EPS PEAKS Our Expertise. Your Knowledge.

ECONOMIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

PROFESSIONAL EVIDENCE AND APPLIED KNOWLEDGE SERVICES

HELPDESK REQUEST

Political and Economic Constraints to the ECOWAS Regional Economic Integration Process and Opportunities for Donor Engagement

Jakob Engel and Marie-Agnès Jouanjean

Overseas Development Institute

February 2015

EPS-PEAKS is a consortium of organisations that provides Economics and Private Sector Professional Evidence and Applied Knowledge Services to the DfID. The core services include:

1) Helpdesk
2) Document library
3) Information on training and e-learning opportunities
4) Topic guides
5) Structured professional development sessions
6) E-Bulletin

To find out more or access EPS-PEAKS services or feedback on this or other output, visit the EPS-PEAKS community on http://partnerplatform.org/eps-peaks or contact Alberto Lemma, Knowledge Manager, EPS-PEAKS core services at a.lemma@odi.org.uk.

Contents

Acknowledgement

This report was commissioned by DFID within the context of the EPS PEAKS Helpdesk Facility and authored by Jakob Engel (ODI Consultant and DPhil Candidate, University of Oxford) and Marie-Agnès Jouanjean (Research Fellow, ODI). The authors gratefully acknowledge detailed comments on an earlier draft by Matthew Johnson-Idan (DFID) and Dirk-Willem te Velde (ODI), as well as the input of the following informants: Filippo Amato, Juan Casla Urteaga and Isioma Okafor (all EC); Richard Ough and Nick Highton (both DFID) and Jean-Christophe Maur (World Bank). The findings and conclusions contained within are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the positions of these individuals or of their organisations.

Abbreviations

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian States
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CET	Common External Tariff
CILSS	Comité permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel
DFID	(UK) Department for International Development
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAP	ECOWAS Agricultural Policy
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ETLS	ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme
FTA	Free Trade Area
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
PAPED	Economic Partnership Agreement Development Programme
PAU	Politique Agricole de l'UEMOA
REC	Regional Economic Community
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SWARIP	Support to West African Regional Integration Programme
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WACIP	West Africa Common Industrial Policy
WAPP	West Africa Power Pool
WAFM	West Africa Food Markets

1 Introduction

This paper addresses two related issues pertaining to economic integration and trade reform in the West African region, and particularly the role of its primary regional economic community (REC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It aims to improve DFID's understanding of ECOWAS and trade and economic integration in West Africa more broadly, with the hope that this provides building blocks for further analysis planned in current and future DFID-funded programmes aimed at supporting economic development in the region. A particular focus of DFID interest is on agricultural trade reform in the context of two regional aid and technical assistance programmes, West Africa Food Markets (WAFM), and the Support to West African Regional Integration Programme (SWARIP).

The paper addresses two questions, as laid out in the Terms of Reference:

1. What constraints does ECOWAS face in promoting regional trade reform in West Africa? The ToRs state that "a particular focus should be on political economy factors at the regional and national level, as well as a better understanding of what the literature on political economy analysis suggests might be productive ways of overcoming these constraints."
2. What is the nature, organisation, management and effectiveness of external support provided to ECOWAS for trade reform from official agencies and other bodies in recent years?

Methodologically, this note draws on a review of the existing peer-reviewed and 'grey' literature (i.e. consultancy reports, donor documents and the like). It further benefited from several ongoing research projects examining the political economy of regional integration, most notably a forthcoming volume by the World Bank that is currently being finalised,[1] and two recently completed ODI surveys of the literature specific to agricultural trade policy (Engel and Jouanjean 2013a and 2013b). Further, as part of SWARIP, ODI carried out a DFID-commissioned literature review on regional integration in West Africa (Harris et al. 2011) and an overview of potential entry points for detailed political economy studies on regional integration (Chambers et al. 2012). Though they are somewhat dated, interested readers are strongly encouraged to consult these documents as well for a more in-depth review of many key studies as well as for potential ideas for more in-depth analyses.

This note has furthermore benefited from targeted interviews with select experts, all of whom asked that their views not be directly attributed to them due to the sensitivity of the subject matter.[2] Given the short time period available for this review (10 researcher days over a 1.5 month period), at this stage it only provides a cursory overview of the issues, though it hopefully provides a starting point for more detailed sectoral and country-focused studies. A recent DFID-commissioned political economy study of

[1] While this volume is still in draft form, and cannot be cited, it has informed the review.
[2] Interviews could only be held with representatives from donor agencies. Further interview requests of ECOWAS staff were made but due to lack of availability of the respective experts, these could not be carried out.

Nigeria's economic policy is likely to further provide a useful complement to this note. It should be noted, however, that while a great deal of information is available on the politics of ECOWAS, and the different political and economic constraints for implementing agreed trade reforms in West Africa, there is regrettably only limited available information on the current scope of support, as well as for evaluations of this support (Section 3).

This note is structured as follows: Section 2 addresses the first question on constraints to regional economic reforms, by first providing an overview of some of the symptoms and/or most visible manifestations of these constraints. It then proceeds to examine the political economy of regional integration. It is structured according to the five 'lenses' recommended in Vanheukelom et al. (2013) for analysing the political economy of regional integration:

- i) structural and foundational factors,
- ii) formal and informal institutions,
- iii) actors and agency,
- iv) sector characteristics, and
- v) global and regional drivers.

It then provides an overview of potential ways of overcoming these constraints derived from the political economy literature. Section 3 summarises the scope and nature of external support, and provides an overview of what is known about its organisation, management, and effectiveness. Section 4 concludes with a summary of findings.

2 Constraints to regional trade reform

2.1 Defining the issue and identifying its 'symptoms'[3]

2.1.1 What do we actually mean by constraints to regional integration and trade reform?

Drawing on past political economy analysis work focused on service delivery (e.g. Wild et al. 2012, Harris et al. 2013), and in order to better understand possible bottlenecks and incentive problems in political and economic reform processes, it is helpful to clarify their most visible manifestations. This section therefore identifies some of the constraints to reform highlighted in the Terms of Reference and in much of the literature on West African economic integration. This will provide a basis for a cursory political economy and institutional analysis of potential sources and causes of these 'symptoms'.

In this regard, it is useful to provide a brief clarification. The focus of this section is on the constraints and barriers to implementing economic integration and trade reform processes within the ECOWAS region that have been agreed by governments of the 15 member states. This includes the relatively far-advanced process (at least on paper) of economic integration towards a common external tariff and free trade area, following the linear paradigm of moving to sequentially integrate goods, labour and capital markets, and eventually monetary and fiscal policies (Balassa 1961, Hartzenberg 2011).

In this paper, we are not in a position to provide an explicit assessment of whether the approach to economic integration and reform in the region has in fact been appropriate for member states. While the literature is increasingly contentious in this regard, as will be elucidated in later sections, a central premise of this note is that individual and collective actors have politically and economically rational reasons both for agreeing reforms at the regional level, and then not implementing them at the national level. Understanding the reasoning in both cases is essential if external actors wish to engage productively.

We have chosen, in the following, to disaggregate these symptoms into four specific areas: i) the under-provision of regional public goods and particularly trade-related hard and soft infrastructure; ii) the non-implementation of regional protocols and decisions; iii) the high prevalence of (especially non-tariff) trade barriers; and iv) high levels of informal trade. These four areas are not entirely distinct. For example, poor infrastructure promotes the diversion of commerce to informal routes. High trade barriers are often the result of regional agreements, such as the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS), not being implemented. Nonetheless, they do all represent distinct and clearly discernable aspects of the reality of trade reforms not proceeding at the pace that they are intended to on paper.

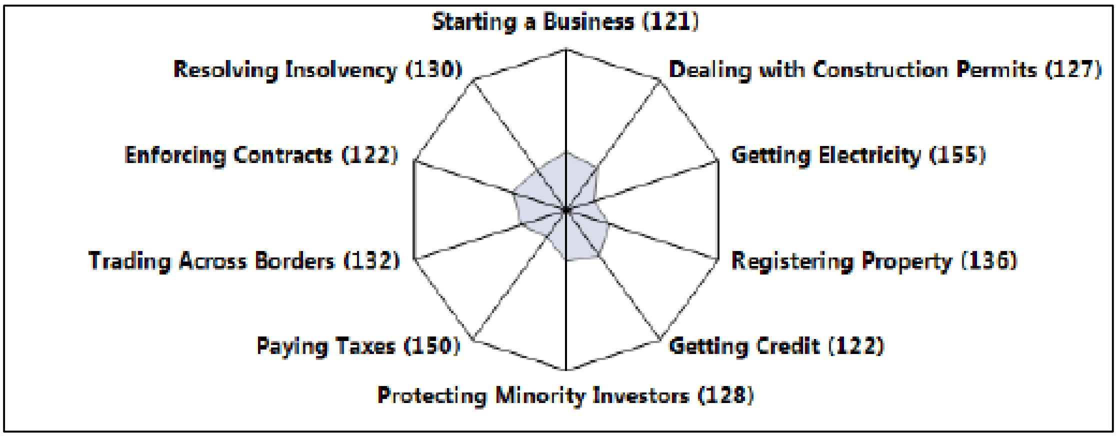
[3] This section draws substantially from a review of the literature on trade barriers in Engel and Jouanjean 2013a and 2013b.

2.1.2 The under-provision of infrastructure and other regional public goods

Infrastructure required to facilitate economic activity and improve development outcomes, including ports, roads, border crossings, energy and ICT infrastructure are considered public goods, and the West African region trails most of the world in terms of the quality and reliability of this infrastructure (Harris et al. 2012). Despite significant donor investment and longstanding efforts, transport costs remain high.

The ECOWAS Doing Business Regional Profile (World Bank 2014) provides an overview of key indicators pertaining to the business climate in the region. While a full overview of the region's performance exceeds the scope of this report, a focus of the 'trading across borders indicator' has the ECOWAS regional average ranked just behind the SADC average at 132 out of 189 countries, with Niger (179), Burkina Faso (174), Mali (163), Nigeria (159) and Cote d'Ivoire (158) among the forty worst performers. In terms of its rankings on "business environment indicators" it likewise ranks towards the lower end of key indicators (see Figure 1), though this masks considerable heterogeneity among countries in the region. For example, while Niger ranks 177th for the 'starting a business' indicator, Liberia is 30th. Similarly, Nigeria ranks 187th of 189 countries for 'getting electricity' while Ghana is 71st, and Ghana ranks in the top 50 for 'registering property' and 'getting credit'. This is also reflected in the ECOWAS Commission's own assessment of the main constraints to intra-regional trade, according to its questionnaire submitted as part of the Aid-for-Trade Global Review 2013 (see ECOWAS 2013). Here the most important constraints were identified as being the regulatory environment for doing business, inadequate transport links, cost of transport services and limited access to finance.

