

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ACP-EU PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT ON
NIGERIA WITH A FOCUS ON THE LOMÉ CONVENTION AND
COTONOU AGREEMENT**

BY

Peter Eduvie UFUOMA

PG/NLS/1900079

BEING

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR
LEGISLATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC STUDIES /UNIVERSITY OF BENIN
(NILDS/UNIBEN) POSTGRADUATE PROGRAMMES IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
MASTERS DEGREE IN PARLIAMENTARY ADMINISTRATION (MPD)**

APRIL, 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my research efforts, undertaken under the supervision of Dr. Ndanusa Mohammed Manzuma. It is an original work and no part of it has ever been presented for the award of any degree anywhere. All sources of information have been duly acknowledged through the references.

Peter Eduvie UFUOMA

PG/NLS/1900079

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled “*An Assessment of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement on Nigeria with a Focus on the Lomé Convention and Cotonou Agreement*” presented by Peter Edivie UFUOMA (PG/NLS/1900079) has met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Parliamentary Administration (MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

Dr. Ndanusa Mohammed Manzuma

Supervisor

Date

Dr. A.G. Abiola

Coordinator

Date

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that this dissertation “*An Assessment of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement on Nigeria with a Focus on the Lomé Convention and Cotonou Agreement*” has been read and approved as having met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Parliamentary Administration of the University of Benin/National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies is approved for contribution to knowledge.

_____	_____
Dr. Ndanusa Mohammed Manzuma	Date
Supervisor	
_____	_____
Dr. A. G. Abiola	Date
Coordinator	
_____	_____
Internal Examiner	Date
_____	_____
External Examiner	Date

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to God Almighty for His Grace throughout this programme and my immediate family, comprising my wife and child namely, Victoria Ufuoma and Dora Ufuoma.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My special thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. Ndanusa Mohammed Manzuma, for his guidance and patience throughout this work. Also, I wish to acknowledge the tutelage of my lecturers, Drs. Asimiyu Abiola, Chris Ngara, Usman Wali, Jake Dan-Azumi, Joseph Asemota, and the staff at the postgraduate unit for their contribution to helping me to achieve academic success.

I wish to appreciate my boss, the Clerk to the National Assembly, Architect Amos Ojo and the entire leadership of the National Assembly. I also wish to express my unreserved appreciation to my respondents; the President of the National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS), Barrister Ken Ukaoha, the Director-General of the Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations, Ambassador Yonov Fred Agah, and Mr. Akanbi, A.R. of the Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment for their contributions to the success of this research.

Finally, my wife, Victoria Ufuoma, and daughter, Dora Ufuoma as well as my coursemates who contributed directly or indirectly to this work.

ABSTRACT

This study assessed Nigeria's trade performance during the respective African, Caribbean, Pacific, and European Union (ACP-EU) partnership agreements (Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreement) because of their contributions to the formulation of Nigeria's trade policies. Specifically, Nigeria's trade performance during the respective regimes of the ACP-EU partnership agreements viz Lomé convention and the Cotonou agreement; obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance during the respective ACP-EU Partnership Agreements; and strategies to improve Nigeria's trade performance post Lomé convention and Cotonou partnership agreement were evaluated.

The study adopted the mixed research design using both quantitative and qualitative data. Data were collected from primary (key informant interviews) and secondary (official publications of the Federal Government of Nigeria, journal articles, ACP-EU publications, magazines, and the internet among others) sources. Explicitly, quantitative and qualitative data were utilized for objective one while only qualitative data were used for objectives two, three, and four. Indeed, six (6) respondents were selected purposively for the conduct of the key informants interview. Whereas content analysis was used for the analysis of data, findings were presented thematically according to the objectives of the study.

Objective one revealed that Nigeria's trade performed differently attributable to the texts of the partnership agreements. In fact, based on the non-reciprocal nature of the Lomé Convention, Nigeria's trade grew steadily except for the decline in 1998. However, Nigeria recorded a negative balance of trade in 2020 during the tenure of the Cotonou agreement. Therefore, objective two showed the lack of diversification, uncompetitive nature of products, the loss of revenue, regional integration concerns, and neocolonial disposition of the partnership agreements, and so on as obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance in the eras of the Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreements.

Nevertheless, objective three recommends that stakeholders such as the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations [NOTN], etc. should be involved in future trade negotiations; agencies of the government like the Nigerian Customs Service (NCS) and Nigerian Immigration should improve their border security operations; the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade, & Investment should consider a prior bilateral agreement with ACP-EU blocs, among others, as strategies to resolve the issue of Nigeria's trade performance in the future. Therefore, objective four found that for any meaningful achievement from future trade negotiations, parliamentary administrators should be acquainted with the nuances of supranational institutions to enhance the prospects of legislating efficient trade laws.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	
Declaration-----	ii
Certification-----	iii
Approval page-----	iv
Dedication-----	v
Acknowledgment-----	vi
Abstract-----	vii
Table of Content-----	ix
List of Abbreviations-----	xii
List of Tables-----	xiii
List of Figures-----	xiv

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study -----	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem-----	3
1.3 Research Objectives-----	5
1.4 Research Questions-----	5
1.5 Significance of the Study-----	6
1.6 Scope of the Study-----	6
1.7 Definition of Key Terms-----	6

1.8 Organization of the Study-----7

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Evolution of Nigeria’s foreign relationships -----9

2.2 Historical review of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) --12

2.3 Comparative analysis of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreements: Lomé and Cotonou
agreements -----13

2.4 ACP-EU Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) -----17

2.5 Empirical review -----19

2.6 Gap in knowledge -----23

2.7 Theoretical Framework-Political integration theory -----24

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study area -----27

3.2 Research design -----27

3.3 Population of the study -----28

3.4 Sampling technique and size -----28

3.5 Sources of data -----29

3.6 Method of data analysis -----29

3.7 The outcome based on the political integration theory -----29

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

4.1.Nigeria’s trade performance during the respective regimes of the ACP-EU partnership agreements viz Lomé convention (1997-2000) and the Cotonou agreement (2017-2020)----	31
4.2.Obstacles to Nigeria’s trade performance during the respective ACP-PEU Partnership Agreements -----	40
4.3.Improving Nigeria’s trade performance post Lomé and Cotonou partnership agreements---	43
4.4.Relevance of the study to Parliamentary Administration-----	46

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings-----	48
5.2 Conclusion-----	49
5.3 Recommendations -----	50
References -----	52
Appendixes-----	a
Appendix I-----	a
Appendix II-----	r
Appendix III-----	v
Appendix IV-----	aa
Appendix V -----	ff
Appendix VI -----	pp

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASM	Associated African States and Madagascar
ACP-EU	African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union
CARIFORUM	Caribbean Forum
CGE	Computable General Equilibrium
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EEC	European Economic Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FTAs	Free Trade Agreements
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
NANTS	National Association of Nigerian Traders
NOTN	Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations
NSAs	Non-State Actors
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
TRIST	Tariff Reform Impact Simulation Tool

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1.1 ACP-EU Partnership Member States
- Table 4.1 Nigeria's export and import performance during the Lomé Convention (1997-2000)
- Table 4.2 Nigeria's export and import performance during the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2017-2020)

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 2.1 Options for future ACP-EU trade arrangements
- Figure 4.1 Nigeria's export and import performance during the Lomé Convention (1997-2000)
- Figure 4.2 Nigeria's Balance of Trade between 1997 and 2000
- Figure 4.3 Nigeria's export and import performance during the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2017-2020)
- Figure 4.4 Nigeria's Balance of Trade between 2017 and 2020

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

The European Union's relationship with the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries can be traced back to the treaty of Rome and specifically the Georgetown agreement on the organization of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific groups of states of 1975 (Matteo, 2020). According to Matteo (2020), Africa is a well-known European Union's trade partner of choice. Therefore, after the African States gained independence, the European Economic Community (EEC) became acquainted with the former colonial states of the continent. The EEC's first association agreement with African ex-colonies was signed in Yaoundé in 1963 followed by the second Yaoundé Convention of 1969. Underlying the agreements are the components of trade promotion, economic independence, and social development of the State Parties.

The Yaounde Convention was followed by the Lomé Convention in 1975 to establish a new framework for cooperation between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the developing African, Caribbean, and Pacific nations. The preferential access granted to certain products from the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) to the European Economic Community (EEC) was mainly based on the quotas system. In fact, Nsongura (2004) alluded that nonreciprocal duty-free access to the EU markets and other assistance was granted to ACP countries as part of its broader stipulations. The financial envelope traditionally used for these purposes is the European Development Fund (Nsongura, 2004). The EEC committed 3 billion euros to the development of the ACP countries through the European Unit of Account (EUA). The Lomé Convention was also renewed multiple times in 1980, 1986, 1991, and 1996 (Matteo, 2020).

Given the dynamic nature of human relations and also the tenured nature of the agreements to last for only 20 years, the Lomé Convention was replaced by the Cotonou partnership agreement. Matteo (2020) captured the Cotonou partnership agreement aptly when he argued that the Lomé Convention was modified to pave the way for a more inclusive political, social, and economic cooperation hence, the Cotonou partnership agreement was signed on June 23, 2000, in Cotonou, Republic of Benin. These agreements, notwithstanding, at the core of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries and the European Union (EU) cooperation is the “objective of reducing and eventually eradicating poverty” among member nations (Article 1 of the Cotonou partnership agreement, 2000). To this end, the developing state of member ACP states are well-acknowledged but with an intendment to seize prevailing economic opportunities to advance the course of development in line with the sustainable development goals.

The imperatives presented by the Lomé and Cotonou agreements further buttress the provisions of section 16 (2) (a) which states *inter alia* that “the State shall direct its policy towards ensuring the promotion of a planned and balanced economic development”. This stipulation, in fact, underscores the objective of the ACP-EU partnership agreements as established earlier. Indeed, section 16 of the 1999 constitution (as altered) deepened the essence of section 14 (2) (b) which provides that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. Overall, given that the government derives its power and authority from the people to whom sovereignty belongs (section 14 (2) (a)), it is safe to assert that Nigeria’s membership of the ACP-EU is towards the betterment of the lives of the citizens. Nevertheless, the trajectory of this study connotes a specific analysis of the benefits derived from the respective ACP-EU partnership agreements since its inception in 1975. Therefore, the defining element of the study remains the effectiveness of the Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreements in

advancing the economic wellbeing of citizens given that the ACP-EU by itself strives to eradicate poverty.

In perspective, the objectives of the ACP-EU as outlined in the Cotonou agreement are geared toward achieving peace and stability, managing migration and mobility, consolidating democracy and good governance, unleashing economic opportunities, reaching human development standards, and addressing climate change among member states. Consequently, this study sought to assess the effects of the ACP-EU's Lomé Convention and Cotonou Partnership Agreements on Nigeria's trade performance between 1975 and 2020. Worthy of note also, is that these partnership agreements are within the context of relationships between the listed members of the ACP-EU Partnership as provided in Appendix VI. The list of ACP-EU members provided in Appendix VI, gives an overview of the membership of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) partnership thus, providing insight into multilateral relationships along the lines of established national goals or pursuits. Based on this, Nigeria pursues its national agenda with member states.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Like every international organization, the African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) partnership is the product of a convention or protocol the first being the Yaounde Convention of 1969. Following international law, this convention is of a multilateral dimension given the composition of its signatories. In any case, parties to an international protocol or convention enter into it because of pecuniary benefits inherent in them. Thus, Nigeria participates in the ACP-EU relations to serve her interest. In fact, Nigeria's participation is in sync with her foreign policy objectives expressed in Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as altered). A portion of this section of the constitution provides among other things that the country's foreign policy will be driven towards "the promotion and

protection of National interest as well as the promotion of Africa integration and support for African unity”.

