the escalation of conflicts into full-fledged brown wars. One of the biggest security issues confronting Nigeria, Africa, and the world at large is the spread of small guns and light weapons. The widespread availability of these weapons, as well as their trafficking, fuel community conflict and political instability, posing a threat not only to security but also to long-term development. The massive proliferation of small guns, he claims, is contributing to worrisome levels of armed crime and militancy.

Musa (2013) argued that, in the face of these challenges, the vastness of the nation's borders necessitates a rethinking of the management and security of Nigeria's borders and seaports – without which effective combating insurgency, kidnappings, armed banditry, arms trafficking, and proliferation will remain an optical illusion. As a result, cutting-edge technology and reliable intelligence services are required to assist safeguard our borders. He goes on to say that modern nations use creative technology to monitor and secure their borders, citing radars and alarm systems as examples. For long-range surveillance platforms, certain radar can be utilized as the primary detecting sensor.

Some radars, such as Blighter Radar, can detect slow moving targets even in complex mountainous, densely forested terrains and large open areas, making them ideal for remote surveillance and detection of vehicles and people attempting to cross borders illegally. Intruders frequently follow natural routes over the terrain, such as valleys, mountain paths, or animal tracks, in rural places. In these situations, a Mobile Surveillance System is a cost-effective solution to keep an eye on vital regions with limited resources. Similarly, unlike traditional Air Surveillance Radar, Blighter Radar can effectively survey both the land and low air zone at the same time. It's encouraging to see that the Nigerian Immigration Service is taking steps to implement technology in border management. The Nigerian government recently approved a contract for the purchase of advanced technology equipment for border air surveillance. The Nigeria Immigration Service is in charge of e-border management. It is hoped that this project will be completed and put to good use in Nigeria, allowing for better border management.

In a similar spirit, Adeniyi (2013) has linked institutional fragmentation, intelligence, and policy non-coordination between and among security agencies in Nigeria to the basic problem of border security, arms trafficking, and counter-terrorism. These are serious concerns that must be addressed in the battle against terrorism, arms proliferation, and effective border security. It needs to be mentioned that as at the time the ETLS was established, contemporary security issues such as cross border terrorism, transnational organised crimes among others were minimal hence cross border smuggling of arms and ammunitions under the guise of goods of origin as enshrined in the ETLS was not

sufficiently envisaged. Indeed, the failure of ECOWAS member countries to comply with agreed protocols such as the free movement of persons and goods and the ETLS is one of the reasons cited by Nigeria's federal government for the closure of the country's land borders. The government claims that the misuse of these protocols and instruments allows for the easy entry of arms into Nigeria, fueling insecurity throughout the country.

The above highlighted issues and challenges have consistently mitigated against effective border security management across Nigerian borders. Severally, the federal government through relevant agencies have made concerted efforts towards addressing these issues. However, several factors have continued to undermine government's efforts. Summarily, failure to address these issues and challenges has over the years made them become serious security threat to Nigeria and contribute to rising internal insecurity across the country, which has resulted in the loss of lives and property, as well as distorted development. Furthermore, because the twenty-first century is marked by globalisation, Nigeria must integrate and cooperate if it is not to fall behind in the new global order. As the world becomes more globalized, the challenges of border management become more complex, necessitating new approaches. Against this backdrop, the country cannot afford to be complacent in its pursuit of effective and efficient management of its two prime borders located in Seme and Idiroko.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Over time, a number of theories have been adopted to provide useful framework for examining border security and cross border trade. It is significant to note that theories create fundamental bridge and analysis of a set of fact. Thus, Cohen (1968:2) observes that “the goal of any theory is to explain something which has occurred with a view to dealing with problems which arose or may arise as a result”. Two theories were found pertinent to our understanding of the discourse on ETLS. Consequently, this study is premised on the securitisation theory and regional integration theory.

2.7.1 Securitisation Theory

According to William (2003) the securitisation theory is connected with the Copenhagen School and was popularised by Ole Wæver in 1993. Securitisation is the process of state actors transforming issues into matters of "security". Securitisation studies aims to understand "who securitises (securitising actor), on what issues (threats), for whom (referent object), why, with what results, and not least, under what conditions (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, 1998:25). Buzan *et al* further submitted that all securitisation processes involve four components; namely:

1. A securitising actor/agent: an entity that makes the securitising move/statement;
2. An existential threat: an object (or ideal) that has been identified as potentially harmful;
3. A referent object: an object (or ideal) that is being threatened and needs to be protected;
4. An audience: the target of the securitisation act that needs to be persuaded and accept the issue as a security threat.

If an issue is successfully securitised, it becomes possible to adopt and deploy extraordinary strategies to solve the perceived security problem. This could include adopting military and other hard-tactics approach involving stringent security measures. Faist (2005:103, Adamson, 2006, Huysmans. 2006, Gerard, 2014) submitted that issues of immigration and refugee have been successfully securitised in the United States of America and in Europe. Fear and concerns of terrorist infiltration has constantly been cited as grounds for the tight control of borders by these countries. The securitisation of borders globally can largely be traced to the spread of terrorism and radicalism. Naujoks (2015) posited that migrant's countries of origin, diaspora, emigration and citizenship can be securitised. However, it should be noted that the ability to effectively securitise a given issue is highly dependent on the enforcement capacity of the securitiser and whether similar issues are generally perceived to be security threats.

The Securitisation theory is relevant to this study because the ETLS is an issue that has security implications/relevance to Nigeria's national security. Smuggling of arms and ammunitions into Nigeria through product concealment and disguise under the ETLS poses security threat to peace and stability in Nigeria. Furthermore, irregular migration associated with the ETLS could lead to increased criminality and insecurity in Nigeria. Despite its positive attributes, the ETLS has the potential to threaten Nigeria's national security. Therefore, the four processes of securitisation need to be conducted on the ETLS. First, government which in this instance is the securitising agent needs to make the securitising move on the ETLS. Secondly, the ETLS has to be viewed from national security perspectives as an object with existential threat on Nigeria's internal security; thus a potentially harmful Scheme. Third, Nigerian borders in particular (Seme and Idiroko) and Nigeria at large should be viewed as the object that is threatened by the ETLS and needs to be protected. Finally, border security agencies in particular and Nigerians at large need to realise and accept the potential security threats posed by the ETLS for cross border trade in Nigeria.

Furthermore, borders have become issues of national security as submitted by (Faist, 2005:103, Adamson, 2006, Huysmans. 2006, Gerard, 2014). Therefore, Nigeria needs to consider securitising its border management strategies. Attacks on Nigerian nationals have been blamed on illegal migrants. Also, issues of rural banditry, farmer-herder conflicts have been variously attributed to the activities of non-Nigerians who enter and exit the nation's borders at will. Accordingly, this study submits that activating and deploying stringent security measures at Nigeria's borders will significantly reduce cases of insecurity in the country.

2.7.2 Regional Integration Theory

The regional integration theory was also adopted by the study to broaden perspectives on cross border trade with particular reference to the ETLS implementation in West Africa sub-region. Historically, regional integration theory commenced in Europe in the early 1950s with the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Some of the most prominent proponents of the theory are: Earnest Haas (1958), Lindberg (1963), Haas and Schmitter (1964). Others include: Hoffmann (1965), and Taylor and Moravcsik (1998). Karl Deutsch in Laursen (2004: 4) defines integration as “the attainment within a territory of a sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure for a long time dependable expectations of peaceful change among its populations. Schmitter (1970) noted that regional integration entails how national units or different countries located in a given territory come to share part or all of their decisional authority in terms of political, social and economic aspect which connotes cross border trade for the development of such national units.

In recognition of its immense relevance to cross border trade, the theory of regional integration emphasises on the integrative process at the international level as primarily consensual or communication based issues like cross border trade between ECOWAS member countries within the context of the ETLS. It equally enhances principles for development between the integrating countries. This research finds it pertinent to adopt the theory of regional integration in the framework for its analysis considering that the ETLS is a regional economic scheme aimed at facilitating economic harmony, growth and development within the West African region in order to meet the developmental expectations of citizens of ECOWAS member countries. Accordingly, the ETLS is implemented within ECOWAS member countries who collectively agreed to undertake cross border trades within some collectively agreed guidelines. The ETLS is implemented on West African manufactured goods with the aim of integrating, strengthening and unifying West African markets to effectively compete at the global markets. Therefore, the Regional Integration theory is relevant to this study as its arguments aligns with the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme.

2.8 Concluding Thoughts

A major security challenge in Nigeria is the phenomenon of inflow of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). The increased spate of insurgency, terrorism, banditry, kidnappings and armed robbery have been attributed to easy access to SALW (Chiluwa and Chiluwa, 2020). Adenubi (2018); Parradang (2014) and Eselebor (2008) have attributed easy availability of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria to several factors including: porous borders, sparseness of Nigeria's land borders, smuggling, low use of technology at the borders, low manpower, amongst others. Similarly, it has been asserted that violence related to easy access to SALW have resulted in massive loss of lives, destruction of property, internal displacement of person (Bagu and Smith (2017). However, there is a scanty literature interrogating the security implications of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme on cross border trade in Nigeria using Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West Nigeria as cases in study.

Ogunkola (1998); Aryeetey (2001); Jones (2002) and Oyejide *et. al* (2010) have examined the various aspect of ECOWAS economic integration and unification protocols such as the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods, ECOWAS Transhumance Protocol and the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme. These studies identified factors such as economic disunity due to external influence by the former colonial masters of West African countries particularly the Francophone countries, political instability, poor economic management as inhibiting the gains of ECOWAS economic integration efforts. Scholars such as Ukaoha and Ukpe (2013) in their paper titled "*ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme: Genesis, Conditions and Appraisal*" pointed out that the potentials of the Scheme has not being effectively utilised thus, its impact is still very minimal in the economy of member countries of ECOWAS. Furthermore, Akims (2014) posits that ETLs awareness among indigenous manufacturers and producers is low, this has affected subscription to it by local companies in Nigeria. This study, differs from existing studies on the ETLs in that it focuses not on the trade components but the security implications of its implementation using Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria as case study.

It has been argued that Nigeria's cross border trade is facing downturns as a result of insecurity and insurgency (Bruckner & Ciccone cited in Verdier, 2010). Asiwaju (1992) and Ering (2011) avers that the nature of cross-border crime has changed rapidly in recent years with globalization and the use of technology. These developments have serious implication on internal security and border managements of any state. Examples of cross border crimes identified by Asiwaju are: human trafficking, money laundering, drug trafficking, arms smuggling or trafficking of weapons, cross-border terrorism, illicit trafficking and corruption. Literature has hardly investigated the security implication of the implementation of the ETLS on member countries. There is need to take a cursory look at these security implications on Nigeria's cross border trade within the context of Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria. This study filled these gaps as identified.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

To understand the nature of security implications of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme for cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria, this study adopted case study research design which enabled the researcher to gather data and interrogate the subject matter. The increasing spate of insecurity in Nigeria necessitated the need to interrogate the ETLS in order to scientifically examine its security implications on the country. The knowledge gained will help shed light on the frameworks designed to tackle these security challenges. The survey research design was used employing qualitative research tools to explore relevant areas while appropriate and workable answers were provided to the research questions, thus fulfilling the objectives of the study. Qualitative methods specifically key informant interviews were utilised to generate data which were content analysed.

3.2 Study Area/Location

The research was conducted in Seme and Idi-iroko borders in the South-West states of Lagos and Ogun, Nigeria. The South-West region of Nigeria comprises six sub-national States, namely: Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Oyo States. The choice of the areas of study was predicated on the fact that these two locations cover some vast border areas and serve as gateways between Nigeria and few neighbouring Franco-phone and Anglo-phone West African countries, namely: Benin Republic, Republic of Togo, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana. Furthermore, the study areas/locations are purposely selected because both borders (Seme and Idiroko) are ETLS designated borders (both have ETLS facilities). Also, there exist highly robust cross border activities at both locations. Furthermore, these necessitated the presence of border security agencies and the existence of law in international boundaries which recognises these two land borders as entry and/or exit points.

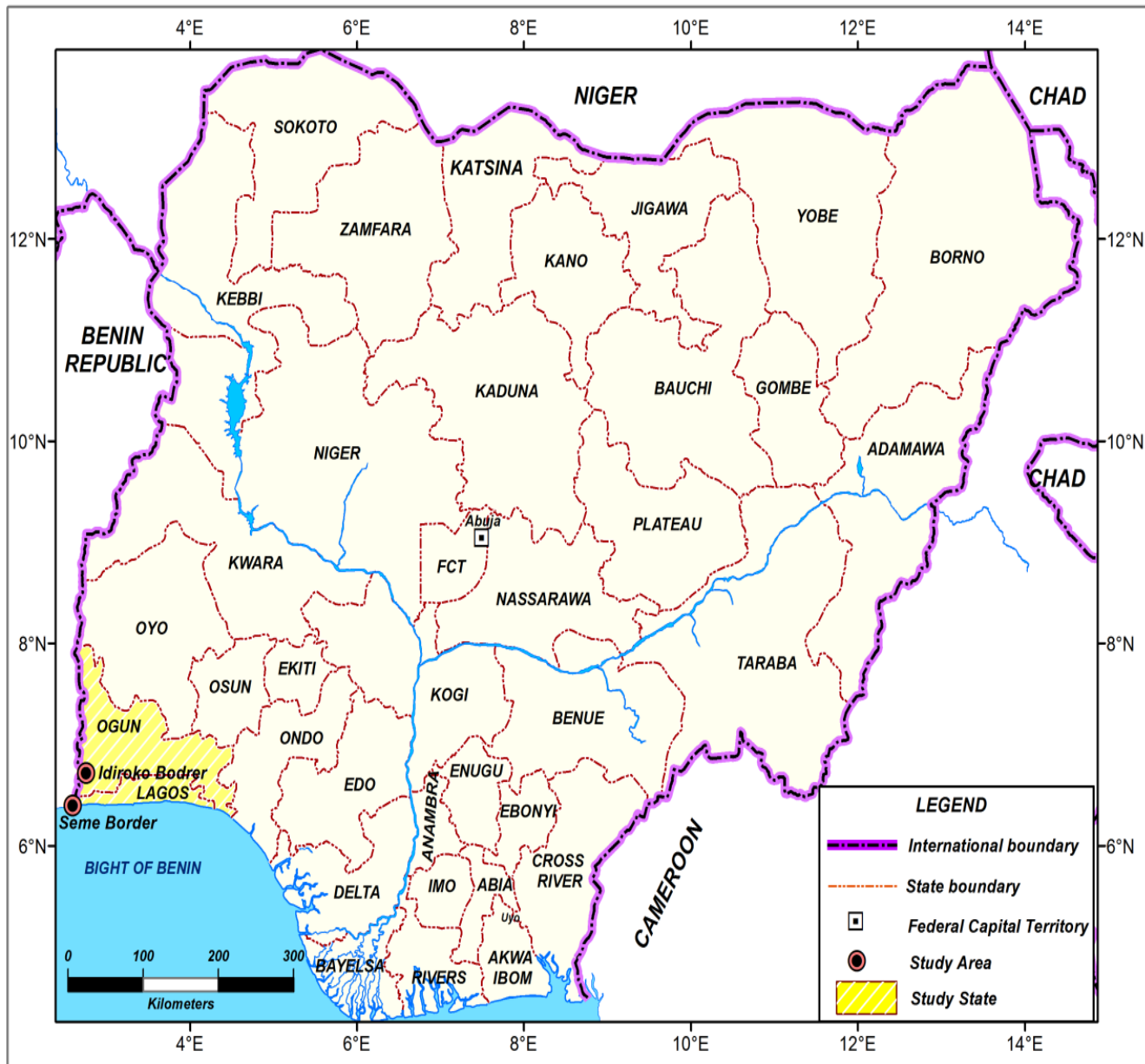


Figure 3: Map of Nigeria showing the study locations
 Source: Cartography Unit, Geography Department, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, (2020).

