



## Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Science (JAHSS)

ISSN: 3006-9491 (Online)

Volume 2 Issue 1, (2025)

 <https://doi.org/10.69739/jahss.v2i1.349>

 <https://journals.stecab.com/jahss>



Published by  
Stecab Publishing

### Research Article

## Influence of Nigerians in The Gambia on Nigeria-The Gambia Bilateral Relations

\*<sup>1</sup>Olusegun Peters

### About Article

#### Article History

Submission: February 01, 2025

Acceptance : March 04, 2025

Publication : March 19, 2025

#### Keywords

*Bilateral Relations, Diaspora, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Migration*

#### About Author

<sup>1</sup> Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife, Osun State, Nigeria

Contact @ Olusegun Peters  
[theolusegunpeters@gmail.com](mailto:theolusegunpeters@gmail.com)

### ABSTRACT

This study examined Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations since The Gambia's independence in 1965, focusing on the activities of Nigerian residents in The Gambia, the reactions of Gambians and Gambian authorities to these activities, and their impacts on the bilateral ties between the two countries. The study employed a descriptive research design, with the aim to gather data through in-depth interviews of 22 purposively selected Key Informant Interviews (KIIs); the respondents were composed of officials from Nigerian and Gambian High Commissions, ministries of foreign affairs, academics, and postgraduate students in fields relating to the subject matter, and leaders of Nigerian communities in The Gambia. The study utilized the descriptive qualitative method in analyzing the primary data and thematic content analysis in analyzing the secondary data. The study found that Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations were characterized with mutual benefits, friendliness, and fairness, with no evidence of discrimination against Nigerians in legal or social matters. The study also found that Nigerians in The Gambia positively influenced the bilateral relations between their original country and their host country through professional, cultural, and social contributions; such as intermarriage, cultural exchange events, arts, and humanitarian efforts. Additionally, their dominance in business ownership and importation of Nigerian culture, music, and movies contributed to the relationship between the two countries and strengthened their bilateral ties. The study concluded that diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia significantly shaped Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations through socio-cultural and economic activities. Their contributions underscored the need for both governments to support them whilst distinguishing them from the small group of Nigerians in The Gambia who engaged in criminal activities.

### Citation Style:

Peters, O. (2025). Influence of Nigerians in The Gambia on Nigeria-The Gambia Bilateral Relations. *Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Science*, 2(1), 86-101.  
<https://doi.org/10.69739/jahss.v2i1.349>



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Regionally, Nigeria's influence in Africa—particularly through its leadership in ECOWAS and the African Union—underscores its commitment to regional stability and economic integration. Nigeria's relations with countries like South Africa, Ghana, and The Gambia highlight its role as a regional power. While tensions, such as xenophobic attacks in South Africa and regional power competitions with Ghana, have occasionally strained these relationships, Nigeria continues to engage constructively for mutual benefits (Nwokike & Ogo, 2021; Akoeda *et al.*, 2023). In other hand, the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia—formalized after The Gambia's independence in 1965—illustrates Nigeria's "big brother" role in West Africa; since the independence of The Gambia, Nigeria has supported same through technical aid, military assistance, and judiciary facilitation (Pam-Dachomo, 2018; Odeh, 2021a; Odeh, 2021b). Additionally, the Nigerian diaspora community in The Gambia has been instrumental in shaping the bilateral relations between the two countries, as well as contributing to cultural ties, remittances, and trade.

Specific to Nigeria and The Gambia, the list of works that have been done on their relationship cannot be exhausted; prominent works like Williams (2018), Adetunji (2019), Omotuyi (2021), Oyekanmi (2019), Odeh (2021a, 2021b, 2023), Ojokorotu and Olajide (2021), and Adesina (2020) explored Nigeria-The Gambia relations focusing on different aspects of the relationship and using different variables as themes; these works mostly agree on the prospects of the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia, and its changing outlooks. Nevertheless, considering the significance of Nigerians in The Gambia to Nigeria-The Gambia relations, the allegations of different vice-activities against Nigerians in The Gambia, as well as the reported behaviors of the Gambian authorities and peoples towards Nigerians in their country, the influence of Nigerians in The Gambia on the relationship between the two countries is not exhaustively studied.

Focusing on the roles of the diaspora community in shaping Nigeria's foreign relations with The Gambia, and advancing its national interests in same, this study explored the influence of Nigerian diaspora in The Gambia on the bilateral relations between the two countries—particularly during critical periods such as the regime of Yahyah Jammeh (1994–2017). In fact, the Jammeh Administration—when reports of maltreatment of Nigerians in The Gambia and abuses of human rights that affected Nigerian migrants in The Gambia were at large—calls for extensive examinations, so as to explore the nature and dynamics of Nigeria-The Gambia relations at different times and especially during the Jammeh Administration which is significant to the relationship between the two countries, and to also capture the roles of Nigerians in The Gambia in determining the dynamics of the relationship.

Hence, as the general objective of this research is to assess how diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia influence Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations, the specific objectives are to: examine the nature of Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations since 1965 when The Gambia got independence; analyze the activities of Nigerians living in the Gambia and reactions such activities evoke from the Gambian authorities and its citizens;

and appraise ways in which Nigerians in The Gambia have influenced bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews existing relevant works of different authors and scholars, with the view to revealing the existing gaps this study fills.

### 2.1. Conceptual review

This sub-section entails the review of existing literature on concepts vital to the appreciation and deep understanding of the topic—Influence of Nigerians in The Gambia on Nigeria-The Gambia Bilateral Relations. Hence, concepts of migration, diaspora, and diplomacy are examined.

#### 2.1.1. Migration

Migration is one of the most discussed topics among scholars, policymakers, and politicians. Issues of migration are in the news virtually every day. The fact that almost everyone is either directly or indirectly affected by migration makes people interested in it. Migration affects life generally in all areas, but most especially in the political, social, and economic areas. For these reasons, the analysis of migration becomes very significant and more complex as it gets affected by different factors, characters, events, and time.

The explanation of migration has evolved significantly over time, from early theories (based on physical gravity models, such as Zipf (1946), which explained migration based on the suggestion that migration flows depend on population size and distance) to more complex socio-economic perspectives. By the mid-20th century, models like Harris and Todaro (1970) and Lee (1966) highlighted individual and household decision-making, economic disparities, and the push-pull factors as main determinants of the understanding of migration. Todaro (1969) and Borjas (1999) further refined economic migration theories by stressing rational decision-making based on expected income. Stark and Bloom's (1985) New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) also introduced household strategies and remittances as key determinants of the understanding of migration.

Meanwhile, the contemporary views on migration incorporate globalization, climate change, technological advancements, and policy shifts. In this era, authors like Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014), Massey *et al.* (2021), and Raúl *et al.* (2024), underscore new migration motivations like lifestyle, education, and technology; they emphasize migration and its complexities as dynamic, multidimensional phenomena shaped by economic, political, social, and environmental factors. These perspectives define how the term "migration" is understood and used at different times.

#### 2.1.2. Diaspora

As the conceptualization of migration evolves over time (influenced by various occurrences and new knowledge), the term "diaspora" similarly gets shaped by a multitude of factors. Deviating from the early understandings of it, diaspora is now being understood in various ways to reflect current social, political, economic, and cultural contexts. In other words, partly because of its connection to social and anthropological



researches, and also because of its connection to the phenomena of migration, development of borders, agendas, experiences and history, the views of diaspora have had to keep evolving. This seems to make the endeavor to conceptualize the term diaspora more challenging.

The concept of diaspora has its classical origins in ancient Greek and Hebrew societies—where it signified colonization and dispersion (Tetlow, 2004), this influenced the earliest endeavors to conceptualizing it with understandings based on the ideas of exile, trauma, and sentimental recollection of a group, etc. (Safran, 1991). Vertovec (1999) points out that, for quite a time, the term “diaspora” was a self-identifying word among several groups of migrants or/and those whose parents or ancestors are migrants, it has however become obvious that building a concept from the memories or experiences of a particular community of diasporas, and making it a yardstick could not be as productive in the explanation of the term. Many works relating to migration and diaspora now similarly depart from the historical connotations typically linked to African, Armenian and the classic Jewish experiences in relations to the diaspora.

Modern perspectives on the concepts of diaspora challenge the early notions of it as homogeneous and fixed. Instead, factors such as ethnic, religious, and regional affiliations, as well as voluntary migration and transnational ties are considered in explaining diaspora. In their endeavors to explaining diaspora with its modern dynamics, while authors like Safran (1991) emphasize shared memories, identity, and aspirations to return home, scholars like Vertovec (1999) highlight the socio-economic and political connections of diaspora communities across borders. Also, Appadurai (1996) introduced the concept of “diasporic public spheres”, which reflects diaspora participation in global cultural and political dynamics.

Post-modern discussions on diaspora incorporate technological advancements, digital globalization, and crises like COVID-19, leading to the recognition of “virtual diaspora”, thereby shifting diaspora definitions towards self-identification (Nagendra, 2021; Sandra, 2020). Diasporas’ contributions to national ties, world government, globalization and so on, including economic and political engagements at global levels, further influence views on diaspora (Obande & Malasowe, 2019). Overall, contemporary perspectives on diaspora stress its fluidity, self-ascription, and evolving socio-political roles.

