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The Political Economy of State Fragility and the Extent to Which It Fuels International Migration Amongst Nigerians.

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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF STATE FRAGILITY AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT FUELS
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AMONGST NIGERIANS.

by

Funmilola Yemisi Olorunfemi

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ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF STATE FRAGILITY AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT FUELS INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AMONGST NIGERIANS

by

Funmilola Yemisi Olorunfemi

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2022
Under the Supervision of Professor Jeffrey Sommers

This thesis examined the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians and adopt a qualitative research method to critically review 15 articles that was identified using the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA). The thesis argues that while migration is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, there is a renewed fervor amongst Nigerians to migrate and that migration amongst Nigerians is in the context of forced mobility. Employing thematic analysis, the thesis demonstrated how state fragility factors which includes economic factors, sociological factors, geographical factors, and unifying factors (historical, economic, cultural, and political ties) factors fueled international migration amongst Nigerians. This research recommends that a natural progression of this thesis is needed as a cross-national study to compare the political economy of state fragility of Nigeria with another West African country in the state fragile index to examine the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians and those in the identified country.

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1.0 Chapter One

This chapter introduces the study's background, problem statement, objectives, research approach, research questions, significance, and thesis structure.

1.1 Background of the Study

Grimm et al. (2016) described state fragility as the incapacity or the unwillingness of the state to meet the obligations of its citizens through failing to deliver on the core functions. This shows the degree to which the state is unable or unwilling to fulfil core government functions for majority of its nationals in form security, protection of property, basic public services, and essential infrastructure (Amoros et al. 2019). Kivimaki (2021) suggests that state fragility is attributed with inefficiency and illegitimacy of state institutions. Additionally, Andersen (2008) pointed out that fragile states can be analyzed based on two different school of thought security-development nexus and state-building in diverse dimensions. According to Anderson (2008),

The State-development nexus demonstrates how security is fundamental for poverty reduction, how the lack of development causes conflict, and how security is indivisible. The State – development nexus basically reflects state fragility as a source of transnational threats and bad governance as a root cause of state fragility. It also calls for an integrated approach to addressing both causes and consequences of state fragility. State building in diverse dimension on the other hand is concerned with the nature of the state to be built and the role ‘outsiders’ play in building states. State-building in diverse dimensions suggests how to deal with fragile states. For this school of thought, the nature of state to be built centers on security, welfare, and representation to ensure that a fragile state fulfils all the functions it is meant to fulfil. It ensures that the state is regarded legitimate by the people and that the rulers are held liable to those they

rule in overcoming state fragility. Thus, the role ‘outsiders’ play in building states reveals that it mainly supports indigenous procedures of reform and reconstruction without imposing foreign decisions, structures, or institutions on the state. Collectively, state fragility can be analyzed based on the security-development nexus and state-building in diverse dimensions school of thought.

There are other schools of thought that advocate for a more nuanced and cautious approach to the concept of state fragility. Grimm et al. (2016) argues that the term ‘state fragility’ should be used cautiously based on attempts by western powers to frame the reality of the ‘fragile states’ in achieving their foreign policy imperatives. They maintained that this is evident in the transnational emergence and diffusion of the notion of ‘state fragility’ and its reception in the ‘fragile countries’. Notwithstanding, Chuku et al. (2019) noted that fragile states usually attract more aid and development assistance than other developing economies which they utilize in bridging finance gaps, investment gaps or contemporary roles of peace building and state building goals. These basic functions and obligations include maintenance of the rule of law, poverty reduction, protection of human rights and freedom, security and safety of the citizens, service delivery, equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, among others. Pehn (2010) proffers that fragile states’ growing influence in proffering solutions to poverty reduction and conflict mitigating agendas shows the more practical side of state fragility. This presupposes that the fact that states regarded as fragile states, enjoy the practicalities and the advantages of their fragility.

Ault and Spicer (2014)) noted the inability of fragile states to maintain monopoly over the employment of coercion. They observed that this event subsequently leads to the outbreak of conflict coupled with economic and political instability, and results in the inability of the

government to provide basic amenities which leads to flagrant disregard of the rule of law. In this regard, Ault and Spicer, (2014) pointed out the significance of considering state fragility as an important motivation, they maintained that it is fraught with complicated measurement techniques. They revealed that the binary categorization of states as ‘failed’ or ‘un-failed’ is quite ambiguous and noted that states are either fragile to a greater or lesser degree. On the other hand, Stepputat and Engberg-Pedersen (2008) in their study, ‘*Fragile states: Definitions, measurements and processes*’ gave more insights into how fragile states should be defined, measured, and identified and the procedures that are used to identify them. As regards definition, they explained that fragile states should be described in line with Cammack et al. (2006) which is based on, the functionality of states in performing inevitable responsibilities relevant for the security and well-being of their citizens; the effects of state fragility which spills over into neighboring and the wider global community; and the relationship between donors and governments which lays emphasis on the issues of achieving agreements over reform policies and programs of cooperation. As it pertains to measurements, Cammack et al. (2006) recommended the use of World Bank’s indicators of Country Policy and Institutional Assessment which focuses on issues of governance, policy, and institutions to identify Low Income Countries Under Stress; Political Instability Task Force to establish models that predict state failure in relation to democratic transitions; Failed States Index to identify, measure, and monitor countries vulnerable to conflict; and Country Indicators for Foreign Policy to investigate issues of authority, legitimacy, and capacity as key dimensions of the state and state fragility (Carment et al. 2007). In accordance with Cammack et al. (2006) similarly suggested the use of World Bank’s (2005) four major business models for engagement which are, prolonged political crisis, fast turnaround of post-conflict or political transition, gradual improvers, and deteriorating

governance. They mentioned that these models are involved with capacity, policies, and conflict through the various phases of change from deterioration and stalemate to turnaround and improvement. Together, this chronicles a detailed description of fragile states, how it can be measured, and the procedural delineation of the phases.

Adepoju and van der Wiel (2010) stated that Nigeria and most African countries have a history of extensive migration. Migration is referred to as the movement of people from one location to another in search of new settlement (Goetz, 1999). This occurs intercontinentally as migration from one continent to another, intra-continently as migration within a continent, and inter-regionally as migration between different regions (Rwodzi, 2011). Additionally, Van Coller (2002) identified the two types of migration as voluntary migration where people migrate to their choice countries with the aim of achieving positive goals; and forced migration where migrants escape from their country of origin to seek refuge in other countries. This is usually because of pull factors which attract people to specific locations, and push factors which make people take decisions to leave their home countries (Krishnakumar and Indumathi, 2014).

