

**GOOD GOVERNANCE AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: AN
ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF THE FOURTH ECOWAS
PARLIAMENT**

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

Aggad and Miyandazi (2017) alluded that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was conceived as a mechanism for promoting regional economic integration and development. This, Aggad and Miyandazi noted is a drive towards a ‘*regional government agenda*’ in response to the problems that confronted the region in the 1990s-ranging from conflicts and violent political transitions. Drawing from this, Bossuyt (2016) opined that enhancing regional integration and cooperation has long been high on the agenda for African countries, regions, and their organizations. In fact, ECOWAS is designed as a driver of good governance regional agenda. This is found expressed in Article 2 (1) of the “*Lagos Treaty*” which puts the Aim of ECOWAS as follows

It shall be the aim of the Community to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.

From the above, it is clear, therefore, that ECOWAS was created primarily to pursue good governance and regional integration agenda in the West African subregion (Bossuyt, 2016; Aggad & Miyandazi, 2017). Explicitly, governance represents how any social unit from an entire society to the smallest association organizes itself to make collective decisions, promote shared interests, or solve common problems (Sambo, Othman & Omar, 2017). The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [UNESCAP] (2007) posited that good governance assures that corruption is minimal, minority and most

vulnerable voices are heard and taken into account during decision making. Thus, it listed the eight (8) characteristics of good governance as; participation, consensus decision making, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusivity, and the rule of law.

On the other hand, Ninalowo (2003) defined regional integration as cooperation that yields socio-economic, political, cultural, scientific, and other benefits, to various aspects of social life across national boundaries. Ninalowo argued that regional integration is intended ultimately to achieve enhanced cooperation across territorial boundaries in ways that would be mutually beneficial to social life. However, the place of the parliament as a legitimizing institution in a Supranational organization as the ECOWAS cannot be overemphasized. The Community Parliament was inaugurated in November 2000 in Bamako, Mali, and has had three past legislatures and it began the fourth one in February 2016. This itself is testamentary to the rise in regional parliamentary bodies in recent times. Therefore, in the pursuit of good governance and regional integration, the strategic place of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Parliament cannot be ignored.

Whereas it can be said that it lacks legislative powers, its advisory role to Heads of State, Government, etc., is worthy of note (Kumahia, 2013; the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Parliament, 2017). Against this backdrop, “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament” (2010) averred that the opinion of the parliament shall be sought in the areas of the interconnection of the communications links between member states for enhanced movement of people and goods, interconnection of energy networks, social

integration, respect for human rights and fundamental freedom in all their plentitude, etc.¹ on one hand, and further quipped that “Members of the Parliament shall be deemed to represent all the peoples of the Community,”² on the other hand. Thus, depicting a vital characteristic of good governance as suggested by the UNESCAP (2007) and the UNDP (2012). Given the foregoing, this study attempts to evaluate the role of the Community Parliament directed towards achieving good governance and regional integration.

1.2. Statement of the research problem

The precepts of representative democracy connote that the existence of a regional parliamentary Assembly such as ECOWAS Parliament gives citizens within the subregion a voice in the governance process especially given that modern democratic practice endows citizens with state powers-sovereignty. Therefore, it is no doubt that Giesen (2017) stated that such parliamentary assemblies exist as legitimizing institutions. According to Kumahia (2013), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Parliament exists primarily to advance the tenets of democratic governance. Hence, Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna (as cited in Shehu, 2015), averred that the ECOWAS Parliament is one of the many institutions of the ECOWAS which serves as a “forum for advice, dialogue, consultation, consensus and representing the West African people for the achievement of regional integration in the region”.

To pursue its agenda aimed at good governance and deepening regional integration, the various legislatures of the ECOWAS Parliament since its inception in 2000 has developed working guides known as ‘*Strategic Plan*’. For instance, the Strategic Plan of the Fourth

¹ “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament, Protocol A/P.2/8/94, 2010, Article 6.

² “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament, Ibid, Article 2.

Legislature of the ECOWAS Parliament (2016-2020) has well-developed goals which were broken down into strategic objectives aimed at promoting good governance and regional integration in the sub-region. Given the variables under consideration in this study, Goal three (3) is particularly worthy of note. The Strategic Objectives this Goal was divided into includes the following:

Ensure the participation and representation of the entire population in the decision making process of the Community
Strengthen the institutional role and powers of the ECOWAS Parliament
Ensure peace, security, good governance and human rights
Promote relations with Community institutions, national parliaments, interparliamentary bodies and Partner Organisations (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017: 15).

Explicitly, the Community Parliament intends to use its consultative powers to widen the democratic space within the sub-region as well as ensure regional cooperation. However, ECOWAS Parliament (2017) noted the paucity of funds as well as the ECOWAS Parliaments' lack of legislative powers, as major challenges that affected the implementation of its objectives. Based on this, Kumahia (2013) concluded that the current practice of indirect election of members from the national legislature does not give a true representation to the people, this Kumahia argued, defies the democratic principle of universal suffrage. These challenges among others militated against the effectiveness of the ECOWAS Parliament in the past years. Although an improved relationship with National Parliaments, relations with international bodies/partners, etc., have been seen as capable of mitigating the effects of the listed challenges, this study would assess the role of the Community parliament in enhancing good governance and regional integration within the ECOWAS subregion.

1.3. Research Objectives

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in ensuring good governance and regional integration in the West African subregion. The specific objectives are:

- a) Assess the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in ensuring good governance in the ECOWAS region.
- b) Appraise the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in enhancing regional integration of the Community.
- c) Identify the factors militating against the ECOWAS Parliament in its drives aimed at achieving good governance and integration in the ECOWAS region.
- d) Suggest strategies that will mitigate the challenges facing the ECOWAS Parliament.

1.4. Research questions

The research would be guided by the following questions:

- a) Have the objectives of ECOWAS led to improvement in good governance in the ECOWAS region?
- b) How have the objectives of the ECOWAS Parliament improved integration in the ECOWAS region?
- c) Are there factors limiting ECOWAS Parliament towards achieving good governance and integration in the ECOWAS region?
- d) How can the ECOWAS Parliament overcome the challenges militating against its efforts towards ensuring good governance and regional integration?

1.5. Scope of the Study

The goal of this research is to assess the ECOWAS Parliament's role in promoting good governance and regional integration in the West African subregion. As a result, the scope of the study is limited to the functions of the ECOWAS Parliament as stated in its strategic objectives. There are other functions that the parliament performs, but because they are easy to measure, the study will focus on these. Consequently, the study looked at the roles of the ECOWAS Parliament in ensuring the maintenance and practice of good governance and regional integration, as well as the successes that have been achieved thus far and the various challenges that the parliament faces in pursuing this worthy course. Furthermore, the study would be limited to the Fourth Legislative Assembly of the ECOWAS Parliament (2016-2020). However, due to the historical nature of the situation, lessons will be drawn from the Third Legislative Assembly of the ECOWAS Parliament (2011-2015) for inferred knowledge.

1.6. Significance of the study

Because it is expected to fill a gap in the literature of institutions such as the ECOWAS Parliament in promoting good governance and regional integration in the subregion in particular and Africa as a whole, this study will serve as the foundation for future academic research in this area of study. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the National Assembly of Nigeria (NASS), the African, Caribbean, Pacific, and European Union Joint Parliamentary Assembly (ACP/EU JPA), the Commonwealth Parliament Association (CPA), the African Parliamentary Union (APU), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and others are also beneficiaries of the study. The study would also serve as a resource and guide

for policymakers during policy deliberations and formulation. The study would also serve as a resource and guide for policymakers during policy deliberations and formulation. It will also be useful to other academics and students who want to learn more about the role of parliaments in ensuring good governance and regional cooperation.

1.7. Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter one contains the general introduction which consists of the background to the study, statement of the research problem, research questions and objectives, significance of the study, scope, and limitation of the study, and the outline of the research. Chapter two provides a thorough review of kinds of literature and theoretical framework. Chapter three focuses on a comprehensive statement of the research methodology, while chapter four will provide the presentation of data and discussion of results. Chapter five provides a summary of the study, recommendations, contributions of the research to the body of knowledge, and conclusions based on the findings from this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews relevant literature on the study's variables of interest. The review would proceed in thematic order, with a theoretical framework provided as a foundation for conceptualizing the institution of the ECOWAS Parliament.

2.1. Overview of the ECOWAS Parliament

According to Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna (as cited in Kumahia, 2013), the ECOWAS Parliament is a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus for the representatives of the people of West Africa with the view of promoting good governance and integration within the West African subregion. Thus, Kumahia (2013) and Shehu (2015), alluded separately that the ECOWAS Parliament is one of the institutions of ECOWAS. Kumahia however observed that, unlike many national parliaments, the ECOWAS Parliament lacks legislative and oversight powers, hence, serves as a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus for representatives of the peoples of West Africa to promote regional integration (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). The Parliament was established following Articles 6 and 13 of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty. The Protocol establishing the Parliament was signed in Abuja on August 6th, 1994 and entered into force on March 14th, 2002 (ECOWAS Parliament, 2019; Ehigiamusoe & Udefuna, 2012). Going further, Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna stated that the Community Parliament first met in May 2002.

Therefore, ECOWAS Parliament (2017) in its submission averred that the Parliament has 115 Members of Parliament (MPs) representing all member states except Mauritania. Mauritania was not represented because she had withdrawn her membership from ECOWAS in 2001 to

join the Arab-Maghreb Union, AMU (West Africa Gateway, 2012, July 16th; Kumahia, 2013). In the light of the foregoing, “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament” (2010) noted that the functions of the ECOWAS Parliament are statutory. On this note, Kumahia (2013) argued that, unlike National Parliaments that have one of their major duties as enactment and amendment of laws that are binding on all citizens, the role of the ECOWAS Parliament does not include the employment of such legislative powers. Buttressing this point, Article 6 (1) of the “Protocol Relating to the Community parliament” (2010) clearly stated the general function of the Parliament to the effect that,

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

In addition to the above position, the Parliament is also empowered according to the “Protocol Relating to the Community parliament” (2010), to advise on matters concerning the Community when consulted. In its advisory capacity, the opinion of the Parliament shall be sought in the following areas:

Inter-connection of communication links between Member States to promote free movement of persons and goods.

