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Nigeria's role in the economic community of West African states towards sustenance of sub-regional security and economic development

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Abstract

It will not be out of place to state that the concept of ECOWAS could rightly be associated with the evolution of the Nigerian state since her political independence in 1960. The spirit of pan-Africanism that was initiated by pioneer frontline African nationalists such as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Kwame Nkruma, Sir Dauda Jawara, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nwalimo Nyerere, etc.; created an indelible print in the minds of post-independence Nigerian leaders who initiated and bankrolled the ECOWAS project. However, for over forty three years of the formation of the regional West African economic organization, there is nothing much to show in terms of economic reward/benefit coming Nigeria's way from its engagement with ECOWAS. It is this lack of strategic and beneficial economic relations by successive Nigerian governments that; informed the motivation for the study. The study is a qualitative one where data was generated through the scrutiny of textbooks, journals, internet materials, newspapers and magazines. The data generated was, analyzed through descriptive method and inference. Relevant concepts such as foreign policy and economic relations as well as theories of hegemony, global political economy and interdependence were defined, clarified, adopted and utilized as framework for the study. At the end of the study, recommendations were made. Principal among which is the need for Nigerian political leaderships to pragmatically apply hegemonic and interdependence theories for the country to reap greater economic benefits from its economic relations with ECOWAS member countries.

Keywords: Foreign policy, economic relations, hegemony, interdependence, benefits, rewards

Introduction

It will not be out of place to state that the concept of ECOWAS could rightly be associated with the evolution of the Nigerian state since her political independence in 1960. The spirit of pan-Africanism that was initiated by pioneer frontline African nationalists such as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Kwame Nkruma, Sir Dauda Jawara, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nwalimo Nyerere, etc.; created an indelible print in the minds of post-independence Nigerian leaders who initiated and bankrolled the ECOWAS project. However, for over forty-four years of the formation of the regional West African economic organization, there is nothing much to show in terms of economic reward/benefit coming Nigeria's way from its engagement with ECOWAS. It is this non- strategic and non-beneficial economic relations by successive Nigerian governments that serve as motivation for the study. The study is a qualitative one where data was generated through the scrutiny of textbooks, journals, internet materials, newspapers and magazines. The data generated was analyzed through descriptive method and inference. Relevant concepts such as foreign policy and economic relations as well as theories of hegemony, global political economy and interdependence were - defined, clarified, adopted and utilized as frameworks for the study. At the end of the study, recommendations were made. Principal among which is the need for Nigerian political leaderships to pragmatically apply hegemonic and interdependence theories for the country to reap greater economic benefits from its economic relations with ECOWAS member countries.

The role of Nigeria in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) through its Foreign Policy vis-à-vis economic relations for sustenance of regional security and

economic development is treated on three fronts: political, security and economic. The analysis of the spearheading role of Nigeria in the conception, formation, building and sustenance of the West African Sub-Regional Economic Organization is structured according to how Nigeria's foreign policy managers have utilized the necessary foreign policy instruments (security and economic diplomacy) for the maintenance of sustainable sub-regional security. For a stable political and socio-economic sub-regional environment is a panacea for greater economic rewards for the country and general development of the sub-region. In spite of the fact that Nigeria for over forty-four years has almost bankrolled the initiation and sustenance (survival) of the ECOWAS, this has not translated into any positive economic rewards/benefits for the country and its citizens; nor greater peace for the sub-region. Apart from merchandize trading; no Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has been attracted from foreign investors in member countries for growing the country's industrialization/manufacturing in the Fourth Republic. Furthermore, sub-regional security has remained problematic in spite of Nigeria's massive investment in the ECOMIL project. It is because of this non-strategic and non-beneficial foreign policy and economic relations with ECOWAS member countries; as well as protracted palpable peace in the ECOWAS sub-region that informed the motivation for the study. The assessment will be confined to the period of the Fourth Republic (1999-2019) which is the scope of the study. Even though Nigeria's economic relations with the ECOWAS member countries is the most central focus of its foreign policy through its security and economic diplomacy, the study will not be skewed, as there is the need under the hegemony theory to treat each of the foreign policy instrument in conjunction with the other. Anything to the contrary will automatically point to a weak or even incomplete analysis.

In spite of the huge potential of the entire West African sub-region as a huge market for Nigerian goods and products, successive Nigerian administrations have failed utilized the security dimension for furthering its economic interest. Though successive administrations of the Fourth Republic have utilized the country's foreign policy for the attainment of certain levels of sub-regional security for the attraction of foreign capital from the sub-region in terms of trade and export of petroleum oil, it has failed to redirect huge chunk of attracted FDI from other countries to grow the industrial and manufacturing sectors. The pragmatic implantation of industrial and manufacturing policy on a sustainable basis will increase the production processes in member countries of ECOWAS. This sweep-off teeming unemployed youths from the streets of West African cities where they will be actively engaged in these industries and manufacturing outfits. This will stabilize the national security equilibrium of member countries and of the wider sub-regional security equilibrium. In addition, the sale of locally manufactured goods to the large market of the entire West African region would have served as expanded source of foreign revenue to the Nigeria and other ECOWAS member states. It is this manifest underperformance and failure of Nigeria's foreign policy to redirect the attracted foreign revenues in growing the manufacturing sub-sector and of stabilizing the national/sub-regional security equilibrium; that informs the motivation for the study.

Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

Concepts and theories such as foreign policy, national security, economic relations, hegemony theory and Global Political Economy Theory (International Political Economy Theory) have been outlined, defined and clarified below:

Foreign Policy

Frankel (1978) ^[44] refers to foreign policy as a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and support, as well as the changing external circumstances. His view has the highest likelihood of engendering the good conduct of external relations more especially under an administration operating good governance where the demands of the domestic elements have not only been met by those who governed; but their inputs incorporated into the country's foreign policy. Under this condition the foreign policy outputs will be, supported by the citizens.

Toeing the line of Frankel above, Holsti (1992) ^[5] views foreign policy as the action of a state towards the external environment, which is, determined by the dynamics of the domestic environment under which these policies are formulated. That foreign policy is the articulated action of states in their relations with other states. To add to his position, a well-planned foreign policy takes its root from the domestic environment by taking into consideration the realities of events in the local scene such as the dynamics of governance. Miller (1969) ^[46] dwells on the strands of foreign policy where he posited that the most important aspects of it are still those contained in the daily diplomatic contacts and the sense of goodwill or apathy expressed towards other governments publicly or privately, as the comparative attitude taken towards political or security issues. He goes on to add that, trade, economic and cultural matters need to be, taken into account when writing on foreign policy. His view implies the pursuit of an interdependent strategic foreign policy by state actors in their relations with each other.

Lerche and Abdulaziz (1979) ^[47] in their conceptualization of foreign policy, views it as the general principles that guide a state in its interaction with other actors in the international environment. Their views though useful, fail to highlight the condition(s) under which these principles are, made which is a function of the leadership style (i.e. qualities of leaders) as well as the motive for such principles towards the conduct of external relations. The benefit of external relations should be such that it will promote and protect the national interest outside its geographical boundaries. Agreed that these interests may be the economic wellbeing of the state, its defense or the promotion of basic national values.

National Security

National security can be seen as the security provided by national helmsmen for the personal safety of their citizens and of the overall protection of national interests. It is seen as an entirely sovereign pre-occupation. Whereas, a critical security theorist Booth (2005) argue that states can be providers of security, as well as serving as sources of threat to their own people. In line with his views, therefore, more attention should be focused on the individual rather than the state. With this as his main standpoint, he further argue that security can best be assured through human emancipation defined in terms of freeing people as individuals and groups,

from the social, physical, economic and political problems as well as other constraints that will hinder them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do. Corruption can serve as a major hindrance to this emancipation, and a huge impediment to national security and development.

Economic Relations

Economic relations has been broadly defined by Olusanya and Akindele (1986)^[35] as a critically important component, the heart and cobweb of a country's international pre-occupation, engagement and foreign policy transactions; where the guaranteeing of the economic wellbeing of a nation's citizens is the ultimate or hallmark of a successful public policy. They went on to add that, it is for this reason that great attention is usually being paid to external economic relations by government of most countries. Their views seem to bring clarity to the fact that economic relations is increasingly becoming the arrowhead of a nation's foreign policy; more especially in a mutually interdependent globalized world. Saleh (2018)^[40] on his part defines economic relations as the deliberate utilization of domestic policies that will make the domestic environment clean enough for the pursuit of all economic interests (trade, investment, foreign goodwill, remittances, exports, etc.) of a given country across its borders. A very stable domestic environment (socially, political and economically) can serve as a strong base for the conduct of reward yielding economic relations.

Hegemony Theory

Hegemony refers to that form of behaviour associated with the use of capabilities by nation states to create, construct or sustain structures of cooperation and influence whose goal could result in the emergence of public good defined in terms of shared common values, such as economic, security or the sustenance of cultural traditions. The pursuit of the ideals of hegemony could at times be accompanied by predatory side effects such as the plunder of the resources of other states (Calleo, 1987)^[8]. Gramsci in James Joll (1977)^[48] espouses two ways to hegemony: one based on persuasion or consensus building and another based on the use of force (which represents point of interjection between hegemony and the realist theory).

The bottom-line of hegemony theory is that; the hegemonic nation and its people imbued with sense of mission to bequeath to the world or in their area (sphere) of influence, a legacy that echoed the rhyme of their own notions of themselves in relation to others. It as well reflects the extent to which the resources at their disposal allowed the accomplishment of those tasks. The springboard for the nurturing of this disposition could well be psychological which constructs images in the psyche of an individual, groups or even nation states bordering on the debunked concept of 'big-man chauvinism' in the distribution of power based mainly on class and economic status (Mazrui, 1995)^[23].

Nevertheless, the propensity for the occurrence of hegemony, especially with regard to the construction of international structures of cooperation has been associated with nation states, which for over four hundred years has persisted as a context within which capabilities could be legitimately and easily mobilized to support foreign policy behaviour based on those sentiments.

Assessment of Nigeria's Engagement with the Ecowas

As stated earlier under the introductory section of the study, Nigeria's role in ECOWAS since inception has been on the cost side, which is a negation of the interdependence theory. Even though the weight of the study is tilted more on the economic aspect of the country's engagement with the trans-national/regional economic body, yet it cannot be taken in isolation of others such as political and security. The simultaneous treatment and understanding of the others will situate the economic analysis in a proper (better) perspective.

