Ecowas Protocol on Free Movement and Human Security in Nigeria

By

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Abstract
The treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was signed in Lagos on the 28th of May 1975. Article 27 objective of the treaty is to establish a borderless region and common citizenship in West Africa. A key objective of the treaty is to remove obstacles affecting the protocol on the free movement of persons, residents, and establishments in the sub-region. This study seeks to identify the obstacles hindering the full implementation of the protocol. Furthermore, it also seeks to find out how ECOWAS has been able to mitigate this obstacle to achieve the objectives of this paper, the study utilized secondary data using the documentary research method. The Human Security theory was used to explain how the analysis ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of persons has affected Nigerian citizens. Findings show that their COWAS protocol on free movement is to promote regional movement of persons, trade, and economic activities, but this protocol has done more harm than good to Nigerians most especially farmers in rural communities, and this has caused serious setbacks to human security in Nigeria. The implementation of the COWAS protocol on the free movement of persons from order African countries has influenced the farmer-herders clash that Nigeria is facing. Cultural barriers, lack of education, foreign policy of member states, inadequate colonial heritage and historical antecedent economic condition of member states, and threats to national security such as that illicit drug trafficking, money laundering, violent crimes, internet fraud, human trafficking, terrorism, and the proliferation of Small Arms weapons, are the major factors hindering ECOWAS protocol the on the free movement of persons which has affected Human security in Nigeria from. It, therefore, recommends among other measures, that the Nigerian government through the ministry of Agriculture should engage the farmers in the rural community and identify the root causes that bother their Human security implementation of ECOWAS protocol and free movement of persons through the ECOWAS secretariat should be reviewed.

Key concepts: Ecowas Protocol, Implementation, Free Movement of Persons, Human Security.

1.1 Introduction

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) treaty was signed in Lagos on 28 May 1975 as a response to the emerging trends in trade and the need to harness resources for the overall development of the West African sub-region. Countries in the sub-region faced economic challenges after the attainment of independence as well as weak economies and there were needs to put measures to tackle these challenges confronting the sub-region. This facilitated the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as a sub-regional organization. The ECOWAS organization consists of fifteen (15) member states namely: Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Niger, Togo, Mali, Benin Republic, Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Liberia, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Cape Verde. According to Article 27 of the treaty, the main objective of the Economic Community of West African

States is to create unified citizenship for all ECOWAS states to help increase the standard of living among member states (Mbachi & Ikeanyibe, 2017). In line with the ECOWAS treaty, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol was adopted in 1979. It emphasized on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence, and Establishment. The protocol granted ECOWAS citizens the right to free entry and exit within an ECOWAS state for a maximum of 90 days. Member states were given a period of fifteen (15) years to fully implement the protocol. The free movement protocol provides member states the right to enter, reside and establish a business in any part of the West African sub-region. It was conceived as one of the bedrocks of regional integration efforts in West Africa in the firm belief that the free movement of persons, goods, and services not only constitutes the fundamental basis for enhancing and consolidating the dividends of economic integration under the protection of ECOWAS but also capable of influencing positively the harmonious development of social, economic and cultural activities within the sub-region. The protocol has three phases. Member states were given a period of fifteen (15) years to fully implement and establish the protocol on the free movement of a person, residence, and establishment (Mbachi & Ikeanyibe, 2017).

The first phase of the protocol is the abolition of visa and entry permits for community members who wish to move to other states within the sub-region. Any citizen of the community who desires to enter the territory of another member state will be required to possess a valid travel document as well as an international health certificate. Citizens of the community visiting any member state for a period not exceeding ninety (90) days shall enter the territory of that member state through the officially designated point of entry without visa requirements. The second phase of the protocol is the right to seek and carry out income-earning employment, to community citizens in host ECOWAS states, provided they had obtained an ECOWAS residence card or permit. Additionally, it obliged member states to grant migrant workers, complying with the regulations governing their residence under ECOWAS, equal treatment with nationals in areas such as security of employment, participation in social and cultural activities, and, in certain cases of job loss re-employment and training. The definition of migrant workers excludes a person whose working relations with an employer have not been established in the host member state which in effect excludes a majority of migrants, as most people in the sub-region work in the informal sector. It requires member states to harmonize the rules and regulations relating to the condition for the issuance of residence cards or residence permits are given establishing an ECOWAS residence card.