3.3 Population of the study

ETLS stakeholders and border security agencies/personnel serving at Seme and Idiroko borders formed the study population. Through a pilot survey, the study was able to identify the critical stakeholders in ETLS and border management, which could be divided into two categories: physical security agencies (non-core ETLS stakeholders), which include the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), the Department of State Services (DSS), and the Nigeria Police Force's Mopol Border Patrol Unit, and core ETLS stakeholders, which include the Nigeria Custom Service (NCS), Port-Health Services, Standards Organisation of Nigeria, and National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). In addition, community leaders from Seme and Idiroko were included in the study.

Officials from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS Commission, Abuja), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit, which coordinates the National Approval Committee for ETLS goods in Nigeria), the Federal Ministry of Trade and Investment, the Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents (ANLCA), and the National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS) which is the umbrella body for exporters, importers, cross border transporters in Nigeria were also interviewed.

Individuals, agencies, institutions, and organizations with functions and mandates related to ETLS and border management were included in this study's population, including the Nigeria Customs Service, Nigeria Immigration Service, Department of State Services (DSS), Mopol Border Patrol Unit of the Nigeria Police Force, Port-Health Services, Standards Organisation of Nigeria, and National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). The ECOWAS Commission, the Federal Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Industry, Trade and Investment, as well as the Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents (ANLCA) and the National Association of Nigerian Traders, were among the study respondents.

Table 2: Study Population

Source(s) of Primary Data	Method of Data Collection	Sample
Nigeria Customs Service (NCS)	KII	4
Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS)	KII	4
Department of State Services (DSS)	KII	2
Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force	KII	1
Port Health Services (PHS)	KII	2
Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON)	KII	2
National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)	KII	2
Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit)	KII	3
Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment (Department of Trade)	KII	2
ECOWAS Commission	KII	2
Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents (ANLCA)	KII	1
National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS)	KII	1
Community leaders	KII	4
Total		30

3.4 Sampling Method and Technique

The sample is a specimen of the total population or a subset of the study population. The sample size for this research study was based on institutions, agencies and ministries that have mandates and functions related to the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme and border security in Nigeria. The sample size of these border security agencies includes: Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Department of State Services (DSS), Mopol Border Patrol Unit of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Port Health Services (PHS), Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS Commission Headquarters, Abuja), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit which coordinates the National Approval Committee for ETLS goods in Nigeria), Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents (ANLCA) and National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS).

The study adopted purposive non-probability sampling technique in selecting the sample population. Purposive sampling technique was used in this study because the researcher selectively focused on agencies and institutions that have relevant functions with the research subject matter as its populations. The study's sample (target) population size purposively drew its representative sample from the selected individuals, institutions, agencies and ministries to answer the research questions.

A total of 30 Key Informant interviews was conducted with respondents purposively selected in the following manner: officials of the Nigeria Custom Service in Seme (2) and Idiroko (2), Nigeria Immigration Service in Seme (2) and Idiroko (2), Department of State Security in Seme (1) and Idiroko (1), Standard Organisation of Nigeria in Seme (1) and Idiroko (1), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control in Seme (1) and Idiroko (1), Port Health Services in Seme (1) and Idiroko (1), Community leaders in Seme (2) and Idiroko (2), Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents, Lagos (1), Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja (3), Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and

Investment, Abuja (2), ECOWAS Commission, Abuja (2), National Association of Nigerian Traders, Abuja (1) and Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force, Abuja (1).

3.5 Sources of Data

Data for the study was collected from two main sources: primary sources and secondary sources.

Primary Sources: Primary sources were Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) conducted with officers and men of relevant border management agencies as well as officials of relevant institutions, agencies and organisations.

Secondary Sources: Secondary data was collected from existing literature in journals, books, newspapers, magazines, television interviews and other relevant publications on ETLS and border security issues.

3.6 Method of Data Collection

Data was qualitatively gathered through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with respondents who were selected purposively. Non-participant observation was also employed. Furthermore, ETLS and government documents related to border security were utilised to complement KIIs. The interview protocol contained semi-structured, informal one-on-one questions of particular relevance to the study's objectives. In the course of the interviews, the researcher sought clarifications by means of probing as the need arose. Therefore, the interviewees had the opportunity to elaborate on areas of their greater ideas and interests.

3.7 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

The key informant interview guide served as the research instrument for data collection. The semi-structured form of KII guide was utilised. Its appropriateness derives largely in the fact that it afforded the researcher the opportunity to follow up on respondent's responses which further enriched the quality of data gathered using the key informant interview method. Additionally, the interview questions were developed from the research objectives and designed by the researcher to elicit useful information with regards to security implications of the ETLS for cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria.

3.8 Non-Participant Observation

The researcher observed the multiplicity of checkpoints along the Seme and Idiroko border corridors. Similarly, the researcher also observed/sighted trucks at Seme border post which were seized by the Nigeria Customs Service for conveying products disguised and concealed as ETLS commodities. Also, the researcher observed/sighted the poor state of border security technological equipment and devices at Seme and Idiroko borders. This aided the researcher in observing the border security officials at their duty posts and spotting the issues of illicit payments.

3.9 Document Analysis

Some of the important documents utilised in the study included the 1990 *ETLS Protocol*, *ECOWAS Common Tariff* and the *ECOWAS Vanguard*. The 1990 *ETLS Protocol* for example provided insights on the operations of the ETLS and the criteria to be fulfilled by a manufacturer before such products can be certificated and designated as “goods of origin”. Furthermore, the *ECOWAS Common Tariff* and the *ECOWAS Vanguard* was useful in identifying and interpreting the duty-free status of ETLS goods and products and duties payable for non-ETLS goods and products in the ECOWAS sub-region.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

Data from Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were transcribed and juxtaposed with information extracted from ECOWAS and ETLS relevant documents as well as from other secondary sources. Furthermore, the gathered data was processed, pooled together and categorised thematically based on the research objectives. Additionally, the data were content analysed descriptively.

Quotations from interviews were paraphrased along thematic lines. They represent good examples of what respondents said about the subject matter being investigated. These quotations were either used to confirm, corroborate or confute responses to:

- Further highlight the strength of opinion or belief

- Similarities between/among respondents
- Differences between/among respondents, and
- The introduction of new ideas and thoughts

3.9 Limitations to the Study

The Federal Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Industry, Trade and Investment in Nigeria were initially scheduled to be interviewed but could not be reached despite several efforts. However, the researcher was able to conduct KII with a director in the Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, who supplied needed and vital information which ensured that validity of data was not affected. Additionally, the Minister of Foreign Affairs assigned the director in charge of ETLIS (ECOWAS National office) and two other officials in the Ministry to grant the researcher interview. Therefore, reliability and validity of data obtained were not affected by these limitations neither were the outcomes of the study in any way hampered.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

This study ensured that the ethics of research are observed and maintained. Thus, respondents were briefed about the purpose of the research and their consent was sought and granted. All the study respondents participated without coercion or inducement. Before commencement of the interview sessions, the researcher requested permission from respondents to record and take pictures where and when necessary. These requests were granted. The researcher also sought permission from respondents to use their names and other details in the study. Majority of the respondents granted permission to the researcher while few declined, preferring to speak anonymously. Thus, all names and other details of respondents utilised in this study are done with permission and approval.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section presents the results of the analysis of the responses from the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) conducted with officials of the Nigeria Custom Service (NCS), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Department of State Services (DSS), Border Patrol Unit of the Nigeria Police Force, Port Health Services (PHS), Standards Organisation of Nigeria, National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS Commission Headquarters, Abuja), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit which coordinates the National Approval Committee for ETLS goods in Nigeria), Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents (ANLCA), National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS) and community leaders in Seme and Idiroko.

4.1 Research Question One: How has the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) impacted on Nigeria's cross border trade?

It was revealed through information supplied during the KII by interviewees that the impacts of the ETLS for cross border trade in Nigeria includes job creation and entrenchment of barriers for the protection of indigenous manufacturers and products, enabling ease of movement for locally manufactured products, provide guidelines for trade relationship among member countries and facilitate reduction of prices for locally manufactured products, promotion of indigenous products and to discourage the consumption of foreign manufactured products in Nigeria, economic industrialisation in Nigeria, unification and strengthening of Nigeria's economies through efficient border management practices, as well as to facilitate global competitiveness for Nigerian products and markets. The findings are further discussed below:

Job creation and entrenchment of barriers for the protection of indigenous manufacturers and products

The emergence of indigenous industries and factories established to participate in the ETLS has led to job creation in Nigeria. Many foreign multinational companies in order to take advantage of the ETLS have established factories and industries in West Africa. This has in turn led to employment generation and reduction in unemployment. Similarly, many indigenous companies have expanded their production capacities in order to penetrate the large market offered by the ETLS in West Africa. Such expansion is often accompanied by employment of new staff members thereby creating employment. Also, as new indigenous factories are established, smaller companies also spring up to provide certain services to these factories while the demand for certain raw materials increases thereby triggering increased economic activities in other related sectors (KII, Mudashiru Adetona, Licensed Customs Agent, Seme, January 30, 2020). Similarly, an official of Nigeria Customs Service, posited that:

Yes the ETLS has created employment but it goes beyond that, it has served as incentive for foreign direct investment because investors come in and establish factories. The government also gains from the whole arrangement because taxes increase because new people are captured by the tax net while these companies also pay tax to the government (KII, Deputy Comptroller Fadehunsi, R.A, Head of Enforcement, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme border, January 29, 2020)

The officers from the Nigeria Custom Service and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS Commission, Abuja) identified creation of barriers for the protection of indigenous manufacturers and products as a fundamental impact of the ETLS on Nigeria's cross border trade. The view expressed by a respondent regarding this is presented below:

The ETLS is all about conducting international cross border trade in West Africa in a coordinated manner. I must also say that it (ETLS) guides how goods from neighbouring countries particularly member countries of ECOWAS are managed at the border. Therefore, the fundamental impact of the Scheme for Nigeria is the creation of barriers which are aimed at protecting indigenous manufacturers and products from the massive influence and intimidation of foreign companies and manufacturers. (KII with Wada, C.D, Comptroller, Nigeria Customs Service (Seme Border), January 29, 2020).

Reaffirming this view, the Nigeria Customs Service staff officer in-charge of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme at Seme Border noted that Nigerian owned companies cannot compete with multinational companies; therefore, the ETLS exists to protect and defend these companies from the intimidating influence and monopoly of foreign companies. According to the respondent, just as individual countries enact laws for the protection of infant industries or what we may refer to as baby companies, otherwise known as Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), the ETLS serves the same purpose for companies in Nigeria. The ETLS therefore is more or less a barrier or better still one can say an economic barrier by ECOWAS member countries to protect and secure companies based in Nigeria and other West African countries from the influence of companies from third party countries (KII, Hammana, C.S, Nigeria Customs Service, staff officer, ETLS, Seme Border, January, 29, 2020)

Similarly, the ETLS desk officers at ECOWAS Commission Abuja, Ms. Maria Conte and Aissata Yameogo Koffi opined that the resources and powers at the disposal of multinational companies are so enormous that if indigenous West African companies and manufacturers are left unprotected and uncared for, none of them can survive in competition with these multinational foreign based companies;

You know probably because of their years of experience coupled with the humongous funds at their beck and call, foreign companies are very powerful in any place they operate. This is why the founders of ECOWAS felt that for the ETLS to achieve the desired effect and impact, part of its function must include serving as shield and if you like call it barrier for the protection of local manufacturers and producers in the West African zone (KII, Maria Conte, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, 5, March, 2020)

Enabling ease of movement for locally manufactured products

The officers sampled from the Nigeria Immigration Service, Border Patrol Unit of the Nigeria Police Force and Department of State Services agreed with the position of the officers of Nigeria Customs Service and Economic Community of West African States. They however added that enabling ease of movement for Nigeria;s locally manufactured products is an impact of the ETLS. They argued that ETLS products do not undergo rigorous searches at the border like product. According to a respondent:

You know the essence of the ETLS is to make sure that when products manufactured in ECOWAS member countries arrive the border, such goods are given accelerated passage without thorough search, if I can use that word. This does not mean that ETLS goods are not searched; rather what I mean is that the goods are not rigorously overturned and searched like other products. (KII with Ajisafe, J.O. Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme Border, January 28, 2020)

An official of the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Idiroko Border Command concurred with the views expressed by the Seme NIS Comptroller, the respondent posited that just as the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons has eased and simplified the procedures for the movement of ECOWAS citizens, the ETLS has also made the cross border transportation of indigenous products relatively easy. Goods and products which fulfil the rules of origin and other eligibility criteria for the ETLS are given accelerated passage at the border post. Majority of the officers at this border are aware of the need for urgency when it comes to ETLS goods. The Customs people handle issues related to processing of the documentations for the goods while we at Immigration attend to the documentation as it concerns the persons (truck drivers and other persons) who accompany the goods. In essence, the Customs make it easy for ETLS products while the Immigration

Service makes it easy for the persons attached to the trucks (KII, M. Zannah, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idi-Iroko Command, February 7 2020)

Similarly, the officials at the Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force, noted that trucks conveying ETLS goods are granted easy access at checkpoints along the border area. According to the respondent, vehicles and trucks carrying ETLS approved products are not unduly delayed at security points, rather, such trucks are provided security cover if there are intelligence reports of threats to such vehicles. Speaking further, the respondent noted that:

Vehicles with documents showing that goods in it are ETLS goods are given urgent attention at security post. I can even tell you that such trucks are accorded diplomatic treatments because border patrol officers are well informed of the diplomatic cover and immunity that such trucks enjoy. Many times, border patrol officers even provide security cover for such trucks (KII, ACP, Isah Adejoh, Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force, Abuja Border, February, 26, 2020)

Provide guidelines for trade relationship with ECOWAS member countries and facilitate reduction of prices for locally manufactured products

The sampled population from the Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents, National Association of Nigerian Traders and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit) stated that the ETLS provides well defined guidelines on trade relationship among member countries. The ETLS is about trade relationship within West African coast, it explains the conditions under which goods qualify for the Scheme, and this means it defines the category of goods that falls under the ETLS, among other things. Therefore, with the information provided in the ETLS, member countries of ECOWAS become well informed of their trade relationship and the conditions attached (KII with Mr. Emmanuel Olatunde Ogunruso. Licensed Customs Agent, Seme Border. January 30, 2020). An official of National Association of Nigerian Traders Mrs Chinwe Obiorah in an interview on February 26, 2020 agreed with the opinion of Mr Olatunde but added that the ETLS in providing specific guidelines for trade relationship between Nigeria and other ECOWAS member countries embodies the following:

1. Conditions necessary for ETLS to be operational

2. Category of goods allowed under the ETLS
3. Procedure for companies in member countries to be admitted into ETLS
4. Rules guiding ETLS and
5. Rules of Origin

While ECOWAS, in Vanguard (2013), identified the promotion and encouragement of production of goods of comparative advantage by West African countries as a function of the ETLS, the study discovered that this function is to enable reduction of prices for locally manufactured products. In order to achieve this function, the ETLS facilitates easy and cheap access to locally (West African) manufactured goods (local taxations are removed, the only cost is freight charges).