### 2.1.3. Diplomacy

Historically, the views on diplomacy can be categorized into: Ancient Diplomacy, Early Diplomacy, and Modern Diplomacy. Ancient Diplomacy evolved across different civilizations: the Greek diplomacy, which relies on ambassadors (proxenoi) as consular representatives, and the Roman diplomacy, which was governed by distinct laws for foreign and domestic interactions (*gentium and civitas gentium*). After that came the Early Diplomacy founded on the diplomatic agreements of the Kadesh consensus between the Hittites and Ancient Egypt in 1278 BC; as part of this dispensation, in the 15th century, Italy introduced the *ad hoc* diplomacy, which is often associated with deception.

Modern diplomacy, emerging after the French Revolution and

influenced by the Congress of Vienna (1815) and The Hague Peace Conferences (1899, 1907), laid the foundation for international organizations like the League of Nations and the UN. It involves preventive diplomacy which was introduced by UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, in 1959. This dispensation of diplomacy seeks to maintain global peace by preempting conflicts (Laurence, 2019). With globalization, diplomacy has expanded beyond traditional borders, facilitated by the Internet and the diminishing significance of national boundaries (Özer *et al.*, 2018). This has led to the differentiation of diplomacy into various forms, including coercive, multilateral, humanitarian, and public diplomacy, among others (Abdurahmanli, 2021).

### 2.2. Empirical review

There are many empirical studies on The Gambia’s foreign engagements with other countries since the country got independence in 1965—including Nigeria; some of them being the works of Conteh (2020), Lenn (2017), and Sainabou (2016). Conteh (2020) analyses the strategies the Chinese government uses in The Gambia in order to strengthen their bilateral ties; this research is titled “The Gambia–China Relations and its Strategies to Restrain Western Influences in The Gambia”. Primary and secondary data sources were used on the research. While the primary data were sourced through interviews of selected respondents, who were experts in the field of International Relations and the art of diplomacy—especially on China-Africa relations with focus on China-The Gambia relations. The study interrogates the relationship of China and Africa as a whole with the motives behind its presence relating to its economy and its political ambitions. The study revealed that in relating with The Gambia bilaterally, China, as a growing superpower, deployed its soft power of granting aid without interfering with the domestic matters of the nation, which makes The Gambia forge a closer bilateral relationship with the country. The study also revealed that in their relationship, China’s main driving force is seen to happen with diplomatic efforts, development assistance, institutional support and the state-owned enterprises that operate in the energy and natural resource sectors.

Lenn Muhammed conducted a Master of Science research titled “The Role of Small States in the International System: The Case of The Gambia’s Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War (1990–2016)”. The study focused on examining the power capabilities of small states like The Gambia within the broader international power dynamics. According to Lenn (2017), small states such as The Gambia have often been viewed merely as observers in the international system, particularly from a realist perspective that emphasizes power and capabilities. Lenn’s study challenges this notion by suggesting that small states like The Gambia primarily prioritize their economic interests, this often leads them to joining international organizations or align with larger powers. The research employed Discourse Analysis to explore the formation of The Gambia’s foreign policy, particularly in relation to its interactions with international organizations. Adopting a constructivist perspective. The study found that while it is true that small states’ policies are influenced by their insecurities and economic needs, the construction of The Gambia’s foreign policy was also shaped significantly by



multiple identities. These identities include regime type identity, cultural affinity, and its identity as a developing country.

In her PhD research at University College London, Sainabou (2016) investigates the role of small diasporas in the development and politics of their homeland, with a focus on The Gambia. Sainabou Taal's thesis argues that Gambian diasporas are a significant subject of study due to their nation's peaceful history and their substantial contributions to homeland development. Many diaspora members perceive their political involvement as an extension of their efforts in development. Taal conducted a multi-sited study across The Gambia, the UK, and the US. In The Gambia, the research involved 24 interviews with 52 participants, including elites, students, government officials, politicians, and return migrants. It was conducted between February 2013 and December 2014. Additionally, 49 interviews were conducted with Gambian diaspora members in the UK and US, along with 10 interviews with leaders of Gambian diaspora associations in the UK. Data collection methods included interviews, participant observation, and analysis of textual and visual materials from newspapers, social media, archives, and secondary academic and grey literature sources. Qualitative coding techniques were used for thematic analysis.

The study concludes that the political activities of some Gambian diasporas in the UK and US often impede the collective diaspora's potential impact on national development. This situation contributes to mistrust between the Gambian government and the diaspora, limiting development efforts mainly to the family or local community level. While these political interventions have some effect, they represent only one facet of broader efforts to influence Gambian politics, which encompass diplomatic initiatives, economic influences, and human rights advocacy. These endeavors are frequently constrained by the diaspora's limited resources and capacities. Taal contends that while it is practical to differentiate between development and politics, in practice, they are intertwined. In countries like The Gambia, characterized as an 'anti-development machine' where formal political engagement sometimes obstructs active development, a paradox arises: diasporas genuinely committed to development may need to refrain from political engagement, despite the argument that improving the political process is integral to development.

### 2.2.1. Assessing the nigeria-the gambia bilateral relations

The Gambia and Nigeria have maintained bilateral relationships since the two nations gained independence, particularly in 1965 when The Gambia became independent (Ojokorotu & Olajide, 2021). The diplomatic ties between The Gambia and Nigeria were formalized in 1965, and it aligned with Nigeria's Afro-centric policy prioritizing Africa. Over time, these relations were formalized with the creation of the Gambia-Nigeria Joint Commission introduced by Nigeria in 1979 and launched in Banjul in 1983. The Lagos Treaty of June 15th, 1983, further solidified scientific, economic, and technical cooperation between the two nations (The Nigerian High Commission, 2015).

At the inaugural session of the Joint Commission, professionals from the two nations talked about agreements such as the Fishery Agreement, which led to the establishment of Fishing

Rights on February 19th, 1985. Additionally, livestock experts from both nations deliberated on the purchase of Ndama Cattle, resulting in an agreement for The Gambia to supply 5,000 Ndama cattle annually to Nigeria for five years, which was completed ahead of schedule. Subsequently, The Gambia proposed an increase to 7,500 herds annually, which Nigeria did not immediately accept.

Attempts by Nigerian food-producing companies and the Kaduna livestock departments to retain the cattle trade were initiated but faced challenges due to price increases in cattle in The Gambia after its Economic Recovery Plan (ERP). Nigeria subsequently shifted its focus to crude oil, which was economically effective and contributed significantly to its GDP. The Joint Commission's effectiveness declined after 1985, but efforts were revitalized in 2002 following bilateral discussions between the former Presidents Yahyah Jammeh and Olusegun Obasanjo.

In 2003, a meeting in Abuja resulted in multiple agreements between the Gambia and Nigeria, including Bilateral Air Services, Trade and Economic Cooperation, Joint Ventures for Economic Cooperation, Agreements for Fishery and Technical Assistance Programs. A subsequent gathering in Banjul laid emphasis on the importance of Air Services, Two-sided Fishing, Technical Assistance, and Trade, culminating in a common memorandum signed by former Presidents Yahyah Jammeh and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to strengthen cooperation across all levels of government (Senghore-Njie, 2015). Despite these consensus being executed individually by The Gambia and Nigeria, they were not executed through the Joint Commission, and reasons for this discrepancy remain unspecified.

Nigeria and The Gambia have a long-standing relationship, with Nigeria providing significant technical, economic, and judicial assistance to The Gambia. Through the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) scheme, Nigeria has deployed volunteers to The Gambia since 1987, contributing to various sectors such as medical, educational, agricultural, and legal. Nigeria has also supported in playing key roles in stabilizing the country in times of crisis. However, the relationship is considered asymmetrical, with Nigeria playing a more significant role than The Gambia, largely due to differences in their economic abilities.

### 2.3. Theoretical review

In analyzing diaspora actions in the West African States, particularly Nigerian diasporas in The Gambia, the need arises for theories that will expatiate on problems regarding the migration of people and their activities in the host country and how those activities determine the relationship between their country of origin and the country of destination to be reviewed. For the purpose of this study, Theory of Realism, National Interest Theory, Diplomatic Theory and Asymmetry Theory are reviewed because they form the bases for the theories adopted by this work.

#### 2.3.1. Theory of realism

Realism, also known as the "power politics approach", begins its analysis of the international system by examining human nature and how it translates into the behavior of states. According to realists, humans are fundamentally concerned with their own





interests in competitive relationships. They seek to maintain control and avoid being exploited, striving to gain an advantage over others in both interpersonal and international interactions (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013). This view of human nature is notably pessimistic and is exemplified in the international relations theory of Hans Morgenthau, a prominent classical realist thinker of the twentieth century. Morgenthau portrays humans as driven by a 'will to power', particularly evident in politics and international relations, where power is both the immediate goal and the means through which political actions are pursued (Morgenthau, 1965). This perspective is reiterated throughout Morgenthau's works (1960, 1965, 1985).

The realist thought finds its roots in the ideas of thinkers such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Sun Tzu, who emphasized the importance of power acquisition, possession, and utilization in political activities. For realists, international politics is predominantly characterized by 'power politics'—a realm marked by rivalry, conflict, and occasional war among states, all striving to defend their national interests and ensure the survival and security of their people within an anarchical global system lacking a central authority (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013). In this context, the state is viewed as the principal actor in world politics, with all other entities such as individuals, international organizations and non-governmental organizations playing either secondary or negligible roles. Realists emphasize the hierarchical distribution of power among states, where great powers hold the most significant influence and lesser powers play subsidiary roles.