The purpose of this paper is to appraise the implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement of Persons Protocol. However, the paper has a deep concern for the human security situation of Nigeria and is motivated to undertake the study top reoffering workable strategies that would strengthen the smooth implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons for enhanced human security of Nigeria.

Humanity lives in some form of a social group. These groups are identified by certain peculiarities like mode of subsistence; type of government; beliefs; culture and the like. But the instinct of humanity that has endured in history is the quest for self-preservation, based on security.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Several issues have been encountered concerning the implementation of the protocol. Some member citizens are unaware of the existence of the protocol for this however

affects the implementation of the protocol because for such protocol to serve its purpose, it needs to be common to the people whom it benefits. The implementation of the protocol is premised on the zeal to promote the free movement of persons, goods, and services, to facilitate trade and physical integration. Meanwhile, those who are direct beneficiaries of the protocol and its provisions are not even aware of its implementation. Also, ECOWAS citizens while migrating still experience rigorous and harsh scrutiny by member states' security agencies and this leads to the ineffectiveness of the protocol. Machineand Ikeanyibe (2017) cited that there is no security of lives and properties and that the protocol constitutes more security concerns than economic advancement through the influx of persons within the sub-region. Ebiri (2017) argued that some issues affecting the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol are a result of trans-border crimes, a threat to national security, and inadequate border infrastructure among others have prevented the full implementation of the protocol. The connection between the free movement of persons and socio-economic development and for a nation-state to experience growth, the presence of security is inevitable. The influx of little or no skilled and undocumented migrants from neighboring countries in the sub-region and also the emigration of sophisticated experts and skills out of the country to their favorite destination due to the free movement protocol have at times led to dramatic actions and great human loss.

The connection between the free movement protocol and the influx of illegal immigrants has triggered unemployment in the receiving state, thus uncontrollable influx of illegal migration can cause destabilization in a nation-state (Ebiri,2017). This protocol has given way to illegal/undocumented movements across borders which can endanger the socio-economic development and political stability of a nation-state. This ECOWAS protocol is misunderstood and misinterpreted by West Africans. For this reason, Nigeria has found itself in an embarrassing situation from the borders, where there are high rates of illegal/undocumented immigrants from Niger and Chad, as a result of the economic hardship in their respective countries.

It has been realized that ECOWAS has not instituted adequate mechanisms for controlling the entry of illegal movement of persons into member states. This is because many people in the sub-region do not possess any valid traveling documents. The member states of ECOWAS have embraced regional integration as an important component of their development strategies primarily driven by the economic rationale of overcoming the constraint of small and fractioned economies of the sub-region. One of the tools for driving this process is the Free Movement of Persons Protocol. The Protocol had a major focus to promote and enhance the standard of living of the citizens through the integration of the regional economy into one viable market. The proper implementation of the Protocol would have facilitated the economic, cultural, and social integration of ECOWAS citizens.

However, due to improper implementation of the Protocol, organized criminal groups have exploited gaps in the porous borders, ungoverned border areas, and lack of a regional biometric identification system for sharing information, border crimes and other forms of insecurity. It is against this backdrop that the paper seeks answers to the following research questions.

i. To identify the nature and the content of ECOWAS implementation on Free Movement Protocol and Human Security in Nigeria.

ii. Examine the effect of ECOWAS implementation on the Free Movement Protocol and the human Security of persons in Nigeria.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Human Security Theory

