

ECOWAS' Performance on Citizenship, Military and Security and How It Influences Development

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Abstract

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) since its establishment in 1975 has accomplished many aspects of its regional integration objective, despite some difficulties. In accordance with the relevant provisions of the revised Treaty, the Community is supposed to take steps that ensure development/harmonization and/or coordination of national policies. However, the capacity of the Community on the implementation of the revised Treaty and other norms has been constantly challenged by diverse factors. Its performance in the domains of citizenship, military and security is no exception. These challenges are preventing the regional organization from achieving its integration goal, which is the envisioned path to regional development. This paper therefore analyses the organization's progress on citizenship, military and security performance and how it influences the development of ECOWAS.

Introduction

ECOWAS was established on May 28, 1975 in Lagos, Nigeria by heads of state and government of 15 states in West Africa, with a mandate to promote economic integration in all fields of activity of the constituting member states. Cabo Verde later joined in 1976 following its independence and the new developments in the region. The initial treaty to establish the ECOWAS was revised and signed in Cotonou, Benin on July 24, 1993 and it brought remarkable occurrences which included: the establishment of a Parliament of the Community and a Court of Justice of the Community to replace the existing Tribunal. The revised treaty also formally assigned the Community with the responsibility of preventing and settling regional conflicts. The current member states of ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d' Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo, since Mauritania left in 2002.

The aims of the Community are to promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in order to raise the living standards of its peoples; to maintain and enhance economic stability, to foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent. In order to achieve these aims, ECOWAS transformed its executive body from Secretariat into a Commission in 2007 and accompanied that measure with the adoption of a new legal regime for the Community. The former obligations of member states were captured principally in Protocols and Conventions which were subjected to lengthy parliamentary ratification processes in each state.

After the establishment of ECOWAS that follows the independence explosion in the 1960s, some ECOWAS member states faced military coups d'état and civil wars. Consequently, most ECOWAS citizens have yet to achieve and enjoy fully the rights referred to in the revised Treaty and many of them don't even know that ECOWAS exists. Furthermore, the overall economic growth of the region seems to be paltry.

ECOWAS leaders have recognised the imperative of achieving the desired integration of the Community in the ECOWAS Vision 2020 upon realizing that the past is full of unsuccessful development efforts by governments and the organization's agents (ECOWAS, 2010:2). Given this reality, this paper analyzes the state of citizenship, the military framework and the current security situation in ECOWAS in order to assess their influence on the level of development in the Community.

Thus, this study analyzes ECOWAS' revised Treaty and its supplementary regulations and consultation of academic literature, using qualitative, quantitative and explanatory methods. Therefore, the following research question is addressed: How do the citizenship, military and security evolution and current situation influence the development of ECOWAS? This question demands that the following alternative and null hypotheses be tested: H_1 : the citizenship, military and security situation influences the development of ECOWAS; H_0 : the citizenship, military and security situation does not influence the development of ECOWAS. Given these hypotheses, the major concepts that undergirds the analysis in this paper are citizenship, military, and security.

In the Constitution of the Republic of Cabo Verde, the concept of citizenship is associated with an idea of value; in this circumstance, it means that what is most valuable and must be practiced by everyone is to achieve fundamental rights, freedoms and guarantees. This is also the idea that is embodied in almost all the constitutions of ECOWAS member states; although many of them do not speak of the meaning itself, all of them state these rights and obligations of their citizens in their constitutions and other relevant governmental documents. With regard to ECOWAS the expression "community citizen" or "citizens" means any national(s) of member states who satisfy the conditions stipulated in the Protocol defining community citizenship (ECOWAS, 1993).

With regard to the concept of “military,” one cannot find its meaning in the various ECOWAS documents consulted. Therefore, the dictionary definitions of the term is used in this paper: i.e. armed forces, soldiers, military art, military resources, military career, career of arms, military hierarchy, order of subordination between the different posts and graduations.