The core normative principle of realism revolves around national security and state survival. Realist foreign policy is primarily aimed at advancing and protecting the interests of the state, viewing the state as essential for ensuring the security and well-being of its citizens. This perspective aligns with the realist doctrine that treats international agreements and treaties as pragmatic arrangements contingent upon states' willingness to abide by them, rather than as binding legal or ethical obligations (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013).

Overall, realism asserts that states must prioritize their national interests because relying on other states or governments is inherently unreliable. This doctrine remains constant over time, reflecting the enduring realities of global politics as perceived by most realist theorists (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013).

### 2.3.2. National interest theory

For national interest theory, scholars argue that national interests are apparently inseparable from the concept of foreign policy, and this explains why many scholars use the two concepts interchangeably, hence, they believe that the national interest of a country constitutes the foundation of its foreign policy (Douglas, 2023; Joseph, 2010). To this end, we can say that foreign policy is a 'means', and national interest is an 'end'. According to these authors, as a theory guiding and directing a country's foreign policy, national interest is perceived to mean issues collectively agreed upon by the majority of the citizens of a particular country with their leaders, to promote their security and general well-being, which, perhaps, cannot be wholly achieved without the assistance of others outside their immediate environment or country (Onyemekihian &

Onyekwuma, 2021). National interest refers to the totality or aggregate of interests of individuals and groups within a given state. It is the various strategies employed in the international interactions of states in order to ensure the preservation of the stated goal of a society.

### 2.3.3. Diplomatic theory

Diplomatic theory of international relations starts with the argument that in order to accomplish national interest through foreign policies, state actors and their leaders often resort to negotiations and agreements in a peaceful and civilized manner rather than resorting to war and conflicts as espoused by realists. Thus, diplomatic theory is rooted in the theoretical framework of idealist theory or idealism. The absence or collapse of diplomacy in inter-state relations often leads to a tensed situation where states and their leaders resort to self-help instead of pursuit of collective good.

Morgenthau, in particular, underscores diplomacy as a crucial but often undervalued instrument of foreign policy. When conducted effectively, diplomacy acts as a force multiplier, amplifying a state's influence and achieving its objectives more economically. Conversely, poor diplomacy can undermine the effectiveness of other foreign policy tools, leading to sub-optimal outcomes. Moreover, Morgenthau (1965) emphasizes that wise diplomacy is crucial for peacefully pursuing foreign policy objectives and for navigating the complex challenges of international relations. He argues that skillful diplomacy offers a realistic alternative to the potentially catastrophic outcomes that states might otherwise face, particularly in an era marked by nuclear threats.

In summary, while diplomacy can be viewed as a means to achieving foreign policy goals through dialogue and negotiation, its role extends beyond mere conversation. When diplomacy involves communicating threats, promises, and potential rewards or punishments, it transforms into a mechanism for signaling potential actions using other foreign policy tools. Thus, while it serves as a critical component of statecraft, diplomacy also influences how states project power and manage their international relations.

### 2.3.4. Theory of asymmetry (womack's model)

Asymmetry theory is a relatively recent framework that explores the effects of imbalance in international relations. It refers to the lack of symmetry, indicating inequalities or disproportions across various attributes. Unlike terms like imbalance, which often carry negative implications, and differences, which involve incomparable categories, asymmetry offers a more neutral and detailed perspective when analyzing international dynamics such as politics, military strength, resource distribution, population size, and geographical positioning. Internal political factors can also contribute significantly to asymmetry, influencing outcomes within bilateral frameworks. Brantly Womack developed the asymmetry theory, highlighting how asymmetrical power relations can lead to differing perceptions of risk and interactions between states, sometimes resulting in mutual misperceptions. Womack (2016) argues that asymmetric power dynamics can lead to stalemates if the smaller state does not resist effectively against the influence



of the stronger state. He suggests that power dynamics in the transnational system do not favor the stronger party all the time when faced with disparities in their relations with smaller states. The interaction between smaller and larger states can be stable if the smaller state does not perceive a threat from the larger one. However, if the smaller state feels threatened, it may adopt risky policies to ensure its security, while the larger state might exert pressure or coercion. In multi-faceted relations, asymmetry influences trends of attention and uncertainty. It affects how larger or dominant states treat smaller states that are under their influence, often overshadowing these relationships as larger states focus more on their competitors. There is also Kozak's model of Asymmetry Theory which offers more options for the kind of relationship that can exist between stronger states and weaker states. This model propose a four-option framework for bilateral engagement between a stronger state and a weaker state, it suggests that the stronger state has four strategies to choose from when dealing with a weaker state, and the weaker state has two strategies to choose from when dealing with a stronger state. Also, the dynamics of their relationship par time is significantly determined by the choices the stronger state and the weaker states make from the options available to them. This study focuses on Kozak's model of Asymmetry Theory as it offers a more dynamic application of the theory.

#### 2.4. Theoretical framework

This study adopts Transnational Theory and Asymmetry Theory (Kozak's). Transnational Theory because: it acknowledges how traditional identities (shaped by geopolitical location, nationhood, race, ethnicity, and class) have given way to new paradigms that have in the past few decades gained traction among scholars of migration—particularly those studying immigrant communities in developed countries (Faist, 2000; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Vertovec, 1999; Urry, 2000); it describes the growing cross-border interactions of individuals, groups, and organizations beyond the confines of state boundaries; and it emphasizes the significant roles played by non-state actors in shaping international relations. Thus, it is relevant in analyzing the influence of Nigerian diasporas in The Gambia on the two sided relationship between the two countries and in exploring how the activities of Nigerians living in The Gambia impact the diplomatic relations between Abuja and Banjul.

Asymmetry Theory (Kozak's) because: the Asymmetry Theory in general is able to examine the relationship between states having unequal might wholly or in different areas; it facilitates investigations into how the inequalities in economic, military or political strengths of actors can influence the dynamics of the bilateral relations between different countries (Long, 2017); it clarifies the complications of the relationship between two countries like Nigeria and The Gambia—considering the fact that Nigeria has more economic and military powers, and more regional influence than The Gambia; and because specifically, Kozak's model of the theory addresses the different options states may have in asymmetric relationships, and offers four options the stronger state can choose from when in an asymmetric relationship with a weaker state, and also offers two options the weaker state can adopt when relating with a stronger state.

#### 2.5. Options from kozak's asymmetry model

According to Kozak (2019), the stronger state can choose to:

**i. Disengage:** it may choose to not involve and rather direct its focus to other matters which would enable the reduction of its interactions with the weaker state. This option is a strategy for the stronger state to redistribute its resources elsewhere if such relationship is not beneficial or sustainable.

**ii. Open Up to Provide Assistance:** The stronger state can choose to support the weaker state in different ways ranging from economic aids to technological assistances. This option enables positive relationships, and it can create avenues for mutual benefits.

**iii. Open Up to Dominate:** The stronger state can choose to dominate the weaker state by influencing the weaker state or exhibiting control over it. This can happen when the stronger state uses its economic, political and military might and the dependence of the weaker state on these to possess leverages over it.

**iv. Isolate:** The stronger state can choose to remove itself from the weaker state by severing all ties with it. This option is often adopted when the stronger state sees the weaker state as unbeneficial or as sabotage to its interest (Eneasato, 2021).

#### 2.6. Kozak (2019) further highlights that the weaker state can only choose to:

**i. Receive aid:** The weaker state can choose to open up and accept supports or aids from the stronger state so that its development can be improved, and its stability and international outlook can be promoted. This option is commonly perceived as the practical option for the weaker state to obtain the needed support for its national growth and development.

**ii. Isolate:** the weaker state can choose to close up and isolate itself; it can choose to reject supports and endeavor to be self-reliant. This option can be motivated by the fear of losing its sovereignty or not be able to resist external influence when dependent on stronger states (Chen & Chen, 2002).

In the context of Nigeria-The Gambia relations, Nigeria obviously is the stronger state, and it has many options to choose from within Kozak's model of Asymmetry Theory in relation with The Gambia. However, Nigeria has through history been around giving assistances to The Gambia to facilitate stability, development and good relations. In return for its assistance, to The Gambia and other weaker countries, Nigeria enjoys some influences over the weaker state—especially in regional and sub-regional politics. In fact, Nigeria's influence over states like this are perceived by some groups as a desire for hegemonic stance in Africa (Adams & Ebegbulem, 2016). In same context, The Gambia, being the weaker state, chooses to open up and be a big receiver of aids and supports from Nigeria to enhance its stability and facilitate its growth and development (Ojokorotu & Olajide, 2021).