Human security is considered an alternative theory. It first emerged as a policy. Human security can be read from the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report which is accepted as a milestone of human security studies. According to the Report, human security means 'first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. Also, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs, or communities. That is to say, human security focuses on 'core individual needs' (Newman, 2010). Unlike the Realist categorization of security issues as "high politics" and "low politics" human security regards the issues like the environment, health, famine, development, water, and ethnic struggles as primarily important problems. This means that the main issues of human security are 'non-military threats, such as environmental problems, disease epidemics, poverty' etc. (Inglehart and Norris, (2012): In challenging the neorealist orthodoxy, human security argues that for many people in the world perhaps even most – the greatest threats to "security" come from internal conflicts, disease, hunger, environmental contamination or street crime. And for others, a greater threat may come from their own country itself, rather than from an "external" adversary. Human security thus seeks to challenge attitudes and institutions that privilege so-called "high politics" above disease, hunger, or illiteracy (Newman, 2010). Human security assumes that with the improvement of the wealth of the "people", policy change is possible (Newman, 2010).

However, the basic proposition of human security comes from its search for new referential points to the security which considers that states are "inadequate" to provide this type of security for people and from its rejection of the concepts like "national interest" and "national security" Instead, human security asserts that the individual 'should be the main referent object of security which means 'prioritizing the security of people rather than states (Duffield and Waddell, 2006 in Peterson, 2013). This study adopted the Human security theory because it best explains the subject matter of this study.

Assumption of Human Security

Human security assumptions as outlined by Johns (2014) and James (2014) can be classified into two categories (freedom from fear and want). National security especially in the Nigerian context is always more reactionary rather than seeking to tackle the root causes to ensure there no resurgence. Human security thus seeks to avert, limit or eradicate violent conflicts in general instead of just reacting to conflicts when they break into violence paving the way for meaningful and effective development that serves the need of all in the country. Johns (2014) encapsulates this thought when he defined human security using the United Nations Human Development Report of 1994 which states that human security is universal, its components interdependent and based upon preventative rather than reactionary measures making it intrinsically people-centered. These preventative measures are what ensure stable and sustainable development.

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2.2 Empirical Literature Review

Nature of ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol

Protocol A/P.1/5/79 relating Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment adopted in May 1979 was the first to be adopted by the Economic Community of West African States Free Movement Protocol. (Aderanti,2010). Examine that the protocol was established to give credence to the economic integration that the Treaty of ECOWAS represents. The Protocol on Free Movement conferred on the Community citizens the right to enter and reside in the territory of any member state, provided they possessed a valid travel document and international health certificate. As stated earlier the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free movement of goods and persons confers on citizens of member countries the right to move, reside and transact business without any form of molestation, either by reasons of tariff or non-tariff blockade to free trade.

According to Anadi (2005), the protocol equally empowers member countries to deny entry to citizens of member countries who are by their domestic laws designated as 'inadmissible'.

The four supplementary protocols adopted between 1985 and 1990 committed member states, among other things, to provide valid travel documents to their citizens, grant Community citizens the right of residence to seek and carry out income-earning employment, ensure appropriate treatment for persons being expelled, not to expel Community citizens en masse, limit the grounds for individual expulsion to reasons of national security, public order or morality, public health or non-fulfillment of an essential condition of residence.

After the cold war, the international system started experiencing new security challenges which made obsolete the conventional assumptions of security. Non-state actors and new security threats such as transnational terrorism, cybercrime, human trafficking, arms smuggling, etc. also emerged. For instance, the bombing of the Twin Towers structures in the United States on September 11 now known as 9/11.

In the case of Nigeria, migrants mainly from countries in the Sahel and Western Sahara have been linked with religious uprisings in Nigeria. The exportation of religious extremism into Nigeria adds another dimension to the challenge of insecurity in the country. Imported religious values and orientations have, at different times, challenged the secular status of the Nigerian state. In Nigeria, the notion that immigrants contribute to religious conflicts has gained ground, especially in official circles. They received significant public attention in the 1980s with incidents of religious disturbance in Kano, Maiduguri, and Kaduna among other area.

Unfortunately, the trend has continued to date with incredible intensity. The involvement of immigrants in internal conflicts in Nigeria may have been exaggerated. However, the findings of the various tribunals set up by the government to investigate the remote causes of such uprisings indicate that there were traces of external influence and the infiltration of immigrants from neighboring countries.