The same procedure was performed in relation to the concept of “security” defined in the dictionary as a situation of what is safe, removal of all danger, certainty, confidence, firmness; person in charge of the security or entity responsible for the security of a nation. Thus, the last denotation is the one that is of relevance for this paper.

Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

The theoretical framework of this study hinges upon the idea of regional integration. In order to define the term regional integration, it is necessary to take into account some of the theoretical contributions that portray the theme. According to some theorists, the process of regional integration at the institutional level is defined as being communitarian, since it is developed on the basis of common and conjugal norms, values and interests. In this order of ideas, it is a community with a set of shared ties that also brings together distinct groups of people (Amitai Etzioni, 1995, as cited in Duarte, 2015:5). Additionally, political science theorists have developed other theoretical frameworks such as functionalism, neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism, transnationalism, transactionalism, institutionalism and rationalist institutionalism (Bangura and Lamin, 2016:1-4).

Taking into consideration the proposed theoretical framework, it can be stated that it is relevant for the current study in terms of the postulates of neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism, and institutionalism for the following reasons. First, considering ECOWAS’ characteristics and history as it relates to military and security issues, it is evident that it hinges upon the three main factors related to neo-functionalism (as defined by Hass; see Bangura and Lamin, 2016: 2, for details).

Second, the way that some heads of ECOWAS member states intervene in the Community lead us to conjecture that integration takes place within domestic politics and is entirely a logical consequence of intergovernmental negotiation and paying less importance to supranational institutions in the process of integration. Third, it is also evident that there is a need to give relevance of ECOWAS institutions and strengthen them to promote peace and human security in the region (Bangura and Lamin, 2016:2-3).

The methodology that used for the analysis in the present work is explanatory. Thus, to respond to the major research question of this study, a qualitative methodology is used based on the analysis and explanation of the norms and current situation on citizenship, military and security in our sub-region.

According to Zanella (2009), this approach is centred on the identification of the determinants and contributory factors to the triggering of a phenomenon and explaining the reason of the fact or phenomenon, so that the basic procedures of the analysis are to identify, classify and compare to deeply analyze all areas of the phenomenon.

This work also utilizes fundamental information resulting from quantitative data. Regarding the use of quantitative data, Silva & Menezes (2005) consider that it is everything that can be translated into numbers, opinions and information to classify and analyze a phenomenon. The quantitative data are related to gross domestic product (GDP), which represents the sum in monetary terms of all goods and services produced in a given country and in its calculation takes into account only the final goods and services in the production chain, excluding raw materials, labor, taxes and energy; and the Human Development Index (HDI), which is a comparative measure used to rank countries according to their degree of development and is calculated from data on life expectancy at birth, education, GDP per capita. These data are mostly for 2015.. So all data are very actual information reflecting the current situation of ECOWAS members states related to the theme of this paper.

Given the preceding explanation, it is clear that a mixed methods research is done, combining quantitative data and qualitative information and narratives. The main sources for the qualitative analysis are the ECOWAS Treaty, protocols and other decisions. For accuracy and the purpose of update the situation, personal conversations with an employee of the early warning department who, at my request, obtained information from other officials mainly about citizenship are used.

For quantitative data, information from the United Nation Development Program related to HDI, from IECONOMICS related do GDP, and from the United States Central Intelligence Agency related to security and military are utilized. Also employed is bibliographical research which, according to Beuren (2006), is based on previously published contributions on the topic analyzed, including reports, theses, dissertations, monographs, electronic articles, single publications, books and journals.

The Situation of Citizenship in ECOWAS

The revised ECOWAS Treaty establishes in several articles measures that the Community and member states themselves must implement to ensure citizenship and better life conditions for inhabitants in the region. Shown in Table 1 are the norms established via the Treaty and also measures to be taken by ECOWAS to accomplish the stated goals. Additionally, the last column portrays the current situation of the implementation of each norm.