The Political Dimension of Nigeria's Role in ECOWAS

The dimension of Nigeria's role at the formative stages of ECOWAS was largely political which employed the active utilization of diplomacy in its foreign policy and external relations in this regard. Diplomacy with strong economic undertone in this regard implies the bilateral and multilateral pursuance of Nigeria's foreign policy that had been incidental to the formation of ECOWAS.

The leadership role Nigeria played in multilateral diplomacy on behalf of West African countries during the first Lome Convention in determining the nature and terms of the EEC-ACP cooperation was incidental to the formation of ECOWAS because it boosted the country's confidence in its abilities to provide leadership for cooperation among African countries and the West African sub-region in particular. This leading role in the EEC-ACP terms such as – trade liberalization, industrial cooperation, financial and technical assistance is not only prominent but also commendable. After the formation of ECOWAS in 1975, Nigeria's General Gowon undertook tour of all West African countries except Cote d'Ivoire where he persuaded even the most reluctant of the Heads of State like Senghor of Senegal who eventually succumbed to the Nigerian diplomatic pressure (Gowon, 1984; Adedeji, 2001; Akinterinwa, 2005; Adebajo, & Mustapha, 2008)^[49, 2, 5, 1].

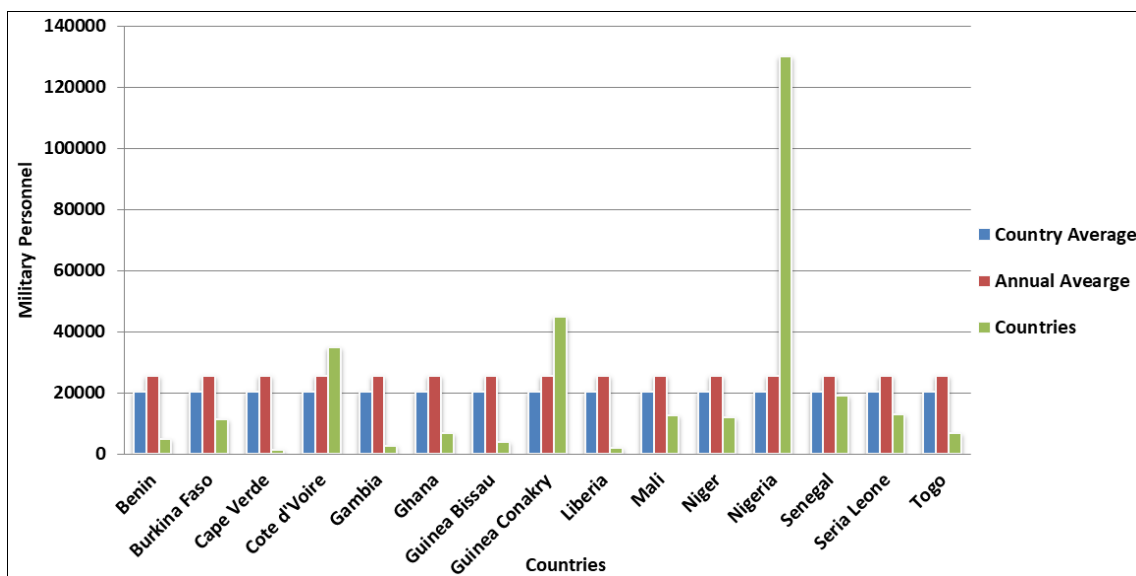
It is not in doubt that the status of Nigeria among ECOWAS member states has been bolstered as the result of its political maneuver towards the creation and consolidation of ECOWAS as a sub-regional economic organization. However, Nigeria has failed to take advantage of this to utilize its hegemonic role in this regard towards creating unlimited public space for Nigerian entrepreneurs to monopolize the vast markets of member states. Nigeria has also failed to fall back on the manufacture of unique local products and goods with competitive comparative advantage in international market; for sales in the open markets of ECOWAS member states and by extension, the African continent as a whole.

Security Dimension of Nigeria's Role in ECOWAS

Emerging security challenges in the West African sub-region in the 1980s, 1990s and the 2000s; such as the rise of warlords, ethnic militias, conflict merchants and heightened criminal activities; forced the Community to set up the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG [now ECOMIL]). It was set up to serve as a safety valve to diffuse tensions and prevents collapsing State structures of Liberia and Sierra Leone from degenerating into complete failed States. Nigeria's feat in spearheading the formation of ECOMOG (ECOMIL) and her sole financing of same, has won the country international accolade at a cost. It is the belief of Nigerian foreign policy managers and the political