Economic growth and industrialisation of Nigeria

The ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme which was launched in 1990 aims at consistently and progressively eliminating all trade barriers in West Africa until such barriers are completely eliminated. Consequently, the overarching aim is the industrialisation of the West African sub-region including Nigeria. An impact of the ETLS is that it provides platform for small manufacturers/producers to grow and expand their operations. The ETLS does not discriminate or show favouritism to companies based on company size, products or staff capacity among others. Rather the Scheme provides a level playing ground for all manufacturers and producers to partake in economic activities based on their individual capacities. In so doing, the small nature of the operations of some manufacturers and producers does not hinder them from effectively participating in the ETLS (KII, Afuye Joseph, Port Health Services, Idi-Iroko border, February 7, 2020).

Without the ETLS, small companies will be intimidated and bullied out of business by the big organisations which are always angling for monopoly in order to fix and dictate prices. However, by ensuring smooth playing ground for all manufacturers and producers, the ETLS provides platform for big firms to transact business while also encouraging small firms to participate in large market provided by the ETLS. Suffice to say that the various Federal Government policies such as the “Ease of Doing Business in Nigeria”, and the “Economic Recovery and Growth Plan” (ERGP) currently being implemented by

government are in tandem with the ETLS. Therefore, government needs to seek for ways of integrating these policies with the ETLS in order to make Nigerian products competitive and more popular. This view was argued by a respondent who stated thus:

This government led by President Mohammadu Buhari has been emphasising on diversification of the economy and the need for Nigerians to go back to the farm. These government policies conform with the aims of the ETLS, so government need to ensure that companies which emerge as a result of the diversification policies link up with the ETLS to further popularise Nigerian made goods.(KII Mrs Imaboyong, S, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idi-Iroko Border. February 8, 2020).

According to Oguanobi et al (2014, Abubakar, 2016), the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme aims at industrialisation of West Africa through Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and localisation of industries. This is borne out of the fact that West Africa has the manpower as well as population/market for products manufactured within the region. Consequently, the ETLS seeks to encourage Africans and foreigners to establish industries in the West African sub-region. Similarly, the ETLS encourages localisation of industries in West Africa. In doing this, the Scheme encourages multinational organisations based abroad to establish local factories and industries in West Africa to meet the needs and demands of the sub-region. This submission was emphasised by the President of National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS) when he posited that ECOWAS was solely established for economic development, there was no social, infrastructural or political development embedded in the Protocol; this was why ETLS became the first Protocol of ECOWAS.

Trade is the icon of development. ETLS aims at bringing development through trade. The whole essence of the ETLS in Nigeria is geared towards the economic industrialisation and development which will in turn bring about social and infrastructural development (KII with Barr. Ken Ukaoha, President, NANTS, Abuja, March 3, 2020)

Lagos and Ogun States where the study locations are situated boasts of being major industrial zones in Nigeria. Many local and multinational companies are located in the two States. The study found out that the presence of international land (Seme and Owode-Apa), sea (Apapa) and air (Murtala Mohammed International airport) borders has contributed in no small measure to the emergence of Lagos State as the major economic capital of Nigeria. Also, apart from the existence of international land (Idiroko) border in Ogun State, its proximity to the international borders in Lagos State has made Ogun State an important economic hub in Nigeria hosting many national and multinational companies. The opinion of an Assistant Comptroller of Customs reaffirms this view when she stated that “industrialisation is a key motive of the ETLS, its target is to hasten the economic industrialisation of West Africa and I can say that Lagos and Ogun States have greatly benefitted from the existence of international borders within their territory (KII with Poju, C.A. (Mrs), Assistant Comptroller, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme, January 29, 2020).

In the same vein, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit), Abuja affirms that the impact of ETLS on Nigeria’s cross border trade is to facilitate economic industrialisation of the country. According to the respondent:

A lot of companies especially the foreign established factories in Nigeria in order to benefit from the trade incentives offered by the ETLS. The establishment of these factories is an act of industrial development. Sadly, many of them have relocated from Nigeria to Ghana and other neighbouring countries due to poor electricity and other issues. But the fact remains that such companies relocated to other West African countries. (KII with Mr. Oyedele Sheriff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ECOWAS National Unit, Abuja. March 5, 2020).

To further buttress this, an officer of the Nigeria Customs Service, Idiroko border in his submission, maintained that because ETLS is targeted at economic industrialisation of ECOWAS member countries, each country is at liberty to legislate on economic policies and programmes in order to maximise the gains of the ETLS (KII with N.D. Abdulaziz, Nigeria Customs Service, Idi-Iroko, March 6, 2020). Literatures (Antwi-Danso, 2006, Ukaoha &Ukpe, 2013, USAID, 2009) also assented to economic industrialisation of

ECOWAS member countries as a key function and aim of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme.

Promotion of indigenous products and discouragement of the consumption of foreign manufactured products in Nigeria.

One of the impacts of the ETLS since it was launched is the promotion of indigenous products and discourage consumption of foreign products in Nigeria. Findings from the study revealed that while a variety of custom duties and charges are imposed on products entering Nigeria from non-member ECOWAS countries, ETLS goods are allowed free entry and passage. According to an officer of the Nigeria Customs Service at Idi-Iroko border, while the government charges 5% duties for essential goods crossing the border such as agricultural products, 15% for raw materials, 20% for semi-finished goods and 35% for luxury goods; but when a product is declared an ETLS goods, local taxations do not apply to such commodities, the only cost is freight charges. (KII with Saidu, U, Nigeria Customs Service, Idiroko, February 6, 2020).

The essence of the duty free status of ETLS goods is to ensure easy and cheap access of the products to consumers in order to promote the consumption of such indigenous products. The assumption that belies this is that once the ETLS products are cheap, consumers have higher propensity of purchasing them. Akims (2014) and Oyejide (1997) affirms that aims at promoting indigenous products in West Africa. Closely linked to this is the need to ensure Africans consume African products. Emphasising this view, the Public Relations Officer of the Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, posited that the ETLS is designed to use Africans to solve African problems. Speaking further, the respondent noted that one of the major problems facing the economy of many West African countries including Nigeria is the low consumption rate of African products which in turn affect existing industries resulting in the closure of many of such factories.

West Africans both the rich and the poor are guilty of preferring foreign products to local commodities. When we purchase foreign products, we are killing local industries and indirectly working against the spirit and letter of the ETLS (KII with B.S. Yusuf, Public Relations Officer, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, January, 28, 2020)

Furthermore, a Customs Licensed Agent and former National Secretary, Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents, Mr. Emmanuel Olatunde posited that the craze for foreign products and services by Nigerians negates the intentions of the ETLS which is to encourage the consumption of locally made commodities in West Africa. According to Mr. Olatunde, over the years, Nigerians have acquired the opinion that only the poor consume local products. This attitude has negatively affected the country's economy as many factories have shut down due to low patronage of their products coupled with the harsh operating environment in the country for producers and manufacturers (KII with Mr. Emmanuel Olatunde, Licensed Customs Agent, Seme, January 30, 2020). Another member of the Licensed Customs Agents Association of Nigeria Alhaji Mudashiru Adetona added that the partial land border closure has increased the consumption of locally manufactured products in the country. He lauded the government for the closure, noting that economic activities have increased within Nigeria (KII, Alhaji Mudashiru Adetona, Licensed Customs Agent, Seme, January 30, 2020).

This study found out that the partial closure of Nigerian land borders has significantly increased the consumption of Nigerian made products and commodities. While the closure of borders is not envisaged in the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme implementation, Nigeria's closure of its borders has improved its economy but the action has also impacted negatively on the economy of ECOWAS member countries. It is on record that the political leaders of many of the ECOWAS member countries have visited Nigeria pleading that the border should be opened as its closure is hurting their economies. Similarly, ECOWAS has set up a Committee to proffer best solutions towards addressing the issues that led to the closure of Nigeria's land borders in 2019. Nigeria also has a Committee similar to the one established by ECOWAS. It needs to be noted that the partial closure of Nigeria's land border has not stopped the ETLS implementation as such goods can still come into the country through air and sea borders. However, most manufacturers prefer utilising land borders because of the high cost of air freight and the long duration of sea transportation coupled with the activities of sea pirates.

Unification and strengthening of Nigeria's economy with those of other West African economies and their border management practices

The establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 was spurred by the need to among other things liberalise trade among member countries as well as achieve economic and monetary union among member countries of ECOWAS. Put in another way, the essence of ECOWAS is the achievement of common economic union similar to the European Union. Consequently, the ETLS is the operational guide towards the achievement of this cause. This is why the ETLS is designed in such a way that it reinforces ECOWAS policies such as Common External Tariff among member countries. According to M.M. Zannah, a Chief Superintendent of Immigration at Idiroko border, other impacts of the ETLS such as free and easy access to West African markets is targeted at unifying and strengthening Nigeria's economy and those of other West African countries.

Also, beyond economic unification, the implementation of the ETLS unifies some Nigeria's border management practices with other ECOWAS member countries. For instance, border security agents across West Africa are familiar and conversant with the ETLS procedure which stipulates that goods of origin from West Africa should not be unduly delayed at the border. Therefore, the border management practice in relation to ETLS goods are somehow unified in West Africa (KII with M.M. Zannah, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idiroko border, February 7, 2020). Oguanobi (2014, Asante, 2012, Soderbaum & Taylor, 2008) affirm that the implementation of the ETLS has significantly boosted, unified economic and trade relations of West African countries. Providing empirical insight on the above submission, Ackah, Turkson and Opoku (2018) noted that available data indicates that Nigeria has benefitted 42.8%, Cote d'Ivoire 28.6%, Senegal 9.4%, Togo 5.1% and Ghana 4.6% economic and trade growth due to intra-ECOWAS trade under the ETLS. The implementation of the ECOWAS single currency policy which is the ultimate economic unification of West African countries is almost complete within the sub-region.

Affirming the above submissions, Mr. Tajudeen Epo Abdulkadir, an official of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Office, Abuja) stated that the impacts of the ETLS for cross border trade in Nigeria is to integrate the fifteen West African markets in order to aid

the free movement of goods, capital and labour so that the community can advance harmoniously as one region in its search for sustained economic growth and development (KII, Mr. Tajudeen Epo Abdulkadir, Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Office, Abuja, March, 3, 2020). Similarly, Muyiwa Aiyedun posited that the impacts of the ETLS on border security in Nigeria is to ensure that stakeholders on Border Management collaborate and work in harmony as a team in strict adherence to ECOWAS Supplementary Act on Joint Border Post (JBP).

The ETLS Border Management seeks to address the issue of simplification, standardisation and harmonisation of border crossing procedures and transport regulations through the use of single window or common box and joint control zones. Therefore, synergy and collaboration of border officials is very critical in Border Management (KII, Mr Muyiwa Aiyedun, Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Office, Abuja, March, 3, 2020)

Re-emphasising the unification of West African economies and border management practices through the ETLS, an official of the Nigeria Port Health Services at Idiroko border, noted that when ETLS commodities arrives Nigeria's borders and is found to be hazardous and a threat to public health, the Port Health Services of Nigeria quickly contact their counterparts from the goods' country of origin and the issue is quickly addressed (KII with Afuye Joseph, Principal Environmental Health Officer, PHS, Idiroko border, February 7, 2020). This suggests that although the ETLS does not embody components related to management of commodities that become national health threat to member countries; border officials have developed strategies that unite them for the protection of the national interests of ECOWAS member countries. To further broaden the discourse, an officer of the Department of State Security at Idiroko border posited that all border management policies including the ETLS are geared towards strengthening cross border relationships between countries. These policies could either be for security purposes or economic reasons. The respondent opined that the ETLS goes beyond building cross border economic relationships; the Scheme focuses on unifying the economies of the countries in West Africa in order to make their economies more viable (KII, Akogun, O. Department of State Security, Idiroko, Ogun State, February 8, 2020).

Facilitate global competitiveness for West African markets

According to sampled respondents from the National Association of Nigerian Traders, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja and Department of State Services, the ETLS was established to ensure that West African markets become globally competitive with other markets in the world. According to Barr. Ken Ukaoha, National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders and Member, ECOWAS Task Force on ETLS, the Scheme (ETLS) showed that our forefathers can be described as the men who saw tomorrow. By this I mean that the drafters of the ETLS envisaged that the world will one day become a global village as we have it today. Hence, West African markets needed to be unified and strengthened in preparation for that day. Unfortunately, that day is here and the lofty ideas of making West African markets globally competitive are largely unachieved (KII, Ken Ukaoha, National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders and Member, ECOWAS Task Force on ETLS, March 3, 2020)

Ms. Maria Conte of the ECOWAS Commission Abuja concurred with the views expressed by Barr. Ukaoha but added that the ETLS aims at making both West African products and markets globally competitive. According to the respondent, the ETLS is targeted at ensuring that West African products (Nigeria inclusive) have quality and standards to compete at markets outside the region. In order to achieve this, certain conditions exist to ensure that ETLS goods are up to internationally accepted standards and quality. Also, it aims at building a robust sub-region that will attract the attention and interest of global economic players. Therefore, the Scheme envisages a West African market that can confidently compete at the global arena, a sub-region that can conveniently manufacture and produce goods that will satisfy its citizens as well as sell to other regions of the world.

The above finding explains why, smarting from the World economic crisis causing a sharp fall in gross domestic products of ECOWAS countries in 2009, there was a strong rebound by 2010 in which exports from ECOWAS countries to Europe grew by about 28%. Indeed, the annual average growth rate for the ten year period (2000-2010) was a little over 6% per annum. For Nigeria, export to other West-African and European nations fluctuates above 40% as at 2010. The trend has not substantially grown less due to the home-grown small-

scale indigenous manufacturing opportunities encouraged by the ETLS. This is without prejudice to the fact that bigger and smarter industrial hubs could have been created from the abundant human and material resources available to the giant of Africa (Eurostat, October 2011).

Similarly, the Director, Department of State Services, Seme Border, .Kola Olomoda submitted that the establishment of ECOWAS itself was an attempt by countries in West Africa to assert themselves economically. Therefore, the ETLS which is a brainchild of ECOWAS is also an effort by member countries of ECOWAS to make their countries competitive and inviting to foreign companies and investors. Furthermore, the respondent stated that West African countries wanted to build a unified platform to effectively compete in terms of economic development and market competitiveness with other regions and continents. Looking at the various regulations of guiding the ETLS, one is not in doubt that the aim is to impact West Africa economically competitive for multinational companies and industries (KII, Mr Kola Olomoda, Seme Border, January, 30, 2020).

Despite the “positive” impacts of the ETLS identified by many of the sample respondents as discussed above, the respondents also stated that the ETLS have negative impacts on cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria. Sampled respondents enumerated the negatives impacts of the ETLS including abuse of the Scheme by some member countries and traders, sabotage/breach of the ETLS by some member countries, Loss of revenue to Nigeria, large presence of trucks at border posts, insufficient packing space for trucks/vehicles, illegal migration and human trafficking, role conflicts among border management officials.