Inter-connection of telecommunication systems for the purpose of achieving effective community network with maximum extensions in the rural areas, in order to make the areas more accessible.

Inter-connection of energy networks.

Public health policies for the community.

The goals of the ECOWAS Parliament were intended to induce the practice of good governance and ensure regional integration in the West African sub-region by ensuring participatory democracy on one hand, and cohesiveness among member states on the other hand, through a Community parliamentary system. However, one of the major functions of

the Parliament is to deliberate on matters referred to it by the Commission and to make recommendations. In this vein, the Parliament has deliberated on many issues referred to it by the ECOWAS Commission. Therefore, Kumahia (2013) noted that out of these deliberations, various texts, drafts, resolutions and amendments of protocols, and treaties in compliance with a people-oriented integration of the region had been produced. The Parliament, by these deliberations, also made key inputs in the administration of the ECOWAS institutions through timely sharing of experiences and feedbacks from member countries to the Parliament by the heads of such institutions or their delegates at the House Sittings (Magbagbeola & Onoja, 2008). ECOWAS Parliament Annual Report (2016) put the vision of the Parliament is as follows

A legislative body for the promotion of democracy, to ensure that the populace is effectively involved in the integration process and take control of its destiny (ECOWAS Parliament Annual Report, 2016: 4).

Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna (2012) argued that as a key institution of ECOWAS, the Community Parliament is seen as the deliberative arm for the integration and development process in the sub-region. Therefore, the vision of the Parliament may put it forth as a legislative body for the promotion of true democracy ensuring that people of the West African sub-region are at the centre of the integration process and are in full control of their destiny. In the same vein, Kumahia (2013) averred that the mission of the Parliament is essentially to issue opinions on all matters relating to regional integration through the promotion of democracy, human rights, solidarity, equity, peace, justice, and good governance. Therefore, ECOWAS Parliament (2017) as well as the ECOWAS Parliament Annual Report (2016, p. 3) stated that in correlation with the Vision of the community, the Community Parliament's mission is

To contribute towards decision making process within the Community, through issuing advisory opinions on all matters relating to regional integration, and to transit to a full legislative body (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017: 14).

Therefore, because of the Community’s desire for good governance and regional integration within the subregion, ECOWAS Parliament (2017) stated that the strategic goals and objectives of the ECOWAS Parliament are formulated in line with the vision of Parliament within the Community. To this end, it observed that the strategic orientation, as contained in the Community Strategic Framework (CSF) is often used as a guide. Given this, goals and strategic objectives are presented in the table below:

Table 2.1: Strategic goals and objectives of ECOWAS Parliament

<i>S/NO</i>	GOALS	STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES
<i>1</i>	Goal 1 Socio-Economic Development	Put in place Institutions, frameworks and policies for enhancing sustainable development
<i>2</i>	Goal 2 Economic and Monetary Integration	Achieve economic/Monetary integration in all its forms.
<i>3</i>	Goal 3 Political Integration	Ensure peace, security and good governance.
<i>4</i>	Goal 4 Societal/Institutional Support	Enhance Societal/ Institutional Capacities for building sustainable society/Institutions.
<i>5</i>	Goal 5 Expanding and Improving Infrastructural Facilities	Increase access to the usage of infrastructural facilities.

Source: ECOWAS Parliament (2017)

2.2. Structure and Organization of the ECOWAS Parliament

As already established, the ECOWAS Parliament is composed of 115 seats except for Mauritania. Therefore, it is argued further that each of the 15 Members states has a guaranteed minimum of five seats. The remaining seats are shared based on population. To ensure equitable representation of all citizens of the sub-region, the number of representatives from each member state was based on the size of each state's population (Kumahia, 2013). For this purpose, country representation in the Community Parliament is shown in the Table below:

Table 2.2: Representation of Member States

<i>S/NO</i>	<i>Member States</i>	<i>Seats</i>
1	Benin Republic	5
2	Burkina Faso	6
3	Cape Verde	5
4	Cote d' Ivoire	7
5	Gambia	5
6	Ghana	8
7	Guinea	6
8	Guinea-Bissau	5
9	Liberia	5
10	Mali	6
11	Niger	6
12	Nigeria	35

13	Senegal	6
14	Sierra-Leone	5
15	Togo	5

Source: ECOWAS Parliament (2019); and “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament” (2010).

Eligibility criteria to represent one’s country in the Community Parliament is that one must first be a member of his/her National Parliament. If one loses his/her seat in the National Parliament, one automatically loses his/her seat as well in the Community Parliament during the transition period (“Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament”, 2010). The outgoing members of parliament are, however, obliged to remain in office until new representatives from their respective member states take up their positions (Kumahia, 2013). Hence, “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament” (2010), noted that Representatives shall be elected for five years from the day of swearing-in. The ECOWAS Parliament is located in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria (ECOWAS Parliament, 2019). According to the “Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament” (2010), the ECOWAS Parliament is divided into two wings, namely:

Political wing:

- 1) The Plenary
- 2) The Bureau of Parliament
- 3) The Conference of Bureaux

Administrative wing:

- 1) The Standing Committees

2) The General Secretariat

The Plenary is the highest deliberative body of the parliament (ECOWAS Parliament, 2019). On this note, ECOWAS Parliament (2012) alluded that it is made up of the entire representatives elected to serve in the Community Parliament. Going further, it noted that the plenary meet in ordinary sessions twice a year; May and September. However, an extraordinary session may be convened at the initiative of the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, on the request of the Speaker of the Parliament or in response to a written request by a two-thirds majority of the members, sent to the Speaker. Extraordinary sessions are usually held to address specific issues.

By organization, the Bureau of Parliament is made up of the Speaker and four Deputy Speakers of the Parliament. It is the organ that has oversight responsibility for the activities of the Parliament. Its functions are listed in the Protocol relating to the Community Parliament (Kumahia, 2013; ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). These functions include the approval of the activities of the Standing Committees held outside the headquarters of Parliament; approval of the draft agenda and draft work programmes of the sessions of Parliament as well as the issuance of general guidelines on the annual budget of Parliament. The other functions of the Bureau of Parliament include; reviewing the draft budget before its referral to the relevant Committee, the appointment of the Secretary-General and Directors, as well as approval of the recruitment of the other staff members. It also oversees the administrative and financial management of the Parliament.

Lastly on the political wing of the Parliament is the Conference of Bureaux. The Conference of Bureaux is made up of the Speaker of parliament, the Chairmen, Deputy Chairmen, and Rapporteurs of all the Standing committees. It is mainly in charge of the approval of the

annual programmes of Parliament – to ensure that they are in harmony with the overall Community programmes (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). In conjunction with the Bureau of Parliament, the Conference of Bureaux also approves the draft agenda and work programmes of the sessions of parliament.

Administratively, the ECOWAS Parliament governance structure is in line with the modern organization of parliaments using the committee system. To this end, the Parliament relies on Standing Committees for the conduct of its businesses. According to Kumahia (2013), the basic function of the standing committee is to prepare reports on all matters within their purview or relating to the Community for onward transmission to the plenary. Presently, there are thirteen Standing committees (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). The Bureau of each Standing committee is made up of a Chairperson, a Deputy Chairperson, and two Rapporteurs. ECOWAS Parliament argued that the responsibilities of the Standing Committees, as stipulated in the ECOWAS Revised Treaty, reflect the mandates of the Technical Committees/Departments of the ECOWAS Commission, to ensure synergy between the activities of the two Community institutions. However, it asserted that “parliament may establish additional standing Committees in a bid to fulfill its mandate” (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017, p. 5).

Coordinating the activity of its administrative wing is the General Secretariat. ECOWAS Parliament (2017) opined that the general secretariat is the administrative and technical arm of the Parliament. The General Secretariat is directed by the Secretary-General and gives administrative and technical support to the Members of Parliament. On this note, ECOWAS Parliament (2019) asserted that the current Secretary-General of the Parliament is M. John Azumah from Ghana and a former staff of the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja.

2.3. ECOWAS Parliament and Good Governance in West Africa

A potent tenet of good governance in any form is the adherence to democratic practices. Among the principles of democracy are issues that have to do with adherence to rule of law, presidential and parliamentary elections; transparency, accountability, and tolerance. To ensure that good governance gains root among member countries, the Parliament encourages member states to adhere to such practices. To put this resolve to work, Kumahia (2013) alluded that the ECOWAS Parliament regularly sends election observer missions to monitor presidential and parliamentary elections. On this note, he stated that such missions were in Nigeria (April 2003), Togo (June 2003), and Guinea-Bissau (March 2004). This action is aimed at ensuring transparent free and fair elections (Shehu, 2015; Kumahia, 2013).

The goals of the ECOWAS Parliament were aimed at enhancing the practice of good governance in the West African sub-region by ensuring participatory democracy through its design of a Community parliamentary system. Thus, Magbagbeola and Onoja (2008) alluded that its desire to ensure the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms; the call for collaboration in other salient technical areas for the betterment of the ECOWAS sub-region is an attestation to the fact that the Parliament is in many ways aimed at ensuring good governance.

According to Kumahia (2013), good governance comprises some complex structures, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups express or articulate their interests, resolve their differences, and exercise their legal rights and obligations. Basically, the tenets of good governance may include among other things political transparency, popular participation, tolerance, respect for human rights, administrative and bureaucratic capacity, and efficiency. In this vein, Robertson (2002) opined that good governance, therefore,

involves the creation of an effective partnership to ensure that political, social, and economic priorities rest on broad consensus in society and ensure that the voices of the poor and most vulnerable are heard in the decision-making process.

Another view on the concept of good governance worth noting is that of the European Union (EU), which for example, posited that the five core principles of good governance are legitimacy and voice; direction, performance, accountability, and fairness (Salman, 2011). Similarly, the United Nations Development Project, UNDP (2102), as well as the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific, UNESCAP (2007), added that good governance includes principles such as participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus building, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, decentralization, accountability and strategic vision.