On the contrary, Baggio (2014) pointed out that Nigerian migration is fraught with ethical and humanitarian issues, forced displacement and international mobility, and embedded religio-cultural elements. Nonetheless, Landau and Segatti (2009) identified that people are motivated to migrate to other countries in search of business opportunities that would maximize their profit, favorable conditions for protection, and enroute to other countries as passage to their final destinations. This suggests different dimensions and reasons why people make decisions to leave their home countries. It also reveals diverse measures taken by Nigerians in migrating to other countries.

In view of these, Baggio (2014) confirmed Nigeria as one of the main sources of international migrants, refugees and asylum seekers seeking higher standard of living in other countries. He noted the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries as their major preferred destination with United Kingdom and United States as the most preferred. Conversely, Baggio (2014) highlighted that based on the introduction of stricter border controls by the United Kingdom and United States, Nigerians choose to migrate to other countries at the slightest opportunity in search of greener pastures. He maintained that this has further expanded the destinations of Nigerian emigrants to southern and eastern European countries, and Asia and the Middle East that were previously less attractive to Nigerians. Baggio (2014) argues that Nigerian migration is developing within a context of forced mobility i.e., people are forced to leave through any available means, whether illegal or not. Secondly, he demonstrated how the action and inaction of the government, and activities of terrorist groups and multinational companies, with special reference to those in the oil fields have contributed to forced migration out of Nigeria. Lastly, he pointed out that the relationship between internal displacement and international migration out of Nigeria is yet to be qualitatively and quantitatively ascertained.

In furtherance of Baggio (2014) argument, Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2022) reported that the number of emigrants from Nigeria increased from 446,753 in 1990 to 1,670,455 in 2020. This thesis argues that while migration is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, there is a renewed fervor amongst Nigerians to Japa¹, that is migrate. This is brought about no doubt by state fragility factors which includes economic factors and insecurity as evidenced by

¹ Japa is a combination of two Nigerian terms. Ja which means to run and Pa which is an exaggeration of the need to run. Japa means running out of a dangerous situation. In this context, it means to run, and exit Nigeria which is considered a dangerous situation.

kidnappings, banditry and the phenomenon of the unknown gun men, economic woes as exemplified by high cost of living, high poverty index and inflation, and the low standard of living which has led to disillusionment and frustration in the average Nigerians which is leading to mass immigration amongst Nigerians who are seeking greener pastures. Thus, Nigerian migration can be said to be in the context of forced mobility.

Also, in response to Baggio (2014), this thesis would examine the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians. This thesis lays emphasis on Nigeria because state fragility is of significant policy relevance in the sub-Saharan Africa region and because state fragility tends to be a multidimensional phenomenon; the outcome would have more useful and focused policy implications; and the emphasis on one region mitigates issues of heterogeneity (Bertocchi and Guerzoni, 2012); (Kodila-Tedika and Simplicio, 2016).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Being the ‘Giant of Africa’ with inestimable natural resources, it is expected that Nigeria as a country would attract migrants from different parts of the world to outnumber the figures of those migrating out of the country. This can be found in the numerous deposits of oil, gas, coal, fossil fuels, minerals, and forests dispersed around the country, with major revenue accruing from oil (Babatunde et al. 2018). However, owing to bad leadership which fails to manage the inestimable natural resources and the spate of insecurity in the country, most Nigerians find solace in other parts of the world where they migrate to for greener pastures. This subsequently makes the number of those migrating outside of Nigeria to be more than those migrating into the country. It has resulted in brain drain and other negative outcomes. Meanwhile, examining the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration

amongst Nigerians would provide insights into the degree to which Nigerians migrate out of the country, and suggest recommendations on how to stem the tide of the outflow by reducing the number of those migrating out of Nigeria and increasing the number of people migrating into the country.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

The secondary objectives are:

1. To examine the concept of state fragility and citizen's perception of state fragility.
2. To examine the causes of mass international migration amongst Nigerians.

1.4 Research Approach

The research approach to be employed for this thesis is qualitative research method. This involves the use of Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) to identify, screen, assess the eligibility of literatures, and adopt inclusion and exclusion criteria to provide a review boundary to literatures (Liberati et al. 2009); (Shamseer et al. 2015). The themes that emerge from the literatures in the search strategy would be analyzed utilizing thematic analysis in agreement with Braun and Clarke (2006).

1.5 Research Question

1. What are the state fragility factors responsible for international migration among Nigerians?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is that it would highlight factors responsible for state fragility in Nigeria which fuels international migration amongst Nigerians, and proffer recommendations that would address the concerns while reducing the number of Nigerians migrating out of the country. To identify these state fragility factors, the World Bank's framework will be used which uses indicators of Country Policy and Institutional Assessment that focuses on issues of governance, policy, and institutions to identify Low Income Countries Under Stress; The Political Instability Task Force to establish models that predict state failure in relation to democratic transitions; Failed States Index to identify, measure, and monitor countries vulnerable to conflict; and Country Indicators for Foreign Policy to investigate issues of authority, legitimacy, and capacity as key dimensions of the state and state fragility (Carment et al. 2007). This framework would provide an understanding of factors responsible for state fragility in Nigeria. Additionally, state fragility factors would be conceptualized employing Bijak (2006) migration framework to gain insights into why Nigerians choose to migrate out of the country. Bijak (2006) migration theories would be employed to demonstrate how sociological, economic geographical, and unifying factors determine why Nigerians migrate. The justification of this study can be seen in the fact that migration has become part of the national discourse and consciousness in Nigeria, which has led to unprecedented migration amongst the Nigerian youth. This has drawn the attention of the Nigerian government who admits that Nigeria has a migration problem and is considering containment measures to stem the tide of migration.²

² <https://africa.businessinsider.com/local/markets/the-federal-government-of-nigeria-is-eager-to-stop-the-migration-of-its-people/y88mrg3>

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured as follows: chapter one would provide background relevant to the topic with the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, and the structure of the thesis. Chapter two would present the theoretical foundation of the thesis and review of literatures significant to the study. Chapter three would provide insights into the methodology of the thesis using PRISMA to identify, screen, assess the eligibility of literatures, and employ inclusion and exclusion criteria to provide a review boundary to literatures (Liberati et al. 2009); (Shamseer et al. 2015). Chapter four would present the findings of the thesis based on themes that emerge from the literatures in the search strategy using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Chapter five would discuss the findings of the thesis. Lastly, chapter six would provide the overall conclusion to summarize the findings, discuss recommendations, and make suggestions for further research.