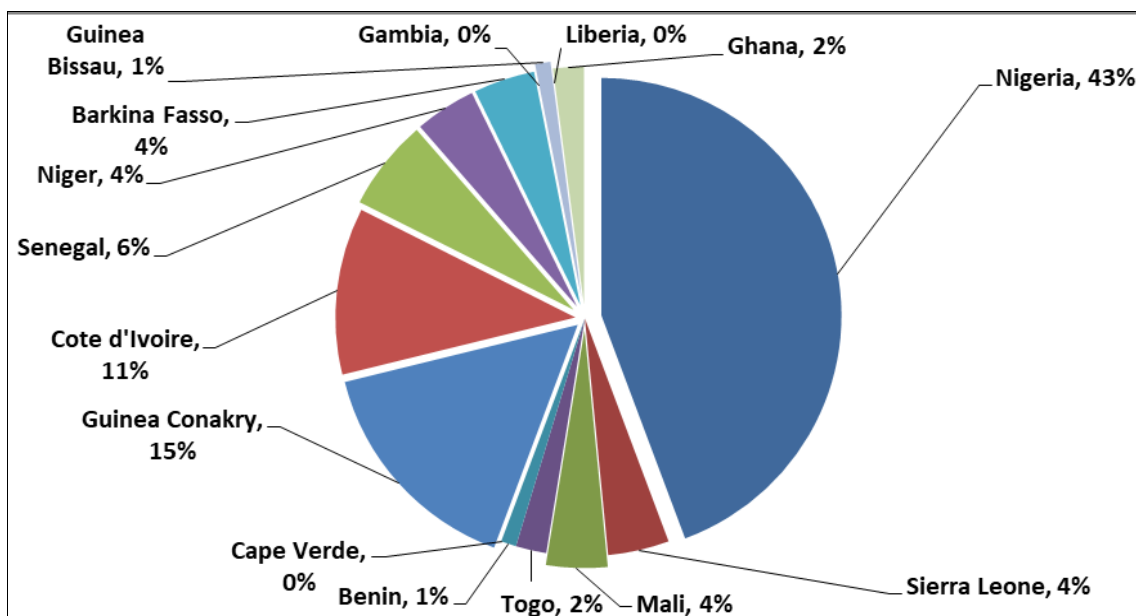
leadership that a well-secured West Africa will ensure political stability in Nigeria’s domestic environment and the entire sub-region; which is a pre-requisite for economic development and integration of the Community. This belief is anchored on the work of Deutsch (1964) ^[10] in who gave the linkage between security and economic integration when he argued that an economic enterprise was successful only if, and when it became a security Community *ab-initio*. Ate (2011) ^[50] in Alli (2012) ^[6] argues that Nigeria must treat this sub-region as a natural base (launch pad) from which to protect its national interests and regional influence. Treading on the same line of argument, Alli further maintains that this perspective has propelled Nigeria to the centre stage of the African Affairs generally and the West African security matters in particular (Alli, 2012) ^[6]. The burden-bearing role of Nigeria in the prosecution of the ECOMOG through the ECOMIL had incurred colossal financial costs and losses of human lives to the country. It was estimated that \$12 billion US-dollars was said to have

been expended by Nigeria over twelve years period of intervention and involvement in the Liberian, Sierra Leone crises, Gambia and other West African Countries (Obasanjo, 2003 in Ogwu & Alli, 2006) ^[51, 52]. Nigeria has also actively participated in resolving conflicts and political crises in ECOWAS Member States such as – Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Cote d’Ivoire, Niger and recently Mali. Nigeria’s effort has manifested in her exceptionally large troop contributions to ECOMOG as follows: Nigeria 130,190 (43%), Guinea Conakry 45,000 (15%), Cote d’Ivoire 35,000 (11%), Senegal 19,000 (6%), Sierra Leone 13,000 (4%), Mali 12,500 (4%), Niger 12,000 (4%), Burkina Faso 11,200 (4%), Ghana 7,000 (2%), Togo 7,000 (2%), Benin 4,750 (1%), Guinea Bissau 4,000 (1%), Gambia 2,500 (0%), Liberia 2,100(0%) and Cape Verde 1,200 (0%); all totaling 306,440. The average contribution by countries is 20,430 and the annual contribution of the thirty-two years is 9,576.25 this is as presented in Figures 1 and 2 below:



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Alli, W. O., 2012 ^[6], NTA, 2022

Fig 1: ECOWAS Member Countries’ Military Personnel Contributions to ECOMOG



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Alli, W. O., 2012 ^[6], NTA, 2022

Fig 2: Percentage of ECOWAS Member Countries’ Military Personnel Contributions to ECOMOG

From the statistics and the graph in Figures 1 and 2 above, Nigeria's military personnel contributions of 130,190 (43%) to the ECOMOG out of the Community's total troops of 306,440 is more than one-third but almost one-half of the whole contingent. Nigeria's contribution as depicted by the two graphs, have dwarfed those of the remaining fourteen member countries. This again is another manifestation of the leadership role of Nigeria towards the attainment of a sustainable security within the ECOWAS bloc at colossal costs. The percentage contributions of the remaining fourteen member countries are as follows: Sierra Leone 4%, Mali 4%, Togo 2%, Benin 1%, Cape Verde 0%, Guinea Conakry 15%, Cote d'Ivoire 11%, Senegal 6%, Niger 4%, Burkina Faso 4%, Gambia 0%, Guinea Bissau 1%, Liberia 0% and Ghana 2%.

However, even though there is no FDI coming from ECOWAS member states, the country's economic relations should follow closely at the heels of this security dimension. It should be hinged on the hegemony theory, more especially when the attracted FDI from other foreign countries would have been directed at the local manufacture of unique finished goods for exports in which the country has comparative competitive advantage in the international market. After which, Nigerian 'businessmen' (businesspersons) and Nigerian goods should have unparallel markets in the sub-region for more foreign revenue. This is a 'must do' posture for Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations in tandem with the interdependence theory.