Asymmetry Theory is suitable for this study because it addresses the contributions of Nigerians in The Gambia to the imbalances between the two countries; the Nigerian community in The Gambia is the largest diaspora community in the country (Odeh, 2023), Nigerians in The Gambia own a relatively large number of businesses in the country (Sanyang, 2024), Nigerian entertainment is drastically going global and especially



penetrating every African country—including The Gambia, and dominating the entertainment of many of these countries (which the entertainers and the entertainment industry of some of these countries agitate over even with hostilities), since there are more Nigerians in The Gambia than Gambians in Nigeria, there are more remittances sent back home from the Gambian economy by Nigerians in The Gambia than from Nigerian economy to The Gambia by Gambians in Nigeria; all these contribute to the imbalances in the relationship between the two countries, and they are able to cause reactions and behaviors against Nigerians in The Gambia from the Gambian authorities and Gambians—similar case is currently evident in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa and other countries in the world.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The section discusses the type of data collected for the study and how they were sourced and organized using both primary and secondary sources. It explains how the relevant information were collected, collated, analyzed and interpreted, with the purpose of achieving an empirically validated research report. The research design adopted is discussed, the location of the study area, the study population, the sampling technique, sample size, and the research instruments used.

#### 3.1. Research design

This study adopted the Descriptive Research Design using In-depth Interviews in sourcing for information from the selected Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). A Purposive Sampling Technique was employed to select 22 KIIs for in-depth interviews—the needed data were preferably to come from: Nigerians who have been to The Gambia or lived in The Gambia within the timeframe this study covers, or currently living in The Gambia; officials in Nigerian and Gambian institutions and communities who have engagements relating to Nigerians

living in The Gambia and Nigeria-The Gambia relations; academics in Nigerian and Gambian universities who are grounded in the perspectives of Nigeria-The Gambia relations and in the experiences and activities of Nigerians living in The Gambia. Hence, the Purposive Sampling Technique.

#### 3.2. Study areas

The study areas for this work are the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Republic of The Gambia; two sovereign states located in West Africa.

#### 3.3. Study population

For this study, the targeted population comprised Nigerians living in The Gambia, and Nigerians who have lived in or visited The Gambia within the timeframe of this study.

#### 3.4. Sampling technique and sample size

This study selected a sizeable number of 22 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) from Nigerians living in The Gambia, Nigerian officials in related fields serving in The Gambia, Nigerian institutions and groups attached to The Gambia, Gambian institutions related to Nigeria-The Gambia relations, as well as Nigerian and Gambian academics with good knowledge and experiences of the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia. They were selected for interview using the Purposive Sampling Technique because the study needs its data from people who have the expertise, experience and information core to this phenomenon; this justifies the selection of the KIIs. Also, in qualitative research of this nature that seeks an in-depth examination of a particular problem, a sample size in a range of 20 to 50 is normally enough for a small-scale study, and 50 to 100 for a large-scale. This informed the choice of 22 KIIs selected for this study. Table 1 below shows a detailed distribution of the selected KIIs.

**Table 1.** Distribution of the key informant interviews (kiis)

Interviewees		
S/N	Group/Category of KIIs	Number of Selected KIIs
1	The Nigerian High Commission, Kanifing, The Gambia	2 KIIs
2	The Gambian High Commission, Abuja	1 KII
3	The Gambian Consulate, Lagos	1 KII
4	The Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja	2 KIIs
5	The Gambian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Banjul	1 KII
6	The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, NIIA, Lagos	2 KIIs
7	Departments of Political Science and History, The University of The Gambia, Kanifing and Brikama Campuses	8 KIIs: Political Science lecturers (2); History lecturers (2); and Gambian Political Science postgraduate students (4)
8	Departments of Political Science and International Relations, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria	2 KIIs: Political Science (1); International Relations (1)
9	Leadership of Nigerian communities in The Gambia	3 KIIs
<b>Total</b>		<b>22 KIIs</b>

Source: Author's compilation, 2023



### 3.5. Types and sources of data collection

In this work, a combination of primary and secondary methods of data collection was used. The primary data were generated via in-depth interview of 22 carefully selected KIIs using Purposive Sampling Technique. The secondary data were sourced from relevant textbooks, journals, articles, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, government publications, theses, conference proceedings, internet and other archival materials published within the year of executing this study and 5 years backwards—except for the cases where they are theories, frameworks, records, news and other materials enhancing the historical perspectives of the study.

### 3.6. Research instruments

The research used semi-structured interview guide highlighting the research questions and objectives. In line with the semi-structured interview guide as the instrument of the research, the researcher made use of mobile phone and media applications in recording the interview sessions with the selected KIIs available for physical interviews after obtaining their consent for participation. The interviews were conducted in line with ethical considerations and expected conduct.

The KIIs in The Gambia and the KIIs in Nigeria who were not available for physical interviews were interviewed virtually using Zoom and Google Meet. Assurances of confidentiality and anonymity were presented to the interviewees before the commencement of any interview session as well as during and after the interviews. Participants were assured that the usage of any information given would be strictly for the purpose of this research and future related research.

### 3.7. Methods of analysis

For this study, while primary data collected through in-depth interviews were analyzed using Descriptive Qualitative Method, the secondary data were analyzed using Thematic Content Analysis.

## 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In line with the objectives of this study, this section presents, analyses, and discusses the findings of the study based on collected primary data sourced through structured interviews with the KIIs who were selected using purposive sampling technique, and the second data collected from existing literature, journals, theses, newspapers, etc. related to the subject matter and needed to establish various positions on this work.

The findings were explored using Descriptive Qualitative Method and Thematic Content Analysis. Therefore, among other things, the work firstly determines key information on the KIIs in form of their socio-demographic characteristics. Secondly, it examines the nature of Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations since 1965 when the latter got independence from Britain. Thirdly, it discusses the behaviours and activities of Nigerians living in The Gambia and reactions such behaviors and activities evoke from the government of The Gambia and its citizens. Fourthly, it analyses ways in which diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia influence the bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia. Finally, it determines whether the bilateral relations between the two countries have often been frosty

or friendly, and also, if Nigerians living in The Gambia are maltreated just for being Nigerians as it is the case in some other countries with high level of anti-Nigerian sentiments.

### 4.1. Research objective 1. The nature of nigeria-the gambia bilateral relations since 1965 when the gambia got independence

There are several studies detailing the nature of Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations since the two sister-countries in the West African sub-region gained independence in 1960 and 1965, respectively (Odeh, 2021a). Even though both countries only formally established diplomatic relationships after the independence of The Gambia in February 1965, their relationship predates the independence period of both countries. Past scholarly works, archived news, reports and documents give records that revealed that this relationship could be dated back to as far as the pre-colonial periods when trans-Saharan trade relations were taking place among societies in West Africa (Hodgkin, 1960; Boahen, 1985; Egbe & Okoi, 2018). These historical interactions facilitated cultural, religious, human and economic exchanges, which laid the foundation for the strong bilateral ties observed between the two countries today.

Reports from Isichel (1973), Ajayi and Crowder (1985) and Hodgson (1843) revealed that prior to the colonization of the two countries by the British colonial authorities, there were trading activities among the Western Sudanese region—which the Gambia belonged and had its capital, and present-day Guinea called Niani, and the Kanem Bornu Empire, as well as Kano, Katsina, and many other kingdoms in the present-day Nigeria known then as Southern Sudan. Hence, when the trans-Saharan trade relations of West Africa and the Sahel are talked about, it will be noted that the people of pre-colonial Gambia and Nigeria have had several encounters. These encounters metamorphosed into elements of the relationship between them even before they both became British colonies in the 19th century (Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920; Woodward, 1919; Robinson & Shotwell, 1922; Nnaocha, 2015).

In the reports of Ellis *et al.* (1899) and Little (1903), the relationship between The Gambia and Nigeria continued in the colonial period during the amalgamation of the disparate military forces—the Lagos Constabulary, the Royal Niger Constabulary, and the Royal Niger Protectorate Constabulary, in 1897, that eventually led to the formation of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF), which was later renamed Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF). Colonel Fredrick Lugard became the first Commissioner and Commandant of the RWAFF with headquarters in Lokoja—the present-day Capital City of Kogi State, North-central Nigeria, with Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, and The Gambia as participating colonies alongside Nigeria. Ultimately, the RWAFF originally came about as a means to greatly increase the British military footing in West Africa under Colonial Office control, as well as in combat-continued French encroachment, and to also standardize and coordinate military resources across the four British West African colonies (Odeh, 2021a; Estep, 2020).

Beyond their bilateral and people-to-people relationship, the two countries at the sub-regional and regional levels continue to strengthen their relationships after independence through





multilateral frameworks like Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and its peacekeeping forces, such as the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and the ECOWAS Mission in The Gambia (ECOMIG), including the African Union (AU), formerly the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (Lavergne, 1997; Aryeetey, 2001; Adesina, 2019).

From these reports and different scholars, this study unveils that the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia is founded on the several things they share in common, viz:

i. the two countries are English-speaking nations colonized by Britain with similar colonial experiences and legacies;

ii. they are surrounded by French-speaking countries (a French-speaking country in the case of The Gambia), with different colonial experiences, and this influenced their regional dynamics and alignments. While the Gambia is surrounded only by Senegal as an immediate neighbor, Nigeria, on the other hand, has Benin, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon Republics, as its immediate neighbors (Hodgson, 1843);

iii. in terms of ethnic composition, the Fulani people found in Northern Nigeria are also found in the Gambia (called Fula) (Hodgson, 1843);

iv. in terms of religious beliefs, while over 90% of the Gambian population are Muslims with the remaining 10% Christians spreading across different denominations including Anglicans, Methodists, and Roman Catholics, in Nigeria, the Northern region is Muslim-dominated with a sizeable number of Muslims in some parts of Christian-dominated South—especially among the Yoruba ethnic group in the Southwest. This supposes that Islam is a dominant religion in both countries (Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920); and

v. while Nigeria and several countries within the sub-region have experienced overt frictions in their relationships either on a state-to-state or/and people-to-people bases, there is an apparent absence of such open confrontations between The Gambia and Nigeria since the independence of the two countries (Odeh, 2021a). These suggest cordial relationships built on the principles of trust, understanding, and friendliness. Researchers note that the historical ties and shared interests between Nigeria and The Gambia have fostered a unique bond characterized by mutual respect and collaborative engagement in regional affairs.