Figure 1: Rankings on *Doing Business* topics - Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)



Source: World Bank (2014)

The road network in the region remains inefficient and poorly linked, and while the major cross-border corridors in the region are now entirely paved, they are still subject to roadblocks and requests for bribes by customs and immigration officials (Deen-Sarray 2014). The rail network remains very poorly developed, and while the ECOWAS Commission, donors, development banks and national governments are investing heavily in ambitious cross-border energy and power infrastructure projects, Harris et al. (2012, p. 8) find "significant coordination and cooperation issues associated with cross-border infrastructure [that]… suggest the development of similar infrastructure or the possible extension of existing projects are likely to involve serious political economy challenges." Harris et al. (2012) further provide a detailed summary of regional public good provision in the areas of infrastructure, trade facilitation, the management of common pool resources, and peace and security. While an in-depth discussion of all of these aspects exceeds the scope of this paper, these sectoral dimensions (as will be discussed briefly in Section 2.2.4.) provide a helpful bottom-up entry-point into how regional integration is constrained and how barriers could be addressed.

2.1.3 Limited awareness of regional agreements and protocols

Both regional economic communities, ECOWAS and UEMOA, have developed comprehensive trade policy frameworks aiming to improve coordination and increase trade integration between their member states (Engel and Jouanjean 2013a). While regional leaders have been active in signing up to these intra-regional agreements and protocols, implementation at the national level has been slower. A striking example here is the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS), the main framework for developing the region into a free trade area. Particularly the comprehensive gap analysis of the ETLS by USAID's West Africa Trade Hub has found substantial disparities between legislation and implementation, limited private sector knowledge of protocols, and – in UEMOA member countries – a lack of clarity which REC's rules have primacy. In Benin, for example, private sector traders reported having limited detailed information on ETLS protocols, their rights, and where to find information and documents needed for transit (Brock et al. 2010a). In Ghana, the private sector was found to be aware of protocols but dissatisfied with their pace of implementation, feeling that informality may be less costly than strict adherence to the rules (Brock et al. 2010b).

However, this is not unique to the ETLS –there is a relatively frequent gap between agreement and implementation for regional rules as they apply to a number of trade-related areas with regionally agreed policy frameworks often incongruous with national policies. In the case of West Africa, Bromley et al. (2011, p. 10) argue, regional agricultural trade policy in Western Africa is often just 'a patchwork of rules implemented unevenly and enforced inconsistently, leading to an opaque business environment that severely limits the economic growth potential that agriculture possesses and significantly affects competitive access to food."

2.1.4 High prevalence of trade barriers

There is also growing literature on the increase of particularly non-tariff barriers in the region. Harris et al. (2011) summarise some of these issues, including improper charging of duty to value-added goods, the application of seasonal restrictions, unrecorded and arbitrary bans, as well as the imposition of quotas. Many countries furthermore have high unbound tariffs, further contributing to policy uncertainty.

This applies particularly to agricultural goods. A recent World Bank publication (2012) highlighted the barriers farmers face in accessing inputs, including long delays to access new seed varieties, higher prices for fertilizers due to higher trade costs, and inadequate institutions for the reduction of trade costs. One particularly striking fact in this regard is that producers in Nigeria and Senegal pay three times as much as those in Kenya for nitrogen-based fertilisers (ibid.).[4] This is augmented during times of crisis, such as during the 2007-09 spike in prices (see Rolland and Alpha 2008 on West Africa and Bryan 2013 for a global overview). During this time Guinea instituted an export ban on all food to neighbouring countries, while Senegal prohibited rice exports. While export and import bans became particularly pronounced during this period, they were previously also a relatively common feature of policy-making and have remained so.

2.1.5 High levels of informal trade

A combination of high barriers and unpredictable enforcement has created strong incentives for informal trade throughout the region. This is further exacerbated by complex border procedures and frequent harassment – particularly of female traders – along the border. However, given its nature, it is not easy to have a detailed overview of the precise scale of this problem beyond anecdotes and small-scale surveys.

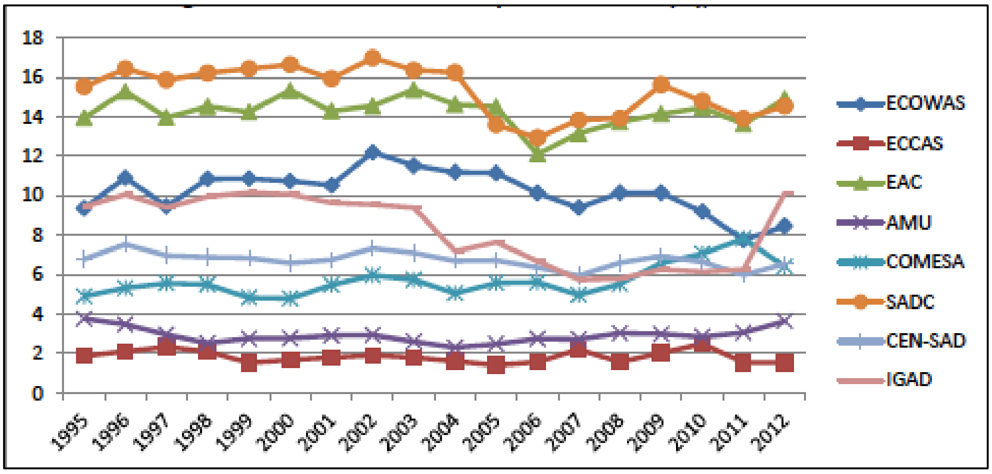
Particularly the Nigeria-Benin border has been singled out as particularly problematic in this regard (Treichel et al. 2011). Driven in part by the highly protectionist trade policy in Nigeria with frequent import bans, as well as harassment and extortion at formal border crossing, the Benin-Nigeria border provides a particularly striking example of the formalization of informal trade – most notably of illicit petrol and manufactured good from Nigeria to Benin, and the import of prohibited products into Nigeria (see Chambers et al. 2012, p. 12-13 for a more detailed discussion).

In combination, these factors have resulted in very low levels of formal intra-regional trade, even in comparison to other African RECs, which face somewhat similar constraints. The level of intra-REC trade as a share of total trade in ECOWAS is barely half of that in the SADC and EAC regions, and has been stagnant in recent years (see Figure 2).[5]

[4] Bumb et al. (2011) further elaborate on this. The authors map out fertilizer supply chains in Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal and conclude that argue that national specifications on fertiliser blends and specialty products have constrained the emergence of regional markets. This is additionally complicated by frequently unpredictable national subsidy programmes.

[5] However, these low levels of intra-regional trade should be taken with a grain of salt. Firstly, much of extra-regional trade is driven by Nigeria and particularly by its fuel exports. Secondly, given high levels of

Figure 2: Intra-African trade by selected RECs (%), 1995-2012



Source: Anyanwu 2014 from RIKS Platform Databases

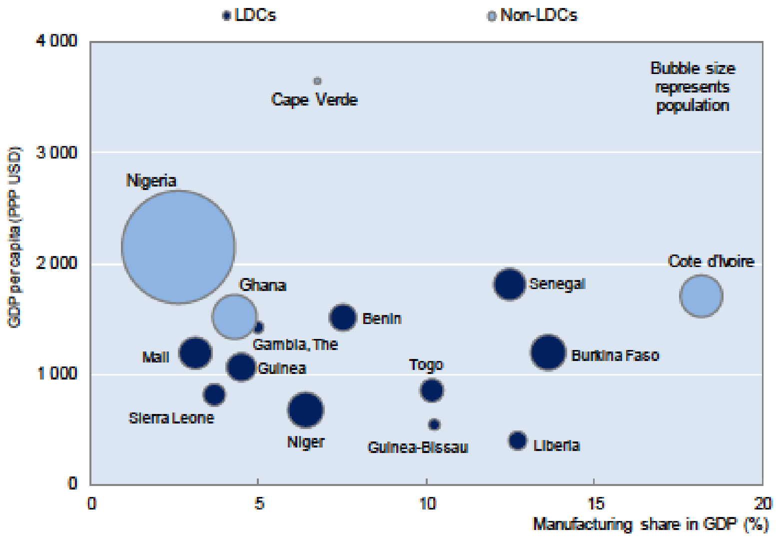
2.2 Understanding the political economy of West African regional integration

2.2.1 Structural and foundational factors

There are numerous structural or foundational factors related to the broader geographic, historical and economic context that are likely to influence the prospects for regional economic integration (Vanheukelom et al. 2013). At a very basic level, it is important to recognize the fact that – as outlined previously – the ECOWAS region remains very poorly connected internally and to the outside world. Except for those citizens in the emerging middle class, or living in border areas, most only have an abstract experience of regional cohesion and belonging. Dupairgre (2007, p. 8) argues that in terms of its history and endowments, each country is unique and "trade behaviour is explained more by the relations it maintains with its immediate neighbours than by the way it adapted to the implementation of the CET." This is also highlighted by the considerable economic heterogeneity of ECOWAS members (see Figure 3).

informal commerce that is not registered, it is likely that actual levels of intra-regional trade are substantially higher. However, no data is available on these flows.

Figure 3: Size and economic structure of ECOWAS members



Source: von Uexkull 2012 (p. 418), data from World Bank World Development Indicators

This figure also highlights the schism between the majority of LDCs in the grouping, and the few non-LDCs, which are subject to different multilateral trade regimes and beneficiaries of different preference schemes. Furthermore, it shows the dominance of Nigeria in terms of population and economic size in the region.[6] These structural factors that are largely immutable to medium-term changes, contribute significantly to the often very different interests and incentives ECOWAS member states face with respect to regional integration.

In terms of other contextual dimensions, some authors have pointed to the significance of the different French, British and Portuguese colonial and in turn linguistic traditions in the region. These have fomented what Metzger (2008, p 25) has described as "the well-known antagonism between English-speaking and French-speaking West Africa." While this may be an overstatement, the formation of ECOWAS was initially spearheaded by Nigeria and was primarily an effort to bring together the existing REC, UEMOA, with the five Anglophone and two Lusophone states of the region (Hulse 2014) with the primary goal of furthering economic integration.

This goal was expanded in the 1990s to include political and security affairs, with ECOWAS becoming the first REC to abandon the norm of non-interference in its members' domestic affairs (Hulse 2014*)*. In this regard, over the years, some have seen this political function of settling conflicts in a highly conflict-prone region as the organisation's primary role (de Melo and Tsikata 2014). Despite this, progress towards economic integration has in some regards been quite successful with significant steps towards greater integration achieved over time. However, the residual conflict between two sets of countries, two organisations and arguably two visions of integration and cooperation can help explain some of the tensions at the regional level.