Table 1: Status of the Implementation of Various Provisions Related to ECOWAS Citizens

Article	Content	Observations
34 (c)	Ensuring the harmonious and viable development of tourism within the Community, Member States must eliminate all discriminating measures and practices against Community citizens	This aims still yet to be achieved, therefore on the Priority programme matrices for the implementation of ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework ECOWAS establishes, among others, measures to promote awareness of tourism in the sub-region for the purpose to implement Regional Standard/Benchmark on Tourism.
59/1 to 3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Citizens of the Community shall have the right of entry, residence and establishment and Member States undertake to recognise these rights of Community citizens in their territories in accordance with the provisions of the Protocols relating thereto. 2. Member States undertake to adopt all appropriate measures to ensure that Community citizens enjoy fully the rights referred to in paragraph 1 above. 3. Member States undertake to adopt, at national level, all measures necessary for the effective implementation of the provisions of this Article. 	<p>The Community put also in place many other frameworks as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Protocol A/P.1/5/79 of 29th May that established the free Movement of Persons; b) Decision A/DEC 20/5/80 of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of May 18th, 1980 relating to the Community Transport Program; c) Convention No A/P2/5/82 of 29 May regulating inter-State Road Transportation between ECOWAS Member States. <p>Despite all this tools, the implementation of the joint border post concepts within Member States still not fully implemented.</p> <p>It should be recalled that the protocol A/P.1/5/79 of 29th</p>

		<p>established a transitional period accomplished in three phases, namely: Phase I – Right of Entry and Abolition of Visa, Phase II – Right of Residence and Phase III – Right of Establishment.</p> <p>We recognize that visa is no longer necessary to entry in any Member States, but there are some constraints, in entering Cabo Verde by citizens of the sub-region, even for a period that not exceed ninety days. This happens because Cabo Verde legislation contradict those of the above mentioned protocol.</p> <p>The right of residence has been granted under the terms of the protocol and law of the different countries, but none of the Member States has yet achieved the third phase.</p>
66 /1 to 2	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In order to involve more closely the citizens of the Community in the regional integration process, Member States agree to co-operate in the area of information. 2. To this end they undertake as follows: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. to maintain within their borders, and between one another, freedom of access for professionals of the communication industry and for information sources; b. to facilitate exchange of information between their press organs; to promote and foster effective dissemination of information within the Community; c. to ensure respect for the rights of journalists; d. to take measures to encourage investment capital, both public and 	<p>The perception is that most people from the community do not know much or do not know nothing about ECOWAS.</p> <p>In fact, even some journalists from Member States are not aware of the activities of the Community. This make ECOWAS to invite journalists from various countries to cover one of the ordinary session of the ECOWAS Parliament, beyond other activities planned exclusively for this class</p>

	<p>private, in the communication industries in Member States;</p> <p>e. to modernise the media by introducing training facilities for new information techniques; and</p> <p>f. to promote and encourage dissemination of information in indigenous languages, strengthening co-operation between national press agencies and developing linkages between them.</p>	<p>(ECOWAS, 2011). Furthermore, ECOWAS Parliament has decided since the third legislature to create a focal point for the national parliaments precisely to spread the agendas.</p>
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Source: Self-generated by author, except the content of the second column that was obtained from ECOWAS (1993: 25, 28, 36 and 40).

Continuing the analysis of the implementation of articles from the revised Treaty linked to citizenship, it is important to emphasize that with a view to accomplish the dissemination of information, ECOWAS planned to expend from 2012 to 2017 money to carry out the following activities: publication of books and reports, harmonization of travel documents for ECOWAS member states, training in several areas, recruitment of specialised employees and consultants, etc. (ECOWAS, 2011). ECOWAS also recognised the aim of achieving the desired integration of the Community in the ECOWAS Vision 2020 when it established the following: “In moving to adopt a common people oriented regional vision, ECOWAS leaders recognize that past and unsuccessful development efforts have been dominated by government and its agents” (ECOWAS, 2010:2).