Chapter Two

2.0 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter lays the theoretical foundation and reviews relevant literatures important to the study.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this thesis is Migration theory as propounded by (Bijak, 2006). The choice of migration theories is to avoid extremes. Cohen (1998) argues that avoiding extremes in theories requires observing the demographic, social, economic, environmental, and cultural elements of the forecasting context, and the scope of the projections, so that a reasonable amount of control over the limiting factors can be exerted. In this regard, Bijak (2006) developed a conceptual framework to encompass selected migration theories based on sociological, economical, geographical, and unifying factors. Sociological factors point out that migration events occur at a rate that is directly proportional to the attractiveness of the destination, and inversely proportionate to the attractiveness of the origin. This includes hard migration factors like humanitarian crises, armed conflicts, and environmental catastrophes; and soft migration factors like poverty, social exclusion, and unemployment (Oberg, 1994). Economic factors are classified into macro-economic factors and micro-economic factors. Macro-economic factors explain the occurrence of migration and capital movements as a result of wage discrepancies between two capitalist economies, one of which is characterized by an excess of labor (unemployment) and the other by an excess of capital. Micro-economic factors show how migrants choose destinations that maximize the net present value of their predicted future income, minus direct and indirect migration costs. Geographical factors highlight that the probability of migration from one location to another depends on the product of the population sizes of the origin and destination regions (the masses) and the inverse of the power of the distance between the regions (the discounting factor). Unifying factors reveal that because of socioeconomic development and integration processes, migration is in a perpetual state of interaction with the historical, economic, cultural, and political ties between the countries, on both the micro and macro levels.

On the contrary, Drbohlav (2011) outlined numerous general flaws in migration theories based on the notion that certain migration theories are merely concepts, frameworks, or views, resulting in migration theories being irrational. Additionally, Oberg and Wills (1992) noticed that each of the existing migration theories only partially explains the actual events and, as a result, has limited application in the process of forecasting. Furthermore, Kupiszewski (2002) contended that current migration theories are not well suited for direct application to the prediction of international population flows. Notwithstanding, migration on a global scale is a topic that requires expertise from a wide range of fields because it affects so many different areas. In this light, the Bijak (2006) migration framework will be conceptualized to investigate the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

2.2 State Fragility

This thesis employs the use of the world population index on fragile states which is an annual report by the foreign policy magazine and the fund for peace which accesses state vulnerability by using indicators culled from four major categories to determine the vulnerability of states to conflict or collapse. The four major categories are cohesion, economic, political and social factors and the indicators are human right, public service, demographic pressures, refugees, internally displaced persons and security. The higher a state is ranked on the fragile state index, the more vulnerable that state is Fragile States Index, (2022). However, the indicators of state fragility index are more aligned to social and other factors are not given due consideration thus, I adopted Bijak (2006) theoretical framework which is a migration framework that encompasses sociological, economic, political, cultural factors and geographical factors.

For proper context, the fragile states index (2022) identifies fifteen states as having a higher risk of failure: They are, 1. Yemen, 2. Somalia, 3. South Sudan, 4. Syria, 5. Democratic Republic of Congo, 6. Central Africa Republic, 7. Chad, 8. Sudan, 9. Afghanistan, 10. Zimbabwe, 11. Guinea, 12. Haiti, 13. Iraq, 14. Nigeria, and 15. Burundi. This ranks Nigeria in position 14 among 48 countries and reveals Nigeria as a fragile state because of its high fragility index.

Graziella and Guerzoni (2011) highlighted that fragility has been linked to various combinations of dysfunctions which includes failure to provide basic services and meet essential requirements, unstable and poor government, persistent and extreme poverty, lack of territorial authority, and high propensity for conflict and civil war. Graziella and Guerzoni (2011) identified that in regions of the world, such as sub-Saharan Africa (which Nigeria is part of), where fragility appears to be particularly pervasive, the significance of fragility is accentuated. This history of weak governance and conflict has caused fragile and conflict-affected states to become stuck in a dysfunctional but stable equilibrium often known as a ‘fragility trap’ (Collier, 2020).

However, as a more disciplined response to the challenge of fragile nations, Burns et al. (2016) proposed four principles of involvement: Firstly, strategic to focus on the areas where interests are most at stake, paying special attention to those states whose precariousness could destabilize the region. Secondly, systemic to take on security, political, and capacity issues in conjunction with one another, rather than in isolation. Thirdly, selective to prioritize situations in which interests and leverage are highest, where objectives can be achieved, and where those objectives fit with the interests and capacity of local partners. Lastly, sustained to ensure policy frameworks acknowledge that a country’s transformation from fragility to health takes time, to

invest gradually and flexibly over time, and identify the limited resources, as well as the costs and repercussions of inaction. Burns et al. (2016) noted that these principles will put United States (developed countries and international organizations) in a better position or right perspective to assist fragile states while keeping their costs down and risks under control. In addition, Signe (2019) pointed out the following internal and external approaches to address fragility. The internal approaches include: decentralization of decision making, implementation, and mobilization of resources; inclusive resource mobilization in rural and urban areas; economic diversification of exports and domestic production; institutional reform and strengthening at the national and local levels, and provision of inclusive institutions; political settlement that expand institutional representation; formal social recognition of group identities and creation of shared national identity; and power-sharing and political settlement particularly for the resolution of conflicts. The external approaches comprise of private investment focused on job creation and decreasing infrastructure gaps; partnerships with civil society organizations; technical assistance to improve core service delivery; peace and conflict mediation; facilitated monetary and technical aid particularly to generate turnaround in post conflict situations; regional partnerships and cooperation; debt relief; and engagement with local groups and leaders to help build coalitions for reform. These suggest measures that can employed in the Nigerian context by international bodies in its transformation from fragility to health. Nonetheless, Thurer (2008) maintained that although, there are international initiatives to stabilize failed states, the only sustainable remedies will come from the fragile state themselves. For Kaplan (2009) this indicates that development organizations should concentrate on assisting weak states to strengthen their own capacities for good governance. In addition, Menkhaus (2010) observed that intransigent governments are resistant to traditional methods of state-building aid. This will

make it complicated for international organizations and developed countries to assist fragile states like Nigeria if the government is not willing to strengthen their own capacity.