---

[6] Venables (2003) for example argues that FTAs among developing countries can have strongly polarizing impacts as integration allows more developed and larger economies to dominate the higher value-added sectors.

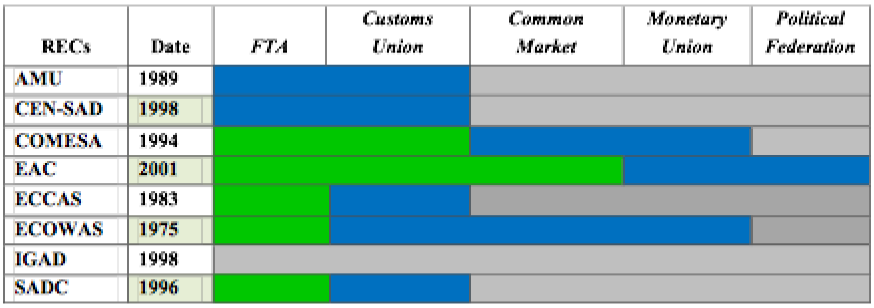
Finally, there is a significant ideational component that figures strongly in the regional integration project. Draper (2010) argues that African regional integration has *de facto* relied on 'European' intellectual foundations, with only limited ability to address Africa's challenges. This relates in part to the adoption of the EU-inspired linear sequential model of integration, as well as the longstanding focus on consensus decision-making. Koitzsch (2012), in his comparative analysis of ECOWAS and the Arab League argues that West African reform processes show, "indications for emulative behaviour of the EU's structural design" and that "diffusion processes [from the EU] can be used to explain why ECOWAS and the [Arab Leauge] decided to incite reforms, why they were increasingly pressured to realize them, why both regional organisations created particular bodies, and why institutional similarities can be observed." Here, Vanheukelom et al. (2013) invoke the biological concept of isomorphic mimicry that has been applied to institution-building in developing countries by Pritchett et al. (2010) in which "institutions superficially take the form of those in functional states but do not fully play the necessary roles and functions given the lack of supporting institutions, accountability and enforcement mechanisms." Thus, the strong historical and continuing ideological pull of the EU as a model of regional integration has shaped these processes in West Africa. As will be discussed in 2.2.5., this is now slowly being challenged by China.

2.2.2 Formal and informal institutions

The formal and informal institutions at both national and regional levels, Vanheukelom et al. (2013) argue, "are crucial for understanding how economic growth, political and social development, and policies affecting the nature of regional integration come about or function." These 'rules of the game' provide an important entry-point into understanding the pace of integration as well as the variation in national implementation (Rodrik 2007, Booth 2008).

Here a better understanding the functioning and internal dynamics of the two main RECs, ECOWAS and UEMOA, is useful. As can be seen in Table 1, ECOWAS does not trail other RECs in sub-Saharan Africa in terms of the ambitions of its integration project, but rather in making these aims reality. While UEMOA member states have had a long-established common currency (the CFA), and have developed a surveillance mechanism for macroeconomic convergence, along with a customs union and the abolition of tariffs or quotas on intraregional trade in domestic products, this has not been achieved throughout ECOWAS. ECOWAS member states agreed in 2006 to join the existing UEMOA Common External Tariff (CET) and a fifth tariff band (at 35 per cent) was added in 2009 at the behest of Nigeria. However, the CET has only gradually been adopted throughout the ECOWAS region, with ECOWAS finance ministers finally collectively endorsing the CET in March 2013. However, the effectiveness of this process has been highly varied, resulting in some of the 'symptoms' identified in Section 2.1.

Table 1: Status of integration



Notes: *achieved (green) *envisaged (blue) * not planned (grey)
Source: AfDB 2013 (cited in Vanheukelom et al. 2013).

In part this has to do with the existence of two overlapping RECs. While the official objective is for ECOWAS to one day subsume UEMOA, both organisations continue to exist and there is little indication that this is likely to happen in the near future. Harris et al (2011, p. 7) argue “lack of harmonisation between the different integration processes, marked by different working habits and rhythms of reform implementation has led to incoherence in approaches across RECs”.

However, the continued existence of UEMOA, with its significantly faster pace of integration (including a monetary union and common currency) and arguably greater linguistic, geographical and cultural cohesiveness among members, provides not only a distraction for dual members, but also an alternative model for regional integration. In this regard, Chambers et al. (2012, p. 17) argue

> *As all UEMOA member states are also ECOWAS member states there has been a tendency to concentrate on ECOWAS when considering the issue of regional integration in West Africa. However UEMOA is still a significant regional actor and one, which has been, arguably more successful than ECOWAS at overcoming the coordination problems critical to integration processes. Furthermore there are few signs that consolidation under ECOWAS will happen in the short term. On the contrary, recent moves by UEMOA to develop its regional policy coordination competences indicate it is moving away from, rather than towards, greater integration with ECOWAS.*

As such, there are concerns among UEMOA members that within ECOWAS their concerns will be neglected. In order to maintain community cohesion, a strong tradition of unanimity among leaders has dominated decision-making processes so that one larger or two medium-sized holdouts can stall processes of integration for all countries. This is not unique to West African regional integration, and examples of this are manifold, including South Africa’s role in the SADC integration process.[7] Brazil, in the case of Mercusor, has at times also taken on a similarly ambivalent role, providing

[7] This has a few reasons that relate particularly the existence of the EU-South Africa FTA, which has strained SADC (and the SADC-EU EPA negotiations) and contributed to its fragmentation and the suspension of working towards a customs union (Krapohl, et al. 2014). Specifically, The EU-South Africa FTA lowered South Africa’s common external tariff, without consulting other SACU members, thereby causing these to fear they would lose revenue from imports under the revenue-sharing agreement. Secondly, as the various trade agreements among SADC member states with the EU are different from each other, they complicate the development of a SADC customs union.

leadership during some periods of the regional integration process, but becoming a "Rambo" (Kraphol et al. 2014, p. 879) when important extra-regional interests or political considerations were at stake. Finally, in the EAC region the differing attitudes towards integration has resulted in a 'coalition of the willing' consisting of Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda forging ahead in spite of the reluctance of Tanzania (and to a lesser extent Burundi) to move at the same pace.[8]

Beyond this Turner and Fink (2013) and UNECA (2004, cited in Harris et al. 2011, p. 18-19) points to other substantial constraints to integration, including:

- Duplication between both organisations (which is in part being addressed by a clearer definition of mandates and objectives);
- Insufficient technical and analytical support (eg. cost-benefit analyses) for some integration instruments;
- Inadequate capacity and resources among counties and RECs to spearhead integration processes including, in the case of RECs, "lack of clarity of vision, strategies, and plans, resulting in diffuse activities" with RECs often ignoring the 'principal of subsidiarity";
- Challenges in recruiting sufficient middle management staff despite strong high level-leadership;
- Lack of coherence and links among sectoral cooperation programmes and policies;
- Missing or ineffective mechanisms for organising, implementing, controlling, monitoring, and revising the integration process;
- Lack of national mechanisms to coordinate, implement, and monitor integration policies and programmes;
- Inability to make integration objectives, plans, and programmes part of national development frameworks.

Incidentally, ECOWAS's own "Strategic Plan: 2011-2015", which contains a wide-ranging analysis of the organisation's strengths and problems, points to the following weaknesses, among others (ECWOAS 2010):

- Manual-based processes
- Weak structure of governance
- Erosion of values
- Poor planning
- Process automation
- Cost efficiency
- Lack of disciplined execution
- Work in SILOS
- Process inefficiency
- Shared vision not in existence
- Lack of appreciation/ reward

[8] See for example http://www.africapractice.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Africa-InDepth-East-African-integration-State-of-play-August-2014.pdf

At the national level, there is generally a reluctance or limited capacity or lack of interests by governments to implement many of these agreements. In part this is caused by a lack of qualified human resources in member states to implement programmes and agreements (UNECA 2013).

These problems are not unique to trade liberalisation. In terms of liberalising migration policies and implementing the 32 year-old protocol the Free Movement of Persons, Goods and Services and the Right of Residence, progress has been made, but in many countries implementation lacks far behind, with Vanheukelom et al. (2013) pointing particularly to a lack of sufficiently resourced immigration systems and informal practices of rent-seeking at borders. Visible impediments include under-resourced immigration ministries and border control departments and the absence of systematic entry and exit recording systems, among others (Harris et al. 2011).

In terms of informal institutions, it is also particularly pertinent to pay attention to the role of specific vested interests and cartels that have a strong influence in circumventing trade policies. The role of uncompetitive freight and trucking markets, for example can also help explain the inefficiency of many ports, border crossings, and other infrastructure integral to regional commerce. The literature also points to the relatively widespread nature of bribery in the region. Bromely et al. (2011) provide a detailed analysis of the prevalence of road corruption at checkpoints throughout the region.

Donors, however, also are subject to numerous institutional constraints that complicate their ability to support the regional integration process in West Africa. Turner and Fink (2013) point to the challenges donors have had in coordinating and harmonizing support to West African regional integration. In part this is attributed to logistical and geographic issues, with USAID managing its regional operations from Ghana, the EC from Nigeria and Brussels, DFID from Nigeria, and the World Bank from Washington, DC and Ghana.

2.3 Actors and agency

This section examines the impact of specific actors and agents as they interact within the structural and institutional context. In the context of regional integration, Vanheukelom et al. (2013) point to three kinds of actors as making a particular difference: political elites, state and regional bureaucrats and sector actors (including civil society groups, firms, farms and households).

The role of the Nigerian leadership is frequently singled out as presenting a particular constraint to the implementation of integration protocols. While during its initial stages, Nigeria pushed forward the integration process, contributing decisively to the expansion of the scope of its mandate (Hulse 2014), it has in recent years been reluctant to take a strong leadership role. According to one interviewee, the government does not view it as benefiting directly from regional integration. It also currently does not see a pressing need for diversification, though this may change in light of the current oil price decline. A further source of distraction for Nigeria remains the escalating conflict with Boko Haram rebels. In that context, Nigeria – viewing itself as an emerging global player in competition with South Africa for continental primacy – regularly contributes to peacekeeping missions and puts much more stock in the political and security functions of ECOWAS than potential economic gains from integration.

Another interviewee also said the current political elites largely believe in the importance of using tariffs and particularly import bans for infant industry protection. The Minister of Trade and Industry, Olusegun Aganga, much like his predecessors, largely follows this same approach in efforts to develop entire manufacturing supply chains domestically. Some Nigerian interest groups, such as the Manufacturing Association of Nigeria and certain large conglomerates (such as the Dagote cement corporation) continue to be able to dominate policy-making with ministers frequently having little real power to shape outcomes. This strength of anti-reform lobbies, which have stronger incentives and usually better information to resist change, than pro-reform groups have to lobby in favour, helps explain many stalled reform processes (see e.g. Hellmand 1998 and Grossman and Helpman 1994 among others, on the political power and role of protectionist interest groups).