Boko Haram may have started as an uprising championed by a group of youths disgruntled with perceived systemic injustice against a section of the people in the north by the ruling class, however that remained so within its formative years. Subsequently the sophistication and capacity for coordinated attacks with wider scopes and lethal outcomes suggest external influence or support. Today Boko Haram is one of the three most dreaded terrorist organizations in the world.

Nigeria's security agencies often report incidents of arms smuggling, armed banditry, and human trafficking along the Cotonou-Badagry road. Maritime insecurity in West and Central Africa has also aided the trafficking and illicit flows of narcotics, people, and weapons. Clandestine, irregular, or undocumented migration is rampant in West Africa and Nigeria is a country destination for labor migrants. Nigeria's buoyant economy makes it attractive to many West African migrants, especially from less developed countries. Of course, there is also the problem of its porous borders. Virtually all the border entry points in Nigeria are used for drug trafficking, illegal migration, trafficking in persons, and illicit arms transfer into the country. Media reports have implicated some migrants from neighboring West African countries in civil disturbance, urban and rural violence, theft, armed robbery, and general insecurity of lives and property. For example, all the land and sea borders in Nigeria were closed a few days before the 2015 national elections to prevent the inflow of illegal immigrants who might want to participate in the elections (Amaleia, 2010). Recently also Nigeria banned further mining activities in Zamfara were to suspicion of infiltration by irregular and undocumented miners.

Human trafficking, child slavery, and other cross-border crimes are on the increase throughout Africa. Nigeria's large market easily attracts smugglers and illicit drug traders. Nigeria and Benin are among the main sources of the thriving human trafficking business in West Africa. In recent times, West Africa has featured prominently in reported cocaine seizures by the United States (US) Drug Enforcement Administration.

(Nnanna, 2009)There is no doubt that there are risks and threats to peace and security in West Africa associated directly or indirectly with fast-growing illicit cross-border trade in narcotic drugs and human beings. Nigeria presents a good example where illicit trade in small arms and light weapons has contributed to an increase in the number and intensity of violent conflicts in the country. According to a newspaper editorial on Alarming Arms proliferation in Nigeria, Nigeria accounts for three hundred and fifty million, or 70% out of the five hundred million illegal small arms and light weapons sales, in the West Africa sub-region. These sales are in the hands of non-state actors who use weapons to threaten the lives and properties of their compatriots (Daily Trust, 2016). Nigeria's Minister of Interior, Abdulrrahaman Dambazzau, also declared in an online publication that some of these weapons are sourced from neighboring African countries.

From records by the United Nations Centre for Peace and Disarmament, there are approximately 500 million assorted firearms in West Africa. And out of these 500 million, 70%, approximately 350 million of them are in Nigeria. And, of course, we know for a fact, that quite a large consignment of weapons is being smuggled, or have been smuggled from North Africa, in particular, Libya, as a consequence of the crisis in that country.(Nnanna, 2009).

Most of the seizures by the Nigeria customs service were done along the border with the Benin Republic.

The Republic of Benin serves as a major trading route for contrabands into Nigeria and is also characterized by cross-border crime including human trafficking, and arms/drug

smuggling. These weapons are obtained from several identified sources: local production; stolen from official Government armory during attacks on security outposts, and trafficked to the country through numerous porous borders Nigeria shares with her neighbors, especially along the Sahel belt noted for criminality.

The Nigerian Government in its 2013 report on illegal immigration/porous borders identified 1,487 illegal land routes (Daily Post, 2013)In its National Early Warning System, News, the West African Network for Peacebuilding-WANEP reported that between March 10 and September 19, 2017, a cumulative total of 2,686 weapons were seized at the Lagos Apapa Port, in Lagos State, (WANEP). Similarly, the Nigerian Army on May 30, 2018, intercepted three trucks loaded with arms and ammunition in Balogun Village, Yewa-North LGA of Ogun State with 300,000 cartridges recovered. The ammunition was allegedly smuggled into Nigeria through the neighboring Benin Republic (Guardian, 2018).