Akanbi (2021) examines the elements that influence the onset and cessation of state fragility using three distinct methodologies: an event study, the synthetic control method, and a logit model. The event study includes institutional and governance indicators, pivotal movements, macroeconomic indicators, fiscal indicators, and shocks. These indicators were utilized in a pairwise comparison of the identified entry/exit events and their counterfactuals to determine whether there was a significant difference between them. These indicators revealed that political competitiveness influences both admission into and persistent escape from fragility, the magnitude of social spending (health/education) contributes to a sustainable escape from fragility, a correlation between pivotal times and the exodus from fragility, and conflict having a lasting impact on the probability of escaping fragility. Abadie et al. (2010) articulates the synthetic control method as a data-driven technique for comparing the performance of an indicator in one country to that of a control group, with established rules for selecting the control group and weights to calculate a synthetic projection. The synthetic control method shows the counterfactual effect of a trigger event (or policy intervention) by calculating what the result variable would have been if no trigger event had occurred (or policy intervention). It suggests a potential link between economic development and resilience and institutional quality and government performance, particularly in instances of persistent recovery from fragility. The logit model identifies the critical components that contribute to turning points of state fragility. This highlights events and their counterfactuals without a time dimension. It implies that growth and government performance have varied implications on the probability of entering or leaving fragility.

On the other hand, Burns et al. (2016) pointed out that fragile states are a major driving force behind the current state of regional and international instability. Additionally, the OECD (2018) noted that implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is imperiled on a global scale by fragility. They revealed that when compared to the previous 30 years, 2016 had the greatest number of countries affected by violent conflict. They demonstrated that terrorist attacks alone accounted for about 26,000 deaths, while violent crime was responsible for the deaths of 561,000 individuals worldwide. They highlighted that the number of people forced to flee their homes is at a record high not seen since the end of World War II. They mentioned that this is in addition to the four simultaneous famines experienced the previous year. They maintained that human vulnerability lies at the center of this list of catastrophes. These disheartening statistics reveal how difficult it is to achieve global sustainable development by states entwined in the fragility trap.

Meanwhile, Kedir (2011) argues that to effectively create capacity in fragile states, it is necessary to address technical, cultural, and financial inequalities between donors and recipients. Additionally, Engberg-Pedersen (2008) explained that what appears to be particularly essential in terms of foreign assistance to fragile states has the level and evolution of four themes namely policy agreement between recipient governments and donors, peace and security, governance, and economic and social development. Policy agreement between recipient governments and donors entail shared ownership and comprehension of government policies among diverse social groupings in a society. This indicates a high level of mutual understanding and agreement between social groupings and the government to create a new condition for external support. Peace and security have been instrumental in strengthening the focus on fragility. Governance identifies the need to understand spoilers when dealing with fragility in a peace-building setting

or through governance initiatives. Spoilers and the conditions that produce them have the likelihood to sabotage attempts to build peace, strengthen governance, and promote broad-based development. Economic and social development highlight that it is significant to consider levels of social and economic growth, as well as negative trends and sudden crises, when analyzing fragile circumstances. Collectively, this suggests that putting these four perspectives into consideration would to a large extent help international organizations achieve global sustainable development to address state fragility. It reveals the use of different strategies of intervention, prioritization, and sequencing for countries with different durations and histories of fragility (Carment et al. 2011).

2.2.1 Types of Fragile States

Menkhaus (2010) articulated that fragile states are classified based on state failure, threat potential, and state willingness and capacity. According to Menkhaus (2010), State failure includes: complete or nearly complete collapse of state government without a functional central government or governments that legally exist as a sovereign power but control only a fraction of the capital city and are entirely dysfunctional as an administration; hinterland failure is where the government either lacks the will or the capacity to project their authority into the country's periphery regions; nocturnal anarchy is a situation where the police of fragile states are either complicit in the criminal activity themselves or helpless in the face of better-armed criminals; deinstitutionalized state is where government is deliberately stripped of their institutional capacity to govern by their top leadership; state within a state is a situation where states fail because independent political and security forces operate within the state system and become law unto themselves; warlord or criminal state happens when the top echelons of government condone a massive criminal operation or armed conflict for economic gain; delegitimized state is

where the legitimacy of some governments is challenged or lost by large portions of the populace; financially collapsed state happens where state fragility can be traced back to inadequate financial resources; besieged state is where fragile and failed states face armed insurgencies, which can be the source or outcome of state fragility; mediated state is where fragile states "willing but unable" to rule may cooperate with local non-state authorities in a hybrid or mediated state structure; and transitional states happens when fragile states are vulnerable to armed conflict or post-conflict.

According to Menkhaus (2010), threat potential comprises of when an extremist group seizes control of a failed state that possesses nuclear weapons or essential economic resources; concerns that terrorist organizations may use the "ungoverned space" created by failed government as a terrorist base; relatedly worrisome is the fact that terrorists can use failed states as safe havens to avoid detection while planning and executing attacks; fragile states with inadequate law enforcement and an abundance of soft targets and vital economic assets being used as terrorist targets; weak states with high levels of corruption, weak policing, low capacity for monitoring business activities and trade, and valuable commercial prospects are ideal for terrorist profit generation, especially if informal money transfer channels and money laundering opportunities exist as terrorist financing; weak security forces, where ethnic or religious populations feel excluded from political life and treated as second-class citizens, have also been great recruiting grounds for terrorism, as they tend to do better at drawing disenchanting and politicized middle class students as terrorist recruitment; transitional criminal base where terrorists take advantage of poorly protected coastlines and corrupt, weak regimes by bribing them or infiltrating them; spillover threats from failed states into vulnerable neighbors; humanitarian crisis as costs of state failure mostly borne by the local population and locations;

refugee flows into neighboring states from fragile states cause difficult political issues for the nations where they are resettled in large numbers; health threats where fragile states with little or no public health systems and large numbers of displaced people in unclean camps transmit virulent new strains of illnesses; environmental threats where fragile states with high corruption and/or a weak capability to police their territory and coasts are prone to toxic dumping and lack the power to manage rainforest harvesting and poaching; piracy threats thrive off the coasts of weak or corrupt states without the ability or motivation to stop them; and high costs of peacekeeping operations of failed states requiring international peacekeeping forces.