Findings revealed that abuses related to the ETLS are multidimensional and contributed to the partial land border closure declared by the federal government of Nigeria. The ETLS is seriously and constantly abused by our neighbours in collaboration with traders and exporters. Sorry to say this but Benin Republic is one of the countries guilty of this practice and it is commonly perpetuated through goods repackaging in order for such products to meet the ETLS criteria (KII, Hammana, M.Y, staff officer, ETLS, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme border, January, 29, 2020). Similarly, the Customs Comptroller, Seme border noted

that traders import goods from Europe and repackage them as locally manufactured goods. The respondent stated that this type of abuse is done by traders with the support of the transit country. According to him, this action is a breach of ECOWAS rule on transit goods which stipulates that the seal of a container on transit to another member country must not be broken or tampered with.

Some criminally minded exporters in collaboration with the container receiving country often break the seal of a container, rebrand and repackage foreign goods to make them look like local products, they then bring such goods to our border under the guise of ETLS. A particular incident happened, we had to go to Ghana and when we arrived the factory, we discovered that the place was a decoy for some exporters who does not want to pay duties for their goods (KII, Wada, C.D, Customs Controller, Seme border, January 29, 2020)

Corroborating the view above, a respondent posited that some member countries abuse the ETLS especially through the importation of palm oil, rice and other commodities from third party countries with the intention to either repackage such goods or smuggle them into Nigeria. The porous nature of Nigeria's borders has not helped matters. The respondent noted that most of the smuggled goods are not part of the legal items captured under the ETLS, but rather, such as imported. For instance, rice produced in Vietnam and Thailand finds their way into Nigeria through Benin Republic (KII, Tajudeen Epo Abdulkadir, Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Unit, Abuja, March, 3 2020). A member of ECOWAS Taskforce of ETLS and National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders puts it this way:

The population of Benin Republic is less than twelve million, yet they are one of the largest importers of rice in the world; again the people of Benin Republic like most Francophone countries eat white rice, also known as Basmati rice, yet Benin import rice from Vietnam and Thailand. These goods are most times rebranded and Africanised to appear like local products and exported largely to Nigeria, this is an abuse of the ETLS (KII, Barr. Ben Ukaoha, National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders, Abuja, March 3, 2020)

Nigeria should be a driver and major beneficiary of ETLS because of her population and the large number of industries and manufacturers in the country. However, it suffers as a result of the malpractices attributed to ETLS by member countries. Literature (Ahmed, 2018, Yoroms 2007) affirms that, in the case of manufactured goods, imports through some ECOWAS member countries are re-labelled and repackaged as though such products are made within the sub-region in total disregard of World Trade Organization (WTO) Rules of Origin. Consequently, such products are transported by road into Nigeria under the guise of ETLS products.

Another aspect of the abuse of the ETLS witnessed by border security agencies at Seme and Idiroko borders is concealment of products. Some importers in collaboration with other criminally minded elements conceal or disguise non-ETLS products in the same truck conveying ETLS products in order to deceive the relevant border management agencies. A respondent declared “When our officers identify such incidence, we normally ask the importer to pay the correct duty or such product is confiscated. Many times you hear such people shouting that their ETLS goods were seized at the border but they will not tell the whole world that they abused the ETLS through concealment and disguise. In all of these, Nigeria is the weeping child” (KII, Deputy Controller Fadehunsi, R, Head, Enforcement, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme border, January, 29, 2020)

Many ECOWAS member countries are notorious for sabotaging and breaching the ETLS Protocol while some implement it in parts. Some member countries especially French speaking countries have refused to fully implement the ETLS for instance Benin republic. Some less industrialised Francophone countries in West Africa who don't benefit much from the ETLS increase their overhead charges for goods thereby making them expensive and defeating one of the aims of the ETLS (KII, MuyiwaAiyedun, Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Unit, Abuja, March 3, 2020). A respondent affirmed the opinion of Mr Aiyedun but added that a dimension to the sabotage of the ETLS is the tendency of some member countries to allow dumping of imported goods from Europe into their country which is in turn moved into other ECOWAS member countries. This act of

sabotage is detrimental to Nigeria's fiscal policy of promoting non-oil producing sectors (KII, Anonymous - Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment. March 6, 2020). Similarly, a respondent noted that Benin Republic introduced an extra charge (*Securite Du Corridor* which is at 0.5%) on ETLS under the pretence of Cost of Insurance and Freight (CIF). This negates the ETLS principle (KII, Mr Ogunruso Emmanuel, Licensed Customs Agent, Lagos, January 30, 2020)

Loss of revenue to Nigeria as a result of tax exemptions is another negative effect of the ETLS for Nigeria. ETLS goods are duty free hence does not attract any income in form of duties and excise to the government. As a result of its duty free status, the ETLS deprives government the much needed revenue for infrastructural development and other governance related expenditure.

For me the ETLS is good but the question we need to ask ourselves as a country is, if we aggregate the revenues government has lost since 1990 when the ETLS became operational and the benefits the country has gained from the ETLS, which will be higher? So I believe the loss of revenue to government is a negative for the ETLS (KII, Saidu, U, Nigeria Customs Service, Idiroko border, March 6, 2020).

Reaffirming the above opinion, a respondent added that Nigeria constantly loss revenue as a result of the use of the ports in the neighbouring countries by importers. According to the respondent, as a result of the criminal intent of some importers, they divert their imports to the sea ports in neighbouring nations. Duties and other payments that would have accrued to Nigeria would automatically go to these countries. Providing more insight on why importers may opt to use neighbouring sea ports, the respondent noted that some importers genuinely route their shipments to such countries due to issues such as delays at the Nigerian ports, high cost of freights/levies at the ports, among other reasons. However, some rogue importers prefer neighbouring sea ports in order to break the seal of their containers with intent to conceal, disguise, repackage or perform other criminal tampering with the products. Sadly, these nefarious actions negate the principles of the ETLS and leads to

undue and prolonged searches on ETLS trucks (KII, N.D. Abdulazeez, Nigeria Customs Service, Idi-Iroko, March 6, 2020).

Furthermore, the use of land borders for transporting ETLS goods has led to large presence of trucks at border posts leading to traffic congestions and other associated risks for border management in Seme and Idiroko borders. Before the partial closure of Nigeria's land borders, the border area were usually a zone of heavy traffic congestion due to massive movement of trucks and vehicles conveying ETLS goods and goods from third party countries. The submission here is that the ETLS has contributed to traffic congestion in the border area. According to a respondent:

If you had come here before the border closure, no one would have time to attend to you. The border used to be a beehive of activities with persons and vehicles queuing up to enter or exit the border...trucks and vehicles carrying ETLS goods are always in a hurry thereby causing congestions and our officers have to start clearing the road at times (KII, B.S Yusuf, Public Relations Officer, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, March 28, 2020)

The Director, Department of State Services, Seme border affirmed the views of the Public Relations Officer, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border but added that the problem of insufficient designated parking space for trucks and vehicles have indirectly contributed to the problem of smuggling in the border. According to the respondent, some of the vehicles are packed on the roadside and along bushes giving room for some drivers to engage the services of smugglers within border communities to convey some prohibited items through illegal routes across the border. Therefore, the issue of road transportation in respect of ETLS goods is both a national security risk as much as it is a problem for border management (KII, Kola Olomoda, Department of State Services, Seme border, January, 30, 2020).

The implementation of ETLS has led to illegal migration and human trafficking in Nigeria. Sometimes, trucks and vehicles transporting ETLS goods are escorted by persons who do

not possess the necessary documents which permits them to enter Nigeria. Many of these persons who follow some ETLS trucks particularly those seeking entry into Nigeria do not have documents. They normally claim that they are ECOWAS citizens hence require no documentation. Some even go as far as arguing that since their goods have free entry, why should they be asked to present their personal entry papers. I have always said, look even though the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons confer on you the right to enter and exit any member country freely, the Protocol outlines some documents that ECOWAS member citizens should present at the borders (KII, J.O Ajisafe, Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, January 28, 2020).

Reaffirming the opinion of the Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, an official of the Nigeria Immigration Service in Idi-Iroko border added that young people are increasingly being trafficked into Nigeria under the guise of the ETLS. According to the respondent, many of the persons escort ETLS trucks as motor-boys while some hide inside the trucks. If successfully trafficked into Nigeria, many of these young people end up as house-helps.

Some of these house-helps people employ are trafficked into the country. Some followed ETLS trucks. Once in Nigeria, they go into different kinds of jobs, some even become house-helps. Recently, there have been an upsurge in the number of non-Nigerians serving as house-helps in places like Lagos, Abuja, etc. Some of these people end up committing one criminal act or the other (KII, M.M Zannah, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idi-Iroko February 7 2020)

Another negative effect of the ETLS on cross border trade identified by sample respondents is that the Scheme contributes to role conflicts among border management officials. The ETLS does not assign specific roles and responsibilities to the various border security agencies. Therefore, the problem of agency superiority often arises. According to an official of ECOWAS National Unit in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, implementation of the ETLS at the border ought to involve inter-agency collaboration and cooperation among border

management agencies. For instance, a truck conveying an ETLS product consists of goods and persons. The inspection and certification of the goods fall under the functions of the Nigeria Customs Service and other relevant agencies such as Standards Organisation of Nigeria, National Agency for Food and Drug Control, etc. However, it is the duty of the Nigeria Immigration Service to ensure that the truck driver(s) and other persons travelling on the truck possess legal and valid documents that grants them entry into Nigeria. Therefore, in the performance of these functions, problem of which border management agency has the superior mandate often arise thereby inhibiting the smooth function of border management agencies (KII, Oyedele Olatunji Sheriff- Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Unit, March 5, 2020).

The implementation of the ETLS Protocol is an economic policy framework which ECOWAS member countries believe is capable of propelling massive economic, social and infrastructural development in the region. However, the policy seems to have attracted more negative effects on Nigeria. The Federal Government of Nigeria appears averse to these negative effects. Scholars such as Lowi and Ginsburg (1996) posited that policy can be simply understood to be whatever governments of countries choose to do or in some instances, not to do. The decision of government to overlook negative effects is in itself a policy of some sort if the postulation of Lowi and Ginsburg (1996) is to be followed. As a course of action (or inaction as the case may be), however, Fischer et al (2007) posits that a policy or policies, can be in form of “a law, a rule, a statute, an edict, a regulation or in some instances an order.” Federal Government of Nigeria’s non-response or inaction with specific reference to the negative effects of the ETLS for cross border trade and border management seem to emanate from its adherence to the regional integration theory adopted in this study. The ETLS is a regional economic policy and it does appear that Nigeria does not want to tamper with a regional policy.

However, securitisation theory adopted in this study widens the understanding of the partial closure of Nigeria’s land borders. The theory which posits that government can declare any issue or object a security threat thus requiring securitisation provides ample and sufficient argument for Nigeria’s closure of her borders. Nigeria witnessed increased insecurity which

was traced to easy and free cross border inflow of arms and ammunitions into Nigeria. The government in response securitised Nigeria's land borders thereby partially closing the borders. Currently, there is global securitisation of borders as a result of the Corona virus which has been declared as a global pandemic by the World Health Organisation (WHO). Countries such as United States of America, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, and Nigeria among others have shut their borders against travellers from certain countries with high prevalence of the Corona virus. Therefore, borders can be securitised for effective cross border trade, citizens' safety and border management which are geared towards national interest and national security.

4.2 Research Question Two: What are the security implications of the ETLS for Nigeria's Cross-Border Trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria?

The partial closure of Nigeria's land borders by the government was to curb the massive inflow of arms into the country. These arms end up in the hands of criminals who use it to terrorize citizens and unleash mayhem on innocent people in the country. So, no doubt some of these arms may have found its way into the country through the ETLS platform, so ETLS cannot be absolved of the security challenges facing Nigeria (KII, J.O Ajisafe, Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme, January 28, 2020).

The ETLS leads to the inflow and outflow of contraband products and proliferation of arms into Nigeria due to improper checks/searches by border management officials. ETLS goods are given accelerated attention, thus, the commodities are sparsely searched thereby giving room for contraband products and arms to enter or exit Nigeria and thus exposing the country to security challenges. Corroborating this view, a respondent submitted that due to the sensitive nature of security issues, he may not sufficiently give complete narrative of field experiences in the course of ensuring the implementation of the ETLS in Nigeria. According to the respondent;

As an official of the ECOWAS Taskforce on ETLS, when border management agencies seized ETLS trucks/goods, members of the Taskforce are called upon to intervene. Many times, we have seen instances where arms and ammunitions were concealed and bagged inside ETLS products. At a particular incidence, the Customs people seized seventeen bags of a product, we insisted they open the bags, the first four out of the seventeen bags they opened were full of arms, we had to tell them not to bother opening the rest, it is as bad as that (KII, Barr Ben Ukaoha – National President: National Association of Nigerian Traders and Member: ECOWAS Task Force on ETLS, March 3, 2020).

Speaking on the security implication of the ETLS at the community level within Seme, a community leader noted that;

Smuggling of rice, arms and other prohibited products are aided by the ETLS. According to the respondent, many trucks under the guise of ETLS convey illegal goods and products and discharge such products around the border communities for their collaborators who in this case are smugglers. These individuals then lure many youths in Seme to participate in this criminal activity (KII, Chief Banjo Adewusi, 30 January, 2020).

Similarly, another community leader in Seme concurred with the view expressed by Chief Adewusi but added that;

There is pervasive fear in communities around Seme border and many innocent people have lost their lives as a result of criminal activities of smugglers. He noted that the Nigeria Custom Service often engage in gun shoot-out with many of these smugglers who may have used the ETLS to import contraband goods and attempt to move them into Nigeria through border communities (KII, Alhaji Tajudeen Olanusi, 30 January, 2020).

The views expressed by community leaders in Seme were reaffirmed by their counterparts in Idiroko community. Chief Michael Olorunsogo, a community leader in Idiroko noted that crime has become prevalent in the area because of the ease with which arms and amunitions are acquired due to the activities of smugglers who hide under the ETLS to bring in such

products. He averred that Idiroko is the first point of stop for trucks that enter the country from the border, thus, once such trucks successfully escape discovery by the Custom Service, the first people that will receive such arms are border communities.

A respondent added that security implication of arms and ammunitions that enter the country undetected through the ETLS are numerous arguing that;

The presence of these arms has negatively affected internal security in the country. Farmers-herders conflicts, kidnappings, violent communal clashes are triggered and sustained by the availability of such arms and ammunitions. The situation is far worse than we can imagine. For instance, these violent conflicts continue to build up ethnicity, anger, hatred and animosity in the country. Various communities and ethnic groups view each other with suspicion and distrust. Security agencies are also affected as talks of bias in tackling these violent uprisings. This in turn erode public confidence in security agencies. When this happens, communities adopt self-help in addressing security issues thereby worsening security situation in the country. Government is forced to channel resources meant for development into security as no one can talk of development in an atmosphere of insecurity. The security implications of arms and ammunition proliferation through the ETLS are multidimensional (KII, Isah Adejoh, Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mopol Border Control Command, Abuja, February 26, 2020).

An official of the Nigeria Customs Service stated that because of the get-rich-quick syndrome of many importers and exporters, some of them disguise arms into the ETLS and if for any reason such arms escape detection, what do you think will happen? Criminals will buy it and use it to commit havoc in the country. You can see the rate of insecurity in our country. it is because of the inflow of arms. Take note that it is not just cross border flow of arms that has security implication for Nigeria. If sub-standard products enter Nigeria through the ETLS, it can lead to security problems (KII, C.D Wada – Comptroller, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme Border, January, 29, 2020).