The Economic Dimension of Nigeria's Role in Ecowas

As a follow-up to the political dimension discussed above, Nigeria also largely employed the second dimension, which is economic instrument of foreign policy towards the formation, strengthening and the sustenance of ECOWAS. This economic relation included; a number of foreign policy behaviours such as the outright granting of financial assistance by Nigeria to the Sahelian States during drought of the early 1970s and subsequent natural disasters and calamities in the West African sub-region as a whole. Aluko (1981) [7] on his part stated that the deliberate employment of foreign policy instrument of economic "Spray" or "Carrot" diplomacy by Nigeria in its sub-regional relations became more apparent with the increasing providential oil wealth, which gave rise to foreign policy of benevolence or even benign posture towards indigent African countries in general. Okolo and Wright (1990) [33] agreed with the above spending spree posture of Nigeria at the formative stage of ECOWAS when they stated that it indicated a number of what can be termed Nigeria's "Spray" or "Carrot" diplomacy towards its poorer West African neighbours even in terms of meeting their domestic needs under normal condition. This foreign policy posture has been sustained up to date (2023) where Nigeria is known to respond to all distress calls from all over West Africa by dishing out grants, aids and assistance in kind or cash to them as the occasion demands.

To further, build confidence in member States, concrete structures and institutions were not only set up but also largely financed by Nigeria. All these were foreign policy strategies to win loyalty and cooperation of member States that were hitherto reluctant or uninterested in the ECOWAS project. These institutions include; the ECOWAS Secretariat Headquarters initially located in Lagos but now in Abuja,

Nigeria; the ECOWAS Fund for Compensation, Cooperation and Development (EFCCD) located in Lome Togo; and the ECOWAS Central Bank located in Dakar Senegal. Others are the ECOWAS trade liberalization scheme; private non-governmental ECOWAS based enterprises like the EcoBank and the operation of a number of Protocols such as the "Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods" across the West African sub-region otherwise called "Visa-less borders".

The employment of all the above, in conjunction with the evolution of the ad-hoc Nigerian-led sub-regional security management mechanism of the ECOWAS – Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) constitute the hallmark of Nigeria's external relations. It also point to the extent to which the country's foreign policy of "social hegemony" implemented through benevolent and benign postures can engender the development and sustenance of enduring structures and framework for close cooperation and more mutual relations among member States and in the broader context of the African continent.

Trade Liberalization Scheme of ECOWAS

Agreement on the Trade Liberalization Scheme of ECOWAS was reached in May, 1980 during the Third Summit of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Community. This apex decision-making body of ECOWAS agreed on the first phase of the Scheme, which was largely dedicated to industrial products emanating from member States with the purpose of facilitating the emergence of a common market among member States.

The burden-bearing role of Nigeria along three other member States like Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal has resurfaced here where they take the largest share of the Scheme's reduction in customs duties on industrial products across the ECOWAS States. The four big ECOWAS (B4E) countries would have their Customs duties reduced by 16.6% for each year, whereby Tariffs was to be eliminated within six years. In spite of its dominance of the entire West African market by 60%, there has been no corresponding fortune for Nigerian citizens because of the benign and benevolent nature of Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations in the West African sub-region. This has attracted reservations from scholars among which is Muhammad-Bande (2015) [26] who lamented that Nigeria's role in the formation of ECOWAS has not been informed by a motive of short term (or even long term) economic benefit to its national interest defined in terms of foreign policy being a reflections of domestic structure. Good as Muhammad's lamentation is, he was quick to add that it is not always the economic benefits that serve as the ultimate aim of the domestic structure or even determinant of the country's foreign policy and economic relations. Most often, the domestic structures require peace and security in their backyard so as, to enjoy their providentially endowed natural wealth; but are hugely complacent on expanding external revenue sources through economic relations. This explains why all Nigeria's foreign policy engagements in the West African sub-region are hugely benevolent and benign in orientation (Okolo and Wright, 1990) [33].

Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods

In domesticating the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods within the West African sub-region, Nigeria opened her doors too wide and almost carelessly to

the extent that the country became a favourable destination for all manners of people from all over Africa. This is apparent because there is no special mark for identifying or differentiating ECOWAS citizens from other Africans. The highly de-regulated influx of these foreign migrants into Nigeria in the spirit of integration within the Community had so many implications for the country. Such that within two years of the ratification of the Treaty in May, 1980 the civilian government of Nigeria under President Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari was forced to send away illegal aliens in 1982 which was then tagged “*Ghana Must Go*”. The Nigerian action made the Community to re-examine and amend the provision of Article 27 of the original ‘Protocol’, which initially allowed for free movements without conditions; where it moves for more realistic guidelines. Hence, the amended Paragraph 27 of 1982 reads as follows: Citizens of the Community are citizens of member States fulfilling the conditions to be, defined in the Protocol relating to the citizenship code. And that consequently all member States pledge to eradicate all obstacles to free movements and Residence within the Community. This was backed by the ECOWAS Traveler’s Certificate (Gashiokwu, 1998) ^[12].

In spite of all measures taken to check movements of undesirable elements, contrabands, drug, narcotics, smuggling of illegal arms and weapons into the country, Nigeria’s internal security has continued to be threatened over the years. The rise of Jama’atu Alisuna Lidawatu Wal-

Jihad (Boko Haram) insurgency that ravaged North Eastern and part of North Western regions of Nigeria between 2009 and 2022; is known to be fuelled more by foreign elements. The tracking of criminal elements within the borders of the Community or even the wider African spectrum is increasingly becoming very difficult in spite of the setting up of bilateral and multilateral joint border patrol forces (Oladele, 2016) ^[34].