Succinctly, the ECOWAS Parliament seeks to ensure that all of these principles of good governance are adhered to in member states of the ECOWAS through the provision of consultative and advisory services to the governments of the sub-regional community.

2.4. ECOWAS Parliament and Regional Integration in West Africa

The agenda of regional integration is not a recent one. It has a long history in the West African sub-region. The two main colonial powers in the sub-region namely, France and Britain attempted to boost this idea but were unsuccessful (Kumahia, 2013). On this note, Kumahia averred that France made an unsuccessful attempt to bring its colonies in the sub-region to form the Federation of French West Africa. The British, on the other hand, denied the geographical contiguity of her colonies, nonetheless, administered a common currency regime and encouraged an inter-territorial collaboration in agricultural research and functional

cooperation in selected areas of economic activities (Bluwey, 2000). This gesture of the colonial powers, Bluwey argued could be viewed as a candid demonstration of their support for or interest in regional integration. However politically, it is well known that the sub-region also witnessed inter-territorial cooperation during the beginning of the anti-colonial struggle. The activities of Ladipo Solanke of Nigeria, and the West African Students Union, Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast, and Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone in the Congress of British West Africa are clear testimonies of the nearest inter-territorial cooperation among British West African colonies in the sub-region (Kumahia, 2013).

The francophone countries also had a similar version which was then known as the African Democratic Rally (Bluwey, 2000). It was however not until May 28th, 1975 that the ECOWAS was given birth to at the behest of two Heads of State, namely President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo and General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria (Kumahia, 2013). Since its creation in 1975, the ECOWAS has undergone a significant transformation. Prominent among these changes include the adoption of the ECOWAS monitoring group (ECOMOG) to directly intervene in the Liberia civil war in 1989 and later in Sierra Leone and La Cote D'Ivoire (Gebe, 2009).

According to Kumahia (2013), the difficult hurdles the ECOMOG had to cross in managing these conflicts exposed the weaknesses of the ECOWAS defense structure around which its operations were planned. This awareness, he argued led to the adoption of certain new policy instruments intended to assuage the shortcoming of the 1978 and the 1981 ECOWAS defense and security pacts. This culminated in the adoption of the 1999 Protocol relating to the Mechanism, for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security.

In addition to the 1999 Protocol, the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance was also signed as a supplementary protocol in December 2001 (Bluwey, as cited in Kumahia, 2013).

The original ECOWAS treaty was in many ways obsolete and could no longer meet the integration and developmental demands of the moment. There was therefore the need to revise its policies. In 1993, the ECOWAS treaty was revised and became known as the 1993 Revised Treaty signed in Cotonou, the Republic of Benin on July 24th, 1993. This revised treaty called for the creation of the Community Court of justice (Article 15), an Arbitration Tribunal of the Community (Article 16), a Committee of West African Central Banks (Article 52), eight technical Committees (Articles 22, 23, and 24) and a Community Parliament (Article 13) (Bluwey, 2000). The Community Parliament as well as the other institutions of the ECOWAS have to ensure that good governance practices are adhered to by all member states.

2.5. Challenges facing the ECOWAS Parliament in Promoting Good Governance and Regional Integration

Many challenges bedevil the activities of the ECOWAS Parliament making it quite ineffective. On this note, Kumahia (2013) noted the following as some major hindrances to the Parliament:

1) Limited stipulated constitutional mandated role

The Parliament, unlike national parliaments which have the constitutional mandate to make legally binding laws, lacks such legislative powers (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017; 2019). In terms of its powers, since the Parliament is considered to be in transition, it functions exclusively in an advisory capacity and at present, lacks binding powers, such as legislative,

oversight or budgetary powers. In particular, it plays a consultative role on critical integration issues such as energy, communications, treaty review, community citizenship, human rights, amongst other areas. The opinion of the ECOWAS Parliament is to be sought only in specific areas, and the requesting organ is not under compulsion to accept and/or implement the recommendations of the Parliament. Also, Magbagbeola and Onoja (2008) observed that the advice offered to the nations is not binding on the Executives. Therefore, since resolutions of the Parliament are not legally binding on member countries, Magbagbeola and Onoja averred that the Parliament is regarded as a toothless dog, barking but never biting.

2) Mode of recruitment of the members of the Parliament

One major challenge of the ECOWAS Parliament is its mode of recruitment of the members of the Parliament. Unlike the European Parliament (Bloomberg, 2019; July 3rd; Politico, 2019, July 3rd) where members are elected based on direct universal suffrage following a uniform procedure in all member states and on a broad party platform which cuts across national alignment, the members of parliaments of the ECOWAS are appointed from their national parliaments to represent their nations in the Community Parliament (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). On this note, Kumahia (2013) posited that since these parliamentarians are not directly elected through universal adult suffrage on any uniform procedure in all member states, they are not directly responsible to the people. Hence, Gasiokwu (2012) alluded that such representatives cannot, therefore, claim to have the mandate of the entire people of the Community.

3) Lack of budgetary and oversight powers over the executive

In addition to lacking full legitimacy in asserting any role in the basic parliamentary functions of representation and law-making, the ECOWAS Parliament also lacks the power to make and control national budgets and exercise oversight over the executive (Kumahia, 2013; ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). In fact, the budgeting and policymaking powers of the Community lie firmly within the exclusive competence of the executive, the ECOWAS Commission. This practice Kumahia argued is in direct contravention with the democratic principle of separation of powers. Due to its strictly proscribed legal authority to perform, and consequent weakness vis-à-vis other institutions of ECOWAS, the ECOWAS Parliament is relatively weak in delivering an effective oversight role within the broader activities of the ECOWAS institutional framework (Born, 2003).

On this note, Article 4(2) of the Supplementary Protocol stated *inter alia*

The powers of the ECOWAS Parliament shall be progressively enhanced from advisory to co-decision making and subsequently to a law making role in areas to be defined by the Authority” (“Protocol Relating to the Community Parliament”, 2010).

However, until this provision of the Supplementary Protocol is implemented, the ECOWAS Parliament remains only an advisory and a consultative assembly lacking the needed supra-national capability to fully direct its affairs. Similarly, the ECOWAS Parliament (2017) put the challenges confronting the Community Parliament into two folds, namely: internal and external environmental threats.

Internal Environment

According to the ECOWAS Parliament (2017), the internal environment threats refer to the challenges within the Community in general and specifically, in Parliament, which is militating against the achievement of its set objectives. These challenges/threats include:

- 1) **Continuity:** Due to the variation in the electoral calendars of Member States, the composition of Parliament is not permanent. Hence, there are multiple changes in the composition of Parliament in the course of any legislature. The high turnover of members of Parliament occasioned by parliamentary elections within the sub-region poses a great challenge in terms of planning;
- 2) **Powers:** The Community Parliament lacks the powers of a normal parliament. At this stage, Parliament is strictly consultative; it neither legislates nor exercises oversight functions and it does not control the Community budget;
- 3) **Feedback mechanism on Referrals:** Being a consultative and advisory Parliament, there is yet no mechanism put in place for feedback on advisory opinions rendered by the Parliament. Once an issue is brought before Parliament for advice and such advisory opinion rendered, it is not in a position to know the outcome of its opinion;
- 4) **Autonomy:** Lack of autonomy has made it impossible for the ECOWAS Parliament to play its rightful role amongst the institutions of the Community;
- 5) **Staffing:** There exists a General Secretariat of Parliament comprising both administrative and technical staff that assists Members of Parliament towards discharging their functions. It is however necessary to note that more staff are needed especially in the Parliamentary Affairs Department to provide adequate services to the Members.

External Environment

External environment threats according to the ECOWAS Parliament (2017), refer to the threats faced by the Parliament as regards to factors exogenous to the Community. The threats include:

- 1) **Failure to control the socio-political environment in the sub-region:** The Parliament at present does not have the textual power to control the sociopolitical environment. This scenario has made it difficult for the impact of the Parliament to be felt by the ordinary citizens of the sub-region;
- 2) **Inter-institutional communication:** There exists a near inadequate flow of communication on Community activities between and among the Institutions. In particular, Members of Parliament, as the representatives of the population, lack adequate knowledge on key Community Programmes;
- 3) **Lack of appropriate knowledge about the activities of Parliament:** Because it is yet to attain lawmaking status and its activities are predominantly advisory, there exists an information deficit as to the activities that the Parliament embarks upon. Most West African citizens are not aware of the existence of the ECOWAS Parliament;
- 4) **Current status of the Parliament:** The current status of the Parliament as merely an advisory and consultative body has created a feeling within some external actors that the ECOWAS Parliament is still not a Parliament. Many potential Development Partners are cautious in their dealings with the Parliament because of this status of the Parliament. Overall, this has led to the ECOWAS mostly making recommendations of governance issues which are always at the behest of the Session of the Heads of State and Government for adoption.

2.6. Theoretical Framework-Institutionalism Theory

According to Saebo (2017), institutions are multi-faceted, durable, social structures, made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources. Saebo noted some examples of familiar institutions as family, religion, economic systems, legal systems, language, mass media, businesses, academia, the nation-state, art, etc. However, Peters (1999) averred that “international institutionalism” is placed in a category of its own in overviews of institutional theory in political science. Ernst Haas one of the proponents of this theory, averred that international organizations are purposefully created to solve specific problems by their founders (Viotti & Kauppi, 1999). There is therefore the need for unity among states to collaborate in finding solutions to these problems. Hence, Viotti and Kauppi concluded that institutionalists also challenge the dominance of the state in the international system. This is because, given the nature of contemporary society, there are many technical issues ranging from economic, social, legal, and those that border even on terrorism. This requires institutions that are technical to find solutions to the myriad of problems that emerge daily.

Similarly, Paul Viotti and Mark Kauppi also asserted that institutions are important because they shape the behavior of states positively. This, they argued enables states to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes. The behavior of political leaders and their conduct is shaped through institutions or representative government which catalyzes good governance. To Peters (2000), there are three approaches to institutionalism, namely; normative, rational choice, empirical and historical institutionalism. He alluded that the normative approach was advocated by March and Olsen. According to Peters, they argued that the best way to understand political behavior (seemingly both individual and collective) is through a “logic of appropriateness” that individuals acquire through their membership in institutions. They

contrast this normative logic with the “logic of consequentiality” that is central to rational choice theories (March & Olsen, 1989). That is, March and Olsen argue that people functioning within institutions behave as they do because of normative standards rather than because of their desire to maximize individual utilities. Going further, March and Olsen believed that these standards of behavior are acquired through involvement with one or more institutions and the institutions are the major social repositories of values (Peters, 2000).