According to Ukaoha (2018), the ACP-EU relations support the stipulations of the Abuja treaty of 1991 which is on the strengthening of Africa’s integration through the establishment of a free trade area and common market with the gradual removal of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods and services, etc. However, the recent operational document of the ACP-EU being the Cotonou partnership agreement deviates from the non-reciprocal duty-free access to EU markets by ACP nations' disposition of the former agreement (Lomé convention) to the extent that the latter introduces a novel idea known as the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). In context, while the spirit of the non-reciprocal trade gives preferences to exports from a group of less developed or emerging countries to a single country with a larger market, EPAs, on the other hand, are conceived as an agreement between two Free Trade Areas or two Customs Unions where most tariffs are eliminated between the two. The EPAs was also introduced because of the need to transform the trade regime to a WTO compliant agreement.

Nevertheless, it must be stated that the adoption of the Cotonou agreement follows the stipulation of the ACP-EU partnership which provides for the tenureship of its partnership agreements to last for twenty (20) years. Following, the disposition of the trade components of the various instruments of the ACP-EU relations, a question, therefore, should be asked on which of the agreements served Nigeria’s trade interest the most? It must be stated, however, that while scholars attributed the low trade performance of the ACP bloc during the Lomé convention to the uncompetitive nature of their exports, the lack of diversification, among others (Roy, 2016), the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), which was the hallmark of the Cotonou partnership agreement has been criticized for its non-preferential disposition gives EU products an edge over

ACP ones. Against this backdrop, this study evaluated Nigeria's trade performance between 1975 and 2020 i.e., the eras of the Lomé Convention and the Cotonou partnership agreement.

1.3. Research questions

The study addressed the following questions:

- i) What was Nigeria's trade performance during the respective regimes of the ACP-EU partnership agreements viz Lomé convention and the Cotonou agreement?
- ii) What were the obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance during the respective ACP-PEU Partnership Agreements?
- iii) How can Nigeria's trade performance be improved post the Lomé convention and Cotonou partnership agreements?
- iv) Is the study of the ACP-EU partnership agreements relevant to parliamentary administration?

1.4. Research objectives

The main objective of this study was to assess Nigeria's trade performance viz-a-viz the respective ACP-EU agreements (Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreement). The specific objectives are to:

- i) assess Nigeria's trade performance during the respective regimes of the ACP-EU partnership agreements viz Lomé convention and the Cotonou agreement;
- ii) examine the obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance during the respective ACP-PEU Partnership Agreements; and
- iii) suggest ways to improve Nigeria's trade performance post Lomé convention and Cotonou partnership agreement.

iv) examine the relevance of the study of the ACP-EU partnership agreement to parliamentary administration.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study will be significant in the following ways. For instance, it would contribute to existing theories, practical implications between and among countries, and policymaking as legislation. Therefore, it would provide a basis to accurately fashion out a favourable trade policy in Nigeria given some benefits inherent in the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). It would also serve as a useful guide to the National Assembly in its pursuit of trade-related legislation. Besides, there is a huge gap in knowledge in this area as only a few studies have been dedicated to examining ACP-EU agreements much less a comparative analysis of two of such agreements. In the light of the foregoing, researchers, students, etc. would find it a useful reference material in this area of knowledge. Thus, it will serve as a springboard for the body of knowledge.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study covers the areas of geography, analysis, and time. On the choice of geography, the study is delimited to Nigeria. Also, to buttress certain issues raised by the research questions, the time scope would be the period between 1975-2020 because of the tenured nature of the ACP-EU agreements for 20 years each. Its analytical scope will be the trade performance of the government within the periods given the contention of trade performance within the eras of the Lomé Convention and the Cotonou partnership agreement held sway.

1.7. Definition of key terms

African, Caribbean, Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU): The ACP-EU refers to the European Union's relations with the group of African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries known as the ACP States comprising a significant element of the EU's development policy.

Non-reciprocal trade: Non-reciprocal trade agreements are unique in that preferences are granted for exports from a group of less developed or emerging countries to a single country with a larger market.

Conventions/Protocol: Convention refers to all kinds of agreements, compacts or treaties entered into by the nations, such as Geneva Convention. A convention could be bilateral or multilateral thus, defining the number of signatories to it. Treaties, conventions, and protocols are often applied to mean the same thing.

Lomé Convention: The Lomé Convention is a trade and aid agreement between the European Economic Community (EEC) and 71 African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries, first signed in February 1975 in Lomé, Togo till the year 2000.

Cotonou Agreement: The Cotonou Agreement is a treaty between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States ("ACP countries"). It was signed in June 2000 in Cotonou, Benin's largest city, by 78 ACP countries and the then fifteen Member States of the European Union.

Trade Partnership Agreement: A trading partnership agreement is an agreement drawn up by two parties that have agreed to trade certain items or information. The agreement outlines the terms of the trade or trading process, including responsibilities, who's involved, how goods or information will be delivered and received, and duties or fees.

1.8. Organization of the study

Chapter one contains the general introduction, which consists of the background, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives, the significance of the study, scope of the study, and the outline of the chapters. Chapter two provides a review of the literature and theoretical framework, while chapter three focuses on the research methodology. Chapter four presents the

data and discussion of results. Finally, chapter five is the summary of the study, conclusion and recommendations, as well as contributions of the research to knowledge.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviewed literature related to the variables that would be examined in the course of the study either individually or collectively. Afterward, the study was conceptualized using the transactional approach of political integration.

2.1. Evolution of Nigeria's foreign relationships

Nigeria's foreign policy is driven by the dictates of Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as altered). In particular, section 19 provides as follows:

19. The foreign policy objectives shall be –

- (a) promotion and protection of the national interest;
- (b) promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- (c) promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations;
- (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and
- (e) promotion of a just world economic order.

According to Ebegbulem (2019), Nigeria's foreign policy relationship evolved in two phases, namely: the colonial period and the post-colonial period. The colonial period is when the entity called Nigeria came into existence i.e. 1914-1960, when the country was still under the colonial rule of the British government, while the post-colonial period is from independence till date. Like every commonwealth country, Nigeria left its diplomatic representation to Her Majesty's government in the United Kingdom (Ebegbulem, 2019). Therefore, Ayah (1998, p. 27) stated that "in these countries, the interests of all members of the Commonwealth are therefore watched over and protected by Her Majesty's Ambassador or Minister for the United Kingdom". In addition,

Ofoegbu (1998) confirmed that Nigeria's foreign policy was controlled by the British when he pointed out that

Nigeria's external affairs were fully in the hands of the British Governor-General of Nigeria. External Affairs were among the subjects reserved for the Governor-General, a Briton. The sessional paper on Foreign Policy (1956), which was the first serious foreign policy paper on Nigeria was a product of the joint efforts of the Governor-General, his Chief Secretary (also a Briton), and the British Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices (Ofoegbu, 1998: 48).

The post-independence period saw the formation of a truly indigenous foreign policy that was truly called Nigerian foreign policy. With the coming of successive governments since independence, the policy has been mortified. Even though there have been changes in foreign policy formulation by various governments since independence in 1960, the objective of the country's foreign policy remains the same. Anyaele (2005) posits that the protection of national interest has remained permanent in Nigeria's foreign policy, but the strategy for such protection has varied from one regime to another. In fact, after gaining her independence, Nigeria made the liberation of Africa the centre-piece of her foreign policy and played a leading role in the fight against the apartheid regime in South Africa (Samora, 1979).

As already established, Nigeria's foreign policy before independence in 1960 was tied to the interest of the British. As a result, Ebegbulem (2016) posited thus:

When the country got independence, the first major task the Balewa administration had to deal with was the shaping of Nigeria's foreign policy in alignment with Nigeria's national interest. Nigeria's post-independence foreign policy was centered around the Prime Minister who dominated the foreign policy machinery. He conducted a conservative foreign policy that was pro-West even though he professed a policy of non-alignment. While he maintained a good relationship with the West represented by the United States of America and Britain, he was hostile to the Eastern bloc represented by the Soviet Union. It was observed that on most international issues like the Berlin crisis of 1962, the American nuclear test of 1962, the Vietnam conflict, the Prime Minister leaned towards the West. The only exception was Nigeria's decision to break diplomatic ties with France in protest of nuclear tests carried out by France in the Sahara (Ebegbulem, 2016:).

When Tafawa Balewa assumed office as the first Prime Minister of independent Nigeria in 1960, he outlined what Asogwa (2009) called “broad principles” of Nigeria’s foreign policy. The fundamental principles of Nigeria’s foreign policy under Tafawa Balewa, according to Asogwa (2009, p. 78) were:

- Promotion of Nigeria’s national interest and world peace
- Pursuance of the policy of neutrality and non-alignment
- Respect for the sovereign equality of all nations
- Promotion of friendship and cooperation among the various countries in the world
- Maintenance of the principles of non-interference and non-aggression in other countries of the world
- Promotion of the rapid decolonization of Africa
- Maintaining a modest approach to the pursuit of Nigeria’s foreign policy
- Support for a free and democratic world
- Promotion and support of cooperation and integration among African states

Therefore, it must be stated that the evolution of Nigeria’s foreign policy as an independent sovereign nation dates back to Balewa’s administration from 1960. It can therefore be stated that Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa set the principles of Nigeria’s policy, which have served as the compass for successive Nigerian governments, even though he recorded minimal success. Till now, Nigeria’s foreign policy principles are categorized under five headings, viz: the policy of non-alignment, the legal equality of state the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states, the principle of multilateralism, and Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria’s foreign policy. However, highlighting the principle of multilateralism following the trajectory of this study justifies Nigeria’s membership of the ACP-EU and puts in perspective, the essence of

the analysis of the effect of its Partnership Agreements on Nigeria's trade performance over the period.

2.2. Historical review of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU)

According to the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly [ACP-EU JPA] (2022), the relationship between the Caribbean, Pacific, and African regions and the European Union dates back to the Treaty of Rome in 1957. In Part IV of the agreement, the European Economic Community envisioned an association of the territories of some of the EU's founding members. Most of the territories overseas were in Africa, with several being administered by France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg, and Italy. As decolonization began in the continent, European powers sought to maintain their economic ties with the continent. In 1963, the Associated African States and Madagascar (AASM) was signed in Yaoundé with 18 newly independent African countries.

The Yaoundé Agreement was a trade and aid agreement between the EEC and the French (Matteo, 2020). It was mainly driven by the insistence of the French on accommodating their overseas territories. The Germans and the Dutch were likely to get involved in the overseas development of the 1960s, though neither of them appeared to be actively participating in what was initially described as a neo-colonial initiative. The 1963 Yaoundé Convention (re-negotiated in 1969 as Yaoundé II) established a free trade area based on the principle of reciprocity. However, the Yaoundé Agreement was criticized for its neo-colonialism in other African countries, especially by the governments of Sekou Touré and Kwame Nkrumah. At the other end of the continent, the East African Community and its members with Nigeria inclusive also contrived to sign their Association Agreement with Europe. Nigeria's agreement was never rectified in 1966 because of the civil war of 1967–1970. These agreements were often limited to

trade provisions and no aid clauses, as the French wanted to retain their colonial status in the territories.