Under a well-articulated economic relation in tandem with the interdependence theory, Nigeria would have utilized the Foreign Direct Investment so attracted from other foreign countries, to boost her manufacturing sub-sector where she will take advantage of the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons and goods to market her finished products throughout the large markets of the sub-region and beyond. Nigeria’s foreign policy is yet to achieve this.

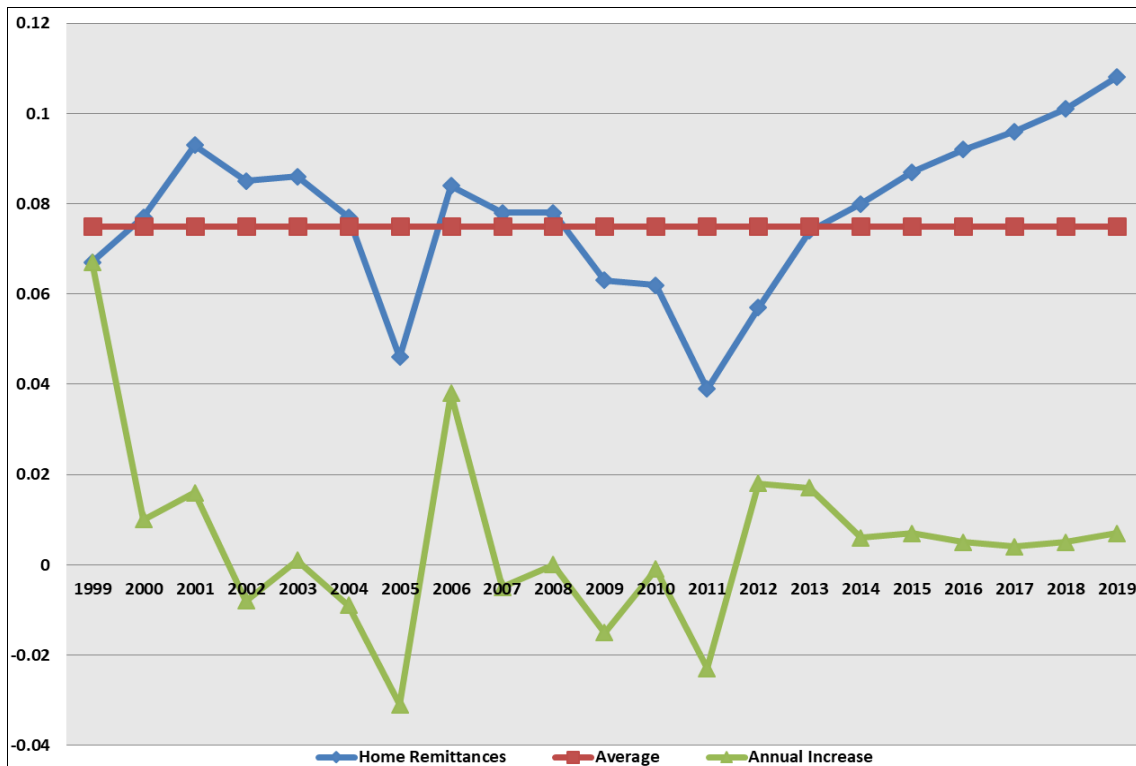
Home Remittances from NIDO in West African Countries (1999-2019)

Even when it appears that there is no tangible economic rewards/benefits coming Nigeria’s way in spite of its huge financial commitments to the ECOWAS project; yet there is a positive and steady inflow of home remittances from Nigerians working in West African countries for the period of the study. A total of \$1.421 billion have been remitted back home (Nigeria) by NIDO from three West African countries between 1999 and 2019. This is as presented in Tables 1 and Figure 3 below:

Table 1: Home Remittances from NIDO in West African Countries (1999-2019)

S. No.	Year	Home Remittances	Average	Annual Increase	Percentage
1.	1999	\$0.067 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.067 billion	4%
2.	2000	\$0.077 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.010 billion	4.7%
3.	2001	\$0.093 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.016 billion	5.7%
4.	2002	\$0.085 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.008 billion	5.2%
5.	2003	\$0.086 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.001 billion	5.3%
6.	2004	\$0.077 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.009 billion	4.7%
7.	2005	\$0.046 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.031 billion	2.8%
8.	2006	\$0.084 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.038 billion	5%
9.	2007	\$0.078 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.005 billion	4.8%
10.	2008	\$0.078 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.000 billion	4.8%
11.	2009	\$0.063 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.015 billion	0%
12.	2010	\$0.062 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.001 billion	0%
13.	2011	\$0.039 billion	\$0.082 billion	-\$0.023 billion	0%
14.	2012	\$0.057 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.018 billion	1.3%
15.	2013	\$0.074 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.017 billion	1.2%
16.	2014	\$0.080 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.006 billion	0.4%
17.	2015	\$0.087 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.007 billion	0.5%
18.	2016	\$0.092 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.005 billion	0.4%
19.	2017	\$0.096 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.004 billion	0.3%
20.	2018	\$0.101 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.005 billion	6%
21.	2019	\$0.108 billion	\$0.082 billion	\$0.007 billion	6%
	Total	\$1.630 billion	\$1.630 billion	\$0.201 billion	100%

Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Migration Policy Institute Reports, 2013, 2017