In contrast to normative institutionalism, Peters (2000) averred that the underlying logic of rational choice institutionalism is that institutions are arrangements of rules and incentives, and the members of the institutions behave in response to those basic components of institutional structure. On this note, Peters stated that

Unlike individuals in normative institutionalism, the preferences of the occupants of these structures do not have their preferences modified by membership in the institution. Rather, the individuals who interact with the institutions have their own well-ordered sets of preferences that remain largely unchanged by any institutional involvement they may have (Peters, 2000: 3).

Historical institutionalism, on the other hand, is an argument that the policy and structural choices made at the inception of the institution will have a persistent influence over its behavior for the remainder of its existence (Steinmo, Thelen & Longstreth, 1992). This idea of “path dependency” as opined by Peters (2000), is the central explanatory principle for the historical institutionalists, although they are also very interested in the ideas that help to shape and to sustain the directions of policy (Hall, as cited in Peters, 2000). This approach is well-suited to explaining the persistence of policies but is much less promising as a means of explaining the change in policies or structures.

Finally, Peters identified empirical institutionalism as the term employed to describe a body of literature that asks the deceptively simple question of whether institutions make any

difference in policy choices, or political stability. However, the major criticism of the institutional theory is that it tends to be static and legalistic by design. For example, Stephen Krasner indicated that institutionalism is not able to explain the 'stickiness' and slowness of institutional change. Hence, Krasner (1984) averred that institutional life tends to emphasize the role of established rules, routines, taken-for-granted practices, policy legacies, sunk costs, and path dependency. Similarly, Thelen and Steinmo (1992) also argued that “critical inadequacy of institutionalist analysis has been a tendency towards mechanical, static accounts that largely bracket the issue of change and sometimes lapse inadvertently into institutional determinism”. In this view, institutions are as strong on inertia, resisting change until perhaps mounting pressures suddenly force change with a lurch (Thelen & Steinmo, as cited in Kumahia, 2013).

The ECOWAS Parliament as an institution is regarded as a tool for promoting good governance and regional integration when viewed within the purview of this study, as well as situated within the concept of the theory of institutionalism – precisely, normative institutionalism is apt for many reasons. First, the Community Parliament as an institution is made up of representatives of states as actors in the ECOWAS sub-region. Second, individual members of the Parliament are mostly local representatives of their state parliaments or national assemblies who represent their local constituents. In such cases, individuals and ordinary citizens of these member countries are given a voice in policymaking thereby promoting popular participation. Third, the Parliament as an institution is expected to pursue a common agenda of cohesion within the sub-region and not one driven by individualistic ideologies. For these reasons, the institutionalism theory was selected as the theoretical framework for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the procedure adopted by the researcher in conducting this study. It describes how data and information would be obtained to answer the research questions raised.

3.1. Study Location

The study location is the Economic Community of West African State Parliament (ECOWAS Parliament). The Community Parliament is located at Herbert Macaulay Way, Garki in Abuja, Nigeria. The choice of the ECOWAS Parliament is because of the choice of the scope of the study and the need to examine its contribution to the growth of good governance and regional integration.

3.2. Research Design

This study adopts the qualitative research design using documentary pieces of evidence such as the ECOWAS Parliament Annual Reports for 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 as well as the *Final Communiques* of the sessions of the Authority of Heads of State and Government for the same years.

3.3. Population of the study

Population refers to the subjects of interest to the researcher. The population of this study was documents published by the Economic Community of West African States Parliament (ECOWAS Parliament), allied institutions such as the Economic Community of West African State Commission (ECOWAS Commission), Public repository institutions like the National

Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS), and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The quality of information desired caused the choice of the population.

3.4. Sampling procedure

The purposive sampling procedure was adopted for the selection of documents. The purposive sampling procedure means that members of the population were selected based on the fulfillment of set criteria. Therefore, generalizations were drawn from the content of the Annual Reports and Resolutions of the Community Parliament, the *Final Communiques* of Sessions of Heads of state and Governments between 2016 and 2020.

3.5. Sources of Data

This study accommodated only secondary sources of data. Secondary data would be sourced from documentary pieces of evidence on the activities of the ECOWAS Parliament on its role in enhancing good governance and regional integration in West Africa, the final communique of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, as well as books, journal articles, newspapers, magazines and other relevant materials from the internet.

3.6. Research Instruments

The research instruments that were used for the study are the ECOWAS Parliament Annual Reports for 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020 prepared under the supervision of the Secretaries-General – Dr. Nelson O. Magbagbeola and M. Azuma. Similarly, the *Final Communiques* of the Sessions of Heads of State and Governments were relied on to note the level of implementation of ECOWAS Parliament’s resolutions since this body, is the highest decision-making organ of ECOWAS. The choice of these instruments was deliberate because of the quality of information desired by the study.

3.7. Method of Data Analysis and Presentation

The qualitative method was used in data analysis. Hence, content analysis was used in examining the Annual Reports of the ECOWAS Parliament for 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, as well as the final communique of the sessions of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government for the same years. Emphasis would be on the textual representation of data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, data were laid in themes depicting the objectives laid out in chapter one. Following the delimitation of the study, the measurement of the contributions of the ECOWAS Parliament was done according to Goal three of the Strategic Plan of the Fourth Legislature of the ECOWAS Parliament (2016-2020). Explicitly, the goals are centred around ensuring peace, security, good governance, and human rights (good governance) and the participation and representation of the entire population in the decision-making process (relating to regional integration).

4.1. ECOWAS Parliament and Good Governance in the ECOWAS region

The ECOWAS Parliament's goals are to encourage good governance in the West African sub-region by ensuring participatory democracy through a Community parliamentary system. Kumahia (2013) argued that this desire was required to ensure the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all of their ramifications. Thus, the call for technical collaboration for the betterment of the ECOWAS sub-region attests to the Parliament's efforts to ensure good governance.

Explicitly, from the Liberian crisis (2003-2003) to those in Togo (2005), Côte d'Ivoire (2010-2011), Niger (2009-2010), Mali (March, 2012), and Guinea Bissau (2010 and 2012), the parliament was present through fact-finding missions and resolutions containing relevant recommendations to the Community's various decision-making authorities. Similarly, the ECOWAS Parliament has always attempted to follow the principles enshrined in the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance through its missions and

resolutions. As a result, the Community Parliament (CP) played a critical role in the resolution of Niger's institutional and political crisis through its recommendations contained in its 16th October 2009 Resolution. The Community Parliament's contributions in enhancing good governance are listed in the third column of Table 4.1. However, since these are passed on to its executive arm (i.e., ECOWAS Commission) in the form of resolutions for onward transmission to the Session of Heads of State and Government, the status (adoption) by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments are given in the Fourth column of Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Resolutions of the Community Parliament on Good Governance and their Status

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>RESOLUTION/REFERENCE</i>	<i>ADOPTION</i>	<i>DATE OF ADOPTION</i>
1.	The political situation in Guinea Bissau	Draft Resolution on the Political situation in Guinea Bissau ECW/PARL/RES.02(eng)/ORDESESSION/LEG .04/05/2016	<i>Final Communiqué</i> of the forty-ninth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority expresses deep concern over the persistence of the crisis in Guinea Bissau which undermines the implementation of the commitments made by Guinea Bissau’s development partners in March 2015 to provide a 1.5 billion US dollars financial assistance”.	4 th June, 2016
2.	Terror attacks	Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the recent terrorist attacks in Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Mali ECW/PARL/RES.02(eng)/ORDESESSION/LEG .04/05/2016	<i>Final Communiqué</i> of the forty-ninth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority expresses grave concern at the terrorism scourge which is becoming a persistent threat in the region. It firmly condemns the terrorist attacks in Bamako and Timbuktu (Mali), in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and Grand Bassam (Cote d’Ivoire) which occurred respectively in November 2015 and May 2016 and January and March 2016, in addition to the attacks by Boko Haram in Niger (on 3 June 2016) and Nigeria. The Authority extends its solidarity with the affected countries and presents its sincere condolences to the Governments and people of Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Mali, Niger and Nigeria”.	4 th June, 2016
3.	Political and	ECOWAS Parliament’s Resolution on the	<i>Final Communiqué</i> of the fifty-second	16 th December, 2017

	<p>Institutional crisis in Guinea Bissau</p>	<p>Political and Institutional Crisis in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau ECW/PARL/RES.01(eng)/ORDSESSION/LEG.04/05/2017</p>	<p>ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “Authority notes the situation assessment submitted by the High-level Ministerial Committee responsible for the implementation of the Conakry Agreement, subsequent to its visit to Bissau on 2 and 3 December 2017. It deeply regrets the political impasse in Guinea Bissau despite the decisions taken at the 51st Ordinary Session of Authority of Heads of State and Government held on 4 June 2017 in Monrovia, Liberia. Hence, “Authority took note of the roadmap presented by H.E. Mario Vaz, President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau on the full implementation of the Conakry Agreement, in particular the appointment of a consensus Prime Minister”. Therefore, “to ensure consensual implementation of the proposed roadmap, Authority entrusts Presidents Alpha Conde and Essozimna Gnassingbe with the responsibility of holding talks with all stakeholders within a month. Failing this, individual or collective sanctions would be imposed on all who hamper the implementation of the agreement. It calls on the international community, particularly the United Nations, African Union and all sub-regional organisations, to support ECOWAS in the application of the sanctions”. Finally, “Authority congratulates H.E. Prof. Alpha Conde, President of the Republic of Guinea</p>	
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			and ECOWAS Mediator for Guinea Bissau, for his sustained mediation efforts”.	
4.	Counterfeit and expired drugs	Draft Resolution relating to the fight against counterfeit and expired products in West Africa	Not adopted	
5.	ECOWAS 2019-2023 plan for return of cultural objects	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the draft decision adopting the ECOWAS 2019-2023 plan of action for the return of cultural objects to their countries of origin.	Not adopted	
6.	Child policy and the roadmap on the Prevention and Response to Child Marriage	Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the following draft Acts (ECW.PARL/RES.05/MAI/19): Draft ECOWAS Child Policy and its 2019-2030 Strategic Action Plan Draft ECOWAS Political Declaration and Common Position on the Prevention and Response to Child Marriage ECOWAS Roadmap on the Prevention and Response to Child Marriage	Not adopted	

Source: ECOWAS Parliament (2020); ECOWAS Commission (2020)

According to Table 4.1, only three (3) out of six (6) of the select resolutions of the ECOWAS Parliament bordering on governance were considered and decided on. This is in contrast to Lupo (2018) and Mariano (2017), who argue that regional parliamentary institutions exist primarily to provide legitimacy to the decision-making process. Similarly, this finding undermines Van Gestel's (2013) claim that the legislature is the most important institution in governance. Van Gestel specifically observed that because the business of governance begins with lawmaking, the legislature has unrivaled primacy in governance.