The new strategy for the regional organization aims to create a borderless, peaceful, prosperous and cohesive region built on good governance and where people have the capacity to access and harness its enormous resources through the creation of opportunities for sustainable development and environmental preservation. So, ECOWAS definitively wants to establish in its Vision 2020 a move away from an “ECOWAS of States” to an “ECOWAS of People.”

The Military and Security Situation of ECOWAS

It must be noted that Africa has experienced mostly authoritarian regimes after the independence explosion in the 1960s. These regimes resulted from the biases introduced in the process of democratization that is the political instrumentation of identity. The identity approach was used as a pretext for maintaining a single-party and all the conflicts and problems related to those regimes later led to military regimes.

The successive coups d'état perpetuated in the Community are clear signs of the absence of democracy or its existence in a timid and insecure way. Indeed, the region most affected by coups d'état is ECOWAS, where only Cabo Verde and Senegal are good examples because they have never had military coups in the past, especially in the era of democracy and freedoms (Gomes, 2012:19).

Thus, West African countries have not been able to escape from military regimes. Also, in the beginning of the 1990s, Cabo Verde was the only rare case of transition reform introduced in ECOWAS member states that led to the democratic consolidation of the country (GAZIBO, n.d.:30).

With regard to the transition period, civil wars also occurred. In this manner and taking into account the civil war in Liberia that started in 1989, and since the majority of the ECOWAS Francophone member states were against military intervention based on the fact that there were no provision on the Treaty for military intervention in member states, the Anglophone ECOWAS member states established Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)—the ECOWAS Protocol on Conflict Prevention assumes ECOMOG and states it meaning as the “ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group” which constitutes the Community’s intervention force (ECOWAS, 1999, Article 21)—to intervene in that war. Thus, within the African continent, ECOMOG represented the first successful occurrence related to a regional security initiative since another organisation failed to intervene in the conflict in its region.

The Liberian civil war exhibited all the manifestations of a post-war, namely state collapse, ethnic conflict, and political fragmentation. This consequence also emerged from the fact that ECOWAS was not formally involved in the intervention during the crises. The ECOMOG interventions took place in the Liberian civil war (1990-1999, 2003) and extend to other conflicts in Sierra Leone (1997-2000), Cote d'Ivoire (2003-2004), Guinea Bissau (1998, 2003), Mali (2012 up to now) and in The Gambia (2017).

The mechanisms in place as the Protocol of Non-Aggression (1978) and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance in the Field of Defence (1981) showed their limits during the armed conflicts in different member states. So, there was an imperative need to develop and institutionalize a new legal framework to manage the new wave of intra-state conflicts and we cannot deny that there was an urgent need to prioritize conflict prevention in the same way as economic integration and development. Thus, in 1993, during the aforementioned conflicts, ECOWAS revised the Treaty and under article 58 (f) made provisions for the implementation of an observing system, a regional Office for Peace and Security, and also a peacekeeping force if necessary.

Later in 1999, ECOWAS established the protocol relating to the mechanism for conflict prevention management, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and security known as Early Warning. This system consists of an Observation and Monitoring Centre located in Abuja in the ECOWAS Commission Headquarter and also four Observation and Monitoring Zones within the sub-region (ECOWAS 1999, Chapter IV). The system also includes a number of field monitors, some from civil society groups and other officials appointed by the governments of the respective countries, and Cabo Verde is the only member state that does not have monitors nominated by the government, but has five monitors all coming from civil society groups. The system has a database of 66 predefined indicators distributed by 11 thematic groups that cover areas such as the economy, employment, internal administration, communities and defence, justice, labor, education, family and social inclusion, culture, health and social security, agriculture and the environment, infrastructure and gender.