Senghor who was the president of Senegal was also known for being very adept at telling his audience what they wanted to hear. In 1971, the UK agreed to join the EEC at a summit held in Paris. Previous negotiations between the parties began in 1961 and 1967 but were abandoned. When Heath assumed power in 1970 as the British Prime minister, he was determined to make these negotiations successful. After the European Union's membership negotiations concluded in 1972, Matteo (2020) concluded that the ACP group was established after a series of twists and turns.

2.3. Comparative analysis of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreements: Lomé and Cotonou agreements

The increasing level of globalization has sparked up calls for cooperation amongst different economies of the world. This has created avenues for different negotiations amongst countries of the world with different terms of agreements ranging from trade, security, political, social, finance, and so on. These negotiations for the establishment of new trade agreements take place in an international context marked by globalization, regionalization, and particularly multilateral liberalization of trade directed in the sense of development (Kone, 2010). The requirements for the development of this partnership vary amongst regions involved in any agreement.

The signatories of ACP and the EU are geared toward the strengthening of economic ties thereby stabilizing and balancing trading activities between countries of the world. However, certain countries signed individual agreements with the European Union. Certainly, these agreements are qualified as intermediaries in the optics of the signature of interregional agreements, but they raise the question of the future of regional integration with the EPA. More generally fact puts the question of the capacity of these new agreements to take into account the needs for the development of the ACP Countries. Indeed, in recent years, regional economic integration is

recognized as an essential component of any policy of integration into the global economy and economic development, especially in the context North-South relations (Regnault & Deblock, 2006).

In 1975 the first Lomé Convention was signed, bringing together forty-six countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific (ACP) with the nine Member States of the EC. The most distinctive feature of the Lomé Convention was a commitment to an equal partnership between Europe and the ACP (Holland, 2002). This change in approach was partly a response to the perception that the Yaoundé arrangements had perpetuated dependency rather than promoted development (Holland, 2002) and partly a reflection of the Commonwealth philosophy that stood in stark contrast to the francophone style of the colonial relationship. The institutional framework combined the Yaoundé structures with the commitment to partnership. Three principle institutions were established: the ACP-EC Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors, and the Joint Consultative Assembly (Holland, 2002). The basic structures set out in Lomé I persisted until the end of Lomé IV a quarter-century later. Especially at the policy level, Lomé I was much more than just an extension of the preceding Convention. The major policy objectives of Lomé were as commendable as they were ambitious: “the promotion of EC-ACP trade, agricultural and industrial development, special aid for the least developed states, and support for regional cooperation” (Holland, 2002). The Lomé Convention was based on the stabilization of exports with the main emphasis on agricultural earnings.

The Cotonou Partnership Agreement was a new partnership concerning the reciprocity in trade agreements as opposed to the non-reciprocal trade preferences of the Lomé Conventions. The principle of the Lomé Convention was replaced with regional free trade negotiations with the EU and the various ACP countries (Forwood, 2001). The major object of the agreement was on poverty reduction and eventual eradication which tallies with the objectives of sustainable

development and the gradual integration of the ACP countries into the world economy (EuropeAid, 2010). The Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA) about trade preference introduced the concept of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) as a substitute for the generally applicable trade preferences to all ACP's (Andersen, 2002). EPAs create several regional free trade areas, between the EU and different groups of the ACP countries, "the partnership component being that of a continuation of EU development aid to the countries of the individual free trade areas" (Andersen, 2002). The new agreement also expanded the political dimension, introducing respect for the rule of law, democratic principles, and good governance; the violation of any of these essential elements can now lead to the suspension of aid (The Courier, 2000).

The Cotonou partnership agreement as obtained in Article 1 presents the central objective of poverty reduction, in line with sustainable development and gradual integration of the ACP countries into the global economy (Courier, 2000). This objective as pointed out by Babarinde and Faber (2003) present a more precise and different dimension from the Lomé convention agreement where the central objective was the promotion and expedition of economic, cultural, and social development of the ACP States and also to consolidate on the diversity of their relations (Lomé IV art. 1). However, Holland argues despite poverty being the central point in the EU agreements from inception, there has not been significant inclusion of such in the international world by the end of the twentieth century (Holland, 2002). The implication of such has been the poverty situation of African and other ACP countries. Furthermore, Forwood (2001) alluded that although the alleviation of poverty has been placed at the top of the partnership's list of the CPA, the objective in itself was present in the Lomé Conventions.

EU and ACP trade arrangements changed significantly with the CPA. The trade pillar of the Lomé Conventions had two major principles: non-reciprocity and non-discrimination while the

CPA emphasized reciprocity for non-LDCs [non-Least Developed Countries] and thus separation between ACP countries (Hurt, 2003). In this case, the CPA defined the transition period where Economic Partnership Agreements negotiate for the removal of trade barriers in accordance to WTO between different groups of the ACP and the EU (art. 37.7 of the CPA) while the Lomé convention had no defined period for the trade agreements negotiation. This means that the reciprocity of the trade preferences under the EPAs requires the ACP countries to give EC exports free entry into their markets (Babarindeen & Faber, 2003). This situation presents a clear-cut future for the organization of the ACP-EU relationship that is in line with WTO rules and the preference for reciprocal free trade agreements (FTAs) that is built on regional integration among ACP countries. The trade arrangement options between the ACP group and the EU are depicted in figure 2.1.

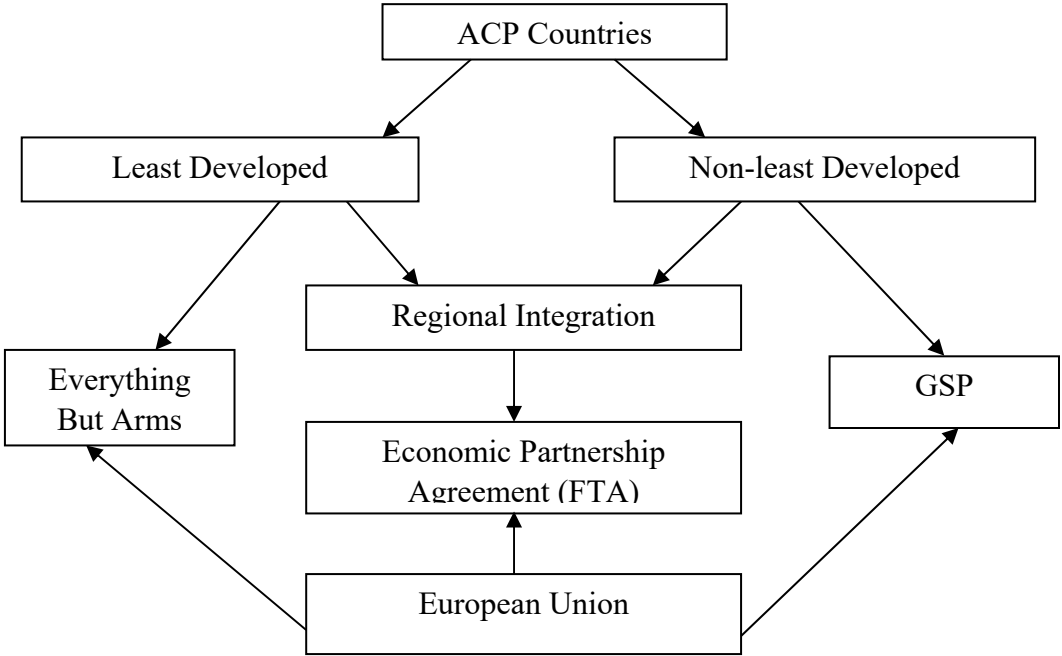


Figure 2.1: Options for future ACP-EU trade arrangements (Babarindeen & Faber, 2003, p. 113)

ACP Least Developed Countries are at liberty to select between an Everything But Arms (EBA) initiative or Free Trade Agreement (FTA/EPA). This means that EPAs offer EU exports free

entry to ACP countries' markets. The initiative of the EBA is more attractive as it is closest to the continuation of the present non-reciprocal Lomé preferences. However, Babarinde and Faber (2003) stipulated that the EBA presents a unilateral initiative by the EU rather than parties contractual agreements. Therefore, for 36 non-LDC ACP states, the choice of an EPA or a Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) is presented. The GSP differentiates between sensitive and non-sensitive goods by stimulating exports of primarily manufactured goods by developing countries. Tariffs on sensitive goods are partially lowered while non-sensitive products are duty-free, except for products that are particular core standards in labour and environmental protection (Forwood, 2001). The GSP as observed by Babarindeen & Faber (2003) presents a non-attractive option for most non-LDC ACP states. For such states to penetrate the EU markets, such countries would have to enter into FTAs with the EU (Holland, 2002). Therefore, in comparison with the Lomé Conventions, the CPA presents a major departure in trade arrangements where countries now have reciprocal and discussions on how individual ACP countries and the EU can trade, as a replacement for one arrangement that accounts for the group as a whole.

2.4. ACP-EU Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)

Regional integration has been a key component of the European Union's political and economic policies since the early 1970s. The Generalised System for Preferences (GSP) was launched in 1971 to encourage regional cooperation and the formulation of foreign policy. The other reason for this policy is that it believes that the European Union's experience can serve as a model for global economic cooperation. The EU recognized the importance of having a strong regional integration element in its Cotonou Agreement. Both the EC and the ACP noted that the concept of the regional dimension is very important for the region's development and the world at large.

The view that the reforms of the European Union are a step toward integrating the global economy is the main argument for re-framing the EU's relations with the ACP which is

impractical. The third argument is that by joining the EPAs, the EU would lock in economic liberalization, which would be better than the agreements between the EU and the ACP nations. Regional agreements are seen as key to attracting foreign investment as they can provide greater loss-of-market-access protections than bilateral ones. Concerning regional integration, Bilal *et al* (2009) argued that such platforms provide political advantages principally that can contribute to conflict resolution or consolidation of peace.

Overall, the economic impact of EPAs has triggered debate, however, only the EPA part of the agreement with Cariforum, has been in force long enough to allow for a meaningful assessment. The assessment noted that the Cariforum EPA's implementation has had a moderate impact on the economy (European Commission, 2014). It also noted that its role in attracting investors has been limited with a lack of awareness still constraining opportunities provided by the agreement. The economic crisis has affected the implementation of the EPAs. As a result, the full impact of the EPAs can only be felt once the liberalization process is fully achieved. According to Zamfir (2018), the impact of EPA to Africa based on the reduction of tariffs, and do not take into consideration other elements such as rules of origin, trade facilitation, and cooperation on norms is estimated to have impacted positively on the three regions involved in the agreement. The EPA with West Africa is expected to generate a 0.5 % growth in GDP in 2035. Exports from West Africa are estimated to increase by 4.1% while that of the EU is also expected to increase by 23.3% by 2035. The average import duties collected by the SADC in 2035 are expected to be lower by about 11.7 % compared to a scenario with no EPA. As a result, the region's GDP is expected to grow by 0.01-1.18 % in that year. Customs duties are expected to go down for the SADC by 0.59 percent during the end of the liberalizing period. Likewise, the EAC's gross domestic product is expected to increase by 0.3 percent in 2042 compared to the scenario without

an EPA. Revenue reduction from excise taxes and duties is estimated to stand at between -1.09 % and +0.02 % (European Commission, 2014).