Nevertheless, according to an analysis of the above-mentioned adopted resolutions, the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP (2015, March 25th), international development partners pledged more than 1 billion Euros to support Guinea-social Bissau's and economic development. The funding was intended to support the Government's Terra Ranka (meaning "new beginning") Development Strategy Plan, which aims to ensure long-term sustainable development, consolidate peace and stability, and increase economic growth. However, the partners' commitments were stalled due to a lack of progress in the implementation of the Conakry accord, which provided for a consensus on the choice of Prime Minister (PM) who has the President of the Republic's confidence.

Also, at the 52nd session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, the Authority charged Conde, the ECOWAS mediator for Guinea-Bissau, and Togo's President Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé Eyadéma, chairperson of the ECOWAS Authority, with holding talks with all Bissau-Guinean stakeholders within a month to resolve the impasse, failing which individual and collective sanctions would be imposed on all those who obstruct the process. In response to the Authority's directive, Vaz appointed Augusto Artur Da Silva as PM on 30 January 2018, but this appointment was rejected once more by the PAIGC leadership, who

claimed a lack of consultation and consensus.³ As a result, the Authority sent a Ministerial Monitoring Committee to Guinea-Bissau from January 31st to February 1st, 2018 to hold additional consultations with political stakeholders. The delegation expressed concern about Guinea-Bissau's leadership's failure to appoint a consensus Prime Minister. Acting on the committee's report, the ECOWAS Commission announced the imposition of individual and collective sanctions, effective February 1st, 2018, on all individuals or organizations impeding the process of resolving the crisis. With the sanctions in full force and taking their toll on the affected individuals, consultations between the leadership of Guinea-Bissau and all relevant stakeholders to the crisis intensified.

As a result, Aristides Gomes was appointed as consensus Prime Minister by presidential decree on April 17, 2018. Parliament reopened on April 19, 2018, with elections scheduled for November 18, 2018. To accommodate the new date, the parliament's term was extended, and an election management body was formed to organize the scheduled elections. Furthermore, following terrorist attacks in Mali, Niger, and Nigeria, the ECOWAS Commission issued condolence statements in accordance with the Community Parliament's resolution. This highlights the critical role of the ECOWAS Parliament in improving subregional governance.

4.2. ECOWAS Parliament and Regional Integration the ECOWAS Region

Regional integration depends largely on the existence of common laws, shared policies and principles among integrating States. Hence, the ECOWAS Integration project is made possible through the adoption by the Community, of laws and policies that not demonstrate a

³ See <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/ecowass-efforts-at-resolving-guinea-bissaus-protracted-political-crisis-2015-2019/>

Commonality of purpose as between the States in the region but serve to create the enabling environment that facilitates the achievement of the objectives of the Community.

In promoting regional integration, the ECOWAS Parliament serves as a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus for representatives of the people of West Africa. In addition to these roles, Article 6 (1) of the protocol relating to the Community Parliament also states the other functions of the parliament. It stipulated for example, that “the Parliament may consider any matter concerning the Community, in particular issues relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and make recommendations to the institutions and organs of the community” (ECOWAS Parliament, 2017). The Parliament, as an advisory body, has the power to deliberate on and advice organizations such as may consult it for the Parliament’s opinion on technical areas such as: Inter-connection of communication links between Member States to promote free movement of persons and goods, inter-connection of telecommunication systems for the purpose of achieving effective Community network with maximum extensions in the rural areas, in order to make the areas more accessible, etc.

The ECOWAS Revised Treaty of 1993 underscored the above through the provisions of Articles 4 (c) and 5 *para* 1-3. While Article 4 (c) underpins the importance of Inter-State cooperation, harmonization of policies and integration of programmes, Article 5 allows Member States to create favourable conditions for integration and in accordance with their constitution, take steps necessary for the enactment and dissemination of legislative and statutory texts that would drive the implementation of agreed objectives and programmes. Based on this, the Committees which serves as a repository of Parliament, made the recommendations contained in the Table below to drive its regional integration agenda after its delocalized meetings.

Table 4.2: Resolutions of the Community Parliament on Regional Integration and their Status

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>RESOLUTION/REFERENCE</i>	<i>ADOPTION</i>	<i>DATE OF ADOPTION</i>
1.	Implementation of the West African Common Industrial Policy	Resolutions of the ECOWAS Parliament on the Implementation of the West African Common Industrial Policy (WACIP)	Not adopted	
2.	Free movement of persons and goods and migration	Resolution of ECOWAS Parliament on free movement of persons and goods and migration	<i>Final Communiqué</i> of the fifty-first ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority takes note of the country reports of the Task Force on Free Movement, which highlight the continued impediment to the free movement of persons and goods within the ECOWAS region”. Therefore, “the Heads of State and Government reaffirm their strong commitment to the implementation of the provisions of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment. In that regard, they agree to speed up the introduction of the biometric identity card and removal of non-tariff barriers, in order to facilitate intra-Community trade and enhance security in the region”.	4 th June, 2017
3.	African Continental	Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on African	<i>Final Communiqué</i> of the fifty-sixth	21 st December, 2019

	Free Trade Area	Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA)	ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority further lauds the efforts of the Community on the ECOWAS Common Schedule of Tariff Concession for the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA) and enjoins quick resolution of outstanding issues. This is with a view to ensuring that all Member States submit single common offer to the African Union Commission”.	
4.	ECOWAS investment code and policy	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the Drafts of the: ECOWAS investment code and ECOWAS investment policy.	Not adopted	
5.	ECOWAS Common External Tariff	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the draft Community Acts below: The Draft Supplementary Act on Mutual Assistance and Cooperation between Customs Administration of ECOWAS Member States and Collaboration between them and ECOWAS Commission on Customs Matters. The Draft Regulation on Procedures for Changes to the List comprising the Categories of Products contained in the Tariff and Statistical Nomenclature (TSN) of the Common External Tariff (CET) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).	<i>Final Communique</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “Concerning the Customs Union, the Authority notes the progress made in the implementation of the Common External Tariff (CET) and urges Member States to quickly complete the process of convergence towards the CET. To this end, it endorses the three-year extension period of the Supplementary Protection Measures”.	21 st December, 2019
6.	Regional programme for the supply of petroleum products in	ECOWAS Parliament’s draft Resolution on the draft regulation on the regional programme to facilitate the supply of petroleum products in the ECOWAS	Not adopted	

	the sub-region	region		
7.	ECO	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the ECOWAS Single Currency.	<p><i>Final Communique</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government.</p> <p>“The Authority commends the Ministerial Committee for the progress made with the implementation of the ECOWAS Single Currency Programme”. To this end, the Authority adopts the following as the name of ECOWAS Central Bank: “Central Bank of West Africa (CBWA)”.</p>	21 st December, 2019
8.	Complimentary Protective Measures (CPM)	ECOWAS Parliament’s draft Resolution on the draft regulation extending the implementation period of the ECOWAS Complimentary Protective Measures (CPM)	<p><i>Final Communique</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government.</p> <p>The Authority endorsed the proposed three-year extension period of the Supplementary Protection Measures”</p>	21 st December, 2019

Source: ECOWAS Parliament (2020); ECOWAS Commission (2020)

From Table 4.2, the ECOWAS Parliament appeared to be on the same page with the highest decision-making organ (Authority of Heads of State and Governments) of the sub-region. This is evident in the number of resolutions that were deliberated on by the authority of the Heads of State and Government within the period. It is worthy to mention that this finding aligns with the views expressed by Kumahia (2013), Ehigiamusoe and Udefuna (2012) as well as Shehu (2015). Separately, they averred that ECOWAS Parliament exists primarily to advance the tenets of good governance and regional integration. Similarly, Aggad and Miyandazi (2017) in their study observed its place as a mechanism for promoting regional economic integration and development. By this position, Aggad and Miyandazi further buttresses the nexus between good governance and regional integration established earlier in the study,⁴ which connotes that the attributes of good governance (UNESCAP, 2007; UNDP, 2012) are pursued collectively across national borders for the benefit of the citizens of the West African sub-region.

Elaborately, in furthering the frontiers of regional integration, according to ECOWAS (2019), the ECOWAS Commission within the framework of the ECOWAS-European Union project “support to Free Movement of Persons and Migration (FMM) in West Africa”, moved to embark on a four-day advocacy and sensitization campaign for the ECOWAS National Biometric Identity Card (ENBIC) from 23rd to 26th April 2019 as contained in the *final Communiqué* fifty-first ordinary session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government. On this note, the Nigerian government’s Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission (ICRC) and Euphoria Press signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for a public private partnership to implement the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) Biometric Identity Card (Biometric Update, 2019, April 25th). To ensure the implementation of the Supplementary

⁴ See Section 1.1

Measures and Common External Tariff in West Africa, ECOWAS (2020) observed that the Ministers in charge of Finance of Member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have in their fifth meeting held on 22nd November 2019 in Abuja, Nigeria, validated the draft regulation extending the period of implementation of Supplementary Protection Measures of the ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET).