Reaffirming this view, the Principal Environmental Health Officer, Port Health Services, Idi-iroko border stated that it is not only cross border proliferation of arms that has security implications for a country. According to the respondent, cross border inflow of fake

products or controlled drugs can lead to serious insecurity in a country speaking further, the respondent noted that the presence of drugs such as tramadol among others which may have been concealed and brought into Nigeria through the ETLS has led to increased substance abuse and drug-induced crimes and killings in Nigeria. The respondent noted that due to the intoxicating nature of these substances, individuals after consuming them tend to involve themselves in crimes and other vices. The Principal Health Officer posited that there are increased cases of criminality and domestic violence in Nigeria and some of these have been traced to drugs and substance abuse (KII, Principal Environmental Health Officer, Port Health Services, Idi-iroko border, February 7, 2020)

An official of the Nigeria Immigration Service added that beside the security threats posed by the inflow of arms and product, illegal migration as a result of the ETLS has security implication for the country. According to the respondent, undocumented migrants who gain passage through the ETLS either as motor-boys or as trafficked persons end up becoming security threats to the country. Many of such illegal migrants involve in armed robbery, kidnapping and other forms of criminal activities. Some who are employed as house-helps by unsuspecting citizens end up stealing from their employers while some go as far as killing their employer. The respondent added that security reports as cited by the federal government has consistently revealed that many of the persons involved in killings, banditry and kidnappings are not citizens of Nigeria. Rather, such persons are undocumented migrants (KII, M.M Zannah, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idiroko, February 7, 2020). Reaffirming that such cases are on the increase in Nigeria, Usman (2019) provided an overview of crimes. murders and killings of employers perpetuated in Nigeria between 2010-2019 by both indigenous and foreign undocumented migrants working as househelps. According to Usman (2019), in 2019 alone, there were over 15 reported cases of such criminality. In 2018, Ogundipe quoted president Mohammodu Buhari of attributing the increased cases of herdersmen killings in Nigeria to foreigners from the Sahel region who enter illegally into ECOWAS member countries and thereafter migrate to Nigeria to commit crimes.

The abuse of ETLS leads to unemployment which fuels armed robbery, kidnappings, terrorism, insurgency and general insecurity which threatens Nigeria's national security. Sample respondents posited that smuggling under the guise of ETLS, product rebranding and repackaging by rogue importers has adversely affected Nigeria's economy and the capacity of genuine ETLS manufacturers such that many of these factories have closed down thereby leading to loss of jobs and increase in unemployment in Nigeria. Providing more insight on how ETLS abuse leads to unemployment, a respondent stated that:

You see when ETLS products are actually supposed to be cheaper than foreign goods, but due to several factors which we have sufficiently discussed, some of the products may become slightly expensive. Therefore, when a foreign product is repackaged and it successfully enters Nigeria as an ETLS commodity, because it entered duty free, the importer can afford to sell at a lower price than the genuine ETLS product. If this scenario continues, the genuine ETLS company will either have to close down or reduce operation and retrench employees (KII, Barr Ben Ukaoha – National President: National Association of Nigerian Traders and Member: ECOWAS Task Force on ETLS, March 3, 2020).

Speaking in the same vein, a respondent opined that many of the people involved in armed robbery and kidnappings in the country are unemployed youths. According to the respondent, the rate of unemployment is so high that virtually every family in Nigeria has an unemployed youth. After years of fruitless job search, many of these unemployed youths are forced to embrace a life of crime. Speaking further, the respondent noted that the situation is so bad that a National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) member who was kidnapped by the *Boko Haram* terrorist group refused to embrace freedom. After payment of ransom to the group, the NYSC member publicly stated that the *Boko Haram* group has offered him job and he has accepted the offer. Many of the youths who do not have the courage to bear arms take up internet fraud which is another form of criminality (KII, Anonymous, Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Abuja).

The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) 2019 report, gives an official insight into the rate of unemployment in Nigeria. According to the report, since year 2014, unemployment has been on constant rise in Nigeria. The 2019 NBS report of unemployment indicated that unemployment in Nigeria is at the level of 23.5% with youth constituting 55.4% of the unemployed in Nigeria. Reaffirming the data, Dr Chris Ngige, (the Nigerian Minister of Labour and Employment) noted in 2019 that as much as 23.5% of Nigerians are unemployed with it projected to increase to 33.5% in 2020 (Daily Times, 2019). Incidentally, the continuous increase in youth unemployment in Nigeria has been followed by continuous rise in armed robbery, kidnappings and insurgency in the country.

Corruption which gives rise to the existence and duplicity of checkpoints and persistence of illicit payments has security implication for ETLS cross border trade and border management in Nigeria. According to the Deputy Commissioner of Police Cross Border Control Unit, Lagos, corruption breeds wilful negligent as the compromised border management official may not likely conduct thorough search on a truck that he has collected money from. This negligent is detrimental to peace and security of the nation as such truck may carry small arms and light weapons (KII, Ayoku Y. A, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Cross Border Control Unit, Lagos, January 31, 2020). Another respondent added that:

Corruption is an arch-enemy of security, it will lead to embezzlement of funds voted for security, it will lead to purchase of fake ammunitions resulting in unwarranted death of officers leading to low morale and of cause final defeat. Therefore, if one see corruption from this perspective, one will then appreciate the harm it will do to security in Nigeria under ETLS...well, I will say that it may have frustrated the purchase of equipment for effective implementation of the ETLS, thereby resulting into the entry of arms and other unwholesome products into the country (KII, B.S Yusuf, NIS, PRO, Seme border, January 28, 2020)

Similarly, a Licensed Custom Agent added that corruption is the reason why there is no infrastructural development in the border communities. Every year, monies are budgeted and released to relevant government agencies to develop the border communities but these monies end up in private pockets. Leaving the communities in abject poverty, thereby pushing the young people into a life of crime such as smuggling, etc. The respondent further noted that many indigenes of border communities involve themselves in smuggling and other criminal acts that have security implication for the nation because there is no existing platform for them to pursue and realize their life potentials. Their involvement in criminality has serious security implementation. Because they are extremely familiar with the terrain, it will be difficult for border management agencies to track and arrest them. The implication of this is that the effort to curb smuggling and other such vices will not yield the desired results. Again, due to corruption, the smugglers may be working in partnership with both officials of border management agencies and community persons. This will further inhibit efforts to curtail the security implication of ETLS on cross border trade and border management (KII, Licensed Customs Agent, Seme, January 30, 2020).

Another respondent added that any discussion on security implication of any subject matter has to be examined holistically, with respect to the ETLS; you will agree with me that as long as other ECOWAS member countries continue to look the other way due to corruption, the issues will continue to linger. Speaking further, the respondent noted that corruption as it concerns ETLS has a cross border dimension. According to the respondent;

For any smuggling or repacking of product to be successful, there will be connivance between the importer and relevant agencies in the source country. Sometimes, some of such officials go as far as reaching out to their colleagues across the border to provide soft-landing for the concerned commodity. Therefore, the security implications of corruption under the ETLS goes far beyond Nigeria to other ECOWAS member countries, but since our focus is Nigeria, the security implication of corruption under the context of the ETLS at the border aids the inflow of arms which fuels armed robbery, kidnappings, insurgency, terrorism and negatively affects Nigeria's national security (KII, Maria Conte, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, March 5, 2020).

Corruption leads to collaboration and partnership between border management officials and criminals who they are supposed to detect and arrest at the border. Due to greed and the desire to leave above their legitimate income, some border management officials partner and collaborate with smugglers and other transnational criminals. Such corruption induced collaboration is detrimental to the national security of any nation. Furthermore, curtailing such criminality will be extremely difficult as parties involved are constantly well informed on any move to arrest their activities. Where such collaboration exist, smugglers can easily move their arms and other contraband products under the ETLS cover without border management agencies raising eyebrow. (KII, Anonymous - Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, March 6, 2020)

Sample respondents posited that the ETLS can lead to cross border collaboration of criminals leading to emergence of transnational organised criminal groups. According to an official of the Department of State Security, Idi-iroko border, cross border criminal gangs involved in smuggling, drug trafficking, human trafficking may spring up due to the activities of some importers/exporters who abuse the ETLS. These individuals require the services of other criminally minded persons in perpetuating their activities. Therefore, when these activities are consistently undertaken at cross border level, the possibility of the emergence of transnational organised criminal gangs is higher. Invariably, the security implication will also be transnational as the activities of the cross border criminal gang will span various countries (KII, James, O.J, Nigeria Immigration Service, Owode-Apa– February 3, 2020). Similarly, another respondent added that:

When importers partner with persons in another country to abuse the ETLS through smuggling contraband or other dangerous products into Nigeria; the partnership is a cross border collaboration of criminally minded persons. If their activities are not detected early, with time, that partnership will give birth to a dangerous cross border criminal group which will terrorise various countries in the sub-region and disturb security at the national and transnational level (KII, Anonymous - Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, March 6, 2020)

Reaffirming this view, an official of the Nigeria Immigration Service added that human trafficking at the international level is an activity done by cross border criminal gangs. Therefore, the trafficking of young people through the ETLS window is perpetuated by cross border criminal gangs. Their operation begins with sourcing for the traffic victim in their country. Once this is achieved, the gang deploys its cross border network until the victim is successfully trafficked. In the case of the ETLS, because of what I may refer to as the diplomatic status of ETLS products, cross border criminal gangs have emerged and taken advantage of the Scheme to perpetuate international human trafficking (Mrs Imaboyong, S, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idi-Iroko, February 8, 2020).

4.3 Research Question Three: How efficient are border security agencies in curtailing the security implications of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria?

Well, when you talk about efficiency in the implementation of ETLS particularly at the land borders such as Seme and Idiroko, (I believe you know both borders are the only ETLS designated land borders in Nigeria), I can say that given the existing logistics and manpower, the NCS is working assiduously to ensure Nigeria makes maximum gains from the ETLS. Yes, there are challenges my men face that has made it extremely difficult to fully operationalise ETLS implementation maximally but it is an ongoing process, we are working efficiently but there is always room for improvement. (KII with Comptroller C.D Wada, NCS, Seme, January 29, 2020).

Similarly, Comptroller A. J. Ajisafe of the Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme Border Command stated that:

You don't talk about efficiency in isolation without first examining the available equipments and manpower required to achieve an assignment. Therefore, I think it is unfair to talk about our efficiency without putting into consideration other dynamics that may or may not affect efficiency. Having said that, I can say that although a large percentage of ETLS implementation lies with the Nigeria Customs Service, the component of human movement such as drivers of ETLS trucks and other persons accompanying such trucks is given critical attention by men of the Nigeria Immigration Service. Our officers perform their duties efficiently not just as it pertains to ETLS but in every aspect of cross border movement. (KII, January 28, 2020)

The views expressed by the Comptrollers of the NCS and NIS in Seme were re-echoed by officials of the two border security agencies in Idiroko border. However, an official of the NCS in Idiroko added that the current leadership of the Service is very interested in building the capacity of officers and men, hence, there is increase in training of officers. He noted that the overall aim of these trainings is to further strengthen the capacity of officers in order to deliver efficiently on their jobs.

Mr Kola Olomola of the Department of State Security (DSS), Seme border noted that his agency does not have direct mandate in the implementation of the ETLS. He noted that despite this, the DSS is always interested in anything that is a threat to Nigeria's national security. According to him; many of the small arms and light weapons intercepted by the Nigeria Customs Service at the border was through discreet investigation and intelligence by the DSS which it passes over to Nigeria Customs. He further noted that regarding efficiency in curtailing security threats posed by the ETLS, the DSS is one of the most trained and efficient security arms of the government. Its officers and men receive the best trainings in prominent security institutions around the world. Therefore, their efficiency in tackling security challenges attributable to the ETLS is not in doubt. His views were reaffirmed by an official of the DSS in Idiroko border. The official added that due to the

efficiency of the DSS, other border security agencies rely extensively on intel from the agency.

Other non-core ETLS agencies such as Standard Organisation of Nigeria (SON), National Agency for Control of Food and Drug Administration, Port Health Services at Seme and Idiroko claimed that they function efficiently in their duties at the border. To further lend credence to their claims, they drew the researcher's attention to their presence despite the border closure which ought to be a justification for them not to be at their offices. Probed by the researcher to give an observer's opinion about the efficiency of core-ETLS agencies, a staff of SON posited that:

Border security practices as implemented by the NCS and NIS is not yet up to the level obtainable in Europe. The respondent noted that this is due to the prevalence of manual ways of conducting searches and other security debriefings. Accordingly, the respondent noted that the NCS and the NIS is yet to achieve efficiency in border security management.

Furthermore, another respondent who is a staff of Port Health Services submitted that if efficiency of the border security agencies is to be measured by their commitment and dedication to duty, all the core-ETLS security agencies are efficient; however, if it is to be measured by availability and utilisation of modern border security gadgets, these agencies are not efficient. Also, if their efficiency is to be assessed by the level of insecurity in the country and the availability of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria, border security agencies at Seme and Idiroko are not functioning efficiently.

Mr Olatunde Emmanuel, a Licensed Customs Agent and former secretary, Association of Nigeria Licensed Customs Agents, Lagos during a KII interview session on January 30, 2020 noted that in terms of ensuring speedy attention and passage for trucks conveying ETLS goods either into or out of Nigeria, the Nigeria Customs Service has been fairly efficient. The delays experienced by importers or exporters of ETLS at Seme and Idiroko is minimal. However, regarding efficiency in terms of identifying concealed, rebranded and repackages goods, their efficiency is more on luck than professional capacity. He stated that most of the trucks entering or exiting Nigeria are searched manually. This situation makes

it difficult to efficiently protect the borders from security threats posed by activities of smugglers and other criminally minded persons who abuse the ETLS protocol.

Reaffirming the above opinion, another Licenced Customs Agent, Alhaji Mudashiru Adetona added that when compared with what is obtainable in other countries including some West African countries, the NCS and NIS still has a long way to go when it comes to efficiency in service delivery and in checkmating cross security threats. According to the respondent:

Some of us have been oportuned to use other borders in West Africa in the course of our business. I can tell you that whether you talk of efficiency in managing security risks that ETLS may pose or you talk of border security management generally, security agencies in Seme and Idiroko are still far behind. See Benin Republic here, their border security agencies are so organised that nothing escapes them. That is what efficiency is all about. In our own case here, either Custom and Immigration are quarrelling over control or the security agents are quarelling with exporters and importers. Honestly, efficiency is still very far from our border security agencies in Seme and Idiroko. (KII, January, 30)

Similarly, communities leaders in Seme and Idiroko who participated in the study firmly declared that border security agencies in Seme and Idiroko are not efficient in curtailing security threats from ETLS or other products. According to the respondents, the high incidence of insecurity is a pointer to their inefficiency. According to Alhaji Tajudeen Olanusi;

how can we be talking of efficiency of security agencies at the border when the country is in serious security problem? The arms used by kidnappers and herdersmen are the one smuggled in through the borders? Are you not seeing and hearing the way people are being killed like chicken in our country? Both the security agents at the border and their colleagues in the office are not efficient (KII, Seme, January 30, 2020)

However, Assistant Commissioner of Police Isah Adejoh of the Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force differed with the views expressed above. According to the Police Officers, border patrol officers particularly within the Nigeria Police Force receive the best training on tracking and busting cross border crimes and intercepting intelligence on matters that may constitute national security to Nigeria. According to the Police officer, border security relies much on intelligence sharing. The NPF has over the years established network of intelligence between its officers and those of other neighbouring countries. Due to the importance the Police attaches to border security, it sends highly trained officers from the Mobile Unit of the Force to these borders. Therefore, the efficiency, capacity and competency of our men to detect any form of security threat at the borders whether through ETLS or other platform, is not in doubt (KII, February 26, 2020).