On this basis, the monitors of the different countries report in real time and optimally, so that the reports constitute an essential source of information for the work of the different analysts of the Early Warning Division. Early warning is provided in advance of critical information of a hazard or imminent disaster to prevent or minimize loss of life and destruction of property and to also provide systematic collection of data and data interpretation through an analytical process to produce a report to be disseminated to decision makers.

All the policies and procedures implemented by the system come out with the following sources: daily highlights, situation reports that has weekly occurrences for each member state, quarterly peace and security reports, information or follow-up report, policy briefs, incident reports, early warning reports and thematic reports. In addition to all of these tools and framework, it is also important to mention the “Additional Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance” established in 2001 and the “Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials” established in 2006 that constitute a very good framework for the contribution to security when combined with the initial Protocol signed in 1999 and also the Regulation MSC/REG.1/01/08 that approved the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) with the purpose to serve as a reference for the ECOWAS member states in their efforts to strengthen the human security architecture in the region.

The intermediate purpose of the ECPF is to establish space within the ECOWAS system and in member states for cooperative interaction within the region and with external partners to push conflict prevention and peace-building up the political agenda of member states in a manner that will trigger timely and targeted multi-actor and multi-dimensional actions to defuse or eliminate potential and real threats to human security in a predictable and institutional manner (ECOWAS, 2008).

The history of some member states is still reflected in the position held nowadays on different areas as shown in Table 2. For the purpose of knowing which country of ECOWAS is in better position, I organised the list of member states according to their HDI Index regressively positions; therefore, in the best position is Cabo Verde and in the worst is Niger.

Table 2: Current Socio-economic and Military Situations in ECOWAS Member States

Country	GDP Per capita (USD) 2015	HDI 2015	Military		
			Expenditures (2015) % of GDP	Branches	Service age and obligation
Cabo Verde	2738.31	0,646	0.56	a) Armed Forces: Army (also called the National Guard; b) Coast Guard (Guarda Costeira de Cabo Verde, GCCV, includes naval infantry) (2013).	a) 18-35 years of age for male and female; b) Selective compulsory military service; c) 2-years conscript service obligation; d) 17 years of age for voluntary service (with parental consent) (2013)
Ghana	1696.64	0,579	0.49	a) Ghana Army; b) Ghana Navy; c) Ghana Air Force (2012)	a) 18-26 years of age for voluntary military service, with basic education certificate; b) No conscription; c) Must be HIV/AIDS negative (2012)
Nigéria	2534.80	0,514	0.42	a) Armed Forces; b) Navy; c) Air Force (2013)	a) 18 years of age for voluntary military service; b) No conscription (2012)
Togo	553.86	0,484	1.71	a) Armed Forces (Forces Armees Togolaise, FAT); b) Army (l'Armee de Terre); c) Navy (Forces Naval Togolaises); d) Air Force (Force Aerieenne	a) 18 years of age for military service; b) 2-year service obligation; c) Currently the military is only an all-volunteer force (2017)

				Togolaise, TAF); e) National Gendarmerie (2017)	
Benin	804.72	0,480	1.1	a) Armed Forces (Forces Armees Beninoises, FAB); b) Army (l'Arme de Terre); c) Navy (Forces Navales Beninois, FNB); d) Air Force (Force Aerienne du Benin, FAB) (2013)	a) 18-35 years of age for selective compulsory and voluntary military service; b) Higher education diploma is required; c) Both sexes are eligible for military service; d) conscript tour of duty - 18 months (2013).
Senegal	1042.49	0,466	1.58	a) Armed Forces: Army; b) National Navy (Marine Senegalaise, MNS); c) Air Force (Armee de l'Air du Senegal) (2017)	a) 18 years of age for voluntary military service; b) 20 years of age for selective conscript service; c) 2-year service obligation; d) Women have been accepted into military service since 2008 (2013)
Cote d'Ivoire	1496.24	0,462	1.47	a) Republican Forces of Cote d'Ivoire (Force de la Republique de Cote d'Ivoire, FRCI); b) Army, Navy, Cote d'Ivoire Air Force (Force Aerienne de la Cote d'Ivoire) (2015)	a) 18-25 years of age for compulsory and voluntary male and female military service; b) Conscription is not enforced; c) Voluntary recruitment of former rebels into the new national army is restricted to ages 22-29 (2012)