State willingness and capacity consist of willing States that are unable to solve issues related to their own fragility serve as permissive settings that are willing but unable to do so; able but unwilling points out leaders of fragile states who can address their fragility but are unwilling to do so; and unable and unwilling where governments focus almost completely on regime survival and are satisfied to feed off the still-impressive financial gains of state power. Together, this reveals the comprehensive categorization of fragile states based on state failure, threat potential, and state willingness and capacity. However, Carment (2015) indicated that there is no single formula for a state's transition to another, and there are a variety of methods that can be used for effective participation in fragile states. In addition, Engberg-Pedersen (2008) noted that fragility is not only related to the state but also to the following non-prioritized and partly overlapping points that outline possible intervention domains which are peacebuilding and peace maintenance; state- and capacity-building for security provision, rule of law, and civil administration; policy formulation, economic management, and market oversight; social service delivery; and conflict mitigation, citizenship development, and democracy. Rotberg (2010) argues the fact that fragility can be an overlapping phenomenon reveal that non-prioritized and

partly overlapping points can also be significant in addressing state failure in possible intervention domains and demonstrates that the causes of fragility are disputed over the result of internal malfunctions and for Engberg-Pedersen (2008), this reveals the structure of the global political economy and fragile states' position in the economy while for Hagmann and Hoehne (2009) it articulates the result of external interference and various transitional forces on fragile states.

Nevertheless, Lindborg (2017) observed the significance of classifying fragile states in order to resolve issues like global poverty, an overburdened global humanitarian system, and pressing security concerns requires breaking out of the fragility trap. Additionally, Mata and Ziaja (2009) revealed that all fragile states share a focus on one or more of the following defining characteristics to solve the issue of fragility: efficiency – the quality with which the state carries out its duties to ensure the safety and well-being of its citizens; authority – the extent to which it maintains a monopoly on the lawful use of force; and legitimacy- the degree of public, non-coercive acceptance of the state. Furthermore, Geda (2011) posited that building capacity in post-conflict and fragile states necessitates addressing three primary areas: immediate needs, significant economic and political reasons of conflict, and finance sector reconstruction. These objectives can only be achieved if fragile states are classified based on certain indicators in line with Menkhaus (2010). These measures will be important in the Nigerian context to tackle the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

2.3 Migration in Nigeria

According to Adepou and Van der Wiel (2010) and Baggio (2014), Nigeria has a history of extensive migration which are shaped by historical, cultural, and political developments which

have molded the mobility patterns and made it an important destination for immigrants in and out of the West African region, In addition, Baggio (2014) maintained that modern patterns of human migration in Nigeria can be traced back to pre-colonial and colonial contexts and their impact on the country's political institutions, administrative structures, economy, and trade routes. He explained that this can be structured into pre-independence and post-independence periods. He observed that pre-independence migration was prior to the advent of Europeans, the emergence of kingdoms, empires, and commercial hubs in both the northern and southern half of modern-day Nigeria which stimulated diverse forms of human migration. He noted that post-independence migration was influenced by ethno-religious violence between communities in the northern and southern halves of the country which undermined the colonial administration's equilibrium and led to involuntary movement patterns in Nigeria. In view of this, Besenyo and Karman (2022) pointed out that the post-independence period in Nigeria was characterized mostly by internal migration of workers to administrative and economic centers; but, as unemployment rose in the 2000s, international migration of Nigerians increased.

Conversely, the number of out-migrants greatly surpasses the number of in-migrants, as evidenced by the consistently negative net migration rate UNDESA (2014). Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2022) reported that the number of emigrants from Nigeria increased from 446,753 in 1990 to 1,670,455 in 2020. In this regard, Besenyo and Karman (2022) highlighted economic problems in Nigeria versus European illusions, political problems in Nigeria, religious or ethnic reasons, and terrorism in Nigeria as reasons why Nigerians migrate. Olaoluwa et al. (2019) added that the reasons why Nigerians relocate out of the country include, dystopia mentality, social pressure, overrated diaspora value, spatial cognitive challenge, status embellishment, constructed media realities, planetary binary, infatuation with climatic

conditions, functional institutions and infrastructures, sexual orientation and safety, religious factor, popular opinion, family pressure, spousal pressure, peer pressure, Abrahamic faiths-mediated migrations, escape from unfavorable cultural practices, undulating legality, overstays, escape from unfavorable political climate, subverted royal and executive retinue, demand for African commercial sex workers, and redemptive mentality. Furthermore, Akanle et al. (2021) noted that the comprehensive reasons why Nigerians migrate internationally can be majorly grouped as push and pull factors. This suggests that people are more inclined to leave a fragile state in search of safety and economic opportunity when that state lacks the capacity to provide for its citizens in the areas of administration, social security, and national defense (Martin-Shields, 2017).

Notwithstanding, Duru (2021) recommended that the Nigerian government should adopt strategies aimed at reducing international migration to tackle push factors in form of unemployment, safety, security, and low salaries; and pull factors in form of job opportunities, wealth prospects, better conditions of service, and higher standards of living. He highlighted that these strategies should be combined with poverty reduction and human development and introduced as policies of development in Nigeria at the federal, state, and local government levels. Darkwah and Verter (2014) added that improving employment opportunities and social conditions in Nigeria is a primary priority for the government, which can then turn its attention to enticing its skilled laborers living overseas to come home and contribute to the country's economic growth.

Furthermore, Marc et al. (2015) suggested strategies to tackle the driver of conflict and fragility in a bid to discourage youth emigration and encourage youth inclusion: These strategies are to refocus growth strategies on labor-intensive industries and foster the growth of the

informal sector; increase violence prevention programs, with a particular emphasis on gender-based violence and social inclusion; improve the availability of and quality of education, particularly technical training; and enhance knowledge of the systemic factors that limit the opportunities and potential of young people over the long run. These measures will reduce the rate of migration outside Nigeria if handled strategically.