On the nature of Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations that has been in existence since 1965 when The Gambia got independence, five years after Nigeria became independent, works like Williams (2019) examined the historical context of the subject matter, and in agreement with the secondary data collected from archival materials like: Hodgkin (1960), Isichel (1973), Ajayi and Crowder (1985) and Boahen (1985), he points out how friendly and cooperative the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia has been for a very long time. In Williams (2019)'s analysis, the shared colonial history between the two countries is significant in the building of their cordial relationship. The study established that Nigeria and The Gambia are both conscious and consistent in their endeavor to keeping their engagements positive while the relationship continues to be of profound respect for each other and their shared interests.

Nigeria's fast recognition of The Gambia as a sovereign state

as early as it got independence in 1965, the quick establishment of state-state diplomatic relations with the new state, the political and resource supports Nigeria gave to the new state to help it begin its journey as an entity with its own sovereignty (Williams, 2019). The human resources Nigeria shared with the Gambian educational system in 1977 to help it improve its educational infrastructures and curricula as well as the supply of educational materials to the state (Williams, 2019). The TAC program was launched in 1985 to send Nigerian professionals from various fields to The Gambia to help improve the vital sectors of the state (The Guardian, 2015). The mediator role Nigeria played in The Gambia to curb political unrest after the 1994 military coup that brought the former President Yahyah Jammeh to power. The financial and technical assistances Nigeria offered to help The Gambia in 2005 when it had an energy crisis. All these display the stability in Nigeria-The Gambia relations over the decades a formal diplomatic relationship has existed between them.

While some of the existing literature examine issues, policies, politics as well as the unequal powers between Nigeria and The Gambia to suggest the existence of an unhampered and firm relationship between the two countries, Adetunji (2019) has a different viewpoint; they note the effects of the inequality in powers, the political and economic differences between the two countries, and how they often pose a dominant-subordinate relationship between them. Adetunji (2019) further debates that, because of their carefulness to not hurt the relationship between them, the two countries usually are unable to make the appropriate social, political, legal decisions when necessary. One of the instances attached to this argument is Nigeria's reaction to the mysterious killing of Nigerian migrants in The Gambia by Yahyah Jammeh's government in 2005 (Punch News, 2019a, 2019b); critics argue that Nigeria was too mild with its reaction, which exhibits failure to establish its might and will to protect the lives and properties of its citizens home and abroad (Premium Times, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2018; The Guardian, 2017).

Despite the dynamics of the positions of diverse literatures on the nature of the bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia since they formalized such relationship in 1965, data collected from KIIs interviewed in line with this objective unanimously suggest that the two countries have maintained diplomatic engagements devoid of mistrust, hostility, rivalry, lack of respect for each other and suspicion since the beginning of their formal engagements in 1965. Hence, their diplomatic relationship remains convivial, friendly and mutually beneficial. This study revealed that despite the small size of The Gambia and its mismatch with Nigeria in terms of national power elements, the bilateral relationship between the two countries is devoid of hostility and disrespect.

#### **4.2. Research objective 2. the activities of nigerians resident in the gambia and reactions they evoke from the gambian government and citizens**

Here, the focus of the study is to reveal how the Gambian authorities and the Gambian citizens react to the behaviors and activities of Nigerians who live in The Gambia, this is to determine how the behaviors and activities—positive or



negative, determine the ways and manners in which the two countries relate with each other. Different kinds of literature consulted on this phenomenon established that the activities of Nigerians in The Gambia are a mixture of commendable and condemnable ones; while some Nigerians living in The Gambia have contributed to the national growth and development of the host country—by establishing businesses in the country, in kind (through foundations, financial supports, and volunteering in social and humanitarian services), and in service (by serving in the Gambian institutions) (Sanyang, 2024; Adetunji & Bah, 2018; Punch News, 2021a), there are those who are involved in highly condemnable vice-activities and criminal actions like prostitution, fraud, drug trafficking, drug peddling, immigration fraud and what have you (Oyekanmi, 2019; Alieu, 2024; Sahara Reporters, 2022).

The secondary data collected from newspapers and social articles like Punch News (2021b), Sahara Reporters (2022) and Alieu (2024) discuss the actions of the Gambian authorities and Gambians towards Nigerians in The Gambia based on their commendable and condemnable behaviors or activities, as these reports are similarly strong on presenting the vice-activities and the crimes committed by Nigerians in The Gambia as characteristics ascribable to many Nigerians in The Gambia, they also present that this makes it difficult for the Gambian authorities and the Gambian people to be able to easily separate the criminal Nigerians from the law-abiding Nigerians. Hence, to be able to prevent crime and vices, the authorities' first approach to any Nigerian in some encounters is to see them as a suspect or a potential suspect, and for the people of Gambia, in order to be on the safer side and avoid being victims, they will, in some encounters, initially relate to Nigerians with caution, until they have proven to be no threat and law-abiding. These secondary data unveil that these are often generalized as the reactions of the Gambian authorities and Gambians towards Nigerians in The Gambia.

One of the major issues Nigeria's relations with other countries face is the popular description of Nigerians as unlawful, fraudulent, and dubious—especially the diaspora Nigerians. This labeling is largely promoted by the mainstream media, authorities, and countries, and unfortunately, many Nigerians and diaspora Nigerians actually engage in activities that affirm the label (Stanislaus, 2014; Owuamanam & Agbaenyi, 2021; Banjo & Umunna, 2022). Countries like United Arab Emirate (UAE), Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Malaysia, United Kingdom, United States, Canada and Australia have all had to tighten their immigration laws and processes at different times against Nigerians because of gross misconducts, unlawfulness and gross violations (Stanislaus, 2014; Owuamanam & Agbaenyi, 2021). The Gambia and Gambians have had their own share of these experiences from some Nigerians as well, and it has called for different reactions from the Gambian government and Gambians (Oyekanmi, 2019).

A popular case of drug trafficking committed by a Nigerian in 2009 against the Gambian laws is an instance of how some Nigerians home or abroad affirm the criminal stereotypes about Nigerians, how the Gambian authorities and Gambians typically handle such issues with Nigerians, and how the Nigerian government usually react. Although the Gambian authorities

handled the case with absolute measures, but the measures were not outside of the stance of their laws against drugs, and how they would have handled it if it were to be another national or even an indigene of The Gambia. The Gambian peoples reacted to the crime as well, but not in the context of the culprit being a Nigerian, but in the context of the grievous effects of the crime committed on their society regardless of who committed it. The Nigerian government reacted to the case and the disciplinary measures by condemning the criminal act and compelling the Gambian authorities to ensure fairness in the punishment (The Point, 2011).

Consequently, Nigeria and The Gambia have both effected numerous policies formulated to limit such issues that arise from the unlawfulness of some Nigerians in The Gambia, whilst protecting the bilateral relations they share. The Gambian government, in collaboration with Nigerian authorities, established a bilateral task force in 2010 to watch and tend to cross-border criminal activities relating to Nigerians in The Gambia. Nigeria also apply thorough background checks and rigid travel guardian for Nigerians trying to relocate to The Gambia. The two countries also regularly dialogue to improve the policies and strategies put in place to curb Nigerians committing crimes in The Gambia, and to ascertain that the implementation of the policies does not have wrong effects on their cordial and mutual relationship (Vanguard, 2010).

How committed the Nigerian government is to ensuring that Nigerian-committed crimes are curbed in The Gambia, and when committed, the misdeeds of a small group of criminals do not affect negatively the larger Nigerian group in The Gambia who are law-abiding and hold goodwill for their host country, and how there are actually many Nigerians in The Gambia who exhibit the good conduct and are contributive to the development and stability of The Gambia, make it difficult for the Gambian government to make targeted policies against Nigerians or apply hostile laws to them specially. An instance of Nigerians having good conducts in The Gambia is the case of Dr. Ifeanyi Ubah, a Nigerian, an entrepreneur and a philanthropist; in 2015, he made significant donations to support schools and hospitals in The Gambia. The Gambian government, the Nigerian government, as well as the peoples of both countries commended this generous act and established the positive effects it will have on the relationship between the two countries.

Other instances of Nigerians being of good conduct in The Gambia are the large numbers of professional and skilled hardworking and law-abiding Nigerians who have been in The Gambia since the initiation of the TAC program in 1985 and other resource-exchange programs as such, and they have chosen the country as their second home. They also continue to contribute to the development and stability of The Gambia (The Chrome Group, 2013). Consideration of such situation facilitate the upholding of the cordiality and conviviality of the bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia.