The Gâmbia	536.28	0,441	1.48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Office of the Chief of Defense Staff: Gambian National Army (GNA); b) Gambian Navy (GN); c) Republican National Guard (RNG) (2010) 	18 years of age for male and female voluntary military service; no conscription; service obligation 6 months (2012)
Libéria	367.16	0,430	2.43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL); b) Army Navy; c) Air Force (2014) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 18 years of age for voluntary military service; b) No conscription (2012)
Guiné-Bissau	533.79	0,420	1.76(data for 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) People's Revolutionary Armed Force (FARP): Army; b) Navy, National Air Force (Força Aérea Nacional); c) Presidential Guard (2012) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 18-25 years of age for selective compulsory military service (Air Force service is voluntary); b) 16 years of age or younger, with parental consent, for voluntary service (2013)
Mali	720.81	0,419	2.43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Armed Forces: Army (Armee de Terre); b) Air Force (Force Aeriennne de la Republique du Mali, FARM); c) National Guard (Garde National du Mali) (2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 18 years of age for selective compulsory and voluntary military service; b) 2-year conscript service obligation (2012)
Serra Leoa	490.56	0,413	0.82	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF); b) Army (includes 	a) 18 is the legal minimum age for voluntary military service (younger with parental

				Maritime Wing and Air Wing) (2013)	consent); b) Women are eligible to serve; c) No conscription; candidates must be HIV negative (2012).
Guinea	417.10	0,411	3.85 (data for 2014)	a) National Armed Forces; b) Navy (Armee de Mer or Marine Guineenne, includes Marines); c) Air Force (Force Aerienne de Guinee) (2009)	no compulsory military service (2017)
Burkina-Faso	644.61	0,402	1.67 (data for 2014)	a) Army, Air Force of Burkina Faso (Force Aerienne de Burkina Faso, FABF), b) National Gendarmerie (2011)	a) 18 years of age for voluntary military service; b) No conscription; c) Women may serve in supporting roles (2013)
Níger	383.83	0,348	5.46	a) Armed Forces (Forces Armees Nigeriennes, FAN); b) Air Force (Force Aerienne du Niger) (2012)	a) 18 is the legal minimum age for compulsory or voluntary military service; b) Enlistees must be Nigerien citizens and unmarried; c) 2-year service term; women may serve in health care (2017).

Source: Self-generated by the author

Note ^a: second column source is IECONOMICS (2017), third column is UNDP (2016: 33-35), fourth, fifth and sixth column source is United States Central Intelligence Agency.

As can be seen in Table 2, the countries that are ranked first and second have reached the medium human development—Cabo Verde and Ghana—which occupy respectively the 122 and 140 position on the HDI world ranking. The remaining countries have low human development and Niger and Burkina Faso are the two worst countries in the region. Niger also takes the last place in the world ranking.

It is important to note that the above-mentioned success of Cabo Verde and Ghana depends on the performance achieved by these countries in terms of GDP per capita and HDI and also the current and historical situations of these countries related to security. Although Cabo Verde and Ghana are not the richest countries in the region, they have done well because of the political stability experienced in these countries (Cabo Verde is the only country that never had coup d'état; Ghana has had coups d'état, but has since enjoyed a successful democratic transition with several peaceful handovers of power) that influences their development.

In addition, to corroborate the preceding analysis is the fact that, for example, Nigeria has a GDP that is far greater than Cabo Verde and Ghana, but conflicts and other factors related to governance are negatively affecting its development. Thus, Nigeria's HDI is not growing proportionally to its GDP per capita.