4.4 Research Question Four: What are the challenges faced by border security agencies in addressing the threats posed by the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria?

Sampled respondents from the Nigeria Customs Service, National Association of Nigerian Traders and ECOWAS Commission observed that the domestic economic policies of some ECOWAS member countries contradict the ETLS Protocol. The desire for economic and infrastructural development by member countries has led such countries to develop prohibition list for certain category of goods. This is usually done by countries to protect domestic manufacturers as well as regulate the consumption of foreign produced goods within the country. Unfortunately, such prohibition list may contain some ETLS approved products. Nigeria Customs Service ETLS desk officer further added that some member countries take retaliatory actions when they feel their economic policies are being undermined by member countries under the guise of ETLS. According to the respondent:

Every country is interested in its economic and industrial development, this is why ECOWAS member countries came together. But in a situation whereby other member countries of the ETLs deliberately frustrate the economic development drive of another country, that country can decide to abandon the ETLs...so member countries may have economic policies that work against the ETLs but it may be in retaliation to what other countries are doing (KII, Hammana, C.S, Nigeria Customs Service, ETLs staff officer, Seme border, January, 29, 2020).

Reaffirming the above opinion, the Comptroller, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme Border added that Nigeria has been condemned by some people due to the partial closure of its land borders. But many of these critics are not well informed about the economic and security dangers Nigeria faced because of the activities of some ECOWAS member countries. Some of these countries served as safe haven for economic saboteurs who are working against the economic diversification policies of the government. Therefore, the government policy was being compromised while government was also losing huge revenue. While all these were going on, insecurity increased due to smuggling of arms from neighbouring countries into Nigeria. So, yes, some of government economic measures may appear anti-ETLS but what matters most is that Nigeria achieves its desire of becoming a global economic powerhouse (KII, C.D Wada, Comptroller, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme border, January 29, 2020).

In the same vein, the National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders reiterated that:

The closure of border by any country was not envisaged in the ETLs. However, one of the Protocols of ECOWAS empowers any member country to take whatever measures necessary to safeguard its national security. So Nigeria's closure of its border was purely an issue of National security. But in all honesty, the closure has been of immense benefit to genuine traders and business people in the country, but the story is different for our neighbouring countries and their economic friends outside Africa. It was so hard for these countries that their leaders had to come here begging that the borders should be opened (KII, Barr. Ken Ukaoha, National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders, Abuja, March 3, 2020).

Ms. Aissata Yameogo Koffi, ETLS desk officer, ECOWAS Commission, further added that the economic policies of many ECOWAS member countries are tied to the apron of their colonial masters. Using Francophone countries in West Africa as example, the respondent noted that as a result of this, the economic policies of many Francophone ECOWAS member countries is tailored to fit into France economic policies as against the ETLS (KII, Aissata Yameogo Koffi, ETLS Desk Officer, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, March 5th, 2020). Similarly, a respondent posited that economic policies of some member countries may sometimes stand against the implementation of the ETLS but noted that such action may be due to issues related to breach in transshipment rules, lack of transparency in the implementation of the rules of origin, mutilation of the ETLS certificate by exporters. Many of these issues are due to the high level of suspicion and lack of trust among member countries which can be attributed to the Francophone-Anglophone rivalry among member countries of ECOWAS (KII, Anonymous, Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Abuja, March 6, 2020).

Nigeria has constantly accused its neighbours Benin and Niger who are members of UEMOA of such aberration to ETLS protocol. UEMOA is the economic bloc of French speaking countries of ECOWAS who appear more committed to their macro-economic integration bloc. With its significant monetary union and common currency initiative as well as linguistic and cultural cohesiveness among members, they portray dual memberships of mini-micro and micro blocs of UEMOA and ECOWAS respectively. Engel et-al (2015) described UEMOA as an alternative model for regional integration. Chambers et al. (2012:17) submitted that all UEMOA member states are also ECOWAS member states. However, there has been a tendency to concentrate on ECOWAS when considering the issue of regional integration in West Africa. However UEMOA is still a significant regional actor and one, which has been, arguably more successful than ECOWAS at overcoming the coordination problems critical to integration processes. Furthermore there are few signs that consolidation under ECOWAS will happen in the short term. On the contrary, recent moves by UEMOA to develop its regional policy coordination competences indicate it is moving away from, rather than towards, greater integration with ECOWAS.

The Director, Department of State Services, Seme border identified partnership between smugglers and some indigenes of border communities as a challenge to ETLS for border trade and border management in Nigeria. The hostile attitude of border communities is also a challenge to ETLS for border trade and border management in Nigeria. According to the respondent, some indigenes of border communities usually partner and collaborate with smugglers and criminals under the pretence of conveying ETLS goods. Providing more insight, the respondent added that some criminally minded truck drivers load contraband goods and when they get into the border area, they contact their accomplices in the border communities who remove these contrabands and smuggle them through illegal routes into Nigeria. These actions sabotage Nigeria's economy and frustrate the efforts of border management agencies (KII, Mr. Kola Olomola, Department of State Services, Seme Border, January 30, 2020).

A respondent added that border community indigenes encourage illegal migration through the ETLS. According to the respondent, ETLS trucks sometimes convey illegal migrants with their goods. These migrants are handed over to persons in the border communities for onward movement into Nigeria through illegal routes. So it is safe to say that some unscrupulous persons take advantage of the ETLS to carry out these criminal acts. This is not to say that the ETLS is the only source for human trafficking, what I am saying is that it contributes to it (KII, J.O Ajisafe, Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme January, 28, 2020).

Corroborating the Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, the Public Relations Officer, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, B.S. Yusuf added that because the border management agencies particularly the Nigeria Immigration Service has made illegal migration difficult, criminal elements now hide under the cloak of the ETLS to encourage illegal migration and human trafficking. The respondent noted that some ETLS bring in illegal migrants who are assisted by border community members to enter the country without valid documents. According to the Public Relations Officer, the Nigeria Immigration Service is aware of this trend and continues to partner with other border management agencies to curtail it (KII, B.S Yusuf, Public Relations Officer, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, January, 28, 2020)

Sampled respondents identified inter-agency rivalry among border management agencies as a challenge for the ETLS and border management in Seme, Owode-Apa and Idi-Iroko borders, Nigeria. According to an officer of the Nigeria Customs Service, Idi-Iroko border, sometimes, border management agencies work at cross purpose with no synergy among them. For instance, searching and screening ETLS goods occasionally bring disagreement particularly between the Customs Service and Immigration Service. Both agencies have roles in implementing the ETLS, however, occasionally, issues of superiority-inferiority complex among agencies proves itself as a challenge to both the ETLS and border management (KII, Saidu, U, Nigeria Customs Service, Idi-Iroko border, February 6, 2020). Similarly, an official of Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ECOWAS National Unit posited that:

There is mutual suspicion among border management agencies. Each agency wants to prove that it is the most influential and hardworking than the other. Intelligence sharing is low and the mutual desire to execute the Nigerian project is often missing (Mr. Tajudeen Epo Abdulkadir, Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Unit, Abuja, March, 3 2020)

Corroborating the view, a respondent attributed the issue of inter-agency rivalry among border management agencies to lack of understanding by these agencies on issues of security and migration. According to the respondent, the ETLS implementation is multi-dimensional hence no single border management agency can lay claim to it. It requires multi-agency collaboration and partnership for effective implementation. ETLS goods requires various checks at the border hence, Nigeria Customs, Immigration, Standards Organisation of Nigeria, NAFDAC, etc all have one role or the other to play before such commodities are granted passage into Nigeria. Therefore, the border management agencies need to realise that they are working to achieve the same goal hence no need for inter-agency squabbles and disagreements (KII, Anonymous - Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Abuja, March 6, 2020)

The above finding reaffirms arguments of scholars including Adekanye (1998); Wali (2010); Odoma (2014); Okereke (2016) and Adaramodu (2016), which submits that inter-agency rivalry and lack of synergy constitutes an inherent challenge of inter-agency cooperation along border post in Nigeria. According to Omogui (2006:66), agency rivalry is a state of competition, contention or emulation that exists within and between agencies for something of perceived value to the contending interest. This could be tangible or intangible recognition and other perceived benefits to self-esteem which can be positive (good natured) or negative (associated with injurious consequence, for instance the inability to cooperate optimally in support of national defence and security objective)

An official of Cross Border Patrol Unit of the Nigeria Police Force added that inter-agency rivalry is not only a challenge to the ETLS; it threatens Nigeria's national security. Going further, the respondent stated that the border is a critical sector in the stability or otherwise of a country. Therefore, where there is inter-agency rivalry between border management agencies, the country will suffer security lapses. According to the respondent, the ETLS demands easy and quick access to indigenous products of West African origin; in view of these, criminals may be tempted to use it as yardstick to smuggle arms and other weapons into the country. Therefore, if there is inter-agency rivalry, there will be a disconnect in the functionality of the various agencies and this may allow the entry of arms into Nigeria. The same thing applies for the ETLS itself, the trucks may be delayed by one agency or the other in a move to prove a point or sabotage a sister border management agency (KII, Ayoku Y. A, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Cross Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force, Lagos, January 31, 2020).

Findings from sample respondents indicated that insufficient infrastructure and automation of the Seme and Idi-iroko borders is a challenge for the ETLS and border management. According to respondents who are officers of the Nigeria Customs Service, Nigeria Immigration Service, Department of State Security, Standard Organisation of Nigeria, National Agency for Food Administration and Drug Control, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit), Port Health Services, poor infrastructures at the border and inadequate automation of the borders aids movement of cross border criminals which threaten national security. According to a respondent, at the end of this interview, one of

my officers will take you round and show you some of the goods that were concealed under the ETLS which were able to detect and seize. Our officers are doing so much but more can be done if the necessary technology is made available to the men. The Nigeria Customs Service has two industrial scanners here but none is functional. One is bad while the other is yet to be installed. So what I am saying is that if we have functional scanners for instance, the issue of concealment and product disguise as it concerns ETLS will be minimised. Apart from that, it will empower our officers to manage the border more effectively (KII, C.D Wada, Controller, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme border, January 29, 2020).

Similarly, another respondent stated that:

There is very little use of technology here, many of the searches are conducted manually and randomly. The existing machines are old and outdated. Because searches are largely manual, no matter how diligent an officer is, he is still human and cannot see everything. Don't also forget that as humans, they can also become tired which can result in half-hazard (sic) searches. The absence of technology particularly scanners at the borders can aid the entry of arms, ammunitions and unwholesome products into the country which in turn affect our national security (Nura Audu Head, National Agency for Food Administration and Drug Control, Seme, January 28, 2020)

Furthermore, the Comptroller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border identified the non-availability of air-based technologies such as drones, close circuit televisions, aerial surveillance cameras, among others. The respondent stated that these equipment enables border management agencies to function optimally and effectively. In the case of ETLS, the absence of these technologies makes it difficult for officers to closely monitor the movement of trucks conveying the products, their movement and activities at the border and beyond in order to identify those involved in human trafficking, smuggling and other criminal activities (KII, J.S.Ajisafe, Controller, Nigeria Immigration Service, Seme border, January, 28, 2020). Similarly, another respondent noted that contemporary border management is technology driven, the days of manual searches and documentation are gradually fading away so conducting cross border trade under ETLS without technology will reduce the speed of cross border trade which the ETLS aims to facilitate. Deploying technology will

further strengthen the ETLS. Beyond that, the use of unmanned borderlands within Nigeria as arena for smuggling will be greatly reduced if drones and aerial surveillance cameras are used in border management. The case of illegal migration using these unmanned borders will also be reduced (M.M Zarnnah, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idi-iroko February 7, 2020).

Findings indicates that the use of air based technologies such as unmanned aircrafts, aerial surveillance drones, Close Circuit Televisions could improve the capacity of border security agencies in checkmating illegal entry and exit into the country. According to findings, advanced countries such as the United States of America use air based technologies in border security. For instance, despite the presence of physical barriers in the United States of America's border with Mexico, the United States still use air based technologies in further securing her borders.



Figure 4: Tactical unmanned aerial surveillance drone

Source: <https://www.militaryaerospace.com/unmanned/article/16707261/>

The Director, Department of State Services, Seme border posited that lack of biometric technology, identity and analysis technology at Seme and Idi-iroko borders will make the ETLS a platform for transnational organised criminals to easily gain passage into Nigeria with ease. According to the respondent, criminals are becoming very ingenious at beating security points particularly at border points. Therefore, the lack of functional technologies that capture, process, analyse and identify the details and information of border users is a challenge for the ETLS and border management. For instance, transnational criminals or wanted persons can come as ETLS truck drivers and if there are no functional technology to access the biometric data of such a person, such individual may not be detected (KII, Kola Olomoda, Director, Department of State Security, Seme border, January 30, 2020). An official of the Department of State Services, Idi-iroko affirmed the opinion but added that:

The lack of technology at the border may aid Persons of Interest and wanted persons to freely move across the borders thereby constituting national security threats. The argument is that although the Department of State Security is not too much interested in the ETLS thing but because the ETLS is a platform that can be used to breach national security through smuggling of arms and ammunitions, lack of necessary surveillance and detection technologies is a challenge to the Scheme (KII, Anonymous, Department of State Services, Idiroko border, February 8, 2020)

The poor state of existing technologies at Seme and Idi-iroko borders is worsened by the dearth of infrastructure at the border and in the border communities. Even where the relevant technology is available, there is no electricity to power such technology. Electricity supply at Seme and Idi-iroko is extremely poor. Border management technology particularly scanners, x-ray machines are high voltage equipment hence, cannot be powered by just any small generators. Similarly, air-based technological device such as drones, etc use batteries which needs to be constantly charged; surveillance equipment need screen monitors that require electricity. Therefore, electricity is a critical component of border management and

it is not available at the borders (KII, Mrs Imaboyong, S, Nigeria Immigration Service, Idi-Iroko, February 8, 2020). Corroborating this view, an official of Port Health Services, Idi-iroko border posited that:

Electricity is a big issue here, sometimes for weeks we don't see light to work. The situation is so bad that if we suspect that a border user has infection or virus, we cannot even take samples here because there is nowhere to store such.....we normally refer suspected cases to some hospitals we have partnership with (KII, Afuye Joseph, Principal Environmental Health Officer, PHS, Idi-iroko border, February 7, 2020)

The researcher observed this situation within the period of the field work at Seme and Idi-iroko borders. At Seme border, the offices of the Comptrollers of Customs and Immigration were powered by generators while other offices were without electricity. Electricity was not restored within the border post throughout the period of this field work at Seme border. The situation was the same at Idi-iroko border. Many of the officers were seen sitting outside their offices for fresh air as a result of lack of electricity. Again, generators were used to supply electricity to the offices of the Customs and Immigration Comptrollers. Electricity was not also restored within the one week that the researcher spent at Idi-iroko. The situation is the same within border communities. During the fieldwork, the researcher moved around the border communities. The lack of government presence was obvious as the communities had no access road, electricity, hospitals or portable water. The communities seem to have been forgotten by the government. It should be noted that infrastructural developments at border communities is the exclusive function of the Federal Government of Nigeria. The Border Community Development Agency (BCDA) is the government agency established to address issues of development at border communities within Nigeria. Interestingly, BCDA is located in Abuja with no zonal or state offices across Nigeria. The impact of the agency in terms of development of border communities is not visible in Seme and Idi-iroko border communities.