Also, the proximity of some of the conflict zones in West and Central Africa to Nigeria's land and sea borders has aggravated the illicit flows of small arms and light weapons. Illegal arms smuggling is a common feature in West Africa involving some transnational networks. Other possible sources may include leakages from national armories often as a result of collusion between criminal gangs and armed and security forces and, pilfering of weapons by unscrupulous peacekeepers in the conflicts in West Africa. Local manufacture of arms also accounts for significant numbers in Nigeria and Ghana. The Arab Spring and indeed the civil war in Libya resulted in the dispersal of militias and significant arms flow in West Africa and the Sahel region (Jihan & Cedric, 2010).

Available data on cross-border crimes in West Africa such as human trafficking, drug trafficking, and livestock poaching, show that transnational social networks can have serious negative effects on national security. In Nigeria, for instance, political leaders and government officials including law enforcement officials have accused migrants from other West African countries of various crimes. In Lagos State, for instance, criminal activities at different times have been attributed to the influx of migrant labor from neighboring countries. Also, in some parts of Oyo and Osun states, a handful of migrants were reported to be involved in the illegal mining of solid minerals. Similarly, nationals of Guinea, Niger, Mali, and Senegal are engaged in illegal businesses in parts of central Nigeria, notably Plateau, Nasarawa, and the Taraba States where illegal mining of solid minerals has gained much ground alongside illegal foreign currency exchange deals (Ewan 2007).

Around the northeastern border region of Nigeria, cattle theft, land rights infringement by nomadic herdsmen from neighboring countries, and violent crimes such as armed robbery, car theft, and smuggling are daily occurrences. Cases of criminal violence in the cities and urban centers such as Jalingo, Jimeta, Yola, Gashua, Dikwa, Mubi, Gembu, Damaturu, and Maiduguri are increasingly linked with the presence of immigrants in these communities. Initially, criminal activities by the migrants were loudest in the border communities. However, recently their activities have penetrated the hinterland. The transnational character of some West and Central African languages and cultures such as Hausa and Fulani in Northern Nigeria, Yoruba and Egun in South Western Nigeria, and Ibiobo and Calabari in South Eastern Nigeria has further complicated the problem of illegal migration (Ogene, 2013).

The 1980s were a period of the serious economic crisis in Nigeria. Due to the economic recession, some members of the dominant classes sought means of accumulation in areas

other than the traditional export-imports business, while the less privileged took consolation in crimes. In a country where legitimate economic opportunities were far less lucrative, criminal activities such as drug trafficking, child and women trafficking, female prostitution, child slavery, and fraudulent business transactions (otherwise known as '419') presented enormous temptation. There has been an upsurge in the number of Nigerians emigrating abroad since the beginning of the 1980s. Today there is a high concentration of Nigerian nationals in other countries including those in West Africa. Similarly, immigration fraud, business fraud, and the illegal drug trade are common criminal activities perpetuated by some Nigerian nationals in other countries. In recent times, it has been reported that the activities of Nigerian 'drug pushers' have extended beyond Europe to include some African countries. In Chad and Equatorial Guinea, arrests were made of some Nigerians alleged to be dealing drugs (Obiagwu, 2002). Many of them could not escape the hangman's noose.

Child trafficking in Benin and Nigeria is one dominant form of increasingly sophisticated regional trends in cross-border crime. Traffickers operate an international network that covers most of West and Central Africa and several European cities. Children 'seized' or 'captured' from source countries notably Benin and Togo are brought to Nigeria under inhuman conditions.

Traffickers are also active in Burkina Faso and Mali, where children are recruited and taken to Cote d'Ivoire to work in cocoa farms. In Nigeria 'slave children' from source countries are used as child laborers on construction sites to dig granite, crush gravel, or work in cocoa farms in different parts of Nigeria. Nigeria is also being used as a transit country to destinations like Cameroon, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea where the captive boys are often used as farm laborers and the girls as domestic hands or prostitutes.

There is another dimension of the trafficking in persons, which is equally disturbing. This refers to the activities of human traffickers in West Africa that specialize in obtaining women and sending them to Europe to work as prostitutes in some West and North African countries. Nigeria harbors a concentration of well-established networks of middlemen and racketeers who forge passports and visas and transport or assist the human traffickers and their victims in their journey to Europe through some West and North African countries. Human trafficking, cross-border banditry, and other cross-border crimes seem to be on the increase all over West Africa.