Another case that corroborates the preceding analysis is the fact that Mali, despite all of its natural resources, is not in a good position both in terms of GDP per capita and HDI, derived from the lack of political stability and governance. Indeed, coups d'état and the war that is being waged in the north of the country influence the development of this country. In contrast, Cabo Verde, the region's poorest country in terms of natural resources, has occupied a privileged position in terms of GDP per capita and HDI as a result of political stability and good governance.

Related to the military resources, the member states that have more expressively spent and above two percent of their GDPs are Liberia, Niger, Mali and Guinea. The correlation of high spending and existence of actual/recent conflict is evident. Diverse factors that influence the situation have been widely cited by many scholars and researchers. They include corruption, instability, undemocratic rule and civil strife, lack of private sector activity in regional integration schemes (see, for example, Qobo, 2007). There is also a lack of alignment of the strategic policies of the member states with those of the region. Another issue is “..the fact that many African political leaders lack the capacity to propose new forms for society or any kind of strategy for coping with the challenge of multinational corporations” (Bangura, 1992:16).

From the preceding analysis, one can conclude that security within one country influences its GDP per capita and HDI, and that these three elements influence the level of development of a country. In essence, security, GDP per capita and HDI are interconnected since only countries that have a good standing on all of them, as it is the case of Cabo Verde and Ghana, have achieved medium human development.

Conclusions

The preceding findings on citizenship, military and security in ECOWAS lead to a number of conclusions. First, it is a fact that some Protocols and at least one article of the revised Treaty are not being fully addressed in all member states despite the fact that all members signed the norms. It is also recognized that ECOWAS is working gradually to facilitate and put in place with effectiveness all frameworks and mechanisms, although ECOWAS has not yet reached cruising speed.

Second, the desire to place citizens' well-being and good governance of the respective countries and of the Community on the first level of priority must be part of the wish of each leader from the region. Beyond the will, it is necessary to seek financial resources from the international partners to help ECOWAS on addressing and defeat the constraints. None of this will be possible unless the financial and human resources available in and for the Community are properly used.

Third, during the 1990s, defective democracies were part of transitional phases in the ECOWAS region that culminated in defective electoral authoritarian regimes or military regimes. The countries that achieved democratic consolidation show different and positive levels of development. Thus, their examples must be followed by other member states.

Fourth, it is necessary that leaders both in ECOWAS and at domestic levels establish the opportunities to transform all challenges related to their diversity in strength and opportunities. So far, some positive steps are being made, but all member states need to work together with ECOWAS so that they can achieve better life conditions for the people.

Fifth, with regard to the transition period, civil wars also occurred and the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) followed by intervention started in 1989, aimed to resolve the conflicts. It is important to praise that; within the African continent, ECOMOG represented the first successful occurrence related to a regional security initiative since another organization failed to intervene in the conflict in its region.

Sixth, the history of some member states in relation to coups d'état and civil wars is still reflected in the position held nowadays on different areas as demonstrated in Table 2. Indeed, other factors influence the situation of member states as shown in the Corruption Index, HDI, GDP and the fact that many African political leaders lack the capacity to propose strategic reforms to promote the development of member states and consequently the Community.

Seventh, it is also important to say that the security situation influences both the GDP and HDI, and that these three elements influence the level of development of a country. Thus, when analysing together GDP, HDI and security issues, one can easily conclude that all of them are interconnected since only countries that have good standings in all three elements, as it is the case of Cabo Verde and Ghana, have achieved medium human development that indicates reliably the level of development of a country.

Finally, this study has demonstrated that development, security, and human rights via citizenship are mutually reinforcing and are vital to an effective and comprehensive approach to development. The United Nations may be quite correct when it states that these variables are imperative for countering terrorism, and underlining that a particular goal of counter-terrorism strategies should be to ensure sustainable peace and security (United Nations, 2016:2).

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