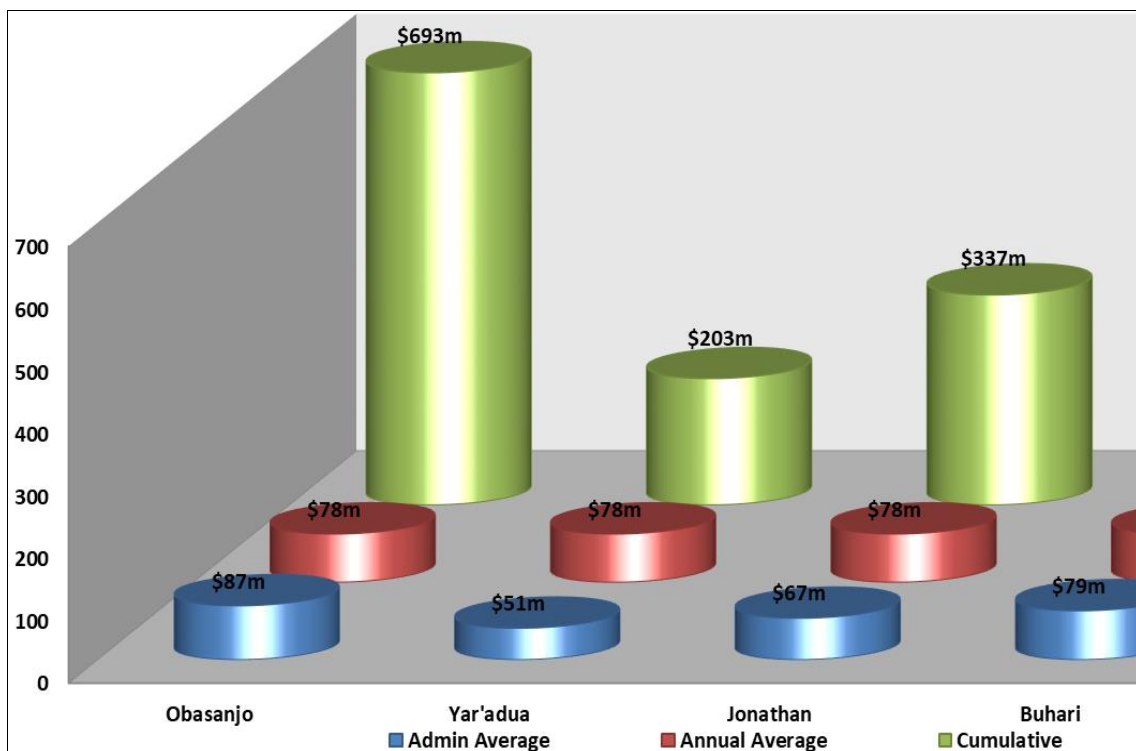


Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Migration Policy Institute Reports, 2013, 2017

Fig 3: Home Remittances from NIDO in West African Countries, 1999-2019

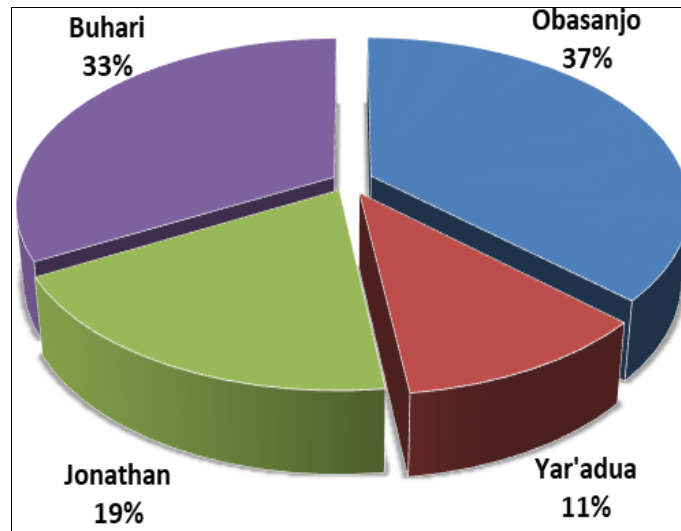
Summary of performances of the four civilian administrations of the Fourth Republic (1999-2019) shows Obasanjo \$693million (42%) with an administration average of \$87 million, Yar’adua \$203million (13%) with administration average of \$51million, Jonathans \$337million

(21%) with administration average of \$67million, and Buhari \$397 million (24%) with administration average of \$79million. All totaling \$1.630bn (100%) with a cumulative annual average of \$78 million. This is as presented in Fig. 4 and 5 below:



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Migration Policy Institute Reports, 2013, 2017

Fig 4: Summary of the performances of the four civilian administrations in terms of home remittances from ECOWAS member countries (\$ Millions)

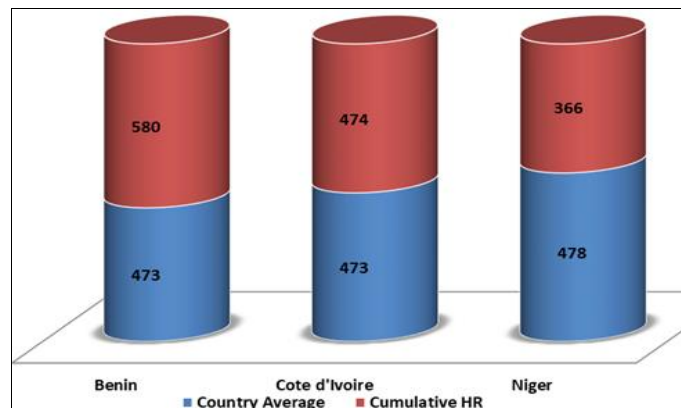


Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Migration Policy Institute Reports, 2013, 2017