2.4 Migration and the Political Economy

In his study, Arhin-Sam (2019) examined the political economy of migration governance in Nigeria. The study adopts a comprehensive view of migration, considering immigration, diaspora migration, irregular migration, displaced persons, Nigerian refugees and asylum seekers, as well as refugees and asylum seekers from other nations in Nigeria. Arhin-Sam (2019) examines migration on three levels namely governance, political stakes, and societal discourse. Under governance, Arhin-Sam (2019) argues that Nigeria's migration governance is extensive in theory, but in practice, few policies pertaining to migration are put into place. For Arhin-Sam (2019) the current governance system for enforcing the National Migration, Labor Migration, and Diaspora policies is highly encouraging. However, migration governance in Nigeria faces obstacles such as a lack of finance and conflict over mandate. Under political stakes, he revealed that diaspora migration in Nigeria is the key political concern, especially due to the potential contributions made by the diaspora through remittances. The administration has little interest in keeping highly skilled workers in Nigeria or ensuring that Nigerians living abroad may use their right to vote. Additionally, the EU and EU member states are aggressively working to curb illegal immigration and human trafficking to Europe, but without increasing the number of legal routes or actively supporting Nigerians' repatriation and reintegration. Under societal discourse, he identified that the societal discourse on migration is intertwined into the debate on greater

social concerns like corruption, unemployment, inadequate infrastructure, and mismanagement of public resources. In addition, the high rate of emigration of competent Nigerians is attributed to the government's inability to retain highly qualified workers. Migration concerns, particularly with the treatment of Nigerian diaspora in other nations, irregular migration, and human trafficking, are becoming an ever-increasing part of the Nigerian public conversation. In summary, the centrality of Arhin-Sam (2019) is that in the past, Nigeria has taken a laissez-faire approach to the emigration of its residents and has been lenient in defending their rights overseas. Additionally, Adepoju and Van der Wiel (2010) and Baggio (2014) argue that Nigeria is singular among the world's main migrant-sending nations in that its inhabitants living in the diaspora have no form of representation, such as voting rights, parliamentary seats, etc.

In contrast, The International Organization for Migration (2009) proposed that for Nigeria's migration policy to be coherent and coordinated, there must be a mechanism by which role and responsibility are allocated to all key institutional actors, including government ministries, embassies and agencies, international organizations, diaspora and other civil society groups involved in migration governance in Nigeria. In addition, Vallings and Moreno-Torres (2005) identified three elements that can balance the political regimes of state institutions. These are selection to select and replace government leaders, control to limit the executive's power by making it accountable, and participation to increase the degree of involvement of the public in the political process. According to Vallings and Moreno-Torres (2005) these three elements can also be adopted in putting the migration policy in check while been employed in transforming a state from 'fragility to health'. Meanwhile, Baggio (2014) pointed out that despite these efforts, it is still believed that the Nigerian authorities' initiatives are not effective in managing migration. He maintained that Nigeria lacks a comprehensive and coordinated institutional,

policy, and legal framework to regulate migration. He identified that some policies are paradoxical and filled with double standards, and there is a gap between policy, legislation, and praxis. The common themes in Baggio (2014) and Vallings and Moreno-Torres (2005) is that in the political economy of migration governance in Nigeria few policies pertaining to migration are put into place, the government has little interest in keeping highly skilled workers in Nigeria or ensuring that Nigerians living abroad may use their right to vote; and government does not care about the treatment of Nigerians in diaspora.

Imhonopi et al. (2017) highlighted the following contradictions in the political economy of Nigeria: first, recruitment and selection for respectable and crucial jobs in the economy have become the exclusive domain of the elite and their progeny. Second, within the group of states that adhere to the democratic method of government, Nigeria's democratic process is noted as one of the most expensive. Third, the Nigerian political party system does not support excellence, brilliant ideas, nationalist or patriotic fervor, but rather subterranean interests in the form of God-fatherism or political demagogues who are the gatekeepers, regulators, arbiters, and determiners of the fate of candidates, the shape and character of parties, political party manifestos, and party politics in Nigeria. Fourth, there is a great degree of shadiness and misdeeds throughout the political process. Fifth, the banking system has fallen into the hands of the elite and provides a haven for stolen public monies, launders money for the corrupt elite, and authorizes enormous loan requests to fund fictitious, nonexistent, and noncommercial ventures owned by the elite. Sixth, the selection of public leaders has not been meritocratic, which leads to bad leadership devoid of ideas. Seventh, corruption among public officials is widespread, and it has even been legitimized to some extent. Lastly, the government's policies appear to favor

their personal networks. This reveals some of the anomalies that characterize the Nigerian political system.

On the flip side, Vallings and Moreno-Torres (2005) maintained that thinking about fragility in terms of political regimes is ineffective. They advocated that a closer examination of how a state's political institutions interact with one another is required to determine the potential of fragility. In addition, Kodila-Tedika and Simplicie (2016) noted that the connection between political interferences and revolutions reduces the likelihood of state fragility, whereas the interaction between natural resources and political interferences enhances the likelihood of extreme state instability. Meanwhile, Bertocchi and Guerzoni (2012) evaluated the potential influence of economic, institutional, historical, demographical, and geographical factors on fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. Economic factors include per capita GDP, investment, natural resources, schooling, government expenditures, trade openness, and inflation. Institutional factors comprise of ethnic fractionalization, civil liberties, revolutions, conflicts, and governance indicators. Historical factors reflect the colonial experience of the region in form of the national identity of the colonialists and the political status during the colonial period. Demographical factors were captured by fertility rate, life expectancy, and the youth increase. Geographical factors were accounted for through latitude, access to sea, and the presence of fragile neighbors. Bertocchi and Guerzoni (2012) found out that institutions prevail as the main drivers of fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. They identified that the probability of a country to be fragile increases with restrictions of civil liberties and the number of revolutions. Thus, Bertocchi and Guerzoni (2012) articulate the significance of considering governance indicators as it relates to political economy of a state to determine its fragility. For Manyena and Gordon (2015) this is indicative that the

breach of the social contract that existed between the state and its citizens is directly responsible for fragility