Studies by the World Bank have concluded that the EPAs would impact the economies of West Africa such as Ghana and Nigeria positively. However, the implementation of the EPAs has resulted in a reduction in government revenue. Customs duties are an important revenue source for many countries which lack the capacity needed to collect other taxes efficiently. The ACP countries are expected to lose millions of dollars due to the liberalization of imports from the EU. The EU has agreed to cover the losses, especially in agricultural production and assist the affected countries. Thus, Reinert (2007) posits that EPAs are seen as another attempt by developed nations to impose an outdated development model based on neo-classical recipes. Kategekwa, (2008) and Smith (2009) observed that allowing more international competition will put domestic production at risk. This is because a lack of food security will make it hard for producers to compete in the global market.

2.5. Empirical review

Busse and Großmann (2004) studied the potential impact of the EPAs on ECOWAS countries. Their study focused on trade and budget effects. Applying a partial equilibrium methodology that follows the Viner model, Busse and Großmann examined the implications of different tariff elimination scenarios. They found that in absolute terms, the decline in import duties would range from USD 2.2 million in Guinea-Bissau to USD 487.8 million in Nigeria. Cape Verde and The Gambia will be particularly affected, as total government revenue shortfalls could amount to 20 and 22 percent. Assuming no adjustment is required from the expenditure side, budget deficits in these countries will worsen by 4.1 and 3.5 percent of GDP respectively.

Oreglia (2020) provided an analysis of the recent negotiations between the European Union (EU) and the representatives of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States (ACP) for the

signature of a new agreement, following the expiry of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement of 2000 (CPA). The study focused on the outcome of the last 20 years of cooperation under the Cotonou Convention, highlighting the positive aspects of the Agreement alongside all its criticalities and failures. The results of the study showed that a great step forward from its predecessors Lomé Conventions, after 20 years it had lost momentum and needed a major overhaul. Particular attention has been paid to the political dialogue provisions: their enforcement failure has been one of the main signs of the need for reform of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. The negotiating procedures proved to be long and rich in treacherous obstacles. The EU tried to defend its interests, namely the preservation of the Cotonou *acquis*, the maintenance of a single counterpart, the deepening of its ties with the ACP regional bodies, and keeping its role as OACPS' special partner. Also, the EU Members expressed their views, the ones with ex-colonial ties in a positive sense, the EU13 in a negative one. They all agreed on the *budgetisation* of the EDF and an increased conditionality of the funding. However, the pivotal role of the UK was lost because of Brexit. On the other side of the fence, the ACP States showed more interest in keeping a high level of ODA and the EDF outside of the EU budget, persisting with a legally binding agreement and without diverging too much from the *status quo*. Kone (2010) analyzed the new cooperation agreement signed between the European Union and the 77 ACP Countries in Cotonou (Benin) on June 23rd, 2000. The study employed an objective mechanism technique in its evaluation. The findings of the study revealed the numerous challenges encountered at different levels in the conception, in the process of implementing an in the effectiveness in practice. They have their specificities to the interaction between EPAs, multilateral trade liberalization, regional integration, and the use of trade as an engine of development.

Karingi et al. (2005) evaluated the gains and losses associated with EPAs for ACP countries. Karingi et al predict a decrease in the production of natural resources, energy, and cotton and production increases in fishing, animal products, livestock, crops, sugar oilseeds, vegetables, and cereals for Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) if a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the EU was signed. However, in the case of full reciprocity production losses in fishing, livestock and vegetables are to be expected. Karingi et al. (2005) found a decline in heavy industry, medium-tech, and low tech industry, clothing, and textiles under full reciprocity, but increases in clothing, textiles, and agriculture production under an FTA.

Oyejide et al (2009) assessed the impact of the EPA on the Nigerian economy, using the Tariff Reform Impact Simulation Tool (TRIST), a partial equilibrium model designed to assess the short-term adjustment costs of tariff reforms developed by the World Bank with support by DFID. In this study, the aggregate impact of the EPAs on government revenue, production, and employment was found to be negative and small in relative percentage terms, while the impact on some sectors was found to be high. However, when support for mitigating EPA adjustment costs, which the region is pursuing in the negotiations with the EU, is taken into account, negative impacts should be ameliorated.

Adenikinju and Bankole (2014) provided an updated understanding of the possible impacts of the new Market Access offer of 75%-25% and other outstanding supportive clauses in the EPA text on the Nigerian economy, to inform policymakers, EPA negotiators, and stakeholders to develop evidence-based positions. The Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model was employed. Findings showed the evolution of effective tariffs from 2015 to 2035 in all the product categories. Because all product aggregates are combinations of the different liberalization stages, each product is a weighted average of the liberalization categories. For scenario A, the outcome showed that tariffs are not cut until 2020 which was after the grace period of 5years. Second,

tariffs for Hunting and Fishing (PEC), Electricity, gas, water and distribution of other petroleum products (ENE), and Forestry (SYL) products approach zero in 2035. The impact of those tariff lines which are explicitly excluded from tariff liberalization, and placed on the sensitive products list, is manifested in the effective tariffs on Food beverages and Tobacco (ALIM), Industrial agriculture (AGI), and textile and leather products (TEXT) which are far above zero in 2035.

Stender et al (2021) provided early ex-post empirical evidence on the effects of provisionally applied Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) on trade flows between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States (ACP). Employing the gravity model of trade, the findings do not find a general EPA effect on trade between ACP countries and the EU but identify heterogeneous effects across specific agreements and economic sectors. While the Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM)-EU EPA rather reduced imports from the EU overall, other EPAs seem to have partly increased EU imports, particularly for the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) EPA partner countries. On the sectoral level, by comparison, the study found increases in the EU's agricultural exports to SADC, Eastern and Southern Africa (ESA), and the Pacific. In the area of manufacturing trade, findings found decreases in exports of the ESA and SADC countries to the EU, but increases in EU imports for SADC countries.

Fontagne et al (2010) looked at a detailed analysis of the trade-related aspects of economic partnership agreement (EPA) negotiations for the six Africa–Caribbean–Pacific (ACP) negotiation groups including ECOWAS, the Economic and Monetary Community for Central Africa (CEMAC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM), and Pacific. A partial equilibrium model focusing on the demand side-at the HS6 level (covering 5,113 HS6 products) was adopted. ACP exports to the EU are forecast to be 10% higher with EPAs, than

under the generalized system of preference while ACP countries, especially African ones, are forecast to lose an average of 71% of tariff revenues on EU imports in the long run. Imports from other regions of the world will continue to provide tariff revenues. Thus, if tariff revenue losses on total ACP imports, losses are only 25% on average over the long run and as low as 19% if the product lists are optimized. The final impact depends on the importance of tariffs in government revenue and on potential compensatory effects. However, this long-term and less visible effect will depend mainly on the capacity of each ACP country to reorganize its fiscal base.

2.6. Gap in Knowledge

Michael (1999) reckoned that the nation-state is dramatically diminishing as a result of economic, cultural, and other forms of globalization because sovereign nation-states face a wide array of international issues where cooperation is needed to attain the best possible outcome. In the age of globalization, the world at large is experiencing a higher degree of interconnectedness than ever before. In fact, Noel (1994) alluded to this fact when he argued that supranational organizations have a long history, dating at least from the Holy Roman Empire. However, membership of such organizations is a subject of national interest. Within context, the quest for political integration is driven by the benefits inherent in the new centers which emerge from the nation-states to further specific gains.

The relationship between the European Union and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) States dates back to the 1960s. It is based on the principle of mutual assistance and development cooperation. This relationship has remained undisputable since the inception of the Yaoundé I and II Conventions in 1963. It has also evolved through the various agreements between the two groups. In perspective, the Lomé Convention was established to improve the trade performances of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries. It aimed to promote the growth and development of these regions' economies. Conversely, the Cotonou Agreement aims to shift the

way trade preferences are treated in the European Union to the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). As part of the deal, all countries that enter EPAs must establish a free trade area with the EU. This period should last for 12 years. To Mattias and Harald (2004), under the terms of the EPAs, all countries must establish a Free Trade Area (FTA) with the EU. This period should last for 12 years.

However, controversy continues to trail the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) idea with proponents against it arguing that the EU block's product and markets, enjoy a comparative advantage over their ACP group counterparts. While the dust raised by this contention remains unsettled, it raises the poser: in what particular ways have the partnership agreements affected ACP group's trade performance in their respective eras? How can the ACP group's trade performance be improved post Lomé convention and Cotonou partnership agreements given their relatively low economic advantage? This, constituting a gap in knowledge with its attendant scanty literary prominence formed the basis for the present study.

2.7. Theoretical framework-Political integration theory

This study adopts the political integration theory. According to Rakesh (1995), political integration is the process of transferring one's loyalty from one national to another because it is expected that the benefits that would flow from the new centre would ultimately surpass the benefits of a nation-state. Thus, Nikola and Ilievski (2015) opined that in the political sense, integration could be defined as the accumulation of political power by a community or group of people. Similarly, Lindberg (1963) viewed political integration as

- (i) the process whereby nations forego the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to new central organs, and
- (ii) the process whereby political actors in several distinct settings are persuaded to shift their expectations and political activities to a new centre.

Rakesh (1995) observed that there are three approaches to political integration, viz; communication approach, transactional approach, and neo-functionalism approach. Explaining, Rakesh (1995, p. 33) alluded that the communication approach “leans on the fundamental premises of cybernetics, the science of control and communication system”. On this basis, Deutsch (as cited in Rakesh, 1995) alluded that due to the increasing level of political integration, there has been an emergence of the concept of security communities (places where violence such as war are unthinkable or unlikely to happen). To buttress the transactional approach to achieve political integration, Russett (1971) argued that the essential conditions of successful political integration are cultural similarity, mutual economic interdependence, and geographical continuity. Lastly, in his 1995 study, Rakesh argued that the neo-functionalism paradigm has strong roots in the ideas of system theory and the structural-functional theory of Gabriel Almond (1956).

Proponents of the neo-functionalism approach accept the kind of community that is based on the autonomy of various groups in a society. Hence, Nikola and Ilievski (2015) argued that neo-functionalism is full intergovernmental fusion using supranational structures. To apply the political integration theory to this study, political integration equates to ACP-EU cooperation which in this case, involves rallying nation-states for specific courses of action on matters of political, social, and economic cooperation. The need to pursue such developmental goals of developing countries of the ACP group inspired the Georgetown agreement on the organization of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific groups of states of 1975. Also, because there are several approaches to achieving political integration, the transactional approach, which emphasizes economic interdependence (Russett, 1971) as its essential condition would be adopted. This is because economic interdependence is at the core of trade, which is represented in the EPAs.

Although the political integration theory especially the transactional approach does not emphasize the role of supranational institutions such as the ACP-EU in fostering political integration using the transactional approach and embodied in economic interdependence, this study finds it useful because of its relative use of trade as an instrument of integration hence, it would be adopted as the framework for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the research methods necessary to achieve the objectives of the study were presented. They were grouped into the following headings: study area, research design, population, sampling procedure, sample size, research instruments, sources of data, and method of data analysis and presentation.

3.1. Study area

The study area emphasizes the geographical scope of a study. Given the study problem being an assessment of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) partnership agreements, the study location is Nigeria which deals with issues that have to do with supranational institutions. This choice of this location is because of the researcher's interest as a citizen of Nigeria as well as the need to assess Nigeria's trade performance within the context of the ACP-EU partnership.