Nigeria still lacks technological equipment at its ports and borders. There is no functional forklift at the Apapa Wharf which is the busiest Port in West Africa (KII, Wada, C.D, Comptroller, Nigeria Customs Service, Seme Border, January, 29th, 2020). Anyanwu (2019), Harris et al. (2012) and Deen-Sarray (2014) affirms that Nigeria Customs Service still undertake 100% physical examination of cargoes instead of scanners. Freights are subjected to 100% physical examination with its attendant delays, high demurrage payment and security compromise. Contrabands, arms and ammunition been imported into the country through the borders perhaps would have been intercepted if there are functional scanners. Infrastructural and technological equipment deficit have hampered cross border trade and border management for Nigeria. Effective cross border inflow and outflow of goods, depends largely on infrastructure and technological equipment at the disposal of the border management agencies.

Sample respondents also identified insufficient manpower and poor welfare packages as a challenge to cross border trade and border management along Seme and Idi-iroko corridor. According to respondents, virtually all border management agencies are under-staffed and under-motivated. We work in very tough conditions, some of us see our family once a six month because an officer is always on transit so you cannot afford to be moving your family around. The government is trying but more needs to be done because we work under tough conditions, our efforts need to be rewarded through good welfare packages, many of us can hardly feed properly, if we are not well taken care of, how can we monitor ETLS and manage the borders well (KII, Ayo John Akinware, Standard Organisation of Nigeria, Seme border, January 28, 2020).

In the same vein, another respondent stated that border management needs to be accorded the right significance by government and doing so, the welfare of border management agencies should be given priority. According to the respondent, welfare is not just about money, the workload of border management agencies needs to be reviewed. We are over-worked because of insufficient manpower. One person sometimes does the work of three to five persons because manpower is low. This situation is worsened by government's attitude of giving preferential attention to some border management agencies. Agencies such as Port Health Services, National Agency for Food and Drug Control need more manpower to

function effectively at the borders (KII, Afuye Joseph, Principal Environmental Health Officer, PHS, Idiroko border, February 7, 2020).

The non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic on border management within the context of implementation of the ETLS is a challenge identified by this study. Seme and Idi-iroko borderlines are one of the borders that demarcate Nigeria's border with Benin Republic in Lagos and Ogun States. According to a respondent, Seme and Idi-iroko borders are about the busiest borders of Nigeria and are also ETLS compliant. Therefore, they serve as passage routes for ETLS goods. Over the years, criminal activities such as smuggling, human trafficking, illegal migration have been on constant increase around the border area. However, the governments of Benin Republic and Nigeria have not specifically developed a bilateral agreement to tackle these issues. Rather, Nigeria has severally shut or closed its borders with Benin in retaliation to abuses of the ETLS perpetuated within Benin Republic (KII, Mr Muyiwa Aiyedun, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ECOWAS National Unit, Abuja, March 3, 2020). Reaffirming this view, another respondent submitted that:

The failure or do I call it refusal of Nigeria and Benin republic to sit down and look at ways of jointly solving the problems associated with their cross border trade and border management is an issue. There is no doubt that the Seme and Idi-iroko corridor has problems, but one continues to wonder why the two countries have so far failed to develop a lasting and sustainable way of addressing the obvious problems. For me, this is a challenge for the ETLS in Nigeria and even in Benin republic (KII, AissataYameogoKoffi, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, March 5, 2020)

ETLS related challenges faced by licenced customs agents and importers/exporters in Seme and Idiroko Borders, Southwest, Nigeria.

Since 1990 when the ETLS became operational within the West African sub-region, one challenge its implementation has faced is the existence of multiple checkpoints along the corridors (KII, Maria Conte, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja 5, March, 2020). This research affirms this opinion. For instance, during the field visit to Seme border, the researcher counted 22 security checkpoints on either side of the road between Badagry and Seme. At each checkpoint, the researcher's vehicle was searched by various government military and paramilitary agencies who mounted security posts on the road. The searches were even more rigorous during the researcher's return journey. Consequently, the journey from Badagry to Seme which ought to be less than forty (40) minutes took the researcher about two hours, 15 minutes. The researcher had similar experience during the field visit to Owode-Apa and Idi-Iroko borders. A respondent noted that there is a nexus between the existence of multiple checkpoints and corruption. According to the respondent:

The issue of multiple checkpoints is a challenge for the ETLS, do not forget that many of these checkpoints are created simply to extort money from border users. So it is corruption that has led to the emergence of many of these security posts (KII, Anonymous - Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, March 6, 2020)

Another respondent added that such monies paid as bribe at the various checkpoints along the border corridors by trucks conveying ETLS goods are indirectly transferred to consumers, thereby increasing the prices of such commodities and indirectly defeating one of the goals of the ETLS which is making locally produced goods available at cheaper prices. According to the respondent, drivers are made to part with money as bribe at the various checkpoints and anyone who refuses is delayed under different guises (KII, Chinwe Obiorah, National Association of Nigerian Traders, Abuja, February 26, 2020).

Similarly, another respondent stated that the issue of multiple checkpoints along the border areas is symptomatic of the societal problems facing Nigeria. Security checkpoints in Nigeria are generally points of corruption and bribery. Therefore, what you see at the border areas is simply a reflection of the problem of corruption in Nigeria. However, in the case of

multiple checkpoints along border zones, the situation is really terrible and does not speak well of the image of Nigeria. If ETLS goods are cleared at the border by relevant agencies, why will such goods still be searched and delayed unduly at the various checkpoints that litter the border route? The simple answer is bribery and corruption (KII, Muyiwa Aiyedun, Ministry of Foreign Affairs - ECOWAS National Unit, Abuja, 3, March, 2020). Literature affirms that despite the bad road network along the border corridors, travellers are still subject to roadblocks and requests for bribes by customs and immigration officials (Deen-Sarray 2014).

Closely linked to the challenge of multiple checkpoints is the issue of persistence of illicit payments at the border and along the corridors. Some border security agencies demand for payments for certain ETLS goods even when the Scheme forbids any form of payment. Some border management agencies under an excuse to collect illicit payment would normally request for documents that are neither available or required for transit ETLS goods. When the driver and personnel conveying the ETLS truck cannot provide such documents, they are made to pay for such (KII, Alhaji Mudashiru Adetona, Nigeria Licensed Custom Agent, Seme border, January, 30, 2020). The National President of National Association of Nigerian Traders affirmed this view but added that:

Even though the ETLS ought to have duty free access to the various ECOWAS countries, many of them have developed ingenious ways of collecting money for the goods. Note that this is not only a challenge in Nigeria, it is a common thing in many of member countries. In Nigeria here, if rogue officers do not find a way to collect money, the security agents at checkpoints will collect, if these ones don't collect, officials of local government will harass the truck, if these ones don't, officials of the state revenue taskforce will collect. Unfortunately, these payments are usually illicit and illegal (Barr. Ken Ukaoha, National President, National Association of Nigerian Traders, Abuja, March 3, 2020).

Reaffirming this view, an official of the Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment submitted that revenue officials especially those of local governments usually give truck drivers in Nigeria problems generally. These officials who most time look and appear fearful and terrifying mount roadblocks and are armed with assorted cudgels, metals and woods containing nails which are used in deflating the tyres of recalcitrant drivers (KII, Anonymous, Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, March 6, 2020). Various types of permits and documents are requested from truck drivers and anyone who is unable to produce such documents is detained illegally and the goods confiscated without any court trial. These officials pay special attention to trucks with goods as they feel such may be easy prey because of the goods therein. ETLS trucks often have this challenge (KII, Mr. Oyedele Olatunji Sheriff - Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Unit, March, 5th, 2020).

The researcher observed the presence of different taskforce groups along the road to Seme and Idi-iroko borders. On closer observation and inquiry, the researcher was told that they are stationed along the road to generate internal revenue for their respective local governments en route the border towns. In order to be granted free passage, trucks and vehicles are expected to have certain permits irrespective of the goods or commodity in the truck. This observation reaffirms the opinions of sample respondents on prevalence of illicit payments along ETLS corridors

The specific challenges identified and discussed above are inimical to effective border management along the Seme and Idi-iroko corridor. These challenges can be summarised thus:

1. Absence of technology e.g. scanners, x-ray machines, aerial surveillance equipment may aid smuggling of illicit goods, arms and ammunition.
2. Poor welfare packages and insufficient manpower can reduce morale resulting in non-chalant attitude to work.
3. Inter-agency rivalry and lack of synergy among border management agencies would be counter-productive to border management as agencies would be working at cross purposes.

4. Existence of multiple checkpoints and prevalent illicit payments breeds corruption which may compromise border management officials from performing their duties effectively.
5. Non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin leads to the absence of operational manual on Joint Border Post between the two countries. Hence, border management officials would not be well guided on rules of engagement.

This thesis argued that the implementation of the ETLS Protocol did not envisage security related challenges and their concomitant implications on national security of member countries as observed in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria. Therefore, the Scheme have had positive and negative impacts on Nigeria's cross border trade. The efficiency of border security agencies in managing the threats posed by the ETLS is not optimal and does not fit into global best practices in Coordinated Border Management. Abuse of the ETLS through product concealment and tampering, criminal collaboration and partnership between smugglers and some residents of border communities, poor automation and low availability of technological equipment and non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic on border management are challenges impeding border security agencies in addressing the security implications of the ETLS.

The immeasurable contribution of the ETLS to intra-regional trade is well acknowledged. And this has been both positive and negatives. But how and to which extent the Scheme, as an ECOWAS commercial instrument / protocol, has been highly correlated with the growth of internal insecurity in Nigeria has being established in this study. Thus, the thesis posits therefore, that the more that ETLS is illusory, the more border security is undermined. Additionally, the result of the analysis of how ETLS has contributed to fostering high level of domestic insecurity through cross-border trade in Nigeria should assist the ECOWAS Commission to review the ETLS with a view to synchronising it with contemporary cross-border security challenges in member countries.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

The general objective of this study was to examine the security implications of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme for cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria. Specifically, the study investigated the implementation of the ETLS protocol in Seme and Idiroko borders from the angle of its concomitant effects on Nigeria's national security. This was with a view to identifying the challenges and lacunas in the implementation at the designated borders (Seme and Idiroko) and their implications for security in Nigeria as well as the resultant effects on cross border trade.

The study adopted Wæver's Securitisation and Haas's Regional Integration theories as the analytical framework and utilized the case study research design. Primary and secondary sources of data were employed in the study. The primary data were derived from key informant interviews, while books, journal articles, ECOWAS documents and other relevant publications served as secondary sources of data. Purposive sampling technique was utilised in conducting thirty interviews with core-ETLS border security agencies, non-core ETLS agencies in Seme and Idiroko borders, stakeholders in the ETLS in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, as well as community leaders in Seme and Idiroko. The interviews were conducted with respondents including officials of Nigeria Customs Service, Nigeria Immigration Service, Department of State Security, Standard Organisation of Nigeria, National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control, Port Health Services, Community leaders, Association of Nigerian Licensed Customs Agents, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, ECOWAS Commission, National Association of Nigerian Traders and Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force. The data collected from the field investigation were themed, harmonized and analysed using content analysis.

The results of these analyses were thereafter discussed in detail. This chapter, therefore, essentially presents a summary of key findings and the conclusion drawn from the findings. Recommendations of the research are also presented in this chapter. The Summary of the key findings is presented in line with the study objectives.

5.2: Summary of findings

The impacts of the ETLS on cross border trade in Nigeria include job creation and entrenchment of barriers for the protection of indigenous manufacturers and products, enabling ease of movement for locally manufactured products, provision of guidelines for trade relationship among member countries. The Scheme has also resulted in the facilitation of reduction of prices for locally manufactured products, promotion of indigenous products and discouragement of the consumption of foreign manufactured products in Nigeria, economic industrialisation in Nigeria, unification and strengthening of Nigeria's economies, as well as expediting global competitiveness for Nigerian products and markets. Despite these laudable "positive" impacts, the ETLS has also impacted negatively on Nigeria's cross border trade. Among the prominent downsides of the Scheme includes its abuse through concealment, product tampering and outright smuggling by unscrupulous importers/exporters through borders of some ECOWAS member countries, sabotage/breach of the ETLS by some member countries, loss of revenue to Nigeria as well as role conflicts among border security agencies. Records from the Nigeria Custom Service (2020) shows that Nigeria lost N409,851,533 worth of revenue in 2020 at Seme border alone due to abuse of the ETLS. Similarly, the record revealed that goods that are majorly concealed, tampered or smuggled at Seme and Idiroko borders are rice, frozen poultry products, tomato paste, sugar, non-alcoholic wines, herbal soaps, amongst others.

The ETLS leads to the inflow and outflow of contraband products and proliferation of arms into Nigeria due to improper checks/searches by border security officials. ETLS goods are given accelerated attention, thus, the commodities are sparsely searched thereby exposing the country to security challenges. Furthermore, implementation of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-West, Nigeria has resulted in proliferation of small arms and light weapons, human trafficking, undocumented migration resulting in insurgency, terrorism

and banditry. According to Attah (2019) the Nigeria Custom Service has seized several arms including 661 rifles shipped from Turkey, while Tribune Newspapers (2018) reported that between 2010-2018, about 21 millions arms entered Nigeria through the various borders in the country. The proliferation of arms in Nigeria have led to increase in kidnapping for ransom, armed robbery, banditry, insurgency, cattle rustling, terrorism among others. Also, easy availability of arms has spurred ethnic and communal conflicts across the country. Hence, the implementation of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders have security implications for Nigeria's cross border trade.

When the implementation of the ETLS commenced in 1990, member countries were enthusiastic about its prospects and potentials to serve as a veritable instrument for the realisation and achievement of ECOWAS's economic integration in West Africa. Realistically, the positive impacts of ETLS for Nigeria's cross border trade is not in doubt. Indeed, the Scheme has improved Nigeria's economy relatively. However, it has also occasioned significant security challenges in Nigeria.

Within the context of ETLS and security at Seme and Idiroko borders, security agencies can be categorised as core and non-core ETLS agencies. The core ETLS agencies imply those whose mandate is directly or indirectly related to the implementation of the Scheme at the border. The security agencies in this group are: Nigeria Customs Service, Nigeria Immigration Service and the Department of State Security. The non-core ETLS agencies include: Standard Organisation of Nigeria, Port Health Services, National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control. Respondents opinion on the efficiency of core ETLS agencies in curtailing security implications of the Scheme is divisive. However, this study posits that efficiency of border security agencies in managing the threats posed by the ETLS is not optimal and does not fit into global best practices in Coordinated Border Management.

Abuse of the ETLS through product concealment and tampering, criminal collaboration and partnership between smugglers and some residents of border communities, emergence of criminal gangs at the border communities, poor automation and low availability of

technological equipment and non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic specifically on ETLS are challenges faced by border security agencies in addressing the security implications of the ETLS. Some criminally minded importers often import arms and other contraband products which they ship to the port of neighbouring countries particularly Benin Republic. At the port, such shipments which are originally designated for Nigeria are opened up and the contents are disguised or tampered with in order to make it look like ETLS commodity. If such trucks are able to escape discovery at the border, their content is sold in Nigerian market. If they are arms, it is sold to criminals who use it to perpetuate insecurity in the country.