2.5 Migration and Globalization.

Menjvar et al. (2019) articulated how the movement of migrants and refugees is a growing concern that produces political and humanitarian crises. Similarly, Schierup et al. (2020). underlines the urgency of instituting a global administration of migration based on human rights in order to address deprived labor, unstable livelihoods, and citizenship issues. In addition, Betts (2013) maintained that the refugee regime is challenged by state fragility. He confirmed that this is in addition to placing emphasis on the need to protect those fleeing the acts of states against their own populations, it also requires the protection of those fleeing the omissions of states, whether as a result of states' unwillingness or incapacity to provide for their citizens' fundamental rights. In this light, Betts (2013) posed three questions to explore failed governance and crisis of displacement based on survival migration: The first question is why are people abandoning these weak and failing states? The second is what institutional reactions from national and international organizations have they met in the host nation? And thirdly, what explains the variance in these responses? To answer these questions, Betts (2013) noted that the international refugee system is widely acknowledged and accepted as a crucial component of what makes the international society of states both legitimate and humane that individuals who are unable to exercise their basic human rights in their home country have the freedom to seek it in other countries. Secondly, he identified that the international society of states created the international refugee system to allow those who cannot access their basic rights in their own country to migrate and seek them in other countries. Lastly, he pointed out most individuals who are compelled or who feel driven to cross international boundaries now do not fall into the

categories established in 1951 which primarily consisted of individuals fleeing persecution by their own governments.

On the other hand, Thakur and Van Langenhove (2006) suggested that concerns related with "double mobility" may be remedied either by policy control 'from above' or 'top-down' by governments and international organizations or via the participation of civil society 'from below' or 'bottom-up'. Additionally, Grugel and Piper (2011) revealed that in the case of migration, top-down global governance is negotiated by sovereignty claims and demands of the global market, in which the states coordinate and collaborate on issues. They described bottom-up global governance as grassroots migrant activism and transnational movements for global norms and worker rights. Rose Taylor (2016) argues that this indicates that migrant networks are capable of bridging some of the existing gaps in the global migration governance system by minimizing the problems connected with criminal networks, reducing the pressure between migrants and host communities, and promoting the safety and dignity of migrants.

Pécoud (2021) outlined five distinct types of migration-related governance. The first type of migration governance is national/sovereign, which emphasizes migration's status as a matter of state sovereignty. The second topic is global anti-migrant governance, which explains the presence of real collaboration and governance to either restrict migration or profit from migrant labor. In terms of the third point, "global rights-based migration governance," emphasis is placed on human rights and international conventions. In terms of the fourth principle, global migration governance through management and development, it guides emigration in the direction of maximum benefit. Fifth, non-governance of migration based on moral and practical considerations that support freedom of mobility.

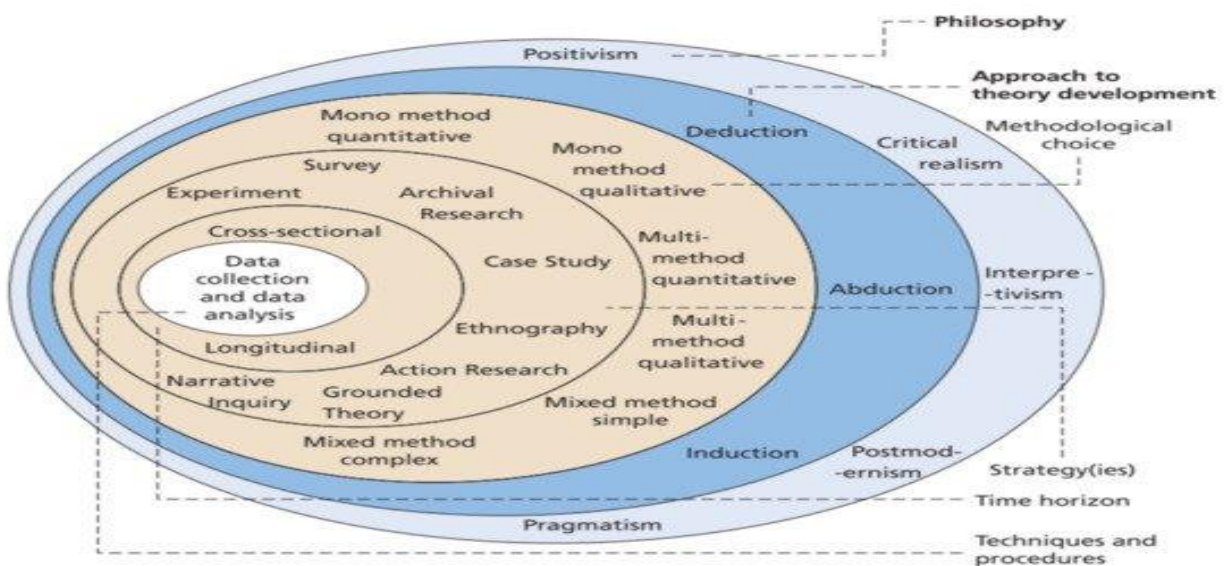
Goodman and Schimmelfennig (2020) countered this view by noting several inconsistencies within the liberal order of migration governance. Two arguments were used to make their case. In the first place, they made it clear that countries are spending more on other parts of international liberalism while keeping their immigration laws quite stringent. Second, they exposed a pervasive pattern of domestic immigration politics marked by xenophobia and fanaticism. Nonetheless, Thérien and Pouliot (2020) recommended using three interrelated strategies to restore the urgency and distinctiveness of global public policies: The first strategy emphasizes the social dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. The second strategy focuses on the provision of a comprehensive report on the competing perspectives and the frequency of disagreements and thirdly, the identification of the realistic and conventional options that were ultimately rejected. As a means of safeguarding migrants and their families, Schierup et al. (2020) propose segmenting migrants into three groups, each of which would be overseen by a different international organization: the migrant workers, for him would be under the purview of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). The second, groups will be managed by the United Nations High Commissioner (UNHCR) who will control the flow of refugees and asylum seekers. The third, group will be handled by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) keeping control over economic migrants. Betts (2011) thus suggests that in order to address global migration challenges, nations should take collective action by forming international accords or a specific regulatory framework