Fig 5: Percentage summary of the performances of the four civilian administrations in terms of home remittances from ECOWAS member countries, 1999-2019

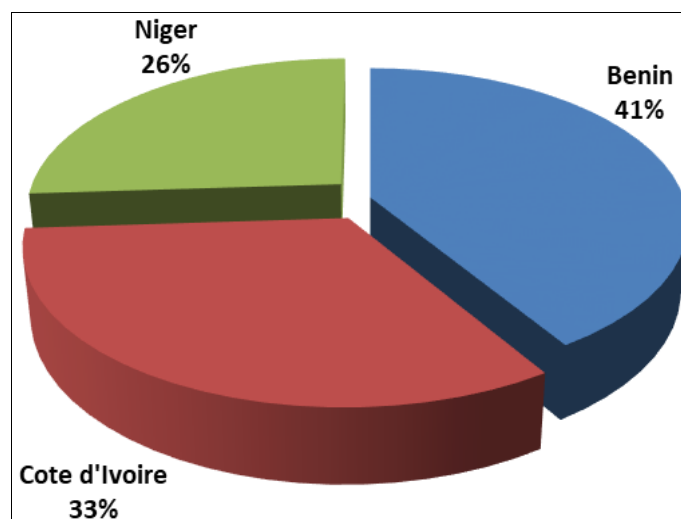
Summary of the performances of the three West African countries where more home remittances were attracted to Nigeria in the Fourth Republic as at 2012 which totaled \$1.420billion shows Benin leading with \$580 million

(41%), Cote d'Ivoire second with \$474 million (33%) and Niger with \$366 million (26%). This is as presented in Fig. 6 & 7 below:



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Migration Policy Institute, 2013

Fig 6: Home Remittances from three West African Countries for 2012 (\$billions)



Source: Generated by the Researcher in 2019 as adapted from Migration Policy Institute, 2013

Fig 7: Percentage of home remittances to Nigeria from three West African countries for 2012

Summary of Findings

From the analysis so far, the following summary of findings have been deciphered:

1. The study has established that the political leadership in the country failed to fashion out deliberate economic policy whereby the hegemonic principle will be pragmatically applied by the country more especially in West African countries (such as Liberia and Sierra Leone) where Nigeria has expended much materials (human & other logistics) as well as financial resources. There is also manifest failure on the part of foreign policy managers to make Nigeria's businessmen to have un-parallel market, business and trading space in these countries for the disposal of her locally manufactured products and goods.
2. That the Nigerian government through her foreign embassies and high commissions in West African countries also failed to encourage investors (more especially FDI) to bring in foreign capital and domesticate their industries and factories for the manufacture of finished goods and products for exports.
3. The study further established that there was lack of appropriate special tax and other fiscal/monetary policies enunciated by the Nigerian government that would have encourage genuine foreign investors (more especially in the area of FDI) from West African countries to come and invest in the industrial and manufacturing sector/sub-sector of the economy.

Conclusion

From the analysis so far, the study has established that Nigeria has undoubtedly pioneered and almost unilaterally bankrolled and executed the ECOMOG/ECOMIL projects in Liberia and Sierra Leone where peace was restored in the two countries. Economic relations also took place between Nigeria and other West African countries more especially in the areas of merchandize trade and export of refined petroleum oil and gas for the period of the study. Statistical data and other qualitative explanations from the study have revealed that there was a steady but remarkable improvement in the area of home remittances from Nigerians domiciled and working in West African countries (with records from Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Gabon). The steady rise in the inflow of these home remittances from Nigerians in the Diaspora (NIDO) generally, is emerging as a very powerful source of foreign revenue to the country. The study has established that there was no appreciable level of the attraction of FDI from West African countries. The attraction and domestication of foreign industries and other manufacturing outfits by foreign investors (FDI) from West African countries in Nigeria's domestic economy is largely lacking.

Recommendations

From the in-depth analysis and the conclusion drawn, the following recommendations are hereby proffered towards making Nigeria's foreign policy and economic relations yield greater economic benefits/rewards for the country in line with the interdependence theory:

1. The political leadership in the country should fashion out deliberate economic policy whereby the hegemonic principle will be pragmatically applied by the country more especially in West African countries (such as Liberia and Sierra Leone) where Nigeria has expended

much materials (human & other logistics) as well as financial resources. Nigeria's businessmen should have un-parallel market, business and trading space in these countries for the disposal of her locally manufactured products and goods.

2. The Nigerian government through her foreign embassies and high commissions in West African countries should encourage investors (more especially FDI) to bring in foreign capital and domesticate their industries and factories for the manufacture of finished goods and products for exports.
3. Special tax and other fiscal/monetary policies should be enunciated by the Nigerian government where genuine foreign investors (more especially in the area of FDI) from West African countries will be encouraged to invest in the industrial and manufacturing sector/sub-sector of the economy. Genuine foreign investors from West African countries should be granted either - tax waivers or even tax exempt.

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