The current wave of globalization has generated other forms of violence that are not strictly in the form of conventional warfare but are not any less destructive and destabilizing. Globalization generally has turned transnational criminals into visionaries. Transnational criminal organizations now operate with the aid of complex and sophisticated organizational structures taking advantage of modern information and communication technology (ICT) to enhance their efficiency, thereby making them more competitive Ochoga (2019)

Although Africa is still lagging behind other regions in the area of ICT, it has however recorded a high increase in transnational criminal activities which include trafficking in persons (slaves, child labor, and prostitutes), narcotics, and small arms. In West Africa, "parallel" economic activities notably in the form of the sale of mineral resources, petroleum products, and re-exported products continue to grow and expand. Since the 1990s the problem of insecurity of lives and property has deepened in West Africa. Several studies and reports have implicated West African migrants in the general insecurity in the sub-region pointing at the activities of illicit trafficking networks, arms

flow, upsurge in terrorist attacks, and other forms of destabilization including the growing problem of piracy (Kligman, 2004).

The above studies have established the link between the free flow of small arms and light weapons to Nigeria's security. In its risk assessment, WANEP stated that Nigerians are concerned about the security of the country. With the increasingly deadly campaigns of Boko Haram, the farmer-herder violence, and other forms of armed attacks, the country's security situation remains fragile. The devastating impact of the attacks is made possible due to the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) in the country and the West African Region at large. It further states that the availability of these weapons has fueled incidences of religious/ethnic crisis, terrorism, farmer-herder conflicts, communal clashes, banditry/cattle rustling, militancy, cultism/political thuggery, kidnapping, and armed robbery, in which thousands of lives have been lost. The recent interception of weapons around the country is worrisome, especially as the nation prepares for the General elections in 2019. The increased circulation of has implications for voter apathy for fear of plausible armed attacks during the elections, particularly in the Northern Region of the country.

Effect of ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol on movement Human Security Article 2 of the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States calls on member states of ECOWAS to ensure by stages the abolition of the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services, and capital (Article 2 of the Treaty). Also, Article 27 of the Treaty of ECOWAS confers the status of Community citizenship on the citizens of member states and also enjoins member states to abolish all obstacles to freedom of movement and residence within the Community (Article 27 of the Treaty of ECOWAS). Further, Article 27 of the Treaty of the ECOWAS calls on member states to exempt community citizens from holding visitor's visas and residence permits and allow them to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories.

The ECOWAS Protocol of Free Movement offers a three-step roadmap of five years each to achieve freedom of movement of persons after fifteen years. The first phase regards the right of visa-free entry, phase two deals with the right of residency, and phase three concerns the right of establishment in another Member State. The first phase has been fully implemented. The second phase, the right of residency, has also been implemented, given that citizens had obtained an ECOWAS residence card or permit in a fellow member State. The third phase, the right of establishment, is still under implementation in most member States (Aderanti,*2010*). To facilitate the free movement of people in the ECOWAS region, member States established a common passport, formally known as the ECOWAS travel certificate. The ECOWAS passport was introduced in December 2000 to exempt holders from intra-regional visa requirements and to function as an international travel document. The member States are currently in the process of implementing a joint visa for non-ECOWAS citizens that cover the whole region, the Eco-Visa.

However, it also allowed member states the right to refuse admission to any Community citizens who were inadmissible under the member state's domestic law. The four supplementary protocols adopted between 1985 and 1990 committed member states, among other things, to provide valid travel documents to their citizens, grant Community citizens the right of residence to seek and carry out income-earning employment, ensure appropriate treatment for persons being expelled, not to expel Community citizens en

masse, limit the grounds for individual expulsion to reasons of National Security, public order or morality, public health or non-fulfillment of an essential condition of residence.