However, the Community Parliament within the period did not mention expressly, the issue of border closure between Nigeria and the Member States which is capable of derailing its regional integration efforts. Only the Authority of Heads of State and Government mentioned it at its Extraordinary Session held on the 8th of November, 2019 in Niamey, Republic of Niger, under the chairmanship of H. E. Issoufou Mahamadou, President of the Republic of Niger and Chairman of the Authority. On this note, the *Final Communiqué* of this session posited that

The Authority was briefed on the border closure between on one hand, the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of Benin and, on the other hand, between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. The Summit notes the on-going actions being taken by the Commission with the deployment of the Task Force on the Free Movement of Goods and Persons. The Heads of State encouraged the affected Member States to continue consultations, in order to reach a consensual solution. The Authority was informed that a tripartite meeting has been scheduled between Nigeria, Benin and Niger in Abuja on 14th November 2019, to find a lasting solution to the issue (Final Communiqué Extraordinary Session, 2019, November 18th).

Continuing, the final communiqué notes that

In addition, subsequent meetings will be convened between in particular, the Ministers of Trade and Finance of Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria and Togo, under the auspices of the President of Burkina Faso, champion of the Free Movement of Goods and Persons. These meetings will seek to deepen discussions on trade between Member States in the sub-region (Final Communiqué Extraordinary Session, 2019, November 18th).

Instructively, the above situation can be attributed to the challenge of the Community Parliament not enjoying citizens' support. According to Kumahia (2013), democracy epitomizes popular participation. However, in the instant case, election into the ECOWAS Parliament is not based

on adult suffrage of citizens of the sub-region. Impliedly, appointment rather than election into the Parliament is at the behest of certain interests, thus, parliamentary agenda or pursuits are contrived to serve such interests.

4.3. Obstacles to the ECOWAS Parliament in achieving Good Governance and Integration in the ECOWAS Region

The literature highlighted the following as obstacles to the drive of the Community Parliament towards enhancing good governance and regional integration in West Africa:

- a) **Lack of Inter-Institutional Powers:** The ECOWAS Parliament lacks direct access to the decision-making bodies of the Community, i.e., the Council of Ministers and the Authority of Heads of State and Government. “Note to the Bureau” (2016) observes that this situation limits its influence and effective contribution. Furthermore, its cooperation with the ECOWAS Commission is limited to the presentations by the President during the sessions of Parliament and in case of referrals, for simple opinion.⁵ This position conforms to those stated by Kumahia (2013) and ECOWAS Parliament (2017).
- b) **Inadequacy of the structure of the Administration of Parliament:** as observed by “Notes to the Bureau” (2016), the present structure based on the organogram annexed to the 2006 Regulation, does not correspond to the present need of Parliament as regards its responsibilities in enthroning good governance and regional integration, especially with the current prospect of the enhancement of its powers.
- c) **Advisory Status of Parliament:** this situation does not allow the Parliament to play its full role because, it does not take part in decision making, which would permit it to

⁵ See Fourth Legislature 2016 Second Ordinary Session (ECW/PARL/BUR.VI/2016/12)

make historic contributions to big issues, such as the single currency, protection of Human Rights and respect for democratic principles. Kumahia (2013) decried the limited stipulated constitutional mandated role of the parliament. He alludes that its advisory role leaves it with little or no impact as its opinion is not always binding on other institutions of the ECOWAS.

4.4. Strategies that will mitigate the Challenges facing the Community Parliament

As a result of the above challenges, the following strategies would suffice in mitigating the challenges confronting the Community Parliament in enhancing good governance and regional integration in the sub-region.

- a) Strengthening inter-institutional cooperation by concluding the inter-institutional memorandum with the ECOWAS Commission and Council of Ministers. This which is the case with the European Union will help to define procedures and other modalities for addressing some of the vital issues in such a way as to involve the Parliament to obtain its input. Besides, this has become pertinent as parliaments over the world serve as institutions that legitimize the activities of government given that it is a representative of the people.
- b) Accelerating the process for the enhancement of the powers of Parliament to provide it the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process and thus, improve its contribution to good governance and regional integration in the region. The implementation of the supplementary protocol of enhanced powers for the parliament would help in no small measure in helping to cement its place as a platform for legitimizing activities in the sub-region. This is the most necessary because of the unrivaled place of parliaments as the foremost player in governance (Van Gestel, 2014).

c) Reviewing the organogram of Parliament's secretariat to enable it to adapt to the specific needs of the parliamentary institution. On this note, "Notes to the Bureau" (2016) suggested that the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and Research should be restructured to reflect the technical structure of the ECOWAS Commission. This, it argued would facilitate the adequacy of the level of inter-institutional technical cooperation and enhance the quality of opinions issued by Parliament, including the prospect for the enhancement of its powers. Also, following the jurisdictional scope of the committee system of organizing the legislature, no doubt this would enhance the effectiveness of the standing committees in performing their assigned mandates.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides the summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the study. The summary represents an overview of the dissertation thus, cutting across all the chapters; the conclusion gives the researcher's opinion on the substance of the study; while the recommendations are an array of strategies to bolster the efforts of the Community Parliament in enhancing good governance and regional integration in West Africa.

5.1. Summary

The study was designed to assess the roles of the ECOWAS Parliament in promoting good governance and regional integration in West Africa. Therefore, the objectives of the study were to: assess the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in ensuring good governance in the ECOWAS region, appraise the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in enhancing regional integration in the decision making process of the Community, identify the factors limiting the ECOWAS Parliament towards achieving good governance and integration in the ECOWAS region, and suggest strategies that will mitigate the challenges facing the Community Parliament.

The study adopted the qualitative research design, employing the purposive sampling technique in the selection of data. Therefore, data were collected from documentary pieces of evidence. The purposive sampling technique was used to select from an array of documents that served as the source of data (secondary data). Other secondary data were taken from published materials, namely: journals, the internet, etc. Qualitative analysis (emphasizing the textual representation of data) using content analysis was employed in the analysis of data.

Based on objective one, in 2016, the political and security situation in the region, especially those of Guinea Bissau and Mali were considered. Also, within the same year, a twofold recommendation was made at the end of the meeting on the Theme: “Maritime safety and stopping piracy: Role of the ECOWAS Parliament in implementing the ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy” to the ECOWAS Commission and the Parliament. Similarly, its Joint Committee on Political Affairs, Peace, Security, and APRM; Legal and Judicial Affairs, met with the ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, who briefed them on the political situation in The Gambia, and the efforts ECOWAS and the International Community made to ensure that the legitimately and democratically elected President Adama Barrow was installed, and peace and stability returned to the country. Finally, in 2018, the Parliament made a recommendation for the acceleration of the ratification of the African Union Convention on Protection and Assistance to Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention). In the same year, it deployed its Missions – Committee of Enquiry and Parliamentary mediation, to Sierra Leone to resolve her political impasse.

However, because of the standard parliamentary communication procedure where parliamentary intents are fashioned into resolutions before they could be transmitted to the executives – ECOWAS Commission, of six resolutions identified in the course of this research only three were adopted by the highest decision making organ of the sub-region. The resolutions adopted by the Authority of Heads of State and Government include A draft Resolution on the political situation in Guinea Bissau and a Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the terrorist attacks in Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and Mali, which were taken on the forty-ninth session of the Authority of Heads of State and Governments on the 4th of June, 2016. In the same vein, during its fifty-second session on the 16th of December, 2017, the Authority of Heads of State and

Governments adopted ECOWAS Parliament's Resolution on the political and institutional crisis in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Given Objective two, 2016 was an eventful year for the Fourth Legislature in its pursuit of the regional integration agenda. Some of its highlights include its two-fold recommendations to the ECOWAS Commission and the Parliament after its delocalized meetings on the themes: "ECOWAS Regional Investment Plan (RAIP), and the National Agricultural Investment Plans (NAIPs) of Member States; in the context of the proposed Revised ECOWAP 2016-2025", and "Impact of the adoption of the CET on the Economies of ECOWAS Member States-Role of Parliamentarians in Monitoring the Implementation of the CET". In 2017, its recommendations after its delocalized meeting titled "Status of harmonization of Education systems and curricula in West Africa with specific reference on Equivalence of Degrees, Diplomas, Certificates, and other qualifications" were a part of its major contribution to the regional integration discourse. Also, in 2018, its recommendations after its various delocalized meetings on the need for: the domestication and transposition of the Community Texts on ICT, as well as strengthening of internal indirect taxation in the Member States, and unifying rules for the elimination of double taxation, and rules governing assistance in tax matters and cooperation among others, are drives towards the improvement of regional integration.

Notwithstanding the above expression of parliamentary intent by the Parliament's Committees, the following resolutions stemmed from the recommendations: Resolution of ECOWAS Parliament on Free Movement of Persons and Goods and Migration, Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA), the draft Regulation on procedures for changes to the list comprising the products contained in the Tariff and Statistical Nomenclature (TSN) of the Common External Tariff (CET) of the Economic Community of

West African States (ECOWAS), draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the ECOWAS Single Currency, and ECOWAS Parliament's draft resolution on the draft regulating extending the implementation period of the ECOWAS Complimentary Protective Measures (CPM). Apart from the resolution on Free Trade and Movement of Persons and Goods which was adopted by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments during its 51st session on the 4th of June 2017, others were taken at its 56th session (21st December 2019).

However, like most issues, several factors are limiting the ECOWAS Parliament in its role to enhance good governance and regional integration in West Africa. Findings revealed that the challenges include but are not limited to: Lack of Inter-Institutional Powers, the inadequacy of the structure of the Administration of Parliament, and the advisory role of the Parliament. Consequently, the study recommended: strengthening the inter-institutional cooperation by concluding the inter-institutional memorandum with the ECOWAS Commission and Council of Ministers, accelerating the process for the enhancement of the powers of Parliament to provide it the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process which in part is the adoption of the Supplementary Act A/SA.1/12/16, and the review of the organogram of Parliament's secretariat to enable it to adapt to the specific needs of the parliamentary institution in a manner that will depict those of the ECOWAS Commission.