With the data collected from the KIIs and the positions of different studies on the subject matter, on the behaviours and activities of Nigerians resident in The Gambia and reactions they evoke from the Gambian government and citizens, although there is lack of formal statistics on the number of criminal cases



or bad behavior involving Nigerians resident in The Gambia as well as the reactions such actions or activities evoke from the Gambian government and citizens, nonetheless, this study revealed that just as it is in every human society, there are few bad eggs among Nigerians living in The Gambia who indulge in criminal activities, but despite this, the reactions or responses such evoke from the government and people of The Gambia are not different from when it involves any criminal of other nationalities—including Gambian nationals.

#### **4.3. Research objective 3. ways diaspora nigerians in the gambia influence bilateral relations between nigeria and the gambia**

Different research works emphasize trade agreements and relations, technical alliances, and the conducts of Nigerians in The Gambia as ways the diaspora community and individuals impact the diplomatic relationships between the two countries (Sanyang, 2024). Odeh (2023) highlights that Nigerian professionals in The Gambia play vital roles in developing and sustaining the technical cooperation between Nigeria and The Gambia, thus facilitating economic and infrastructural advancements for their host country. These contributions are not only beneficial to The Gambia, they also create a positive image of Nigerians in The Gambia and Nigerians in general; thus strengthening the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Likewise, Sanyang (2024) stresses that trade agreements enabled by Nigerian entrepreneurs in The Gambia are key to the solidification of the economic ties between the two countries. The business ventures of Nigerians in the host country's economy stresses the important roles of diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia in facilitating the trade relations between the two countries and their friendliness. There are no available formal statistics on the number of Nigerian-owned businesses in The Gambia, but the estimations from literatures suggest that there are hundreds of businesses in The Gambia owned by Nigerians; especially in the retail, pharmaceutical and commercial sectors (Sanyang, 2024).

The behavior and conduct of Nigerians in The Gambia are also essential in shaping Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations. Adetunji and Bah (2018) highlight that positive conducts of Nigerians living in The Gambia largely impact how their home country is perceived, and consequently strengthen its diplomatic ties with The Gambia. This notion is in line with the position of other scholars who posit that not only does the good conduct of Nigerians in The Gambia uphold their individual reputations, it as well boosts the general positive outlook of Nigeria, thus encouraging a friendlier environment for diplomatic relations. The collective behavior of the diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia, thus, play important roles in determining the bilateral relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia.

Another avenue through which Nigerians in The Gambia influence the diplomatic relations the two countries share is by culture exchange; Nigerian entertainment, in the recent years, have started going global, penetrating different cultures and introducing Nigerian cultures to them (Okeowo, 2023); this affects The Gambia too, as the Nigerians in The Gambia do not only import the Nigerian ways of life and entertainment

to The Gambia, they also adopt some Gambian cultures too (Deltaline, 2017). Nigerian cultural programs in The Gambia, like the Nigerian Cultural Week, are useful for the promotion of cultural diplomacy and the reinforcement of bilateral ties between Nigeria and The Gambia, as they promote Nigerian cultures and traditions to Gambians and introduce the Nigerian entertainment, arts, fashion, and delicacies to them. Nigerians do not only show their rich heritages by participating in these cultural activities, they also get to nurture the unity and the identity they share with their Gambian hosts, thereby nurturing the connections between the two countries (Odeh, 2023).

Intermarriages between Nigerians in The Gambia and Gambians as well promote social integration and mutual understanding; a large number of Nigerian men and women are married to Gambians, and this enhances peaceful coexistence and cooperation (The Voice, 2023). Largely, there are points of agreement in the opinions of the KIIs with the common emphasis of literature on the ways diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia influence the bilateral relations between the two countries.

On the ways that Nigerians living in The Gambia could influence bilateral relations between their host and home countries, one of the major reasons why countries engage in diplomatic relations is to provide for their citizens and protect their lives, rights and properties, home and abroad; this make up for why Nigeria and The Gambia engage in diplomatic relations—the citizens as the big influence (Aleyomi & Abu Bakar, 2017; Okeke & Onyekwelu, 2014; Madubuegwu *et al.*, 2022). There nevertheless are records of activities of Nigerians living in The Gambia that have caused diplomatic reactions from both countries—Nigerians in The Gambia as the reason for the form Nigeria-The Gambia relations takes par time.

In 2015, Nigerian students in The Gambia accused some educational institutions of discrimination and exploitation targeted at Nigerians studying in the country, the students protested against these acts. Nigerian government, in response, sent a committee to dialogue with the Gambian authorities on the issue, and to also deliberate on the plans to ensure good treatment of Nigerians studying in the country, and also ensure their safety (Vanguard, 2015). Situations and events like this imply how Nigerians in The Gambia have instigated diplomatic actions and reactions from both countries; actions and reactions put forward in other to perform their obligations to their citizens and as well protect and promote the bilateral relations they share.

Nigerians in The Gambia can also be mentioned in some situations and events where they participated in the promotion of peace and order in The Gambia, thereby enhancing Nigeria's commitment to the promotion of peace in West African countries via platforms like ECOWAS and other means of promoting peace in different African countries. Instance of this are the roles the Nigerian community in The Gambia played during the crisis that threatened to escalate during the transition of power from President Jammeh to President Barrow; the Nigerian diaspora community largely advocated for peaceful resolutions and smooth transition of power, and Nigeria as well invested in ensuring a peaceful transition to the newly democratically elected president (The Guardian,





2017). This demonstrates how the actions of diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia have influenced the Nigerian government and the Gambian government to maintain their peaceful and stable diplomatic relations.

Consequently, data collected from KIIs on the ways diaspora Nigerians in the Gambia influence bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia revealed that there are many ways through which Nigerians living in The Gambia influence bilateral relations between their home and host countries. While these ways are multidimensional, the study found among others, that the ways include but not limited to technical cooperation, participation in trade agreements and relations, intermarriage among citizens of the two countries, and good conducts of Nigerians in The Gambia among others. This study also reveal that in spite of the strong influence the Nigerian community in The Gambia has on the relationship between the two countries, the community does not have a stronger influence on Nigeria-The Gambia relations like Nigerian communities in other countries like the US, UK, Ghana, South Africa, and Kenya have on the bilateral relations between their home country and their host country.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Since Nigeria and The Gambia got independence in 1960 and 1965 respectively, they have been engaged in a relationship featured with complexities and dynamism caused by different factors at different times. Instances of these factors are Nigeria's greater economic and political powers over The Gambia and in the region they share, influence of the Nigerian diaspora community in The Gambia, and so on.

There are roles citizens play in the foreign relations of their country with other countries—as citizens are mostly the reason for such relationship. This infers that Nigerians are the core of any kind of diplomatic relationship Nigeria has with other parts of the world, and that Nigerians—home or abroad—are able to influence the relationship Nigeria has with any country, or able to determine its dynamics. In the context of the bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia, specifically, this study aimed to: examine the nature of Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations since 1965 when The Gambia got independence; analyze the behaviors and activities of Nigerians living in The Gambia and reactions they evoke from the government of The Gambia and the people; and appraise ways through which diaspora Nigerians in The Gambia influence the bilateral relations between their home country—Nigeria, and their host country—The Gambia, during the period covered by this study. This is with the view to determine whether it negatively or positively affects or impacts on the bilateral relationship between the two sister-countries in the West African sub-region.

In executing the stated objectives, the study adopted Descriptive Research Design. Primary and Secondary sources of data were used in the study. Primary data was obtained through In-Depth Interviews conducted with the guidance of a Semi-Structured Interview Guide. Opinions were collected based on respondents' practical involvements, expertise and personal experiences on the activities of Nigerians living in The Gambia and diplomatic engagement between The Gambia and Nigeria. Hence, fifteen (22) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

were interviewed. Those interviewed were drawn from among the seasoned diplomats from Nigerian and The Gambian sides, Nigerians resident in The Gambian as well as the leadership of the Nigerian communities in The Gambia, Gambian citizens who served as hosts to these Nigerians, students of History, Political Science and International Relations in The Gambia, as well as seasoned academics in the field of Political Science with dear sentiments for International Relations and diplomacy. Primary data collected through interview were analyzed using the Descriptive Qualitative Method; thus, analyses were done based on the responses from KIIs to salient questions in a bid to achieving the stated objectives of the study. On the other hand, Secondary data were sourced from relevant textbooks, conference papers/proceedings, newspapers, published and unpublished articles, archival materials, official bulletins, journals and materials from the internet, and analyzed using the Thematic Content Analysis.

For this study, theories such as: realism, national interest, diplomacy and asymmetry were reviewed. The study opted for Transnational Theory to analyze the two-way effects of the inter-border activities occurring between Nigeria and The Gambia so as to give insights into the interaction between the diaspora Nigerian community in The Gambia and diplomatic relations between their original country and their home country. The study also opted for Kozak's Asymmetry Model to analyze the relations between The Gambia and Nigeria; this choice was because Kozak's framework offers a more nuanced understanding of Nigerian-The Gambia relations and provides specific policy options that both countries can consider. Unlike Womack's Asymmetry Model, which predominantly focuses on dominance as a singular dimension, Kozak's model presents a four-option approach tailored for bilateral relations. This model accounts for the diverse policies that Nigeria and The Gambia adopt in their interactions, making it particularly relevant for examining their asymmetrical relationship.