3.2. Research design

The study adopted a mixed research design. A mixed research design utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methods. In perspective, the quantitative research design involves explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods while the qualitative method explores meanings and insights in a given situation. Indeed, whereas the quantitative which involves the scientific methods for data collection and analysis makes generalization possible (Daniel, 2016), the qualitative research design helps to gain insight; explore the depth, richness, and complexity inherent in a phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Within context, the mixed design was chosen because of the need to provide complementary data on the subject of the ACP-EU partnership agreements over the years. In

fact, the study utilized trade data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) as quantitative data and Key Informant Interview (KII) as a major source for qualitative data.

3.3. Population

For this study, the target populations was eighteen (18). Three (3) key informants each from the focal agencies of the ACP-EU in Nigeria such as the: Ministry of Budget and National Planning, Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Investment, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations (NOTN), Non-State Actors (NSAs), and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) knowledgeable about the workings of institutions such as the ACP-EU. The choice of the population was deliberate because of the quality of information desired which is in short supply as well as the provisions in the ACP-EU's agreements for the council of ministers, the committee of ambassadors, and the joint parliamentary assembly.

3.4. Sampling technique and size

The purposive sampling procedure was used for the selection of documents as well as respondents for the administration of the Key Informant Interview (KII). The purposive sampling technique is a nonprobability sampling procedure that ensures the researcher selects his/her respondents based on a set of outlined qualities-in this case, suitability of the information (Bernard, 2002). As subjective as the purposive sampling procedure could be argued to be, it was chosen for this study because of the nature of information required which is in short supply and is limited to specific groups otherwise known as key informants. Given the foregoing, the sample size for the study was six (6) from the population highlighted in section 3.3. Sandelowski (1995) posited that the sample size for qualitative research is usually a subjective judgment since the target populations are persons considered knowledgeable about the phenomenon being

investigated. Therefore, one (1) respondent each was drawn from the target population to make a total of six (6).

3.5. Sources of data

Data were taken from primary and secondary sources. Primary source of data was the unstructured interview and while the secondary sources were made up of official publications of the Federal Government of Nigeria, journal articles, ACP-EU publications, magazines, the internet, among others. These sources of data provided literary as well as the empirical basis for the analysis and discussion of findings in chapter four.

3.6. Method of data analysis

The content analysis was adopted for the analysis of data. Content analysis is a method of analysis that deals with the systemic study of patterns in recorded communication. Because of the nature of this study, the content analysis emphasizes the textual and numerical (processed data) presentation of the data that were obtained in the course of the study. Complementarily, this helped to find out about the purposes, messages, and effects of communication content and in this instance, Nigeria's trade performance between 1975-2020 representing the eras of the Lomé convention and Cotonou partnership agreement. Thereafter, the findings were presented in a thematic manner using graphs and tables driven by the objectives contained in section 1.4.

3.7. The outcome based on the political integration theory

The outcome of this study was guided by the framework used in conceptualizing it, i.e., the transactional approach to political integration. Once more, the transaction approach of political integration connotes the economic interdependence of sovereign states but in this case, under the umbrella of a supranational institution (ACP-EU). In perspective, the ACP-EU (a supranational institution) exists to enhance political integration using the instrumentality of economic

interdependence (i.e. transactional approach of political integration). Consequently, this study proposed a two-pronged outcome to literature (theory) and policy. On the aspect of literature, the study revealed that indeed, the economic interdependence of the ACP-EU blocks fostered political integration and development of the ACP group in line with the tenets of the sustainable development goals. Therefore, this study would shape future policy discussions as it proffered alternative policy direction in the wake of the heavy economic reliance on China.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

The chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the data obtained in the course of the research. The summary of the Key Informant Interview used revealed that out of the six (6) unstructured interviews that were conducted on the Ministry of Budget and National Planning, Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Investment, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations (NOTN), Non-State Actors (NSAs), and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) knowledgeable about the workings of institutions such as the ACP-EU, one NSA, The President of the National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS), the Director-General of the Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations (NOTN), and the Programme Officer, Tomato and pepper Nigeria Competitiveness Programme, Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade, & Investment (NICOP FMITI) obliged the interview request. In this situation, nonetheless, interview data were augmented with different kinds of literature. Lastly, data was presented thematically according to the objectives outlined in section 1.4.

4.1. Nigeria's trade performance during the respective regimes of the ACP-EU partnership agreements viz Lomé convention (1997-2000) and the Cotonou agreement (2017-2020)

Historically, prior to 1975 when the ACP group and its partnership with the EU began, the Inter-Ministerial Committee on the Nigeria-ACP/EU Partnership (2018) alluded that

a group of 18 African states, mainly former French colonies were already in trade, financial, and technical cooperation with a group of European countries, namely: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Luxembourg through the Yaoundé Convention of 1957. The United Kingdom's accession of the European Community in 1973 paved the way for Nigeria along with other Commonwealth countries in Africa, Caribbean, and the Pacific to enter into a partnership with the then European Economic Community (EC).

However, given the structural change in Europe with the BREXIT, dominance of Francophone countries in the ACP-EU Partnership, and Europe's globalization development cooperation, the Inter-Ministerial Committee on the Nigeria/ACP-EU Partnership (2018) further affirmed that it has become pertinent for Nigeria to ascertain and strategize in terms of the relevance, relative benefits, and future of the ACP, while it would be dramatic for Nigeria to withdraw its membership of the group, it is appropriate for Nigeria to gauge its continued commitment to the group, prioritize and/or diversify its development partnership.

In perspective, an understanding of the trade performance during the Lomé Convention and Cotonou Agreement requires an explanation of each of the Partnership Agreements. Explicitly, Agah (2022, *personal interview*) explained that the Lomé convention is a non-reciprocal trade preference where complementary support schemes for the ACP party were included, like the Stabilization of Export Earnings (STABEX) from selected primary products scheme under Lomé I provided grants and loans, while the support to the mining industry (SYSMIN) scheme under Lomé II granted financial compensation to the ACP party for currency fluctuations that impacted these sectors.

Conversely, Agah (2022, *personal interview*) opined that the Cotonou agreement reversed the non-reciprocal treatment hence, was established to expedite the economic, cultural, and social development of the ACP States to contribute to peace and security and to promote a stable and democratic political environment. Also, the Cotonou agreement created institutional bodies charged with the oversight function of the implementation of the agreement. Within context, according to data gotten from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Nigeria's trade volume during the last four years of the Lomé Convention is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Nigeria’s export and import performance during the Lomé Convention (1997-2000)

	1997 (Billion)	1998 (Billion)	1999 (Billion)	2000 (Billion)
EXPORT (₦)	294.49	170.28	470.92	814.85
IMPORT (₦)	105.57	110.44	141.5	177.88
BALANCE	188.92	59.84	329.42	636.97

Source: Fieldwork, March 2022.

Given the non-reciprocal nature of the Lomé Convention, Nigeria’s trade grew steadily except for the decline in 1998. However, *Agah (2022, personal interview)* stated that “the Lomé Convention did not succeed in increasing ACP exports to the EU market: ACP countries’ share of the EU market had actually declined from 6.7% in 1976 to 2.8% in 1998, and finally, to 1.3% in 2000”. This can be attributed to the uncompetitive nature of ACP state exports. *Agah (2022, personal interview)* added that “Nigeria benefited in the early stages of the Lomé Convention, however, over time, the country’s dependence on crude oil, lack of diversification and internal strife slowed and stunted Nigeria’s potential gain and trade expansion from Lomé Convention”.

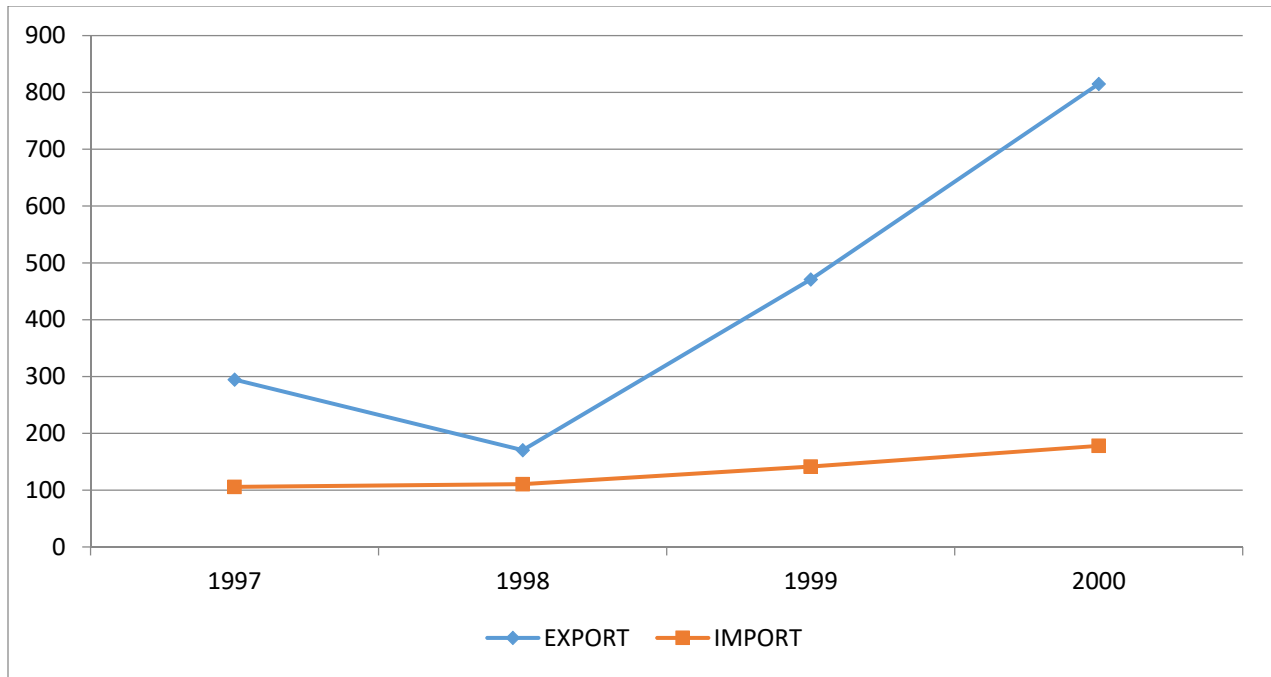


Figure 4.1: Nigeria’s export and import performance during the Lomé Convention (1997-2000)
(Fieldwork, March 2022)

From the above narration, Nigeria maintained a positive balance of trade, that is Nigeria witnessed no negative earnings from its trade with members of the ACP-EU States (See Appendix I for details of exports and imports to and from the ACP-EU States). Figure 4.2 gives an illustration of Nigeria’s balance of trade.