In other member states, this principal-agent problem likewise persists, where the principal (ECOWAS) is unable to control the member governments. Very often, when given the choice between political survival and longer-term interests in collective regional development, the former tends to prevail for leaders in the region. In the case of, for example, import restrictions in times of food price volatility, governments turn their back on prior commitments either in the name of independence and self-sufficiency, and/or to forestall food riots. Here, in the absence of functioning social safety nets, providing low food prices for consumers (and high prices for producers) becomes an imperative for political survival.

However, this does not fully explain why commitments are actually agreed if they are later reneged upon. In part this is likely a consequence of good intentions confronted by many genuine implementation challenges and capacity constraints. Similarly, new governments in the ECOWAS region (as elsewhere in the world) frequently do not feel bound by regional commitments made by their predecessors. Chambers et al. (2012, p. 4) claim that “newly elected leaders eager to establish their own identity and differentiate themselves and their governments from their predecessors, often abandon positions previously established.” This is exacerbated by frequent cabinet reshuffles and inadequate national strategies. However, attendance of summits and of agreeing ambitious plans also, Khadiagala (2011) argues, provide a continuation of a historical legacy in which being seen to participate actively in foreign affairs helped enhance a leader’s image or stature. Thus, at times the agreement of overly ambitious liberalisation commitments in the context of grandiose summits and rhetoric have the more symbolic function of maintaining and further fostering regional cooperation and comity among West African leaders than presenting a realistic timetable for reform.

Finally, compared to the strong influence of anti-reform lobbies, the role of civil society remains relatively weak in pushing for change. While donors have been investing substantial resources in strengthening civil society organisations and private sector coalitions for regional integration, these are usually substantially weaker than more protectionist groups. At the regional level, there are moreover few non-governmental institutions to promote greater integration (see Engel and Jouanjean 2013a and Pannhausen and Untied 2010) for an overview. However, only very limited information exists on the role, membership or effectiveness of these. Further, their linkage to donors (and particularly the EU and its member states, with whom ECOWAS has been negotiating an EPA) also may be impacting their perceived legitimacy.

In terms of more reformist drivers of change, several recent analyses do point to the growing role of the *Comité permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel* (CILSS) in the agricultural area, in providing crucial information on the application of regional rules in ECOWAS Member States. WAFM (2014) argues that "one of the best places to start in terms of influencing reform is the CILSS Secretariat, which supports the formulation and implementation of West Africa's common policies related to agriculture, natural resources such as water, food security and environmental protection". Here, its role as disclosing unfair practices and reducing information symmetries is seen as particularly influential.

2.4 Zooming in on sector characteristics

A deeper understanding of how sector characteristics shape the constraints and opportunities for reforms can be useful. There are three main reasons for this. Firstly, the pace of integration differs greatly at the sectoral level as there are different policy and regulatory frameworks, institutions, and actors involved in the regional programmes and sectors at both regional and national level. A further reason is that historically, regional integration has often been a bottom-up project driven by and advocated for interest groups benefiting from cross-border value chains in particular sectors or better cooperation in the provision of regional public goods (this has been most notable in the ASEAN region). Further, a sectoral perspective allows for a more discreet and problem-focused identification of barriers and constraints to reform. While this note does not provide scope to explore in great depth the political economy dimension at the sectoral level, some cursory examples from the agriculture and transport sectors are discussed in this section.

2.4.1 Agriculture

Generally speaking, the recent literature is reasonably optimistic about the prospect for greater intra-regional trade and integration in the agriculture sector. This is driven by a few factors. For one, both RECs have prioritised food security (see Engel and Jouanjean 2013a for an overview). UEMOA adopted the *Politique Agricole de l'UEMOA* (PAU), in 2002 and ECOWAS adopted the *ECOWAS Agricultural Policy* (ECOWAP) in 2005 with the main objectives of boosting agricultural productivity and exports, attaining food security in member states and promoting sustainable livelihoods for farmers. This is based on the priorities of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP).

While there was criticism that in the early phase there was very limited implementation (see Savadago 2009, Bromley et al. 2011), there is some indication that this may be shifting, with more momentum particularly for facilitating access to cross-border seeds and fertilizer markets. Similarly, Swinnen and Janssen (2015 forthcoming), in their survey of the political economy of agricultural policy throughout sub-Saharan Africa, find significant reasons for optimism given i) high levels of investment into African agriculture that could reduce trade costs over time and shift political economy concerns, ii) economic growth that may also stimulate deeper integration, iii) the spread of democracy across West Africa, which is associated with greater RTA participation, iv) the fact that over time, as they are implemented, RTA opponents begin to see the benefits, and v) that despite the conventional wisdom, the dual REC participation of many members may in fact further regional integration and deepen it.

However, as for many issues outlined above, this is likely to be a long-term process. Implementation varies from product to product, issue to issue, and country to country. Thus, WAFM (2014) complains that “while both UEMOA and ECOWAS have developed a clear and consistent trade policy framework, regional and national trade policies are incongruous, unpredictable and opaque, both at the design, implementation and enforcement levels.” In this regard, it is useful to focus on particular value chains, and their institutional organisation and governance, with different partners in the chain taking different roles in political processes.

Furthermore, the agriculture sector is subject to very unique political economy dynamics with respect to regional integration (Jayne and Tschirley 2009, World Bank 2012), with the literature focusing particularly on the ‘credible commitment problem’ where governments face strong incentives to provide an adequate supply of affordable food staples in urban areas, while traders aim to maximize profits. In turn neither side knows what the other is going to do next and bases its behaviour in part on expectations of the other’s response, with no third party able to provide credible guarantees or predictability. Further, among potential beneficiaries of reforms, farmers face particular barriers to collective action, including spatial dispersion, poverty, low levels of education, lack of access to government and in turn very little attention from policy-makers. Engel and Jouanjean (2013b, p. 6) go on to argue that “if lobbying were to provide benefits, these would be spread thinly across millions of farmers, reducing the incentive of individuals to engage.”

2.4.2 Transport

The transport sector, as has been alluded to earlier, is subject to particular political economy dynamics. In the analysis of the West African trucking industry, Teravaninthorn and Raballand (2008) see the presence of cartels as central to high transport costs, but argue that “deregulating the trucking industry in West and Central Africa is less a technical than a political and social issue. The main concern is that under a liberalised, competitive market, the demand could be served efficiently by a much smaller number of trucks” (p. 8).

Zerelli and Coo (2010) focus on freight transport along 11 corridors in West Africa, finding considerable variation in the scale of distortion caused by uncompetitive markets. Keyser (2012) cites a study finding that traders had to pay 40 different fees when travelling from Ghana to Nigeria.[9] They advise that RECs and national governments should prioritise removing cartels through a more active approach to competition policy in the region. However, given the strength of these interest groups, this remains a highly fraught undertaking.

The regional policy on axle load restriction, which are intended to prevent problems associated with overloading of trucks by drivers, provide a particularly striking example of these complex political dynamics and provide a particularly useful case study of the political economy challenges that exemplify many of the issues around harmonization and mutual recognition of standards in the region (Chambers et al. 2012). Truckers have few incentives to comply with regulations as they can maximize short-term profits by overloading trucks. Chambers et al. (2012) also point to the fact that the starting points for compliance are very different for Francophone and Anglophone countries, making coordination more complicated. Secondly, there are explicit disadvantages to moving first as there are few indications of whether others are likely to comply.

2.5 Zooming out to global and regional drivers

While the role of external forces (and particularly of the EU) already featured in the discussion of structural and foundational factors, it is important to also consider how more immediate external dynamics affect domestic and regional actors, as well as the broader regional integration agenda. Two primary external forces feature most prominently in the context of ECOWAS: the EU and the ongoing EPA negotiations, and the growing influence of China.

The EPA negotiations have provided a clear external influence on the ECOWAS regional integration process.[10] With negotiations tentatively concluded in February 2014, and ECOWAS agreeing to liberalise 75% of trade over 20 years, the EU has at the very least accelerated, if not driven, the regional liberalisation agenda. As a result of the EPA, ECOWAS ministers have agreed to operationalise a regional CET from 1 January 2015, though there are concerns that the concomitant development of the market access offer and the CET has not allowed for enough perspective on how to align the two (ICTSD 2014). A compromise was also found on an MFN clause, which was initially largely resisted by ECOWAS member states.[11] As a strong carrot for West African negotiators,

[9] These barriers apply to large as well as small traders: the World Food Programme, which is the largest purchaser of food in West Africa, has reported frequent problems obtaining export permits, quality certificates and other documents from different countries in order to process transactions (Keyser 2012).
[10] This rather negative view of the EPA process is shared by other commentators: Kohnert (2015, p. 5) points to the disparities in EU discourses and interests between trade and aid policy, as well as “diverging and often hidden interests between EU directorates (trade vs development) and underlying self-centred mercantile and political concerns of individual EU member states.” This has contributed to high levels of mobilisation by civil society and business interests against the agreements.
[11] As a result, the draft agreement on the MFN “currently states that West Africa shall grant to the EU any more favourable tariff treatment that is granted to a commercial partner, other than African countries and

the EPA guarantees the continuation of PAPED support (a linkage that many have expressed concern about). Heads of State tentatively approved the EPA, but particularly Nigeria remains reticent, with its government in particular highlighting potential negative impacts of the deal on its industrial sector (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2014).

In the years leading up to the most recent and tentatively final agreement, the negotiations created a source of frequent tension in the region. Firstly, there were concerns about the EU's approach causing broader incoherence, with some of the tariff agreements between the region and EU contradicting the UEMOA CET (Ivory Coast) and the ECOWAS CET (Ghana) as well as regional rules of origin (Rolland 2011). The EPA negotiations also have highlighted the different views and preferences of members states, with some non-LDCs, who would not benefit from the EU's duty-free quota-free *Everything but Arms* preferences (especially Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire) more inclined to reach a conclusion to negotiations. Some have also argued that the EU's approach may have undermined regional unity and a more bottom-up approach to regional integration (Hancock 2014). Finally, many commentators and some EU member states (including the UK) had called on the Commission to show more flexibility in light of the Commission's October 2014 deadline for withdrawing DFQF market access for ACP countries if no agreement has been found. For Nigeria, which has been seen as the biggest barrier to an EPA agreement, the downgrading of its preferences to GSP had a minimal impact given its heavily oil-focused export profile.