In accomplishing the stated objectives, literatures discussing Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations as well as how Nigerian citizens resident in The Gambia can influence the diplomatic engagements between the two countries were reviewed. Arising from this, the study made several revelations, notable among them are:

Firstly, the nature of Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relationship that exists since 1965 when The Gambia got independence (five years after Nigeria became independent), is of that the two countries have maintained diplomatic engagement that is devoid of mistrust, hostility, rivalry, lack of respect for each other and suspicion. Hence, their diplomatic engagement remains convivial, friendly and mutually beneficial. The study further found out that despite the small size of The Gambia and the mismatch of the country with Nigeria in terms of national power elements available to both of them, the bilateral relationship between the two countries is devoid of hostility and disrespect.

Secondly, the study revealed that, although, there is lack of statistics on the number of criminal cases or bad behaviors involving Nigerians in the Gambia as well as the reactions such actions or activities of Nigerians in The Gambia evoke from the Gambian Government and Citizens. Nonetheless,





the study found that just as it is in every human society, there are few bad eggs among Nigerians living in The Gambia who indulge in criminal activities. Despite this, the reactions or responses such Nigerians' involvement in crime evoke from the government and people of The Gambia is not different from when it involves any criminal of other nationalities—including Gambian nationals.

Thirdly, on the ways that Nigerians living in The Gambia could influence bilateral relations between their host and home countries, the study revealed that there are many ways through which Nigerians living in The Gambia influence bilateralism between Nigeria and The Gambia. While these ways are multidimensional, the study found out that they include, but are not limited to: participation in technical cooperation, participation in trade agreements and relations, intermarriage among citizens of the two countries, and good conducts of Nigerians in The Gambia, among others.

Fourthly, the study revealed that Nigerians are neither hated nor maltreated by Gambians and their successive governments, given the common ties binding them. The study acknowledges the profound contributions that many Nigerians living in the country have made in developing the Gambian society. Unlike elsewhere on the continent where anti-Nigerian sentiments are high, Nigerians living in the Gambia largely enjoy hospitality, convivial relationship, tolerance and accommodation from their Gambian hosts to an extent that the country has become second or even first home to many Nigerians there.

Lastly, the study discovered that even though the criminal activities of few Nigerians living in The Gambia put them at odd with both the government of The Gambia and the people, it does not significantly impact negatively on the bilateral relationship between Banjul and Abuja in their diplomatic engagements. In fact, the study found out that the bilateral relationship between The Gambian and Nigerian authorities is not significantly affected by the unfortunate criminal activities of few Nigerians in The Gambia. Contrarily, relationship between the two countries continues to deepen and remain stronger.

Despite the fact that foreign policymaking and diplomatic engagement is exclusively preserved for the executive arm of government, the important role and influence that ordinary citizens bring into the foreign policy making process and diplomatic nuances between and among sovereign states cannot be over-emphasized. Therefore, the study concluded that activities and behavior of Nigerians living in The Gambia has little or no adverse effect on the bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia, and that the diplomatic relations is waxing stronger by the day.

## REFERENCES

- Abdurahmanli, E. (2021). *Definition of Diplomacy and Types of Diplomacy Used Between States*. Anadolu.
- Adams, J. A., & Ebegbulem, J. C. (2016). Nigeria's National Interest and Interventions in West African Conflicts: A Critical Analysis. *African Journal of Politics and Administrative Studies*, 9(1), 89-105.
- Adesina, T. (2019). Colonial Legacies and Post-Colonial Dynamics in Anglophone West Africa. *African Historical Review*, 6(18), 1-28.
- Adesina, T. (2020). Nigerians and Gambians: A Story of Integration and Acceptance. *Journal of West African Studies*, 28(4), 54-66.
- Adetunji, A., & Bah, S. (2018). Nigerian Contributions to Gambian Development: A Mixed Assessment. *Lagos: West African Social Science Journal*, 22(3), 203-219.
- Adetunji, A. (2019). Diplomatic Challenges and Economic Cooperation in West Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria and The Gambia. *West African Studies*, 41(3), 80-95.
- Ajayi, J. F. A., & Crowder, M. (1985). *History of West Africa, Volume One*. Longman.
- Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi. (2021). <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/2000617>
- Akoeda, J., Bofo-Arthur, K., Amo-Agyemang, C., & Agbodzakey, J. (2023). The politics of trade disputes in the fourth republic: The case of Ghana and Nigeria. *Politics*, 14(10), 1700-2222. <https://doi.org/10.7176/JESD/14-10-07>
- Aleyomi, B. M., & AbuBakar, B. M. (2017). The Challenges of Citizen Diplomacy in Nigeria Project, 2007-2010. People: *International Journal of Social Sciences*, 3(2), 1227-1250.
- Alieu C. (2024, June 27). *Joint Operation in Gambia Leads to Arrest of Twenty Suspected Nigerian Scammers*. The Alkamba Times. <https://alkambatimes.com/joint-operation-in-gambia-leads-to-arrest-of-twenty-suspected-nigerian-scammers>
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Aryeetey, E. (2001). *Regional Integration in West Africa: Research programme on Integration and Co-operation in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Working Paper, No. 170.
- Boahen, A. A. (1985). *General history of Africa, VII: Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*. International Scientific Committee for the drafting of a General History of Africa.
- Borjas, G. J. (1999). *Economic Analysis of Migration*. Harvard University.
- Castles, S., de Haas, H., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (5th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chen, H., & Chen, T. (2002). Asymmetric Strategic Alliances a Network View. *Journal of Business Research*, 55(2002), 1007-1013
- Constantinou, C. M., & Sharp, P. (2016). *Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy*. The Sage Handbook of Diplomacy.



- Conteh, F. (2020). *The Gambia-China Relations and Its Strategies To Restrain The Western Influences In The Gambia*. Universitas Islam Negeria.
- Deltaline, (2017). *Nollywood: The Cultural Importance of Nigerian Cinema*. <https://developingworldpolitics.com/2017/03/14/nollywood-the-cultural-importance-of-nigerian-cinema/>
- Douglas, C. N. (2023). National Interest and Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Discourse of Rethink. *African Journal of Politics and Administrative Studies*, 16(1), 309-326.
- Egbe, B. O., & Okoi, I. O. (2018). *Pre-Colonial Inter-Group Boundary Relations in Africa: The Nigerian Experience*. University of Calabar, Calabar-Nigeria.
- Ellis, E. S., Yaggy, L. W., Cutler, H. G., & Vaughan, L. B. (1899). *The Standard History of All Nations and Races: Containing a Record of All the Peoples of the World from the Earliest Historical Times, With a Description of Their Homes, Customs, and Religions; Their Temples, Monuments, Literature, and Art*. Chicago: Landis brothers. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/99002780>
- Eneasato, B. O. (2021). US Isolationist Foreign Policy Stance under Trump. *ESUT Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3), 200-212. <https://esutjss.com/index.php/ESUTJSS/article/view/81/76>
- Estep, C. J. (2020). *The Empire's Smallest Regiment: The Gambia Company of the West African Frontier Force, 1902-1958* (Master's thesis, University of Calgary, Canada). <https://hdl.handle.net/1880/112579>
- Faist, T. (2000). *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford University Press.
- Great Britain Foreign Office. (1920a). *British West Africa General*. London, H. M. Stationery off. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/a22000947>
- Great Britain Foreign Office. (1920b). *Partition of Africa*. London. H. M. Stationery off. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/a22000946/>
- Harris, J. R., & Todaro, M. P. (1970). Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis. *The American Economic Review*, 60(1), 126-142. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1807860>
- Hodgkin, T. (1960). Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology. *West African History Series*, x(ix), 340. Oxford University Press.
- Hodgson, W. B. (1843). *The Foulahs of Central Africa, and the African Slave Trade*. Astor Library, Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection & Omar Ibn Said Collection. Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/05038984>
- Human Rights Watch. (2018a). *Gambia Finally Investigates 2005 Migrant Killings*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/06/26/gambia-finally-investigates-2005-migrant-killings>
- Human Rights Watch. (2018b). *Gambia Ex-President Tied to 2005 Murders of Ghanaian and Nigerian Migrants: Ghanaian Groups Urge Prosecution of Yahyah Jammeh*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/05/16/gambia-ex-president-tied-2005-murders-ghanaian-and-nigerian-migrants>
- Isichel, E. (1973). *A History of Nigeria*. London. Longman Limited.
- Jackson, R. H. & Sørensen, G. (2013). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*. Oxford University Press.
- Kozak, M. (2019). Asymmetric Models in International Relations: A Comprehensive Framework. *Journal of Global Politics*, 29(2), 210-225.
- Laurence, B. (2019). Diplomacy and the History of International Relations: Redefining a Conflictual Relationship. *Diplomatica* 1(1), 33-39.
- Lavergne, R. (1997). *Regional integration and cooperation in West Africa: a multidimensional perspective*. IDRC, Ottawa, ON, CA.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>
- Lenn, M. (2024). The Gambia-Taiwan Relations, 1995-2013: YahyahJammeh's Foreign Policy Rationality. *Research Article*, 4(1), 74-96. <https://doi.org/10.58851/africania.1322305>
- Little, J. S. (1903). *Progress of British Empire in the Century* (Vol. 8). Linscott Publishing Company.
- Long, T. (2017). It's Not the Size, It's the Relationship: From Small States to Asymmetry. *International Politics*, 54(2), 144-160. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-017-0028-x>
- Madubuegwu, C. E., Obiorah, C. B., & Nwagbo, S. (2022). Nigerian Citizen Diplomacy and National Security Threats: Critical Assessment. *Journal of Policy and Development Studies*, 13(2), 63-73.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (2021). *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford University Press.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1965). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (3rd ed.). Knopf.
- Nagendra, B. B. (2021). Diaspora and Cultural Identity; A Conceptual Review. *Journal of Political Science*, 21, 100-108. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jps.v21i0.35268>
- Njie, S. M. (2022). *Factors Influencing Foreign Policy Making Of Small States: The Gambia 1994 – 2016*. Near East University.
- Nnaocha, C. I. (2015). *Impact Assessment of British Colonial Economic Activities in The Gambia (1816-1994)*. St. Clements



University British West Indies.