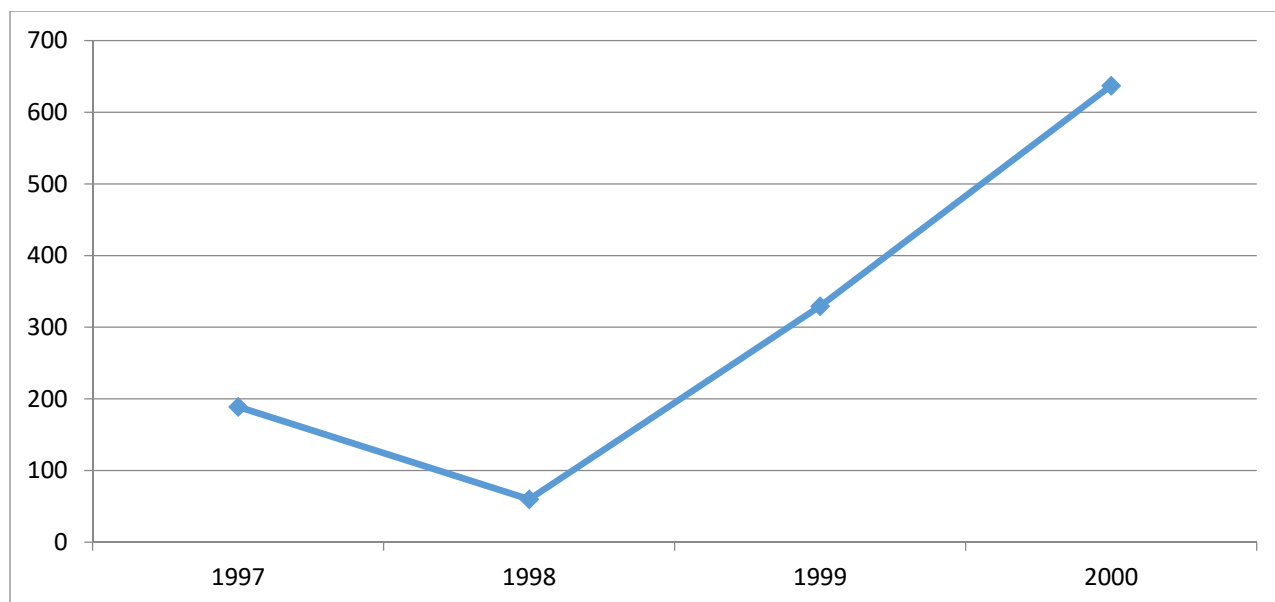


Figure 4.2: Nigeria's Balance of Trade between 1997 and 2000 (Source: Fieldwork, March 2022)

Buttressing the above facts, *Agah (2022, personal interview)* narrated that

Nigeria's status in the ACP during the Lomé Convention: in the first decade (1975-1982), Nigeria accounted for over $\frac{1}{4}$ of the ACP exports to the EEC, and over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the ACP imports from the EEC.

Nigeria in the first decade was the 9th highest agricultural exporter with around 5% of the total ACP agricultural exports.

After the first decade, the share of the ACP countries in global trade contracted, with Nigeria losing a lot of grounds: South Africa had the largest GDP share of the ACP with about 50%, while Nigeria stood at only 15%; after the first decade, Nigeria's agricultural exports decreased from 5% to 3.6% by the end of the Lomé Convention.

Nigeria happens to be the largest trader in West Africa, which makes her maintain a huge influence over the West African region, both politically and economically. In 2016, the EU absorbed about 30% of all Nigeria's export. Fossil-fuel products are by far the dominant export followed by agricultural products while imports include manufactured goods, chemicals, machinery, and so on. Oil has been a dominant source of government revenue since the 1970s, however, Nigeria has since engaged in the export of some agricultural produce.

Primary agricultural commodities were exported in the 1960s up to the mid-1970s when Nigeria experienced a positive crude oil price shock. Since then, Nigeria has remained a major crude oil exporter. Over the years, the proportion of crude oil export in total exports had increased remarkably, making it the dominant export commodity. Its share in total export has remained above 80.0% up to 2005. For instance, the share of crude oil export in total export was an average of 97.5% during the period 1999-2004. However, from 2005 when the country commenced the export of gas, the share of crude oil export reduced to an average of 88.0% between 2005 and 2010 and further to 81.1% of total export during the 2011-2015 periods. Crude oil export accounted for 78.8% of export in 2016. In terms of nonoil exports, traditional agricultural commodity export remained dominant over the years followed by manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

Although Nigeria and countries in Europe and the Americas have come a long way in their relationship, it is debatable if such has in any significant way assisted the country in its quest for development. Akanbi (2022, personal interview) posited that the relationship appears to be exploitative from the trend in the structure and pattern of trade and FDI inflow to the country. This, Akanbi argued was based on the fact that the oil and gas sector dominates the country's exports to the tune of about 98% and FDI inflows to the oil and gas sector accounted for about 40%. To illustrate Akanbi's position, Table 4.2 presents Nigeria's trade performance in the last four years of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement which reversed the preferential trade arrangement for which the Lomé Convention was known replacing it with a nonreciprocal one called the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). These data were gotten from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS).

Table 4.2: Nigeria’s export and import performance during the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2017-2020)

	2017 (Trillion)	2018 (Trillion)	2019 (Trillion)	2020 (Trillion)
EXPORT (₦)	13.6	18.5	19.2	12.5
IMPORT (₦)	9.6	13.2	17.0	19.9
BALANCE	4	5.3	2.2	-7.4

Source: Fieldwork, March 2022.

At a time globalization was believed to have taken centre-stage, Nigeria recorded a negative balance of trade in 2020. Although, trade partners and civil organizations have advised against assenting to the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) as it is capable of negating the regionalization agenda (Agah, 2022; Inter-Ministerial Committee on the Nigeria-ACP/EU Partnership, 2018), the shutting of the world economy due to the Corona Virus Pandemic may have also led to the negative balance of trade for 2020. Nigeria’s export and import volume are represented in Figure 4.3.

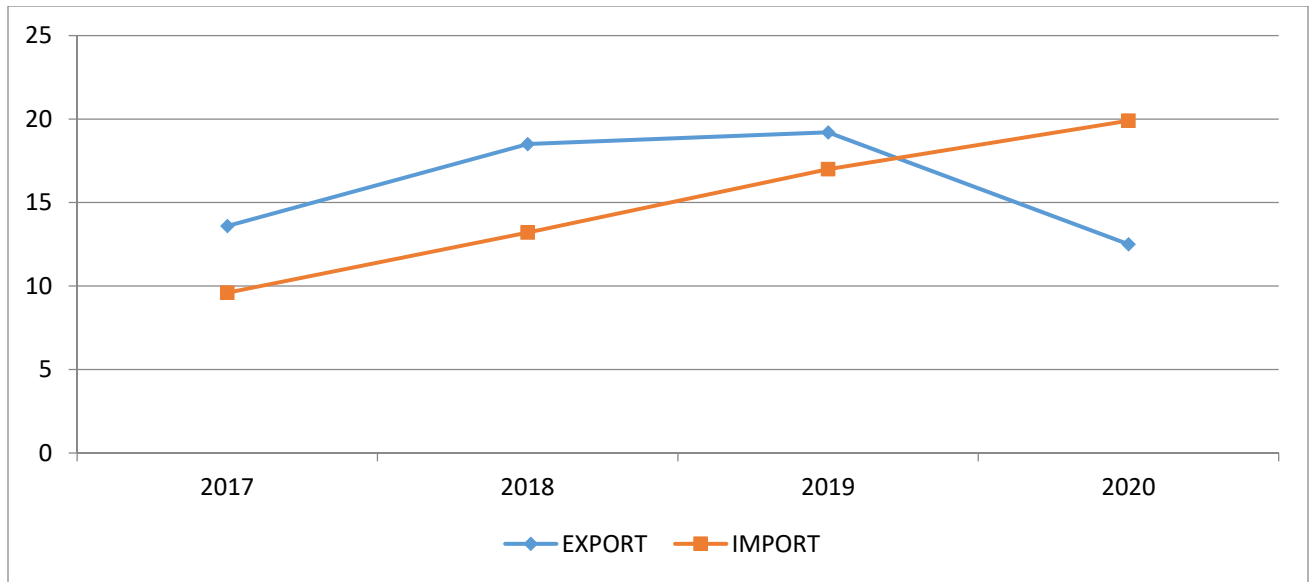


Figure 4.3: Nigeria’s export and import performance during the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2017-2020) (Source: Fieldwork, March 2022)

Overall, the balance of trade performance in the last four years (being 2017-2020) of the Cotonou Partner Agreement is shown in Figure 4.4.

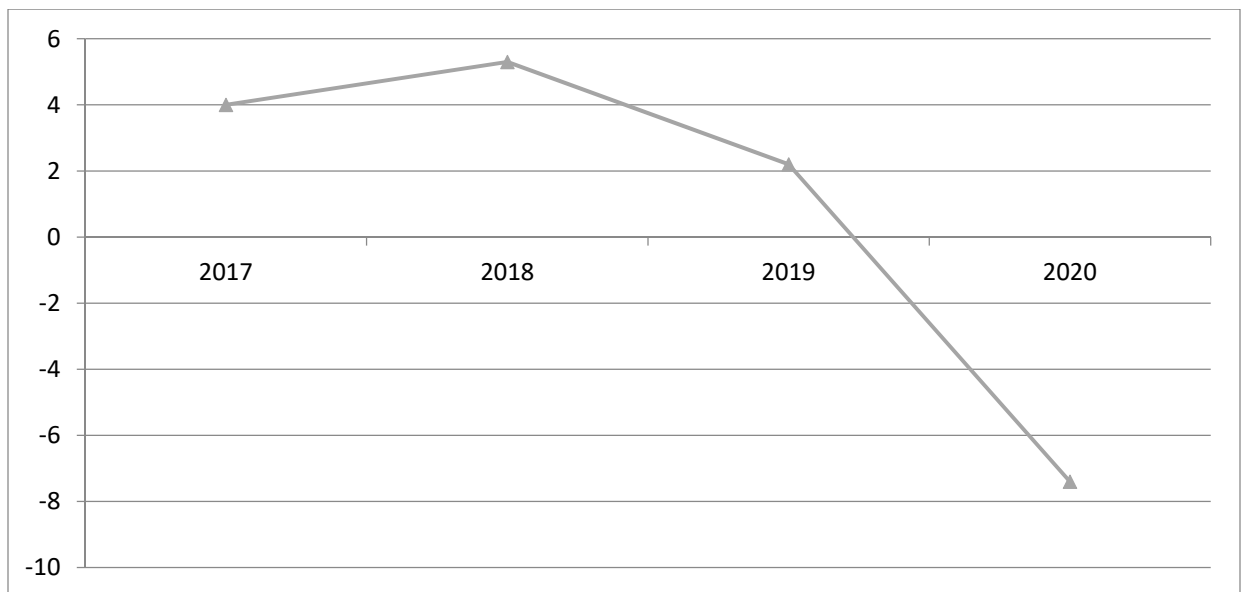


Figure 4.4: Nigeria’s Balance of Trade between 2017 and 2020 (Source: Fieldwork, March 2022)

Agah (2022, *personal interview*), however, attempts to provide the merits of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) as he noted that

- 1) One of the cardinal objectives of the EPA is smooth and gradual integration of ACP states into the world economy and the eradication of poverty which would be beneficial to Nigeria if the same was signed;
- 2) The EPA does not impose any restrictions on agricultural exports into Europe which was a great limitation under the Lomé Convention, whereby agricultural products were not allowed into Europe duty-free;
- 3) West Africa was allowed to keep tariffs up to 35% on several goods imported from Europe, particularly on goods belonging to the so-called sensitive sectors, such as agriculture, food, and beverages
- 4) The EPA improves the rules of origin only for West Africa, making it easier to consider goods sourced and transformed in various countries of the region
- 5) EPA provides an “infant industry clause”, which only West Africa (not the EU) can trigger to raise customs duties in case imports from the EU threaten local fledging industries
- 6) Signing the EPA will speed up the adoption of more efficient technologies leading to improved productivity of factors
- 7) The EPA provides platforms for dialogue through the implementation committees. As such, they promote information exchange, knowledge transfer, and cooperation.