5.2. Recommendations

The study recommends that:

- a) The ECOWAS Parliament must fully implement its own referral process by initiating draft Supplementary Acts, Regulations, or Directives on issues deemed particularly relevant and joining them to the Resolutions and Recommendations. For instance, the Supplementary Act provides in Articles 8, 11, and 12 for how the Parliament may reflect its views and it includes a new instrument that previously did not exist, known as '*Mandatory Assent*' or '*Avis Conform*'.
- b) Devising a mechanism for getting feedback on the follow-up given to the opinions issued by the Parliament and the recommendations contained in its Resolutions. Such a mechanism will help to better assess the impact of the Parliament and improve its contributions. Worthy to note that in the course of the study, interactions with the staff at the legal department of the ECOWAS Commission revealed that in most cases, the parliament given its present status makes only recommendations for adoption as agenda for the Sessions of the Heads of State and Government, lacks a properly defined feedback mechanism on the implementation of its recommendations.
- c) Imbibing the principle of Universal adult suffrage. Just like the EU Parliament where the election of its members is done directly by citizens, the ECOWAS Parliament should imbibe this culture through the promulgation or amendment of necessary protocols to enjoy legitimacy and ensure it remains responsible to the people. This is necessary since parliaments are believed to be bearers of popular sovereignty following the election of their members by the citizens.

5.3. Conclusion

The vision of the Community Parliament is in tandem with the ECOWAS vision 2020. This vision talks about putting the people in the centre of the integration process. The principles of good governance involve political transparency, participation, tolerance, respect for human rights, administrative and bureaucratic capacity, and efficiency, while regional integration implies cooperation beyond National borders. Findings showed that the ECOWAS Parliament made great inroads in the areas of promotion of democracy by ensuring free and fair elections as well as facilitating cooperation among member countries, these it did by sending observer missions to monitor elections and intervening timely in cross-border issues respectively.

The parliament has shown from available records, the ability to contain many conflicts and potential conflict situations in the sub-region through dialogues and negotiations, cases in point are those of Guinea Bissau, Mali, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, among others. Also, the Parliament made efforts to ensure popular participation of the Community's citizens through the rotational sitting arrangement of the Parliament among the Member States, and its constant insistence on liaising with non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations to ensure a wider reach to the grassroots.

Conclusively, to ensure an improvement in the role of the ECOWAS Parliament in promoting good governance and regional integration in West Africa, there is the need to implement the recommendations outlined in this study.

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APPENDIX I

RECOMMENDATIONS OF ECOWAS PARLIAMENT ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Meetings of Standing Committees</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Recommendations</i>
1.	Meeting of the Joint Committee on Political Affairs, Peace, Security and APRM; Human Rights, Child Protection and Other Vulnerable Groups; Gender, Women Empowerment and Social Protection	28 th – 30 th September, 2016.	Abuja	<p>The consideration of the political and security situation in the region emanated from issues of insecurities that emerged from some of its country reports. On this note, Parliament recommended</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Close monitoring of the political and security situation in Guinea Bissau and Mali, as well as the recurrent outbreak of conflicts between herders and farmers in parts of Ghana and Nigeria. 2. To preempt any possible crises, elections in Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Gambia should be monitored. 3. The ECOWAS Commission in its report presented to Parliament recommended the appointment of a Rapporteur for Human Rights, who would be responsible for reporting on the status of Human Rights situation in the Region. 4. The National Institutions of Human Rights should develop a common approach to promote Human Rights.
2.	Joint Committee on Political Affairs, Peace, Security and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), Legal and Judicial Affairs; Human Rights, Protection of Children and Vulnerable Groups; Gender, Promotion of Women and Social Protection.	15 th – 19 th November, 2016.	Lagos	<p>A two fold recommendation was made at the end of the meeting on the Theme: “Maritime safety and stopping piracy: Role of the ECOWAS Parliament in implementing the ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy”.</p> <p>To ECOWAS Commission:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To establish, in collaboration with the Parliament, an inter-institutional committee to propose an appropriate mechanism for involving the Parliament in the implementation of the ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy. 2. To define and submit to the Heads of State and

				<p>Government, a demarcation plan for the maritime boundaries of the Member States concerned, in order to prevent any crisis situation that might arise from disputes related to the exploitation of the shared maritime resources.</p> <p>To the ECOWAS Parliament:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To undertake the organization, jointly with the ECOWAS Commission, of a regional parliamentary workshop on maritime safety. 2. To mobilize the groups of parliamentarians from the ECOWAS Member States to sensitize the Governments on the need to make the multinational coordination centres of the different zones active. There is also the need to operationalize national maritime security committees and the regional maritime centre, established within the framework of the ECOWAS Integrated Maritime Strategy.
3.	Meeting of the Joint Committees on Political Affairs, Peace, Security and APRM; Legal and Judicial Affairs.	13 th – 14 th February, 2017.	Abuja	The joint committee met with the ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, who briefed them on the political situation in Gambia, and the efforts ECOWAS and the International Community made to ensure that the legitimately and democratically elected President Adama Barrow was installed, and peace and stability returned to the country.

4.	Delocalized meeting of the Joint Committee on Gender, Women Empowerment and Social Protection; Human Rights, Child Protection and Other Vulnerable Groups.	3 rd – 7 th October, 2017.	Niamey	<p>The recommendations made with respect to the implementation and monitoring of many instruments and international agreements in the rea of gender are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The need for the parliamentarians to get more involved in the national economic and social policy programmes of their various Member States by voting the financial laws and paying attention to the budgetary postings to this effect. 2. MPs should also come up with legislation for sensitization campaigns, educational and information workshops for the benefit of the people, especially in rural areas where harmful practices such as domestic violence, genital mutilation, rapes, are common.
5.	Meeting of the joint committee on Political Affairs, Peace, Security and APRM; Legal and Judicial Affairs; Human Rights, Child Protection and Other Vulnerable Groups; Gender, Women Empowerment and Social Protection.	11 th – 15 th April, 2018.	Dakar	<p>The meeting on the theme: “Human Rights situation in areas affected by security crisis in West Africa”, recommended the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Accelerate the process of ratification of the African Union Convention on Protection and Assistance to Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention). 2. Adopt specific national legislation for refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants in accordance with international standards. 3. Governments and civil society organizations should work together to ensure the success of the fight against terrorism and human rights abuse.

6.	Deployment of Missions – Committee of Enquiry and Parliamentary mediation, to Sierra Leone to resolve her political impasse.	29 th April – 5 th May, 2018, and 11 th – 15 th June, 2018 respectively.	Freetown	<p>The Parliamentary mediation mission recommends as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organize a visit for the Speaker of Parliament soon after the November 2018 session to round up mediation activities conducted by parliament. 2. Urge the President of the ECOWAS Commission to extend to Sierra Leone the jurisdiction or mandate of the Special Representative of the President of the ECOWAS Commission in Liberia pending the opening of an ECOWAS Representation in the country. This measure will help to build on the achievements of the mediation conducted by Parliament. 3. Make a formal request to the Executive Secretary of the Mano River Union in Freetown to serve as focal point in following-up on the process. The Head of delegation may be appointed by the Speaker of Parliament to liaise with this sub-regional organization pending the completion of the mediation.
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Source: ECOWAS Parliament Annual Reports (2016; 2017; 2018)

APPENDIX II

RECOMMENDATIONS OF ECOWAS PARLIAMENT ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Meetings of Standing Committees</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>venue</i>	<i>Recommendations</i>
1.	Joint Committee on Agriculture, Environment, Water Resources and Rural Development; Infrastructure and Industrial Development; Education, Science and Technology; Communication and information Technology; Health and Social Services.	1 st – 5 th November, 2016.	Dakar	<p>The Joint Committee held a delocalized meeting on the theme: “ECOWAS Regional Investment Plan (RAIP), and the National Agricultural Investment Plans (NAIPs) of Member States; in the context of the proposed Revised ECOWAP 2016-2025”. To the ECOWAS Commission</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The joint committee requested for stronger collaboration between the Department of Agriculture, Environment and Water Resources and rural Development. The ECOWAS Parliament should be one of the official partners in the process of the implementation of ECOWAS II 2025, and should be fully engaged and invited to participate in future formulation and implementation of policies, programmes and activities of the ECOWAS Commission. 2. The need to strengthen the proposed renewed partnership by involving the ECOWAS Parliament in the whole process of the preparation of RAIP. 3. The ECOWAS Commission should facilitate the sharing of Senegal’s experience and achievements in its successful implementation of policy that resulted in an increase food and agricultural production, with Member States. This can be done through study-visits by officials and scientists, farmer visits and study tours and other information dissemination strategies. 4. The ECOWAS Commission should work with all stakeholders to revise the regulations on transhumance.

Consideration should be given to the establishment of modern livestock rearing methods, such as creation of ranches and restricted ranges for livestock grazing.

To ECOWAS Parliament.

1. Members of Parliament should ensure that the commitment made in the Maputo Declaration to allocate 10% of their annual budget to the agricultural sector is implemented.

2.	Joint Committee on Economic Policy, Private Sector and NEPAD; Trade, Customs, and Free Movement; Administration, Finance, Budget Control and Audits; Labour, Employment, Youth, Sport and Culture.	29 th November – Ouagado 3 rd December, ugou 2016.	A two fold recommendation was made at the end of the meeting on the Theme: “Impact of the adoption of the CET on the Economies of ECOWAS Member States-Role of Parliamentarians in Monitoring the Implementation of the CET”.
			<p>To ECOWAS Commission:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To ensure the effective implementation of the CET, EPA, CDP and TLS by all Member States, with specific timeframes. In this regard, to ensure that the 7 priority projects of the CDP are projects that can attract funding all by themselves. 2. To organize sensitization seminars of all National Parliaments of ECOWAS Member States to ensure that the major stakeholders associated with CET, EPA and CDP are well explained to Members of Parliament. 3. To organize sensitization seminars at the regional level for all ECOWAS institutions, especially the Parliament. 4. To organize sensitization campaigns for Community citizens to explain the vision and aspiration of the community in terms of the programmes.
			<p>To the ECOWAS Parliament:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To organize a caravan or study tour across the trade corridors of the Community for Members of Parliament and civil society for a feedback and dissemination of information directly to citizens. 2. To undertake the organization, jointly with the ECOWAS Commission, of a regional parliamentary workshop on the CET, EPA, CDP and TLS. 3. To mobilize groups of Members of Parliament of ECOWAS Member States to sensitize the actors and citizens of the Community.