The EU's focus on largely uniform region-to-region agreements has in the view of some also benefited China's stronger role in the region. Hancock (2014) has argued that China, which has shown little interest in strengthening existing regional groupings, has been able to insert itself as an external influence. Khadiagala (2011) similarly has argued that China and other new actors in the region could contribute to a second generation of regional agreements that are endogenously driven by African institutions, disengaged from the first generation of 'exogenous' EU-driven regionalism.

2.6 Overcoming constraints to regional economic reform

Based on this overview of the status quo of West African regional integration, it is helpful to consider how these constraints could be overcome. Historically, the prospects for regional integration have been strongest if the following three conditions are met (Mansfield 2009, Vanheukelom et al. 2013):

1. **Strong private sector support**: integration can only be successful if private sector actors support it. In turn, soliciting input form firms operating regionally or wishing to do so is essential.

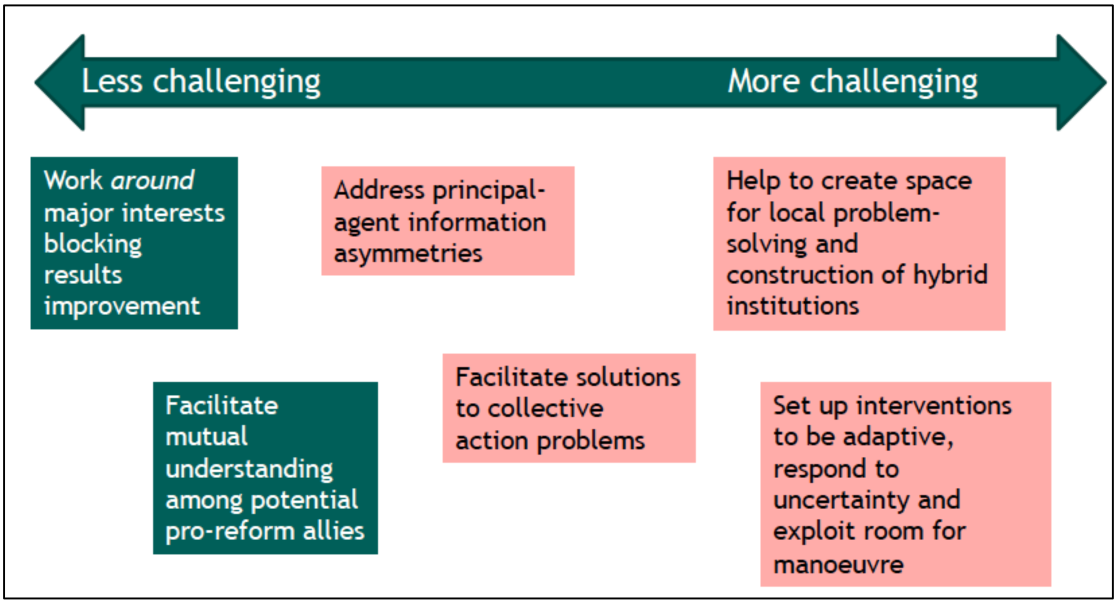
ACP states, whose share of international trade is higher than 1.5% and whose degree of industrialization, measured based on the ratio between the value added in manufacturing and the GDP is above 10% in the year preceding the introduction of the Agreement." This could include partners such as India, China and Brazil." (ICTSD 2014)

2. **At least one government takes the lead**: having one or two strong actors within a region drive the agenda can help overcome sectoral opposition from potential integration "losers".
3. **The number of actors is small**: negotiations become increasingly difficult as the number of actors increases. This is due to the increasing potential diversity of preferences, and the fact that transaction costs related to reaching an agreement increase as the number of actors increases.

The absence of any of these three conditions being fulfilled for West African economic integration process significantly complicates the situation for ECOWAS, though the unity and strong level of cohesion on security issues provides an important contrast, demonstrating that when there is unity and the support of the regional hegemon, Nigeria, the scope for the improved provision of regional public goods is strong.

In terms of programming options for external actors, this situation does suggest an approach that emphasizes caution and keeping expectations modest. Booth (2013) provides a helpful political economy framework for the likelihood of achieving reforms for external actors (see Figure 4 below).

Figure 4: Scope for external actors to influence reforms



Source: Booth 2013

In light of this, and given the current realities and the conventional around the likelihood of achieving significant changes in the reality of West African regional integration, this suggests several lessons from the literature on regional integration that may be worth bearing in mind.[12]

[12] Specifically, the authors propose 5 studies that provide practical useful priority entry points into the sub-regional dynamics of the region, including a better understanding of informal trade along the Nigeria-Benin border, corridor governance, the politics of ECOWAS and UEMOA, the role of Ghana in regional integration, and port efficiency in the region.

1. **Seeing regional integration as a process:** In the past, more successful regional integration processes in the ASEAN and MERCOSUR region were primarily driven by the private sector and occurred at very different speeds across issue areas, depending on where demand by private sector actors and coalitions of governments was greatest. In the case of Asian regionalism, this was driven by the need to facilitate the development of supply chains and services needed for diversification in order to participate in global production networks driven by US, EU and Japanese lead firms (de Melo and Tsikata 2014, Baldwin 2011). Here, the current linear model moving from goods to services to capital and labour mobility might actually be problematic as – for example – trade in services has been growing much more rapidly and faces fewer entrenched interests (UNECA 2010). This may also suggest moving away from ECOWAS as the main driver of reform and focusing on sectoral initiatives, which in West Africa have been very strong in financial services, telecommunications and retail.

2. **Recognising the limits of RECs as drivers of change:** ECOWAS and particularly UEMOA have been effective in developing the frameworks for regional integration and negotiating with external partners, but they have their own interests and substantial limitations in terms of capacity and legitimacy in driving forward the process. Here, given the heterogeneity of actors in the region, moving towards a 'variable geometry' approach (as is in part occurring through the EAC 'coalition of the willing'), where those wishing to integrate more fully proceed, might be more productive. However, this additional flexibility entails risks and could drive wedges between countries, as well as potentially weaken the legitimacy of the REC and particularly its principle of unanimity.

3. **Scaling back levels of ambition:** Rather than the highly ambitious envisioned integration agenda propagated by ECOWAS, it may be useful to take more piecemeal approaches focusing on key sectors or, for example, on mutual recognition rather than full harmonization when it comes to regulatory issues. It is important to bear in mind that the process of full integration took decades in highly developed Europe; as such, it may make sense to align expectations more closely with a more modest, realistic pace of change, also cognizant that this would allow for the actors involved to find an approach to integration best suited for what is appropriate given the region's needs and its history.

4. **Having a better understanding of the 'losers' of reform:** A study of nine agricultural liberalisation processes in East Africa (Aksoy and Onal 2011) found that reforms were most likely to succeed if those stakeholders capable of organising and blocking reforms accepted the redistribution of income and were willing to support or acquiesce to reforms. Further, they found that reforms generally were prolonged multi-stage processes tested repeatedly by political and economic shocks. As such, it is important to assess how both the status quo and desired trade reforms would affect incentives and the distribution of rents for key actors. Compensation mechanisms can be a central feature here (Engel and Jouanjean 2013b). Thus, rather than purely supporting pro-change constituencies, it may also be advisable for outsiders aiming to foster integration,

to facilitate dialogues and partnerships among groups affected by reforms at the value chain, sector and national level.

5. **Increasing the predictability of policy reversals:** In sectors particularly prone to reversals in regional trade commitments, such as the agricultural sector during food price crises, increasing the transparency and predictability of ad-hoc barriers may be more practical than pointing to their economic irrationality and wishing them away (Engel and Jouanjean 2013b). This could take many different approaches, including specifying time periods for which special situation exemptions are granted, or specifying a positive list of goods exempted from liberalisation commitments, with clear regional protocols and criteria for when a country can invoke these measures.

6. **Addressing information asymmetries:** Past work by USAID in assessing gaps in the ETLS has been important in making trade barriers visible and making policy-makers aware of their cost. The EAC's www.tradebarriers.org website catalogues NTBs in the region and allows ordinary citizens to draw attention to trade barriers. This low-cost platform has created a process by which each NTB is further investigated and results are publically reported to the EAC Secretariat. Such an initiative may be worth replicating in West Africa, and is in part already underway, with CILSS monitoring 'abnormal practices' along key corridors (WAFM 2014). UEMOA likewise operates an Observatory of Abnormal Practices with quarterly reports on road governance. Finally, some authors have recommended that the transparency of legal texts, and their complementarity with national regulations should be reviewed, and their accessibility facilitated. Many existing community instruments are not available online and many ECOWAS members do not regularly notify new policies.

This may help provide certain entry-points for programming and particularly for more detailed sectoral and national political economy studies, such as the one recently carried out on Nigeria.

3 Assessment of external support to ECOWAS

3.1 Scope and nature of support

There is currently not a fully comprehensive and recent overview of the scope of regional support to the West African region, but different donors are supporting ECOWAS-led initiatives in the area of Aid-for-Trade in different ways, including the DFID-led West Africa Food Markets programme and SWARIP. Largely donors make some effort to align with broader strategies and programmes led by ECOWAS. The main programmes in this regard include, but are not limited to:[13]

- The implementation of the ECOWAP/CAADP by the ECOWAS Regional Agricultural Investment Programme:
- The Action Plan of the West African Common Industrial Policy (WACIP)
- The ECOWAS Transport Facilitation Project;
- The Economic Partnership Agreement Development Programme (PAPED/EPADP);
- The implementation of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme;
- The West Africa Power Pool (WAPP);
- The implementation of the ECOWAS Common External Tariff.

While the precise nature of support for the implementation of these programmes is not immediately clear, particularly the PAPED and the WAPP have received substantial donor support. PAPED is based on five axes that were (retrospectively) aligned with Aid-for-Trade categories, and is intended to provide a framework for EU and non-EU donors to engage in a more effective and coherent overall approach to addressing trade-related needs (see Fink and Turner 2013 for a more extensive discussion).