4.2. Obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance during the respective ACP-PEU Partnership Agreements

The African, Caribbean and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) arrangement under Lomé, 1975 has been based on non-reciprocal preferential rights being granted by the EU to ACP nations. Roy (2005) alluded that the Lomé convention governed the relationship between the ACP and EU, providing the former preferential access to the latter's market for a range of export products. The impact of the relationship shows that trade between the ACP and EU has been important for the former, but marginal for the latter. Nevertheless, the Lomé preferences failed to stimulate the states to diversify their exports into non-traditional ones. The Cotonou Agreement, on the other hand, represented a shift from a non-reciprocal to a reciprocal relationship with the ACP states having to allow access to EU goods and services, in return for the entry of their goods into the EU market. This change in the economic partnership of the ACP-EU was depicted by the introduction of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) which is the focus of this study.

The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of countries, signed in Cotonou in September 2000, established a comprehensive new framework for bilateral economic relations between the EU and the ACP countries. The Cotonou Agreement aims to promote economic growth and development as well as the smooth and gradual integration of ACP states into the world economy. From the perspective of the EU, two main objectives stand out.

Given the above and using data from the Key Informant Interview (KII), the study identified the following as the obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance arising from each of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreements:

- 1) **Lack of Diversification:** The failure of the economic component of the Lomé convention was blamed on the failure of especially the ACP states to diversify their economies. Specifically, *Agah (2022, personal interview)* noted the lack of diversification of the economy as one of the obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance during the Lomé Convention. Roy (2016) aligned with this position when he opined that the lack of diversification drive by the ACP group resulted in a relatively low impact of the non-reciprocal Lomé convention on the economies of their respective countries.
- 2) **Uncompetitive nature of Products:** One of the key obstacles to the implementation of the EPA is the uncompetitive nature of indigenous products of the ACP states. *Agah (2022, personal interview)* explained that the EPA sustains exporting raw materials from the African states while it allows high-value-added goods from the EU to freely access the African markets. This will subdue the capacity of the African states from developing their indigenous value-adding processing industries. An influx of EU products can be very uncompetitive to local agricultural production. *Ukaoha (2022, personal interview)* aligns with this position when he attributed the uncompetitive nature of Nigerian products due to the slow pace of its industrialization initiatives.
- 3) **Loss of Revenue:** The EPA being a key component of the Cotonou agreement is faced with the opposition of alleged loss of revenue if implemented. According to *Agah (2022, personal interview)*, the EPA will discourage existing manufacturing industries as they will become uncompetitive because finished goods from European countries would flood the Nation's markets. *Agah* reasoned also, that the EPA can be a threat to local agricultural production and food since heavily subsidized EU agricultural production will distort competition and ruin small farmers. *Ukaoha, Smith, Oghayei, and Bankole (2015)* confirmed the likelihood of revenue loss as they alluded that the implementation of the

EPA will impact government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs). In support, Karingi et al. (2005) predicted a decrease in the production of natural resources, energy, and cotton and production increases in fishing, animal products, livestock, crops, sugar oilseeds, vegetables, and cereals for Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) if a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the EU was signed.

- 4) **Regional integration concerns.** There is a concern that the adoption of the EPA would threaten regional integration. *Agah (2022, personal interview)* alluded that the EPA has the potential to undermine regional integration. “The EPA may potentially undermine the progress of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA)” (Agah, 2022). Given the continental agreement is in force and in its early stages, signing a region-to-region FTA may cause confusion, one of the major confusions will; be coming from the Most Favoured Nation Clause, which demands that parties to the EPA accord the same preferential to the EU.
- 5) **Neocolonial disposition of the Partnership Agreements.** Generally, partnership agreements appear to serve neocolonial purposes. According to *Ukaoha (2022, personal interview)*, rather than being negotiated, the various agreements are decided and passed on to ACP states thus, eradicating any possibility of securing the desired outcome for their countries. What this does, is that it forecloses any possibility of the ACP states laying national interests/concerns ahead in the negotiation. Eventually, most positions arrived at bear the semblance of a master-servant relationship representative of the colonial/colony relationship (Ukaoha, 2022).

4.3. Improving Nigeria's trade performance post Lomé and Cotonou partnership agreements

Clearly, there are unresolved constraints to Nigeria's trade performance within the context of the ACP-EU partnership. While human endeavours cannot be divorced from such obstacles, it has become pertinent to mitigate their effects to enhance national prosperity. Therefore, following the obstacles identified in section 4.2, using data from the literature as well as Key Informant Interview (KII), the strategies below would improve Nigeria's trade performance in the future.

- 1) **Adopting homegrown policies.** Nigeria must look the way of homegrown trade policies. Akanbi (2022, personal interview) stated that the government should not sign the EPA but rather adopt homegrown policies and strategies that can offer required economic fillip and achieve national economic development. In the same vein, Ukaoha (2014) posited that such homegrown initiatives would help towards protecting the nation from undue advantage and opportunistic tendencies of developed/stronger economies targeting developmental, economic, security, and political integrity arrangements of the nation. Based on this, Agah (2022, *personal interview*) stated that the "NOTN will support relevant agencies to decide, develop and improve opportunities for the goods and services to be traded with other countries. This includes both value-added and finished goods".
- 2) **Involvement of relevant stakeholders.** It is necessary to enlist relevant stakeholders in the negotiation of trade agreements in the future. Agah (2022, *personal interview*) made a case for the involvement of stakeholders in future multilateral agreement negotiations as he opined that the "NOTN will work with stakeholders to derive a free trade agreement template which would capture the local concerns and needs. This template would form the basis of future trade negotiations which Nigeria would embark on with any country. This will ensure that NOTN negotiates trade and investment agreements which would be

beneficial for the growth and development of the Nigerian economy”. Ukaoha (2022, personal interview) buttressed this point when he averred that in the ECOWAS EPA negotiation team, he was the only trade lawyer. This, despite the array of experts within the various texts, to be covered by the negotiation. Therefore, the government must strive to involve relevant stakeholders to avert subjecting itself to diplomatic ridicule.

- 3) **Effective border control measures.** Nigeria’s border security is ineffective resulting in the influx of banned goods as well as undocumented immigrants. According to Akanbi (2022, personal interview), considering that Nigeria’s neighbors have accented to the EPA, Government should put in place mechanisms that will control the influx of European goods into its market by strengthening border policing. This would help in no small measure to curb the influx of items listed in the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) which could negatively impact the country’s industrialization initiatives. Nevertheless, while the government must continue to strive to assure of the quality of indigenous products, the relatively uncompetitive nature of these goods and services must be preserved by ensuring the influx of EU goods through Nigeria’s neighbours is checked. Giving a different perspective to the issue of effective border security to check the influx of EU goods, *Agah (2022, personal interview)* alluded that “NOTN would advise policy makers to pay attention to the Sensitive list. The Sensitive list should be dynamic such that when internal efforts to develop a sector are achieved, then that sector should be liberalized to join the competition”.
- 4) **Adaptation of new knowledge.** Multilateral engagements always provide the forum for knowledge sharing. *Agah (2022, personal interview)* argued that for trade agreements negotiated with industrialized countries, the attention of local implementing agencies must be drawn to the opportunities within the agreement. To illustrate, *Agah* opined that

there may be lessons for Nigerian MSMEs to learn from the technological advancement of such countries. Therefore, *Agah (2022, personal interview)* stated that the government should “focus on adjusting the language of the agreement to allow the MSMEs in Nigeria to benefit under the rules of origin and trade defence provisions”. Consequently, *Akanbi (2022, personal interview)* added that the policy thrust of the government should focus on the stimulation of the economy and promotion of intra-African trade to allow the application of new knowledge thus, enhancing the competitiveness of Nigerian products. Besides, *Akanbi* argues that government should intensify efforts at encouraging European countries to establish factories in Nigeria by providing long-term policies anchored by appropriate legislation.

- 5) **Identification and Engagement of various ACP-EU groups.** There is the need to engage smaller blocs within the ACP-EU structure for any meaningful outcome from a larger trade agreement. In support, *Akanbi (2022, personal interview)* concluded that government should begin to consider a bilateral agreement negotiation with the EU that is more beneficial to the private sector and the economy in general. The application of a Generalized System of Preferences plus (GSP+) arrangement with the European Union should be re-considered. Given this, *Agah (2022, personal interview)* added that “in the case of West Africa, the countries concerned do not have the same economic structure. Nigeria should maintain a list of priority areas and then hold a discussion with other African countries within the ACP prior to the negotiations with the EU in order to compile and develop negotiation points on these priority areas”. This will help in resolving the issue of “master-servant relationship” stated earlier by *Ukaoha (2022, personal interview)*.

4.4. Relevance of the study to Parliamentary Administration

Parliament occupies a foremost place in governance. Giesen (2017) argues that parliaments exist as legitimizing institutions. Specifically, the legislative powers of the Federation are vested in the National Assembly (see section 4 of the 1999 constitution [as altered]). Therefore, the present study becomes justified on the following grounds:

First, Ukaoha (2022, personal interview) stated rightly that parliamentary involvement in the negotiation of ACP-EU partnership agreements is rooted in the notion that the ACP-EU has provisions for parliaments of its member nations. Thus, the ACP-EU Joint Assembly is a democratic, parliamentary institution that aims to promote and defend democratic processes to guarantee the right of each people to choose its development objectives and how to attain them. It was created out of a common desire to bring together the elected representatives of the European Community - the Members of the European Parliament - and the elected representatives of the African, Caribbean and Pacific states (“ACP countries”) that have signed the Cotonou Agreement. The Cotonou partnership agreement birthed the Joint Parliamentary Assembly. The Cotonou Agreement is intended to guide the activities of the ACP-EU Cooperation for the next twenty years. Under the new agreement, the Joint Parliamentary Assembly has a specific mandate in the area of democracy. As a Consultative Body, the roles of the JPA are to:

- a) Promote the democratic process through dialogue and consultations;
- b) Facilitate greater understanding between the peoples of the European Union and those of the ACP States and raise public awareness on development issues;
- c) Discuss issues pertaining to development and the ACP-EU partnerships; and
- d) Adopt resolutions and make recommendations to the Council of Ministers with a view to achieving the objectives of this Agreement.

Although the ACP-EU JPA is yet to assume full legislative capacity, it must be noted that it enjoys an unrivaled place within the structure and organization of the ACP-EU partnership.

Second, in every democratic setting, “negotiations of international agreements ought to be done not without the involvement of the parliament” (Ukaoha, 2022). Therefore, taking a cue from Nigeria, following Section 12 of the 1999 Constitution which provides that no international agreement can come into force except with the ratification of the parliament, it means that the EPA requires the process of domestication by the National Assembly. This, therefore, presupposes that a parliament must be involved to see what it would be domesticating right from the beginning.

Third, in most countries, the parliament is legally mandated to ensure oversight of executive actions. In Nigeria’s constitution, statutorily, in Section 88/89 of the 1999 Constitution [as altered], the National Assembly has the powers to oversee everything that the executive has done. Ukaoha (2022, personal interview) listed areas requiring oversight to include “negotiations, agreements, implementation...” In this regard, specifically with the EPA, and other related economic matters, the National Assembly’s involvement must not stop at the negotiation, but must also continue within participation in both implementation and oversight.