A major challenge faced by border security agencies in the quest to curtail security implications of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko is poor automation and low use of technology. The Nigeria Customs Service still conduct searches manually. Apart from the difficulty officials have in accessing some areas inside a truck, there is also the challenge of officers in uniforms getting exhausted and tired due to strenuous labour. The issue of manpower to search hundreds of haulage trucks is a challenge. The use of technology will definitely eliminate these challenges because scanner machines tend to give more accurate results and can also work faster. The Nigeria Customs Service has such scanner equipment in Seme border. However, the two scanners are obsolete and non-functional. It is however heart-warming to report that the Federal Government has signed agreement with a company to provide border security technologies for the Nigeria Customs Service and the Nigeria Immigration Service.

Licensed Customs Agents and importers/exporters are also faced with challenges at Seme and Idiroko borders as they seek to utilise the ETLS. The prominent challenges faced by these category of stakeholders include: existence of multiple checkpoints along the corridors which results in undue delays and demand for bribe by security agencies from ETLS truck drivers. During the field trip, the researcher counted 22 security checkpoints on either side of the road between Badagry and Seme which is a distance of 18km. Also, persistence of illicit payments at the border and along the corridors is another challenge. ETLS are supposed to be duty-free at the borders, however, security agencies often request for

“unknown documents” from drivers and importers all in a quest to demand for illicit payment.

5.3 Recommendations

Studies on cross border related security issues have posited that a review of the implementation of various ECOWAS protocols including the ETLS is imperative. Chilwa and Chilwa (2020) argued and recommended that to guarantee sustainable national security, an overhaul of the nation’s security architecture is needful. This study, however, revealed that the issues are beyond overhauling the nation’s security apparatus as this alone cannot facilitate and strengthen Nigeria’s national security. Consequently, it is recommended that air and land based technologies including drones, aerial surveillance cameras, scanners, amongst others be provided for security agencies at Seme and Idiroko borders. This will aid their efficiency addressing security issues such as arms smuggling and proliferation, reduce the inflow of sub-standard goods into the country, unveil cases of concealment and product tampering as well as enhance the capacity of border security agencies.

A key factor necessary for effective border security is collaboration and partnership between agencies. Issues of conflict emanating from inter-agency frictions have been ascribed to overlapping functions. Inter-agency rivalry has resulted in border security agencies working at cross purposes thereby providing room for sabotage. Efforts at mitigating conflicts and overlapping functions among border security management agencies have however not been sorted out. The overall effect is poor security intelligence sharing. The study, therefore, recommends constant interaction between heads of border security agencies to facilitate mutual understanding, cooperation and synergy.

For enhanced border security and mitigation of the use of ETLS as mechanism for illegality and criminally related activities, there should be increased awareness on the relevance of national security in social and economic development of the country. Public awareness creation to fire the spirit of patriotism on ETLS operators at Seme and Idiroko borders. For example, critical stakeholders like border communities, the manufacturers, importers,

haulage /truck owners, among others should be sensitized to understand the nexus between the abuse of ETLS and implications on national security. Thus, the study recommends increased awareness and sensitization in border communities about the ETLS. Also, manufacturers and others involved in cross border trade in Nigeria needs to be sensitized on the security implications of abusing the ETLS.

The role of security agencies with regards to border management is distinctly defined in the Nigerian constitution. They act as gate keepers across the various entry and exit points in the country. Many of the borderlands in Nigeria do not have adequate infrastructure, security agencies function in very unfriendly work environment. The situation is worsened by poor remuneration which dampen morale. Indeed, the welfare of border security agencies have been neglected over the years. This situation has reduced job satisfaction and contributes to the demand for illegal fees/payments at the borders. To halt this trend, it is therefore recommended that the welfare of border security agencies should be improved. These includes comfortable work environment/offices, payment of allowances, increase in salaries and other emoluments.

Non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic has resulted in the absence of operational manual on Joint Border Post between the two countries. Hence, border management officials would not be well guided on rules of engagement. This situation has resulted in border security agencies of the two countries working at cross purpose. This has resulted in the abuse of the ETLS in Benin Republic as alleged by border security agencies in Nigeria. The abuse of ETLS has often being one of the reasons for occasional closure of Nigeria and Benin Republic borders by Nigeria. Incidentally, Nigeria and Benin Republic share border both at Seme in Lagos state and Idiroko in Ogun state where this study was conducted. Indeed, both countries operate diametrically opposed ETLS policy actions. Therefore, the study recommends a renewed specific bilateral synergy between Nigeria and Benin Republic to reduce the abuse of ETLS in Benin Republic.

5.4 Conclusion

The ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) was established for trade facilitation and economic development across the West African sub-region. The implementation of the Scheme has impacted on the economy and national security of member countries. Increased cases of cross border criminality, insurgency and terrorism coupled with internal insecurity challenges facing member countries have called to question the security implications of the ETLS on national security of member countries. Therefore, this study examined the security implications of the ETLS for cross border trade and border management in Nigeria using Seme and Idi-iroko borders between Nigeria and Benin Republic as case study.

This study has shown that the ETLS has impacts on cross border trade in Nigeria. The impacts of the ETLS for cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko, Southwest, Nigeria included: job creation and entrenchment of barriers for the protection of indigenous manufacturers and products, enabling ease of cross border movement for locally manufactured products, promotion of Nigerian-made products in ECOWAS member countries and facilitation of global competitiveness for Nigerian products. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons, human trafficking, undocumented migration resulting in insurgency, terrorism and banditry constituted the security implications of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria. The efficiency of border security agencies in managing the threats posed by the ETLS is not optimal and does not fit into global best practices in Coordinated Border Management. Abuse of the ETLS through product concealment and tampering, criminal collaboration and partnership between smugglers and some residents of border communities, poor automation and low availability of technological equipment and non-existence of bilateral agreement between Nigeria and Benin Republic on border management are challenges impeding border security agencies in addressing the security implications of the ETLS.

The immeasurable contribution of the ETLS to intra-regional trade is well acknowledged. And this has been both positive and negatives. But how and to which extent the Scheme, as an ECOWAS commercial instrument / protocol, has been highly correlated with the growth of internal insecurity in Nigeria is the focus of this study. The more that ETLS is illusory, the more border security is undermined. The result of the analysis of how ETLS has contributed to fostering high level of domestic insecurity through cross-border trade and cross-border management in Nigeria should assist the ECOWAS Commission to redesign, if need be, and policy review in its overall monitoring and evaluation of the Scheme.

5.5 Contribution to Knowledge

This study has made key contributions in academic conversation on ETLS and cross-border security. In the first instance, dominant discourse often neglects the ETLS in issues of national security in Nigeria. In contrast, this study argues that ETLS has implications for Nigeria's national security. The study has reaffirmed the need for ECOWAS to review the ETLS Protocol with a view to synchronising it with contemporary cross-border security challenges in member countries. Thus, the study admonishes ECOWAS to rejig the ETLS implementation strategy in line with cross border security challenges peculiar to member states.

Collaboration and synergy are critical elements in border security management. Hence, the study posits that while inter-agency collaboration is necessary, incorporating residents of border communities into border security management within the context of ETLS is important. This is a reverse of the dominant narrative that has only argued in favour of inter-agency collaboration between and among border security agencies.

Finally, the study posits that the more ETLS is seen as illusory, the more border security is undermined, and the more our nation's security is compromised.

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APPENDIX 1
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN, IBADAN, NIGERIA

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Dear Respondent:

This interview is for academic research on “*Security Implications of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme For Cross Border Trade in Seme and Idiroko Borders, Southwest, Nigeria*” Please your honest responses to all the questions will provide useful information for this research. The information provided will be used for **ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY**.

Thank you.

- 1. What are the impacts of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS) for cross border trade in Nigeria?**
 - a. Is the ETLS being implemented at Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest Nigeria?
 - b. Has the ETLS impacted on cross border trade in Nigeria? If yes, briefly mention and explain these impacts?
 - c. Has these impacts justified Nigeria’s implementation of the Scheme?
- 2. What are the security implications of the ETLS for Nigeria’s cross border trade in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria?**
 - a. Has the implementation of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders impacted on security in Nigeria? If yes, please mention these impacts?
 - b. Could it be said that the ETLS has security implications for Nigeria’s cross border trade? If yes, kindly mention these security implications?
 - c. Briefly discuss the identified implications?
 - d. How does these identified implications impact on Nigeria’s national security?
- 3. How efficient are border security management agencies in curtailing the security implications of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria?**
 - a. Does border security agencies have the capacity to implement the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders?

- b. Are border security agencies efficient in identifying and managing the security implications of the ETLS? Please provide reasons for your answer?
- c. Are there examples showing efficiency of border security agencies in managing the security implications of the ETLS? If yes, please discuss such examples.
- 4. What are the challenges faced by border security management agencies in addressing the threats posed by the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, South-west, Nigeria?**
 - a. Briefly identify and discuss the challenges facing security agencies in the implementation of the ETLS in Seme and Idiroko borders, Southwest, Nigeria?
 - b. Briefly suggest how these challenges can be addressed for effective border management in Nigeria?

Thank you

APPENDIX 2

List of Interview respondents

Name	Designation	Organisation	Location of interview	Date
C.D Wada	Comptroller	Nigeria Customs Service	Seme Border	January, 29, 2020
Poju, C.A (Mrs)	Assistant Comptroller	Nigeria Customs Service	Seme Border	January, 29, 2020
J.O Ajisafe,	Comptroller	Nigeria Immigration Service	Seme Border	January 28, 2020
B.S Yusuf	Public Relations Officer	Nigeria Immigration Service	Seme Border	January 28, 2020
Kola Olomoda	Director	Department of State Security	Seme border	January, 30,2020
Saidu, U.Z	Officer	Nigeria Customs Service	Idi-iroko	February 6th, 2020
Abdulazeez, N.D.	Officer	Nigeria Customs Service	Idi-iroko	February 6th, 2020
M.M Zannah.	Officer	Nigeria Immigration Service	Idi-Iroko	February 7, 2020
Imaboyong, S. V.	Officer	Nigeria Immigration Service	Idi-Iroko	February 8, 2020
O. G. James	Official	Port Health Services	Seme	January, 30, 2020
Dare Akinnola	Head	Department of State Security	Idi-iroko	8 th ,February, 2020

Afuye Joseph	Principal Environmental Health Officer	Port Health Services	Idi-iroko	February 7, 2020)
Ogunruso, Emmanuel Olatunde	MD/CEO Danstar Freights Ltd	Licensed Custom Agents Nigeria	Seme	January 30, 2020
Ayo John Akinware	Standard Organisation of Nigeria	Official	Seme	January 28, 2020
Nura Audu	Standard Organisation of Nigeria	Official	Idiroko	February 8, 2020
Dare Alade	NAFDAC	Port Inspector	Idi-iroko	February 8 th , 2020
Haleemat K.	NAFDAC	Officer	Abuja	March 6 th , 2020
Isah Adejoh	Assistant Commissioner of Police(O/C MOPOL)	Cross Border Patrol Unit, Nigeria Police Force	Abuja	February 26, 2020
Maria Conte	ETLS desk office	ECOWAS Commission	Abuja	5 th , March, 2020
Aissata Yameogo Koffi	ETLS desk office	ECOWAS Commission	Abuja	5 th , March, 2020
Muyiwa Aiyedun,	Official	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Office)	Abuja	3 rd , March, 2020
Tajudeen Epo Abdulkadir	Assistant Director	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Abuja	March, 3 rd 2020

		(ECOWAS National Office)		
Oyedele Olatunji Sheriff	Official	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ECOWAS National Office)	Abuja	March 5th, 2020
Barr. Ben Ukaoha	National President	National Association of Nigerian Traders and Member: ECOWAS Task Force on ETLs	Abuja	March 3 rd , 2020
Confidential	Official	Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment	Abuja	March 6, 2020
Confidential	Official	Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment	Abuja	March 6, 2020
Chief Adewusi	Community leader	Seme Community	Seme	January 30, 2020
Alhaji Tajudeen Olanusi	Community leader	Seme Community	Seme	January 30, 2020
Chief Michael Olorunsogo	Community leader	Idiroko Community	Idiroko	February 8 2020
Alhaji Mukaila Aiyetoro	Community leader	Idiroko Community	Idiroko	February 8 2020

APPENDIX 3



Researcher during an interview session with J.O Ajisafe (Comptroller, NIS, Seme Command) and Yusuf, B.F (PRO)



Researcher with NCS officials at Seme border after an interview session. C.D Wada (Comptroller – centre) Fadehunsi, R.A; Poju, C.A (Mrs), Hammawa, M. Y (Chief Superintendent (ETLS Desk Officer)



Researcher with Saidu, U.Z (ETLS officer at Idi-iroko border command) after an interview session



Researcher in an interview session with Ogunruso, Emmanuel Olatunde (A Licensed Custom Agents)



Researcher with Hammawa, M. Y (ETLS Desk Officer) during a tour of NCS facilities at Seme border



Researcher in an interview session with Kola Olomola (Head, Department of State Security, Seme Border Command)



Researcher at Idi-iroko border after an interview session with NCS PRO, Idi-iroko command



Researcher with Afuye Joseph (Principal Environmental Health Officer) PHS, Idi-iroko border



Researcher in an interview session with centre - Tajudeen Epo Abdulkadir (Assistant Director, ECOWAS National Office, MFA), right - Oyedele Olatunji Sheriff (ECOWAS National Office, MFA), left - Muyiwa Aiyedun (ECOWAS National Office, MFA)



Researcher during an interview session with Barr. Ken Ukoha – National President- National Association of Nigerian Traders and Member: ECOWAS Task Force on ETLs

APPENDIX 4

ROUTES THROUGH WHICH CONTRABAND GOODS ARE SMUGGLED INTO AND OUT OF NIGERIA

S/no	Routes of smuggling	Items smuggled into Nigeria	Items smuggled out of Nigeria	Border/State
1	Seme	Arms and ammunitions, used vehicles and parts, rice, textile and frozen food (turkey, chicken and fish).	Petroleum products	Nigeria-Benin (Lagos)
2.	Idiroko border	Rice, apple, frozen foods, second hand cloths, textile materials, used tyres, vehicles, vegetable oil, spirit, flours, arms and ammunitions	Petroleum products	Nigeria-Benin (Ogun)
3.	Ilela	Wheat, flour, sugar, confectionaries, spaghetti/noodles, used vehicles, textiles, foot wears etc.	Milletts, maize, petroleum products, fresh fruits, cement	Nigeria-Niger (Sokoto)
4.	Jibia	Rice, palm oil, spaghetti, macaroni, used vehicles and tyres	Cement, petroleum products, woods and furniture, groundnut oil, beans, yam, sugar, corn.	Nigeria-Niger (Kastina)
5.	Mfum	The presence of the military at the BakassiPennisula has temporary led to diversion of smuggling from this area.		Nigeria-Cameroon border (Cross river)
6.	Belesahoda		Petroleum product	Nigeria Camer- oon border (Adamawa)

7.	Gamboru-Ngala	Arms and ammunitions, rice, textile, beverages, used vehicles.	Petroleum product, grains, drugs/Indian hemp.	Nigeria–Niger (Borno)
8.	Coastal area	Textiles, arms and ammunitions and human trafficking	With the withdrawal of subsidies in petroleum products, land smuggling in this product has reduced. However, it is still lucrative through the creeks to other African countries.	Linking up Cote-d’ivoire, Benin, Equatorial, Guinea, and Central Africa.

Source: *Human Rights Watch (2003).*