Current EU support to the region falls under the 10th and 11th EDF and includes the following projects directly or indirectly associated with ECOWAS (see EU 2014):

- “West Africa Competiveness Support Programme”: aims to improve “regional private sector competitiveness through the facilitation of trade and investment, and the establishment of a regional quality infrastructure system in the West African region.” Its total budget over 5 years (2014-2018) is EUR20 million funded entirely by the EU, but executed with IFC and UNIDO.
- “Support to Regional Economic Integration and Trade”: objective is to “contribute to the establishment of an effective common market and the gradual integration of the West Africa region into the global economy, leading to increased economic growth and poverty reduction.” Its budget is EUR 22 million, with EUR 20 million coming from the EU. It is implemented by GIZ and IFC.
- “Transport Facilitation Programme I”: aims to improve regional transport services with the view to reduce costs and facilitate the free movement of people and free flow of intra-regional exchanges. It started in 2006 and is intended to run nine

[13] See http://www.aidfortrade.ecowas.int/programmes

years, with the EU providing EUR 68 million.
- "Transport Facilitation Programme II": started in 2014, aims to build on its predecessor and operationalise joint border posts, plan and manage road infrastructure and develop a more efficient transport system. Its budget is EUR27 million, entirely provided by the EU, though ECOWAS and UEMOA are providing a further EUR 11.7 million and 13 million, respectively.
- "Support to ECOWAS Public Finance Management Reforms" is a 5-year project (2013-2018) intended to support the ECOWAS Commission in implementing its regional strategy and pursue its mandate in a more effective way through a better management of resources. Its budget is EUR 9.8 million, with the ECOWAS Commission providing EUR 900,000 and the EU providing EUR 8.9 million.

The EU is further supporting the EUR 23 million "Regional Action Plan Against Fruit Flies" jointly with beneficiary countries, ECOWAS and AFD, though EU support covers the majority (EUR 17 million), and the IMF Technical Assistance Centre in West Africa (total budget EUR 31 million, provided through a multi-donor fund). Other support is included for the implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement of Person's Protocols and the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration (EUR 26.4 million from 2013-18) as well as projects related to human rights, security, combatting drug trafficking and organized crime.

Beyond this, numerous donors are supporting the ECOWAS Common Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP) and the implementation of CAADP, including the World Bank through a three-year capacity building programme. Numerous other organisations are funding large-scale transport and trade facilitation programmes, such as the World Bank's "West Africa Regional Transport and Transit Facilitation Programme" (USD 197 million between 2008 and 2016), which aims to improve access by Burkina Faso and Mali to Ghana's ports and to improve port operations along the Tema-Ouagadougo-Bamako corridor.[14] The AfDB's Regional Integration Strategy Paper for West Africa (AfDB 2011) provides extensive support for road transport and energy projects as well as capacity building for both the ECOWAS and UEMOA commission. The AfDB Paper also provides an overview of all donor support to regional integration, albeit from 2011 (see Annex 1). Recent efforts by USAID (as well as multiple other donors) have focused on the West Africa Trade Hub and increasingly on energy provision in the region.

Other initiatives include the African Trade Policy Centre, launched in 2003, which "strengthens RECs and member sates and trade-related institutions and networks to develop sound regionally coherent national trade policies and to participate more effectively in negotiations." It is being implemented by UNECA through funding from multiple donors. The EXPECT Initiative was launched in 2010 and aims to support SMEs in six West African value chains selected through the ITC's Market Analysis Tools. Partners include the ITC (in Mango Chain Development and building export capacity), the USAID West Africa Trade Hub for technical collaboration in developing cashew and Shea value chains, and SIFCA for developing palm oil.

[14] See http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P079749/west-africa-regional-transport-transit-facilitation-project?lang=en

3.2 Organisation, management and effectiveness of support

Regrettably, the literature on the organisation, management and effectiveness of aid to ECOWAS is relatively sparse and interviewees were also not able to shed too much light on this issue. Turner and Fink (2013), however provide some discussion of regional Aid-for-Trade and its effectiveness in West Africa. They report that past evaluations had suggested a stronger need for greater harmonization and coordination, with many DPs not aware that they could use ECOWAS' external relations department to coordinate activities. Further, while bimonthly mechanisms exist to bring together ECOWAS and development partners, this generally is relatively broad in its purview and does not address trade-related projects explicitly. Finally some donors have expressed concern about the absorptive capacity of ECOWAS.

However, particularly in the absence of informant interviews with ECOWAS officials, some wisdom on the official perspective of the organisation can be gleaned from the ECOWAS Commission's regional questionnaire on Aid-for-Trade, which was part of the 2013 Global Review (ECOWAS 2013). In pointing to the largest problems in elaborating and coordinating regional strategies the organisation pointed to the 'high turnover of national officials' and 'poor articulation with national strategies'. Further, the Commission was not able to list how much Aid-for-Trade it had received during any time between 2002-2010, as "*(i) not all financial assistance is provided through the regional institution; (ii) Not all Technical assistance is recorded in ECOWAS' financial records; (iii) Not all activities are executed through the regional institution using ECOWAS' procedures."*

In discussing aid and donor management procedures, ECOWAS points to multiple fora where priorities are discussed including a Regional Aid for Trade review; Annual Development Partners meeting; Bi-Monthly Partner meeting; Pool fund meeting; Capacity Building meeting; and Thematic Group meetings. However, this is complicated by the fact that donors are on very different programming schedules, and use different ways of establishing priorities, ranging from sectoral plans to regional development strategies to their own needs assessments. The biggest constraint in securing funds for the ECOWAS Commission is listed as 'regional priorities are not reflected in national requests for funding' and 'Difficulties faced in developing bankable projects'. Other concerns are the fact that not all donors have regional programmes, lack of appropriate oversight mechanisms, conflicting demand from overlapping regional organisations, and that many donors face constraints in offering support to regional organisations. As its top priority for improving aid-for-trade support, the ECOWAS Commission advocates for a sector-wide approach.

With regard to its monitoring and evaluation of assistance, ECOWAS uses four possible sources: donor monitoring, joint arrangements, its own arrangements and national system arrangements by member states. In order to improve aid effectiveness, the organsation sees as its top priority a stronger focus on capacity development, and greater capacity within the Secretariat, followed by greater coordination between member states, greater say in the design of interventions and more systematic use of monitoring and evaluation systems. However, interviewees have made clear that following a recruitment drive, the organisation is currently better staffed than it has been in the past.

Regrettably no evaluations of support to ECOWAS could be found despite requests to select donors. These would presumably provide a helpful source of intelligence on limitations of current and past support to ECOWAS, and would help inform potential future projects and programmes.

4 Conclusion

This paper addressed two overarching questions in response to a DFID EPS-PEAKS Helpdesk query:

1. *What constraints does ECOWAS face in promoting regional trade reform in West Africa?*
2. *What is the nature, organisation, management and effectiveness of external support provided to ECOWAS for trade reform from official agencies and other bodies in recent years?*

The paper relied on a review of the existing literature and expert interviews, and aims to provide an overview in order to help inform programmes, as well as to inform more sector- and country-focused studies.

The fact that regional economic integration in the ECOWAS region has faced and continues to face significant political and economic barriers is evident, *inter alia*, by i) the under-provision of regional public goods and particularly trade-related hard and soft infrastructure; ii) the non-implementation of regional protocols and decisions; iii) the high prevalence of (especially non-tariff) trade barriers; and iv) high levels of informal trade.

Following Vanheukelom et al. (2013), the paper uses five lenses through which to explain these. Table 2 has an overview of some of these factors as they apply to the ECOWAS region.

Table 2: Political economy constraints to regional economic integration in the ECOWAS region

Lens	Examples of constraints
Structural and foundational factors	- Inadequate hard and soft infrastructure and connectivity within the region. - Heterogeneity in terms of size and economic structure of ECOWAS member countries, with Nigeria dominating region economically and politically. - Different colonial and linguistic traditions. - Strong ideational push of EU's sequential model to integration.
Formal and informal institutions	- Two overlapping RECs, with UEMOA being much further along in terms of economic integration and representing a more culturally cohesive set of nations. - Organisational inefficiencies and capacity constraints in ECOWAS and UEMOA. - Lack of regional mechanisms to coordinate, implement, and monitor integration policies and programmes. - Reluctance or limited capacity or lack of interests by national governments to implement regional agreements. - Vested interests and cartels, particularly in freight and trucking markets. - Geographic dispersion of donors and relatively infrequent coordination meetings.
Actors and agency	- Nigerian leadership's reluctance to engage actively and implement agreements.

	- Pressure from import-competing industries (especially in Nigeria). - New governments often do not feel bound by the agreements made by predecessors. - Pro-reform civil society groups remain weak.
Sector characteristics	Agriculture: - Lack of credible commitment between government and traders. - Heightened pressures to renege on regional agreements in light of food price increases. - Farmers face numerous barriers to effective collective action.
	Transport: - Dominated by largely uncompetitive markets and frequent distortions. - Inadequate capacity and/or will to enforce regulations.
Global and regional drivers	- EPA negotiations have resulted in agreement to liberalise vis-à-vis the EU and operationalise the CET, but the talks have been a source of frequent tension and acrimony among ECOWAS member states. - China has shown little interest in strengthening existing regional groupings and has been a growing external influence in the region.

Overcoming these constraints to implement regional trade reforms remains a fraught process in the absence of strong private sector support, the willingness of one government to take the lead, and given the large number of member states. In light of this, and given the current reality of West African regional integration, this suggests several lessons from the literature on regional integration:

1. In the past, more successful regional integration processes occurred at very different speeds across issue areas, depending on where demand by private sector actors and coalitions of governments were greatest.

2. Given the heterogeneity of actors in the region, moving towards a 'variable geometry' approach (as is in part occurring through the EAC 'coalition of the willing'), where those wishing to integrate more fully proceed, might be more productive. However, this additional flexibility entails substantial long-term risks and could drive wedges between countries.

3. Rather than the highly ambitious envisioned integration agenda propagated by ECOWAS, it may be useful to take more piecemeal approaches focusing on key sectors or, for example, on mutual recognition rather than full harmonization when it comes to regulatory issues.

4. It is important to assess how both the status quo and desired trade reforms would affect incentives and the distribution of rents for key actors. Compensation mechanisms can be a central feature here.

5. In sectors particularly prone to reversals in regional trade commitments, such as the agricultural sector during food price crises, increasing the transparency and predictability of ad-hoc barriers may be more practical, for example by specifying time periods for which special situation exemptions are granted.

6. Donors can have an important role in addressing information asymmetries. Past work by USAID in assessing gaps in the ETLS has been important in making trade barriers visible and making policy-makers aware of their cost.

With respect to the current scope of support to ECOWAS (Question 2), donors have generally attempted to at least in part align with broader strategies and programmes led by ECOWAS, including the implementation of ECOWAP/CAADP, the Economic Partnership Agreement Development Programme, the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme, the West Africa Power Pool (WAPP), and the implementation of the ECOWAS Common External Tariff, among others. While the precise nature of support for the implementation of these programmes is not immediately clear, particularly the PAPED and the WAPP have received substantial donor support. In addition to the EU, the main donors providing large-scale cross-border support packages to the region are the World Bank and the AfDB as well as numerous national governments, including the UK.