However, the centrality of the concept of parliamentary administration within the present study stems from the fact that parliamentary administrators are at the core of an effective parliament. Consequently, parliamentary bureaucrats must be nuanced in various aspects of legislative performance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the summary of the findings, conclusions are drawn from data, and specific recommendations were outlined. The summary presents an overview of the dissertation, a conclusion drawn based on empirical findings, and recommendations.

5.1. Summary of Findings

Africa is a well-known European Union's trade partner of choice. Therefore, after the African States gained independence, the European Economic Community (EEC) became acquainted with the former colonial states of the continent. The EEC's first association agreement with African ex-colonies was signed in Yaoundé in 1963 followed by the second Yaoundé Convention of 1969. Following the trend of globalization, this study assessed Nigeria's trade performance viz-a-viz the respective ACP-EU agreements (Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreement). Specifically, the study assessed Nigeria's trade performance during the respective regimes of the ACP-EU partnership agreements viz Lomé convention and the Cotonou agreement; identified the obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance during the respective ACP-EU Partnership Agreements; and suggested ways to improve Nigeria's trade performance post Lomé convention and Cotonou partnership agreement.

The study adopted the mixed research design using both quantitative and qualitative data. Data were taken from primary (key informant interviews) and secondary (official publications of the Federal Government of Nigeria, journal articles, ACP-EU publications, magazines, and the internet among others) sources. Six (6) respondents were selected purposively for the conduct of the key informant interview. Whereas the content analysis was used for the analysis of data, findings were presented thematically according to the objectives of the study. Overall, findings were presented in charts, tables, and prose.

The study revealed that Nigeria's trade performed differently attributable to the texts of the partnership agreements. Specifically, given the non-reciprocal nature of the Lomé Convention, Nigeria's trade grew steadily except for the decline in 1998. However, Nigeria recorded a negative balance of trade in 2020 during the tenure of the Cotonou agreement. Therefore, respondents identified the lack of diversification, uncompetitive nature of products, the loss of revenue, regional integration concerns, and neocolonial disposition of the partnership agreements, and so on as obstacles to Nigeria's trade performance in the eras of the Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreements. Nevertheless, the study recommended the involvement of stakeholders, Effective border control measures, adaptation of new knowledge, etc., as strategies that would improve Nigeria's trade performance in the future.

5.2. Conclusion

In 2000, the series of Lomé Conventions came to an end. The sequence of Lomé Conventions was replaced by the Cotonou Agreement, designed to cover a period of altogether twenty years until 2020. Kuhnhardt (2016) noted that, unlike most international cooperative agreements, the Cotonou Agreement structured EU-ACP long-term relations in a legally binding nature across three baskets: aid, trade and political dialogue. The aid approach coincided with and reinforced the 2000 UN Millennium Development Goals, while the trade agenda introduced a certain deconstruction of the ACP grouping with the focus on regional economic developments and political trends, thus taking into consideration the growing role of regional economic communities within the different sub-regions of the ACP grouping.

Although the Lomé and Cotonou agreements imposed imperatives provided in Section 16 (2), it is important to appraise Nigeria's performance during their respective tenures. Thus, the defining element of the study remains the effectiveness of the Lomé Convention and Cotonou partnership agreements in advancing the economic wellbeing of Nigerian citizens given that the ACP-EU by

itself strives to eradicate poverty. However, given the highlighted challenges to Nigeria's trade performance during the periods of the partnership agreements, for any meaningful achievement in the light of the ACP-EU partnership, the suggested strategies should be considered to improve Nigeria's trade performance in the future.

5.3. Recommendations

The study recommends the following:

Adopting homegrown policies. The Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade, & Investment should adopt homegrown policies and strategies that can offer required economic fillip and achieve national economic development. These homegrown initiatives would help towards protecting the nation from undue advantage and opportunistic tendencies of developed/stronger economies targeting developmental, economic, security, and political integrity arrangements of the nation.

Involvement of relevant stakeholders. In future multilateral agreement negotiations, relevant stakeholders must be engaged to bring to the table their areas of expertise. Government must now strive to put squares in squares and circles in circles to avoid subjecting itself to avoidable diplomatic gaffes that are capable of denting its image in the comity of nations. Based on this, stakeholders such as the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations [NOTN], National Association of Nigerian Trades (NANTS), etc. should be actively involved in future trade negotiations.

Effective border control measures. There is a need for improved border security considering that Nigeria's neighbors have accented the EPA. This mechanism will control the influx of European goods into its market by strengthening border policing. Consequently, this would help in no small measure to curb the influx of items listed in the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) which could negatively impact the country's industrialization initiatives. Therefore, the

Nigerian Customs Service (NCS) and Nigerian Immigration should improve their border security operations.

Adaptation of new knowledge. Local implementing agencies (such as the Nigerian Office for Trade Negotiations [NOTN], Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria [SMEDAN], etc.), as well as, MSMEs should be open to new knowledge and be ready to apply lessons learnt from the technological advancement of such countries. Therefore, the government should intensify efforts at encouraging European countries to establish factories in Nigeria by providing long-term policies anchored by appropriate legislation.

Identification and Engagement of various ACP-EU groups. Nigeria should maintain a list of priority areas and then discuss it with other African countries within the ACP prior to the negotiations with the EU to compile and develop negotiation points on these priority areas. As a result, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade, & Investment should consider a bilateral agreement negotiation with the EU that is more beneficial to the private sector and the economy in general.

REFERENCES

- Adenikinju, A., & Bankole, A. (2014). CGE modeling of impact of European Union-West Africa Economic Partnership Agreement on Nigeria. A report submitted to the Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment, Abuja, Nigeria.
- ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly [ACP-EU JPA] (2022). *History*. Retrieved from <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/acp/en/about/history>
- Agah, Y. F. (2022). *Personal interview*.
- Akanbi, A. R. (2022). *Personal interview*.
- Ayah, S. O. (1998). *Nigerian Foreign Policy*. Enugu: Jamoe Enterprises.
- Asogwa, F. C. (2009). *Anatomy of Foreign Policy*. Enugu: John-Jacob's Classic Publishers Ltd.
- Babarinde, O., & Faber, G. (2003). *From Lomé to Cotonou: Business as usual? The Eight Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association*. Nashville, Tennessee: The European Union Studies Association.
- Bernard, H. R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods (3rd Ed.)*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Bertaux, D. (1981). *Biography and society: The life approach in the social sciences*. London: Sage.
- Busse, M., & Großmann, H. (2004). *Assessing the impact of ACP/EU Economic Partnership Agreement on West African Countries*. Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA) Discussion Paper, No. 294. Hamburg: Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA).
- Daniel, E. (2016). The usefulness of qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in research problem-solving ability in science education curriculum. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 7(15), 91-100.
- Ebegbulem, J. C. (2019). The Evolution of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: From the Pre-Independence and Post-Independence Perspectives. *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies*, 6(11), 1-12.
- EU-ACP (1995). *Agreement Amending the Fourth ACP-EC Convention of Lomé Signed in Mauritius on 4 November*. Retrieved from http://www.caricom.org/jsp/community_organs/epa_unit/Cotonou_Agreement_&_Lomé_4_Lomé4.pdf
- Europe Aid (2010). *The Lomé Convention*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/acp/overview/Lomé-convention/index_en.htm

- Fontagne, L., Laborde, D., & Mitaritonna, C. (2010). An impact study of the Economic Partnership Agreements in the Six ACP Regions. *Journal of African Economies*, 20(2), 179–216.
- Forwood, G. (2001). The road to Cotonou: Negotiating a successor to Lomé. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(3), 423-442.
- Gabriel, A. (1956). Comparative political systems. *Journal of Politics*. 18,391-409.
- Giesen, M. (2017). Regional Parliamentary Institutions: Diffusion of a global parliamentary organizational design? *Kolleg-Forschergruppe (KFG) working Paper*. 80. Berlin, Germany: KFG.
- Holland, M. (2002). *The European Union and the Third World*. New York: Palgrave.
- Hurt, S. R. (2003). Co-operation and Coercion? The Cotonou Agreement between the European Union and ACP states and the end of the Lomé Convention. *Third World Quarterly*, 24(1), 161-176.
- Karingi, S., Lang, R., Oulmane, N., Perez, R., Jallab, M. S., & Hammouda, H. B. (2005). *Economic and welfare impacts of the EU-Africa Economic Partnership Agreements*. Economic Commission for Africa ATCP Working Paper No. 10.
- Kone, S. (2010). Economic Partnership Agreement between West Africa and the European Union in the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Regional Integration Process. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 25(1), 105-129.
- Kuhnhardt, L. (2016). *Maturing beyond Cotonou: AN ACP-EU association treaty for development*. Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung Center for European Integration Studies: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität Bonn.
- Matteo, O. (2020). The future of the EU-ACP relations: possible scenarios after the end of the post-Cotonou negotiations. *Perspectives on Federalism*, 12(3).
- Mattias, B., & Harald, G. (2004). Assessing the impact of ACP/EU economic partnership agreement on West African Countries. *Hamburg Institute of International Economics Discussion paper* 294.
- Michael, R. L. (1999). *Nationalism, sovereignty, and supranational organizations*. Retrieved from <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/21128/hb114.pdf>
- Noel, F. M. (1994). The impact of supranational organizations on public education. *International Journal Educational Development*, 14(3), 289-298.

- Nsongura, J. U. (2004). Back to basics: The ACP-EU Cotonou trade agreement and challenges for the African Union. *Texas International Law Journal*, 40(1).
- Ofoegbu, R. (1998). *Formulating Nigeria's Foreign Policy [Article]*. The Guardian, Lagos
- Oreglia, M. (2020). The future of the EU-ACP relations: Possible scenarios after the end of the post-Cotonou negotiations. *Perspective on Federalism*, 12(3), 67-98.
- Oyejide, A., Kwanishie, M., Adenikinju, A., Bankole, A., Adegbenro, R, Oghayei, S., & Ogwuche, S. (2009). *Impact of EPA market access offer on Nigeria: An updated analysis*. A Report Submitted to the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Abuja: Nigeria.
- Rakesh, G. (1995). *Evolution of regional organizations: Study of the European community's council-commission relationship*. Retrieved from https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/14245/6/06_chapter%201.pdf
- Roy, S. (2005). African development and ACP-EU partnership. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(6), 521-523.
- Russett, B. (1971). *International regions and international systems: A study in political ecology*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 18, 179-183.
- Stender, F., Berger, A., Brandi, C., & Schwab, J. (2021). The trade effects of the Economic Partnership Agreements between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States: Early empirical insights from panel data. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 1-21.
- The Courier (2000). Partnership Agreement between the members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States of the One Part, and the European Community and its Member States, of the Other Part. Signed in Cotonou on 23 June 2000. *The Courier Special Issue: the Cotonou Partnership Agreement; the Courier: Magazine of Africa-, Caribbean-, Pacific- and European Union Cooperation and Relations*, 1-55
- The Courier (2000). The Courier Special Issue: Cotonou Agreement. *The Courier: Magazine of Africa-Caribbean-Pacific-and European Union Cooperation and Relations*.
- Ukaoha, K. (2018). *NSAs perspective on ACP-EU relations negotiations*. Being a lecture delivered at the ACP Group roundtable in Abuja.
- Ukaoha, K. (2022). *Personal interview*.

Waeijen, W. (2011). Continuing ACP-EU relations in a changing context: A critical assessment of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement. Research Seminar at EU and Eastern Europe.