3.	Meeting of the Joint Committees on Education, Science and Technology; Communication and Information Technology.	8 th – 12 th August, Accra 2017.	<p>Arising from its meeting themed: “Status of harmonization of Education systems and curricula in West Africa with specific reference on Equivalence of Degrees, Diplomas, Certificates, and other qualifications”. The meeting recommended the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The need for improved cooperation with Members of Parliament both at the regional and national levels. 2. The need to involve Members of Parliament at all stages of policy and programme formulation, from the conceptualization, designing, consultations, negotiations and finalization of these programmes. This way, Members of Parliament, being the direct representatives of the people, can take ownership of these policies and programmes and ensure their implementation is successful and the desired benefits and outcomes attained.
4.	Meeting of the joint committee on Economic Policies, Private Sector and NEPAD; Trade, Customs, Free Movement of Persons and Goods; and Administration, Finance, Budget Control and Audit.	19 th – 23 rd June, Bissau 2018.	<p>The meeting on the theme: “Tax policies in West Africa – What Tax System is Suitable for the Economic Integration of the Region – What Funding Mechanism is Efficient for Community Institutions?” recommended the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strengthening of internal indirect taxation in Member States. 2. Unifying rules for the elimination of double taxation, and rules governing assistance in tax matters and cooperation. 3. Strengthening anticorruption mechanisms in tax administrations and capacity building of stakeholders. 4. Advocacy to National Parliaments aimed at ratifying and implementing ECOWAS policies in Member States. 5. Self-financing by Member States of the Community Development Programme (CDP) and tax reforms.

5.	Meeting of the Joint Committee on Communications and Information Technology; Education, Science and Technology; Labour, Employment, Youth, Sport and Culture.	27 th – 31 st August, 2018.	Monrovia	<p>The Parliament made the following recommendations to the ECOWAS Commission:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Should assist Member States in the area of domestication and transposition of Community Texts on ICT. 2. Should accelerate the establishment and functioning of the Regional Radio State, by putting in place structures for a more efficient management system with a clearly defined line of communication Abuja and the Radio in Monrovia. <p>To ECOWAS Parliament:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Urged Parliament to partner with the ECOWAS Commission in all the phases of the development and implementation of the ICT programmes. This should include the engagement with potential partners for collaboration to develop the use of ICT by ECOWAS Institutions and Agencies in furtherance of the regional integration.
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Source: ECOWAS Parliament Annual Reports (2016; 2017; 2018)

APPENDIX III

STATUS OF ECOWAS PARLIAMENT RESOLUTIONS ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

<i>S/N</i>	<i>RESOLUTION/REFERENCE</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>ADOPTION/REFERENCE</i>	<i>DATE</i>
1.	Draft Resolution on the Political situation in Guinea Bissau ECW/PARL/RES.02(eng)/ORDSESSION/LEG.04/05/2016	16 th -31 st 2016.	May, <i>Final Communique</i> of the forty-ninth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority expresses deep concern over the persistence of the crisis in Guinea Bissau which undermines the implementation of the commitments made by Guinea Bissau’s development partners in March 2015 to provide a 1.5 billion US dollars financial assistance”.	4 th June, 2016
2.	Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the recent terrorist attacks in Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Mali ECW/PARL/RES.02(eng)/ORDSESSION/LEG.04/05/2016	16 th -31 st 2016.	May, <i>Final Communique</i> of the forty-ninth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority expresses grave concern at the terrorism scourge which is becoming a persistent threat in the region. It firmly condemns the terrorist attacks in Bamako and Timbuktu (Mali), in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and Grand Bassam (Cote d’Ivoire) which occurred respectively in November 2015 and May 2016 and January and March 2016, in addition to the attacks by Boko Haram in Niger (on 3 June 2016) and Nigeria. The Authority extends its solidarity with the affected countries and	4 th June, 2016

			presents its sincere condolences to the Governments and people of Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger and Nigeria”.	
3.	ECOWAS Parliament’s Resolution on the Political and Institutional Crisis in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau ECW/PARL/RES.01(eng)/ORDSESSION/LEG.04/05/2017	10 th -25 th May, 2017	<p><i>Final Communiqué</i> of the fifty-second ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government.</p> <p>“Authority notes the situation assessment submitted by the High-level Ministerial Committee responsible for the implementation of the Conakry Agreement, subsequent to its visit to Bissau on 2 and 3 December 2017. It deeply regrets the political impasse in Guinea Bissau despite the decisions taken at the 51st Ordinary Session of Authority of Heads of State and Government held on 4 June 2017 in Monrovia, Liberia. Hence, “Authority took note of the roadmap presented by H.E. Mario Vaz, President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau on the full implementation of the Conakry Agreement, in particular the appointment of a consensus Prime Minister”. Therefore, “to ensure consensual implementation of the proposed roadmap, Authority entrusts Presidents Alpha Conde and Essozimna Gnassingbe with the responsibility of holding talks with all stakeholders within a month. Failing this, individual or collective sanctions would be imposed on all who hamper the implementation of the agreement. It calls on the international community, particularly the United Nations, African Union and all sub-</p>	16 th December, 2017

			regional organisations, to support ECOWAS in the application of the sanctions”. Finally, “Authority congratulates H.E. Prof. Alpha Conde , President of the Republic of Guinea and ECOWAS Mediator for Guinea Bissau, for his sustained mediation efforts”.
4.	Draft Resolution relating to the fight against counterfeit and expired products in West Africa	14 th April, 2017	Not adopted
5.	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the draft decision adopting the ECOWAS 2019-2023 plan of action for the return of cultural objects to their countries of origin.	20 th Nov. – 14 th Dec, 2019	Not adopted
6.	Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the following draft Acts (ECW.PARL/RES.05/MAI/19): Draft ECOWAS Child Policy and its 2019-2030 Strategic Action Plan Draft ECOWAS Political Declaration and Common Position on the Prevention and Response to Child Marriage ECOWAS Roadmap on the Prevention and Response to Child Marriage	8 th May – 3 rd June, 2019	Not adopted

Source: ECOWAS Parliament (2020); ECOWAS Commission (2020)

APPENDIX IV

STATUS OF ECOWAS PARLIAMENT RESOLUTIONS ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION

<i>S/N</i>	<i>RESOLUTION/REFERENCE</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>ADOPTION/REFERENCE</i>	<i>DATE</i>
1.	Resolutions of the ECOWAS Parliament on the Implementation of the West African Common Industrial Policy (WACIP)	21 st Nov. – 9 th Dec., 2017	Not adopted	
2.	Resolution of ECOWAS Parliament on free movement of persons and goods and migration	17 th -22 nd February, 2018	<i>Final Communique</i> of the fifty-first ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority takes note of the country reports of the Task Force on Free Movement, which highlight the continued impediment to the free movement of persons and goods within the ECOWAS region”. Therefore, “the Heads of State and Government reaffirm their strong commitment to the implementation of the provisions of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment. In that regard, they agree to speed up the introduction of the biometric identity card and removal of non-tariff barriers, in order to facilitate intra-Community trade and enhance security in the region”.	4 th June, 2017
3.	Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA)	24 th September, 2018	<i>Final Communique</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. “The Authority further lauds the efforts of the Community on the ECOWAS Common Schedule of Tariff Concession for the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA) and enjoins quick resolution of outstanding issues. This is with a view to ensuring that all Member States submit single common offer to the African Union Commission”.	21 st December, 2019
4.	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on	15 th Nov. – 14 th	Not adopted	

	the Drafts of the: ECOWAS investment code and ECOWAS investment policy.	Dec., 2018		
5.	<p>Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the draft Community Acts below:</p> <p>The Draft Supplementary Act on Mutual Assistance and Cooperation between Customs Administration of ECOWAS Member States and Collaboration between them and ECOWAS Commission on Customs Matters.</p> <p>The Draft Supplementary Act on Community Rules of Origin and Procedures applicable to Products Originating in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).</p> <p>The Draft Supplementary Act adopting Community Rules for the Elimination of Double Taxation with Respect to Taxes on Income, Capital and Inheritance as well as the Prevention of Tax Evasion and Avoidance within the ECOWAS Members States.</p> <p>The Draft Regulation on Procedures for Changes to the List comprising the Categories of Products contained in the Tariff and Statistical Nomenclature (TSN) of the Common External Tariff (CET) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).</p>	15 th Nov. – 14 th Dec., 2019	<p><i>Final Communiqué</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government.</p> <p>“Concerning the Customs Union, the Authority notes the progress made in the implementation of the Common External Tariff (CET) and urges Member States to quickly complete the process of convergence towards the CET. To this end, it endorses the three-year extension period of the Supplementary Protection Measures”.</p>	21 st December, 2019
6.	ECOWAS Parliament’s draft Resolution on the draft regulation on the regional programme to facilitate the supply of petroleum products in the ECOWAS region	20 th Nov. – 14 th Dec., 2019	Not adopted	
7.	Draft Resolution of the ECOWAS Parliament on the ECOWAS Single Currency.	8 th – 14 th March, 2019	<p><i>Final Communiqué</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government.</p> <p>“The Authority commends the Ministerial Committee for</p>	21 st December, 2019

			the progress made with the implementation of the ECOWAS Single Currency Programme”. To this end, the Authority adopts the following as the name of ECOWAS Central Bank: “Central Bank of West Africa (CBWA)”.
8.	ECOWAS Parliament’s draft Resolution on the draft regulation extending the implementation period of the ECOWAS Complimentary Protective Measures (CPM)	20 th Nov. – 14 th Dec., 2019	<i>Final Communique</i> of the fifty-sixth ordinary session of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government. The Authority endorsed the proposed three-year extension period of the Supplementary Protection Measures”

Source: ECOWAS Parliament (2020); ECOWAS Commission (2020)