The effects of the ECOWAS Protocol on the free movement of persons in West Africa on Nigeria's National Security is in line with Opanike and Aduloju's (2016) further analysis contention, that because ECOWAS does not have an adequate instituted mechanism for checking the entering of illegal immigrants, people who carry out nefarious activities are exploiting the opportunity to their advantage laundering money, trafficking in human, drugs, illegal arms, etc. Thus, abusing the privileges of the Protocol. The Protocol rather than serving the purpose of economic integration, has become a contributor to the security challenges prevalent in the region. The ECOWAS free movement protocol is exacerbating the frequent terrorist challenge that Nigeria and other West African states are facing due to the borderless principles adopted by member states of ECOWAS to ensure integration in the region.

Nigeria has been abused by drug pushers, terrorists and other criminal activities carried out by immigrants that enter the country. The Free Movement Protocol has also compounded issues of porous borders and acts of terrorism in Nigeria considering that terrorists have been able to exploit the protocol to their advantage. This borderless principle that resulted from the protocol eventually left member states' borders in porous, uncontrollable, and unpoliced conditions by national governments and has facilitated illegal immigrants along bush paths (Adepoju, 2015). Supporting Adepoju's assertion, Onuoha (2013) affirms that the ECOWAS Protocol on the free movement of persons, goods, and services has aided traffickers to exploit loopholes in state capacity in monitoring cross-border trade in the region and relaxation of national borders intended to enhance regional integration, to perpetuate their nefarious activities.

The effect of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol on Nigeria's National Security is being seen in the influx of migrants from neighboring countries because of unregulated borders. These migrants as vulnerable as they are in search of jobs are easy targets for terrorist groups for recruitment. Some of these immigrants or foreigners are machinery to aid the proliferation of insurgency in the country. More so, with the present economic crunch in Nigeria, the influx of illegal migrants is undesirable, and thus constitutes a serious threat to the economy of the country. It does not only deny Nigerians of the available scarce resources but it can also trigger off another form of insurgency group in the country.

The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement has also led to the unregulated movement of small arms and light weapons and their ammunitions in the hands of criminal groups, militants, and terrorist groups thereby causing serious security challenges to the entire country. Across the country, there is an upsurge of crimes, banditry, insurgents and terrorist groups that patronizes these SALWs therefore easy availability of these arms as a result of unregulated borders has exacerbated these crimes. These weapons are traded by foreign terrorists to terrorists and militant groups in the country for money in exchange through porous borders of Nigeria thereby leaving the state at risk of being destabilized. For instance, in January 2018, the Nigerian Minister of Interior lamented that 70% (approximately 350 million) of the 500 million illicit arms in West Africa as reported by the United Nations found their way to Nigeria (Daily Trust, 2018).

Although the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement aims to enhance economic activities, criminals have availed themselves of this initiative to perpetrate their nefarious activities. These have a lot of implications for Nigeria's National Security. There is no

security of lives and properties, weapons are readily available as a result of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Refugees generate a different set of problems for their host country.

Abubakar, Omeje, and Galadima (2010) acknowledged human security to be by far, the most significant dimension of the conflict in postcolonial Africa. It is often in direct competition with the state- and military centricity of security that characterized Africa in the cold war era. For them, human security involves meeting the needs of the most vulnerable individuals, groups, and communities and includes human rights protection, environmental protection, health care, poverty alleviation, and development. It is driven by people's needs and aspirations and their desire to alleviate existential and structural threats and fears. The authors affirm that the main focus of politics and the discourse about security in Africa is eradicating or mitigating social problems such as physical violence, armed conflict, poverty, hunger, extreme inequality, disease, unemployment, oppression, injustice, environmental degradation, corruption, mismanagement, and so forth. Liotta and Owen (2016) have attempted to situate the concepts of security and human security in the West African context. They identified the protection of human beings and local communities from a variety of threats, ranging from individual to collective, and from physical to political, economic, social, or environmental (2016).