The literature on organisation, management and effectiveness of support is sparse. However, past evaluations have suggested a stronger need for greater harmonisation and coordination. In order to improve aid effectiveness, the organisation sees as its top priority a stronger focus on capacity development, and greater capacity within the Secretariat. While monitoring and evaluation procedures are in place, it is not clear how robust these are and how well they inform further programming. As its top priority for improving aid-for-trade support, the ECOWAS Commission advocates for a sector-wide approach.

5 References

African Development Bank (AfDB) (2011). “Regional Integration Strategy Paper for West Africa 2011-2015” Tunis: African Development Bank.

Aksoy, Ataman and Anil Onal (2011). “Consensus, Institutions, and Supply Response: The Political Economy of Agricultural Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa.” Policy Research Working Paper 5782, World Bank.

Anyanwu, J. (2014) “Does Intra-African Trade Reduce Youth Unemployment in Africa” African Development Bank Working Paper No. 201.

Balassa, B. (1961). “Towards a theory of Economic Integration:.*Kyklos*, *14*(1), 1-17.

Baldwin, R. (2011). “Trade and industrialisation after globalisation's 2nd unbundling: How building and joining a supply chain are different and why it matters” (No. w17716). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Booth, D. (2008). “A research design fit for purpose” *Africa Power and Politics Programme Discussion Paper*, (3).

Booth, D. (2013) “Three forms of political economy analysis: Origins and uses” Presentation for AusAID, Canberra, 21 May 2013.

Brock, L., O. Omoluabi and N. van Dusen (2010a) *Benin Gap Analysis: ECOWAS Free Trade Area*, West Africa Trade Hub Technical Report #45

Brock, L., O. Omoluabi and N. van Dusen (2010b) *Ghana Gap Analysis: ECOWAS Free Trade Area*, West Africa Trade Hub Technical Report #36

Bromley, D., Cook, A., Sing, S., & Van Dusen, N. (2011). Regional Agricultural Transport and Trade Policy Study. *West Africa Trade Hub Technical Report*, (41).

Bryan, S. (2013). “A cacophony of policy responses: Evidence from fourteen countries druing the 2007/2008 food price crisis” WIDER Working Paper No. 2013/029.

Bumb, B. L., Johnson, M., & Fuentes, P. A. (2011). Policy options for improving regional fertilizer markets in West Africa. *International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Discussion Paper*, *1084*

Chambers, V., M. Foresti and D. Harris (2012) “Final report: Political Economy of Regionalism in West Africa – Scoping Study and Prioritisation” London: ODI

Deen-Swarray, M., Adekunle, B. and Odularu, G. (2014) “Policy Recipe for Fostering Egional Integration through Infrastructure Development and Coordination in West Africa” in D. Seck (ed.), *Regional Economic Integration in West Africa*, Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-01282-7_2, © Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2014

de Melo, J. and Y. Tsikata (2014) “Regional integration in Africa: Challenges and prospects” WIDER Working Paper 2014/037.

Draper (2010) *Rethinking the (European) Foundations of Sub-Saharan African Regional Economic Integration: A Political Economy Essay.* OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 293. Paris: OECD

Dupaigre, B.F, V. Alby-Flores, B. Yerima, A. Vourc’h, A. Lipchitz, and P. Chedanne (2007) *Accords de partenariat économique et dynamique des flux commerciaux régionaux*. Document de travail 39. Paris: Agence Française de Développement

ECWOAS (2010) “Regional Strategic Plan”

ECOWAS 2013 “Regional Questionnaire on Aid for Trade” Paris: OECD.

Engel J. and M-A. Jouanjean, (2013a) “Barriers to trade in food staples in West Africa: an analytical review” London: ODI.

Engel J. and M-A. Jouanjean, (2013b), “Barriers to Trade in Food Staples in West Africa: An Analytical Review,”. London: ODI.

EU (2014) “Update on the National and Regional Operations Managed by the EU Delegation to Nigeria and ECOWAS” Abuja.

Grossman, G. M., & Helpman, E. (1994). Protection for Sale. *American Economie Review*, *84*(4), 833-850.

Hanckock, K. (2014) “African Regionalism: the complex role of regional trade” Deese, D. (ed.) *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Trade*. Elgar.

Harris, D., V. Chambers and M. Foresti (2011) “The Political Economy of Regional Integration and Regionalism in West Africa: A Scoping Exercise” Draft Literature Review.

Harris, D., C. Mclouglin and L. Wild (2013) “The technical is political” London: ODI.

Hartzenberg, Trudi. 2011. *Regional Integration in Africa*. WTO Staff Working Paper.

Hellman, J. (1998) "Winners Take All. The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50(2): 203-34.

Hulse, M. (2014). “Actorness beyond the European Union: Comparing the International Trade Actorness of SADC and ECOWAS.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *52*(3), 547-565.

ICTSD (2014) ‘EPA: West Africa and the EU conclude a deal’ *ICTSD Bridges Africa.* 6 February 2014.

Jayne, T. S., & Tschirley, D. (2009). “Food price spikes and strategic interactions between the public and private sectors: Market failures or governance failures”. In *meeting “Institutions and Policies to Manage Global Market Risks and Price Spikes in Basic Food Commodities”, Trade and Markets Division, FAO Headquarters, Rome* (pp. 26-27).

Keyser, J. (2012) “Africa can feed Africa: Removing Barriers to Regional Trade in Food Staples” Wordl Bank Working Paper.

Khadiagala, G. M. (2011). *Institution Building for African Regionalism* (No. 85). Asian Development Bank.

Kohnert, D. (2015). “Horse-trading on EU–African Economic Partnership Agreements”. *Review of African Political Economy*, (ahead-of-print), 1-7.

Koitzsch, C. (2012). “Institutional Similarities Between Regional Organizations: An Analysis of ECOWAS and the Arab League”. *Roads to Regionalism: Genesis, Design, and Effects of Regional Organizations*, 117.

Krapohl, S., Meissner, K. L., & Muntschick, J. (2014). Regional Powers as Leaders or Rambos? The Ambivalent Behaviour of Brazil and South Africa in Regional Economic Integration. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*,*52*(4), 879-895.

Mansfield, E., H. Milner, and J. Pevehouse. 2008. “Democracy, Veto Players, and the Depth of Regional Integration.” *World Economy*.

Metzger, M (2008) “Regional Cooperation and Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa” UNCTAD Discussion Paper No 189. UNCTAD: Geneva.

Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2014). “Regional Integration: Uniting to Compete” Mo Ibrahim Foundation.

Pannhausen, C. and B. Untied (2010) “Regional Agricultrual Trade in West Africa: A focus on the Sahel Region.” GTZ

Pritchett, L., Woolcock, M., & Andrews, M. (2010). “Capability traps? The mechanisms of persistent implementation failure”. *Center for Global Development Working Paper*, (234).

Rodrik, D. (2007). “Industrial development: Some stylized facts and policy directions”. *Industrial development for the 21st century: sustainable development perspectives*, 7-28.

Swinnen, J. and Janssen, E. (2015, forthcoming) “Political Economy of Agricultural and (Regional) Trade Policies and Value Chain Performances in sub-Saharan Africa”

Treichel, V., M. Hoppe, O. Cadot and J. Gourdon (2011) “Import Bans in Nigeria Create Poverty.” World Bank Policy Note No. 28.

Turner, L., & Fink, A. (2013). “Regional Aid for Trade and Aid Effectiveness: Examples from East and West Africa” in Razzaque, M. and te Velde, D-W (eds.) *Assessing Aid for Trade: Effectiveness, Current Issues and Future Directions*.

UNECA (2010) *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa IV*: Enhancing Intra-African Trade. Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa.

Vanheukelom, J., Byiers, B. and de Roquefeuil.Q. (2013). *Arguing a Political Economy Approach to Regional Integration*. Manuscript.

Venables, A. J. "Winners and losers from regional integration agreements." *The Economic Journal* 113.490 (2003): 747-761.

von Uexkull, E. (2012) “Regional trade and employment in ECOWAS” in Lippoldt, D. (ed) (2014) *Policy Priorities for International Trade and Jobs.* Paris: OECD

WAFM (2014) “Policy Facility Influencing Strategy”

Wild, L., V. Chambers, M. King and D. Harris (2012) “Common constraints and incentive problems in service delivery”. London: ODI.

World Bank (2012) *Africa can help feed Africa: Removing barriers to regional trade in food staples*. PREM Africa Region Report 66500-AFR. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (2014) "Doing Business 2015: Going Beyond Efficiency. Regional Profile 2015 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)". Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank.

Zerelli, S. and A. Cook (2010). "Trucking to West Africa's Landlocked Countries: Market Structure and Conduct" USAID West Africa Trade Hub. Technical Report No. 32.

Annex 1: Donors' West Africa Regional Integration Interventions Matrix

Source: AfDB 2011

Sector	Donor	Project Name	Project objective	Amount	Currency
Agriculture	IFPRI	Agricultural Policy	Preparation of West Africa Agricultural Productivity program	1,956,000	USD
	France	Support for the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy	Support food security and nutrition in West Africa	10,400,000	EUR
		Line of Credit to BOAD	Agricultural Support	50,500,000	EUR
	WB	Agricultural Policy	Preparation of West Africa Agricultural Productivity program	750,000	USD
		Africa Emergency Locust Project	Emergency locust management	59,500,000	USD
		West Africa Agricultural Productivity Program APL 1	Support to regional centers of excellence in agricultural research and new agricultural technologies.	45,000,000	USD
		West Africa Regional Biosafety	Establish a regional biosafety framework for the regulation of Living Modified Organisms (LMOs) in WAEMU	3,900,000	USD
		West Africa Fisheries Project APL1	Sustainable management of regional fisheries and increasing local revenues from the fisheries trade	45,000,000	USD
Capacity Building	UN	Humanitarian Affairs	To promote institutional capacity building of ECOWAS	9,000,000	NGN
	WB	NEPAD Implementation	To assist West Africa Countries to improve their capacity	500,000	USD
	Canada	ECOWAS Capacity Building (PARECIS / Pool fund)	To promote institutional capacity building of ECOWAS Commission	5,500,000	Can $
	France	Support to BIDC	Risk Management	500,000	EUR
		Various support to WAEMU	Capacity building, Human resource development	900,000 + other financing from General budget support	EUR
	UK	ECOWAS Institutional Capacity Building	To promote institutional capacity building of ECOWAS Commission	Various programs, including the SWARIP	£
	USA	ECOWAS Institutional Capacity Building	To promote institutional capacity building of ECOWAS Commission	475,000	USD
	Co - Financing	Capacity Building	Improve Commission's Capacity for the implementation of NEPAD programs in the sub-region	3,975,245	USD
	EC	Monitoring of Regional Indicative Program (9 ACP ROC 10)	Improve capacities and coordination between ECOWAS and UEMOA, the member States and civil society	6,000,000	EUR