North Cyprus.

- Nwokike, K. O., & Ogo, N. C. (2021). Nigeria and South Africa's Bilateral Relations: Controversial Origin and Practice. *International Journal of Business and Management Invention*, 10(9), 38-45.
- Obande, H. D., & Malasowe, G. C. (2019). *Understanding the Psychological Dynamics and Workings of Diaspora: The Nigeria Identity Crisis*. International conference on Diaspora, University of Abuja, Nigeria.
- Odeh, G. O. (2021a). *Culture and Nigeria's Foreign Relations in a Globalising World: Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps Engagement in The Gambia 1987-2012*. A Neglected Aspect of Nigerian Foreign Relation. National Institute of Cultural Orientation Agency (NICO).
- Odeh, G. O. (2021b). *Nigeria-The Gambia Military Relations, 1939-2016*. Sokoto State University, Sokoto.
- Odeh, G. O. (2023). *Igbo and Yoruba Diaspora in The Gambia, C. 1818-2021*. Gwatex Publishers Makurdi.
- Ojajorotu, V., & Olajide, B. (2021). Asymmetric Relations and Enforcement of Democracy in West Africa: The case of Nigeria and The Gambia. *New Contree*, 2021(86), 75-94. [https://hdl.handle.net/10520/ejc-newcontree\\_v2021\\_n86\\_a5](https://hdl.handle.net/10520/ejc-newcontree_v2021_n86_a5)
- Okeke, V., & Onyekwelu, S. (2014). Citizen-Centric Diplomacy: The Challenges for Nigeria's Defence and Security in the 21st Century. *International Affairs and Global*, 27(2), 22-34.
- Okeowo, S. F. D. (2023). *Nollywood: From Local Legend to Global Game Changer*. <https://sahndrafondufe.medium.com/nollywood-as-a-catalyst-for-driving-global-interest-in-african-cinema-through-diaspora-migration-4b53017266f3>
- Omotuyi, S. (2021). Racing Against the Tide? A Critique of Nigeria's Quest for Membership of the United Nations Security Council. *India Quarterly*, 77(3), 346-365. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09749284211027251>
- Onyemekihian, J., & Onyekwuma, E. S. (2021). Foreign Policy of a State: Relationship between National Interest and Global Interest in Foreign Policy of a State. *Social Science Research*, 7(1), 96-114. <https://journals.aphriapub.com/index.php/SSR/article/view/1437>
- Owuamanam, C. M., & Agbaenyi, A. N. (2021). Nigeria's International Image Crisis: An Evaluative Analysis. *ZIK Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 4(1), 99-115. <https://journals.aphriapub.com/index.php/ZJMR/article/view/1373>
- Oyekanmi, A. (2019). The Effect of Nigerian Migrants' Criminal Activities on Bilateral Relations with The Gambia. *Journal of African Studies*, 32(2), 120-137.
- Özer, U., Ereker, F., Halistoprak, B. T., Kasapsaracoglu, M., & Oguzlu, T. (2018). *Diplomacy*. Anadolu University.
- Pam-Dachomo, P. L. (2018). *Nigeria-The Gambia Relations: A Case Study in Asymmetry Relations*. Near East University of
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L., & Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(1), 217-237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468>
- Premium Times. (2018). *13 Years After, Gambian Soldiers to Face Court Over Killing of Nigerian Immigrants*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/268696-ex-gambia-leader-jammeh-tied-to-2005-murders-of-nigerian-ghanaian-migrants-report.html?tztc=1>
- Punch News. (2009). *Nigeria and Gambia Sign Trade Agreements Despite Deportations*. Retrieved from <https://www.punchng.com/nigeria-gambia-trade-agreements>
- Punch News. (2019a). *Gambia's ex-president accused of ordering migrant slaughter*. <https://punchng.com/gambias-ex-president-accused-of-ordering-migrant-slaughter>
- Punch News. (2019b). *Outrage in Gambia over claims ex-president ordered killings*. <https://punchng.com/outrage-in-gambia-over-claims-ex-president-ordered-killings>
- Punch News. (2021a). *Over 200 Nigerian soldiers serving mission in Gambia*. <https://punchng.com/over-200-nigerian-soldiers-serving-mission-in-gambia-minister/>
- Punch News. (2021b). *Nigeria, Gambia sign MoU to Tackle Insurgency*. <https://punchng.com/nigeria-gambia-sign-mou-to-tackle-insurgency>
- Raúl, D. W., Branka L., Ronaldo, M., & Carl-Ulrik, S. (Ed.). (2024). *Handbook on Migration and Development: A Counter-hegemonic Perspective*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Robinson, H., & Shotwell, J. T. (ed.). (1922). *The Development of the British Empire*. Boston, New York etc. Houghton Mifflin Company. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/22020306>
- Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1(1), 83-99. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0004>
- Sahara Reporters. (2022). *12 Nigerians Arrested By Gambian Government for Alleged Online Frauds*. <https://saharareporters.com/2022/04/05/12-nigerians-arrested-gambian-government-alleged-online-frauds>
- Sandra, P. (2020). Digital Diasporas: Post-coloniality, Media and Affect, Interventions. *Journal of Migration Studies*, 22(8), 977-993. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1718537>
- Sanyang, K. (2024). Challenges and Opportunities: Nigerians in The Gambian Context. *African Policy Review*, 36(3), 102-117.
- Stanislaus, I. S. (2014). The Impact of Crises on Rebuilding the National Image. *The International Journal of the Image*, 4(2), 53-59.
- Stark, O., & Bloom, D. E. (1985). The New Economics of labour





- migration. *The American Economic Review*, 75(2), 173-178.
- Senghore-Njie, I. (2015). *Gambia-Nigeria Relations Deepen as President Jonathan Ends Visit*. <http://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/gambianigeria-relations-deepen-as-president-jonathan-ends-visit>
- Taal, S. (2016). *For the Gambia, Our Homeland: The Diaspora, Development and Politics. Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*. University College London, Department of Geography.
- Tetlow, E. M. (2004). *Women, Crime, and Punishment in Ancient Law and Society*. Continuum International Publishing Group.
- The Chrome Group. (2013). *Sir Emeka Ofori Foundation of Nigeria Donates \$600,000 to St. Paul-Based Books For Africa; Largest Donation Ever*. Retrieved from <https://www.thechromegroup.net/articles/largest-donation-ever>
- The Guardian. (2015). *30 Years of Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps*.
- The Guardian. (2017a). *Yahyah Jammeh Leaves The Gambia after 22 Years of Rule*. By Ruth, Maclean, 21st January, 2017 publication. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/21/anxious-gambians-await-former-president-Yahyah-jammeh-departure>
- The Guardian. (2017b). *Nigeria's Role in Gambia's Peaceful Transition of Power*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/24/nigeria-gambia-political-crisis-resolution>
- The Guardian. (2017c). *Nigeria Backs New Gambian Leader in Pursuit of Justice*.
- The Nigerian High Commission. (2015). *Brief on the Nigeria/Gambia Joint Commission*. Banjul, Gambia. <https://foreignaffairs.gov.ng>
- The Point. (2011). *Convicted Drug Trafficker Appeals*. <https://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/article/convicted-drug-trafficker-appeals>
- The Voices. (2023, March 27). *Nigerian-Gambian Wives Association executive pays homage to Nigerian High Commission in Gambia*. <https://www.voicegambia.com/2023/03/27/nigerian-gambian-wives-association-executive-pays-homage-to-nigerian-high-commission-in-gambia>
- Todaro, M. P. (1969). A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *The American Economic Review*, 59(1), 138-148. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1811100>
- Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology Beyond Societies Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. Routledge.
- Vanguard. (2010). *Nigeria, Gambia Intensify Crackdown on Cross-Border Crimes*.
- Vanguard. (2015). *Nigeria Intervenes Over Student Issues in Gambia*. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/nigeria-intervenes-over-student-issues-in-gambia>
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 447-462.
- Williams, D. U. (2019). *Contemporary War Studies: An Introduction*. Graphics Home, Calabar, Nigeria.
- Woodward, W. H. (1919). *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire*. Cambridge, University press. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/19019927>
- Womack, B. (2016). *Asymmetry and International Relationships*. Cambridge University Press & Assessment.
- Zipf, G. K. (1946). The P1 P2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons. *American Sociological Review*, 11(6), 677-686. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2087063>