They saw the combination of the twin agendas of freedom from fear and ―freedom from want‖ as an attempt to operationalize the definitions of the concept in these various components. It is this broader concept of security that underpins reconstruction processes in countries emerging from violent conflict such as in West Africa. The trio claimed that in West Africa, national recovery strategies based on reconciliation (at the national and local levels) sit alongside economic revival, institution building, Security System Reform, and the maintenance of peacekeeping forces in the country or zone affected by conflict, to consolidate the peace-building process. They identified violent conflict as detrimental to human security and given the interconnectedness and regional dimensions of African conflicts, they expressed the need for an overarching continental and regional strategy for peace and security. Although the work is on human security, the authors still tended to emphasize the military perspective relating to conflicts and the role of security apparatus in ensuring peace which is what the present study will want to draw attention away from because issues of human security go beyond concerns about armed conflict. It is in this regard that the contributions of The Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD (2006) which attempted to address human security in West Africa focused on various aspects of human security including social, health, environmental and natural disasters is a departure.

It also included disasters of human origin, food security, challenges of governance, and peace and security. It was acknowledged that human security is an extremely serious issue in West Africa because of the many internal conflicts which have undermined security in the sub-region over the past two decades. Political instability, civil wars, under-development, and poverty have weakened governments (responsible for their populations 'security) and rendered large sections of a society increasingly vulnerable. It recognized the fact that many of the conflicts are regional therefore spreading insecurity far beyond the original crisis areas synergizing efforts to find sustainable solutions to the various challenges is essential in such a situation. As a priority, populations, especially the most vulnerable, need to be protected and their basic needs met. They need to be protected from all detrimental threats to their dignity and physical and moral integrity.

The authors were of the view that the challenges to human security concern not only countries shaken by conflict but also those emerging from conflict or at peace. They are linked to natural, human and political factors (2006). This strikes a common chord with those who also saw the need for an overarching continental and regional strategy for peace and security due to the interconnectedness and regional dimensions of African conflicts which have been detrimental to human security. In this regard, they recognized the fact that the African continent and the West African region, in particular, have developed their security frameworks through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU), and Ecowas and human security The question that comes to mind considering the foregoing this whether ECOWAS as an organization has properly captured and is pursuing human security as an agenda in its framework.

3.1 Conclusion

The nature of Ecowas protocol and human security has posed ECOWAS a challenge in the sub-region which was difficult to manage. The continuation of threats to human security in Nigeria and some cases, their exacerbation means that the problem is probably not yet properly understood or that the approach is skewed. It appears from this review that most of the literature target one aspect of the threats or another. ECOWAS implementation on the free movement protocol and the human Security of persons in Nigeria has been a challenge in Nigeria. Attempted such linkages, they identified governance, drug trafficking, and arms trafficking as threats to human security. The inclusion of governance as a threat to human security does not flow with drug and arms trafficking and obscures the relationship between the main threats. The study observed the increasing challenge of herd men in Nigeria using the porous border to gain access to the country. Therefore, there is a need to undertake a study that properly coordinated approaches and methods to address these clashes the human security theory has been effective in this study.

3.2 Recommendations

Based on the research findings, the following recommendations are made.

The Nigerian government should engage the farmers in the rural community and identify the root causes that bother their human security, implementation of ECOWAS free movement through the ECOWAS secretariat has to review the protocol. To do this, the member states through the ECOWAS community should bring up a strategy like modern technology to monitor the nefarious activities of these evil bandits.

The government because of the porous border and lack of cooperation between them, the government through the Nigeria police, Nigeria immigration service, and Nigeria customs and security of Chad, Mali and Niger republic should share more intelligence across the border and fight the illegal citizen of herdsmen infiltrating the country and causing more harm which is affecting the human security of life and properties of the Nigeria people.

The government should sensitize the security agencies on the challenges that corruption has course Nigeria at her border by allowing the illegal smuggling of arms and the influx of criminals to our soil government should prosecute any security agent involve in violation of border rules created by ECOWAS protocol.

Government should take the security of the farmers seriously; the Nigerian government should have a second rethink on grazing and the herders who are indigenous citizens of Nigeria should identify Ranching as something they need to embrace. Because the

ECOWAS protocol has failed, Government should set up a ministry that can handle farmers'/herder issues. (Ministry of Farmer/Herder Affairs)

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