Sector	Donor	Project Name	Project objective	Amount	Currency
	Germany	Management Advisory Services	Strengthen ECOWAS Institutional Capacity	2,500,000	EUR
	France	Support to BIDC	Capacity building for Risk Management LAB/FT and RSE	500,000	EUR
		Institutional Support for ECOWAS and WAEMU Commissions	Capacity building, Human resource development	Various programs	EUR
Culture	EC	Regional Program on Cultural Cooperation (West Africa)	Financial support through Fund	4,000,000	EUR
Economic Integration and Trade	ACBF-ESCAP	Funding of statistical Capacity Building Project -212		1,500,000.00	USD
	EC	Economic Integration and Trade 9ACP ROC16	Integrate WA gradually into the world economy by strengthening regional economic integration among the countries concerned	76,400,000	EUR
		Economic Integration and Trade 9ACP ROC15 NSA Component		2,600,000	EUR
		Economic Integration and Trade 9ACP ROC15 UNIDO component		14,500,000	EUR
		Economic Integration and Trade 9ACP ROC15 OHADA - ERSUMA component		4,000,000	EUR
	EC	Economic Integration and Trade 9ACP ROC15 AGPAO-CSRP Component		5,000,000	EUR
		Support Economic Integration and the EPA negotiations 9ACP ROC9	Support WA in the EPA negotiations in accordance with the road map	7,000,000	EUR
		Technical Cooperation facility TCF 2 9 ACP ROC 21	To facilitate short terms TA, supporting RO with training and organizing seminars	4,000,000	EUR
		Regional Integration	To promote integration of West Africa sub-region	4,594,934	EUR
	ACBF-ESCAP	Policy-Dialogue Strategy to Harmonize the Financial Sector Markets in ECOWAS region	Making the ACP countries a better place for doing business		
	EC	Preparation of regional Investment Agreement			
		Study for the establishment of the African Diaspora Investment Facility (ADIF)			
		Forum International des Affaires			
		Development of Capacity and Framework at the ECOWAS Commission for Monitoring Investment Climate			

Sector	Donor	Project Name	Project objective	Amount	Currency
		Proposal for the establishment of a private ECOWAS financial improvement board (PEFIB)			
	Sweden	Strengthening the ECOWAS negotiating capacity during 2003-2006		11,800,000.00	SEK
	Swiss	Regional Integration	To promote integration of West Africa sub-region	80,000	USD
	UK	EPA Needs Assessment of ECOWAS Secretariat Trade and Customs Department	Needs Assessment should assist the Commission to identify any gaps in their present skills, competencies or structure necessary to effectively complete the necessary analysis, co-ordinate and consult effectively with Member States, and negotiate a consol.	19,000	EUR
		Support to the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) Negotiations in ECOWAS	Strengthen ECOWAS Commission's capacities with a view to preparing and concluding the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) Negotiations with the European Union	85,000	EUR
		Support to the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) Negotiations in ECOWAS	Strengthen ECOWAS Commission's capacities with a view to preparing and concluding the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) Negotiations with the European Union	175,000	GBP
Energy	France	WAPP	Regional integration of energy sector	5,000,000	EUR
	Volta River Authority	Energy	Development of the energy sector in West Africa	359,607	USD
	WB	West Africa Power Pool Phase 1 APL1	First Phase of Multi-donor Construction/Rehabilitation of a 330kV transmission backbone and supporting infrastructure connecting West Africa Power Pool coastal states	40,000,000	USD
		West Africa Power Pool Phase 1 APL2	Rehabilitation of a 60 MW run-of-the-water Felou hydroelectric dam supplying power to Senegal, Mali and Mauritania, and linked with the wider West Africa Power Pool network	160,000,000	USD
		West Africa Power Pool Phase 2 APL1	Second Phase of Multi-donor Construction/Rehabilitation of a 330KV transmission backbone connecting West Africa Power Pool Coastal States from Côte d'Ivoire to Nigeria	60,000,000	USD

Sector	Donor	Project Name	Project objective	Amount	Currency
Environment	WB	Reversal of Land and Water Degradation Trends in the Niger River Basin (GEF)	Development and implementation of sustainable measures for reversing trends in land and water degradation in the Niger River Basin. (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d' Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Nigeria)		USD
		West Africa Regional Biosafety (GEF)	Establishment of a UEMOA Regional Biosafety Framework to encourage safe development of living modified organisms and to oversee field trials and commercialization of transgenic plants, starting with cotton		USD
	France	Support to CILSS	Sustainable land management and climate change adaptation in the agriculture and water sectors	2,000,000 and 1,200,000 respectively	EUR
Water Resources Management	WB	Niger Basin Water Resources Development and Sustainable Ecosystems Management Project - APL1	Capacity building of the Niger Basin Authority (NBA), rehabilitation of the 760MW Kainji and 578MW Jebba hydroelectric plants, sustainable management of degraded environments and rehabilitation of small-scale water infrastructure (small hydroelecric dams and irrigation schemes)		USD
		Senegal River Basin Multi-Purpose Water Resources Development Project - APL1	Capacity building of the Senegal River Basin Association (OMVS), investment in irrigation infrastructure, improvements in fishing techniques and fisheries management, water protection, reduction in water-borne diseases, and pre-investment activities for five potential hydroelectric dams.		USD
	France	Support to OMVG, OMVS, ABN, ABV, and CCRE (ECOWAS)	Support for integrated water resources management, capacity building, financing of feasibility studies, and establishment of observatories		EUR
Health	EC	Regional Health Program - West Africa : 9 ACP ROC 003	Coordinate, harmonize and define common health policies and facilitate free movement of people, goods and services	15,000,000	EUR
	France	Project for the Extension of Health Risk Coverage in WAEMU Countries	Increase the number of people with health risk coverage	5,400,000	EUR
Human Development & Gender	UNIFEM 1		Organizing the Gender and Regional Integration Forum & Stakeholders Consultative Meeting on Gender Policy	10,000	USD
	UNIFEM 2		Strengthening of Gender Division of ECOWAS & ECOWAS Capacity to mainstream Gender Policy	84,000	USD

Sector	Donor	Project Name	Project objective	Amount	Currency
Immigration	Swiss	Immigration	To organize workshop on elimination of payment of bribe ECOWAS boarders	20,000	USD
Infrastructures	EC	Transport Facilitation	Improve regional transport services with a view to reducing factor costs and facilitating the free movement of people and goods	63,800,000	EUR
		West Africa Road Transport		2,000,000	Euro
	WB	Road transport and others			
		West Africa Transport and Transit Facilitation Project	Improving road and rail infrastructure and implementing transit and transport facilitation measures along the Tema-Ougadougou-Bamako corridor	190,000,000	USD
		West & Central Africa Air Transport Safety and Security Program APL1	Strengthening of Civil Aviation Authorities' safety and security oversight capacities and improvements in airport security and safety standards and infrastructure.	33,600,000	USD
		West & Central Africa Air Transport Safety and Security Program Phase II - APL 2	Strengthening of Civil Aviation Authorities' safety and security oversight capacities and improvements in airport security and safety standards and infrastructure	46,700,000	USD
		West & Central Africa Air Transport Safety and Security Program Phase II b - APL2b	Strengthening of Civil Aviation Authorities' safety and security oversight capacities and improvements in airport security and safety standards and infrastructure	16,000,000	USD
	Japan	West Africa Road Transport	To streamline and Harmonization Transit regulation procedures	936,818	USD
Peace Building & Conflict Prevention	France	ECOMICI	Peace keeping	435,545	EUR
				246,669	EUR
	EC	Nigeria - Cameroon Border Demarcation		3,950,000	EUR
	Canada	ECOWAS Institutional Capacity Building	To strengthen the capacity of ECOWAS to undertake its regional peace and security mandate	4,500,000	Can $
		West African Police Project	To strengthen regional capacity to train and deploy Civ Pol. to participate in peacekeeping operations	3,120,000	Can $
		Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Support for Capacity Building	To strengthen KAIPTC capacity to deliver its programs, complementing the mandates of the other IPTCs	3,000,000	Can $
		Construction of l'École de Maintien de la Paix (EMP), Mali	To construct permanent Bamako-based training facilities for the EMP	1,000,000	Can $
		EMP Training	To strengthen EMP capacity to deliver its programs, complementing the mandates of the other IPTCs	623,000	Can $
	Japan	Peace and Security	To Encourage the promotion of peace and security	170,000	USD

Sector	Donor	Project Name	Project objective	Amount	Currency
	Denmark	Peace and Security/ Capacity Building	To Encourage the promotion of peace and security/building the capacity of ECOWAS	54,000,000	Danish Kroner
	Switzerland	Small Arms	Preparation of convention on small arms control	24,000	USD
	Austria	Early Warning		145,706,562.00	CFA
	EC	Conflict Prevention and Peace-building	Assist ECOWAS to fulfill its mandate in the area of peace building and conflict prevention, particularly to develop a Conflict Prevention strategy for the region (9 ACP ROC 11)	5 500 000	EUR
		Conflict Prevention and Peace-building	Assist ECOWAS to fulfill its mandate in the area of peace building and conflict prevention (9 ACP ROC 11)	5,500,000	EUR
		Conflict Prevention and Peace Building	Creating mechanism for conflict prevention and peace building	2,134,929	EUR
	Germany	Equipment Aid Program	Enable participants to participate in international military peacekeeping operations	7,500,000 € (Current tranche; equipment only)	EUR
		Military Training Assistance Program	Enable participants to participate in international military peacekeeping operations	10,000,000	EUR
		Military Advisor Program (3 German Military Advisors at KAIPTC)	Prepare ECOWAS offers for participation in peacekeeping operations		
		Military Advisor Program (1 German Military Advisors at EMP)	Prepare ECOWAS offer for participation in peacekeeping operations		
		Military Advisor Program (1 German Military Advisor at ECOWAS HQ)	Enhance ECOWAS' military capabilities for peacekeeping operations		
		Support to KAIPTC (1 German Technical Advisor at KAIPTC)	To qualify civilian personnel from the ECOWAS region to effectively fulfill the necessary tasks associated with peace support operations and peace building measures, including election monitoring in the region	2,500,000,00	EUR
Private sector	France	Lines of Credit to BOAD	Support to private sector	30,000,000 + various financing from PROPARCO	EUR
WAEMU Commission	France	Support to WAEMU Commission	Support to health coverage project in WEAMU countries	5,400,000	EUR
		Annual General budget support to WAEMU Commission	Support to the implementation of the Regional Economic Program (REP), and capacity building	20,000,000 per year	EUR