Chapter Three

3.0 Research Methodology

This chapter provides insights into research methodologies adopted for this thesis. Research methodology is the study of how research is conducted systematically Gupta and Gupta (2022). However, Theofanidis and Fountouki (2018) acknowledged that all research has constraints and restrictions. The research methodology adopted for this thesis is the Research Onion. Melnikovas (2018) revealed that employing the research onion allows researchers identify relevant ideas or practices inside current layers in order to address research questions. It comprises the following layers: philosophy, approach to theory development, methodological selection, strategies, time horizon, and techniques and procedures (Saunders et al. 2019). To select those important to this study, each layer would be explained in succeeding sections using the illustration in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Research onion



Saunders et al. (2019)

3.1 Philosophy

Philosophy examines the nature of reality as ontology and the understanding of reality as epistemology (Mauthner, 2020). It includes positivism, critical realism, interpretivism, post-modernism, and pragmatism (Saunders et al., 2019). Positivism analyzes hypotheses to find logical or mathematical proof from statistics (Collis and Hussey, 2013). Critical realism evaluates causal linkages between social events to acquire insights and provide solutions (Fletcher, 2017). Interpretivism emphasizes the difference between humans and physical phenomena in relation to cultures, conditions, and times that lead to social reality (Alharahsheh and Pius, 2020). Post-modernism undermines modernism's rationality by arguing there are no universal truths, and most events are illogical (Yousef, 2017). Pragmatism shows that an idea's ultimate meaning is in its practical results, not its philosophical implications (Sharma et al. 2018). However, due to their limitations, this study will not adopt the following philosophies: positivism for trivializing the role of people in a changing world because science is inadequately prepared to provide answers to some relevant questions (Gavrilov, 2020); Critical realism because the persuasiveness depends on the empirical success of the scientific arguments instead of the analysis of existing successful inquiry (Kemp, 2005); interpretivism because it is skewed towards the subjective (Rehman and Alharthi, 2016); and post-modernism relies on irrationality to build perspectives and inconsistencies to reject consistency rules (Rosenau, 1991); (Hossain and Karim, 2013).

This study will employ a pragmatism research philosophy because it describes how actions cannot be detached from situations and contexts, how actions are linked to consequences in open ways, and how actions depend on a socially shared set of beliefs (Morgan, 2014). Thus, pragmatism philosophy will be utilized to examine the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

3.2 Approach to Theory Development

Approach to theory development are strategies and tactics employed in research to shift assessments from broad generalizations to specific data collection and analysis approaches (Creswell, 2014). It comprises inductive, abductive, and deductive approaches (Saunders et al. 2019). The deductive technique begins with a certain theory or rule and investigates how raw data supports the idea (Reichertz, 2007). The abductive approach uncovers new concepts, ideas, and explanations by discovering unexpected phenomena, data, or events that cannot be explained by prior knowledge (Kennedy and Thornberg, 2018). In the inductive technique, categories or conclusions are inferred from data to detect a pattern in formulating a general statement (Liu, 2016). Conversely, the inductive research method is constrained by the questionable validity of the research, which is predominantly qualitative (Park et al. 2020). While the abductive research is hampered by inferences based on guesses that most researchers do not like to be associated with (Reichertz, 2010). Nevertheless, this study would utilize the deductive research approach due to the following advantages it has over the abductive and inductive methods: It clarifies causal linkages between concepts and variables and generalizes findings (Babbie, 2020). This explains how deductive approach will be employed using Migration theory to investigate the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

3.3 Methodological Choice

Methodological choice is a collection of instruments or strategies used for various forms of enquiry in research (Walliman, 2017). It consists of mono method quantitative, mono method qualitative, multi-method quantitative, multi-method qualitative, mixed method simple, and mixed method complex (Saunders et al. 2019). Mono method quantitative quantifies and employs measurements to gather and analyze data (Williams, 2007). Mono method qualitative uses descriptive expressions for data gathering and analysis (Bryman, 2016). Multi-method quantitative integrates several data collecting and analysis methodologies to measure and quantify data collection and analysis (Saunders et al. 2009). Multi-method qualitative method describes data collection and analysis using a variety of data collection and analysis methodologies (Azorin and Cameron, 2010). The mixed method simple combines quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis techniques (Baran, 2016). The mixed method complex employs several procedures in concurrent sequence Ngulube (2022) and integrates them when drawing conclusions (Johnson et al, 2007). On the contrary, Anguera (2018) identified methodological concerns linked with multi-method research. In addition, in highly controlled settings, Ary et al. (2013) observed, the experiences and views of respondents are largely ignored by the quantitative research approach. Furthermore, Mingers (2001) critiqued mixed research approaches from philosophical, cultural, psychological, and practical perspectives.

This study will use the mono-method qualitative method based on the following benefits it has over other methods: it is malleable and geared toward the discovery of new information; it is appropriate for the testing of hypotheses in an experimental setting; it emphasizes the importance of the social setting; it provides opportunities for the pursuit of clarification; it yields rich profiles of individual subjects; and it can be replicated with relative ease Queiros et al. (2017).

Mono-method qualitative method would be employed to gain insights into the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

3.4 Research Strategies

Research strategies are plans for data collection, measurement, and analysis that includes a method for integrating the study's various components to ensure that it solves the research problem (Devaus, 2001). It is made up of an experiment, survey, archival research, case study, ethnography, action research, grounded theory, and narrative inquiry (Saunders et al. 2019). In an experiment, the relationships between dependent and independent variables are evaluated (Harland, 2011). In a survey, information is acquired from a sample of people by asking them questions (Check and Schutt, 2011). Archival research reveals new knowledge through the investigation of texts, records, and other tangible things made by and about organizations (Ventresca and Mohr, 2017). A case study is an in-depth examination of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular initiative, policy, institution, program, or system under real-world conditions (Simons, 2014). In ethnographic research, the researcher actively interacts with the target population in order to collect relevant cultural data (Sharma and Sarkar, 2018). Action research is a self-reflective, systematic, and critical technique of inquiry that incorporates participants who are also members of the research community (Burns, 2015). Using grounded theory, a theory is built from systematically collected and studied facts (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). The narrative inquiry investigates an individual's or group's experience to demonstrate how their social, cultural, and physical circumstances impact and develop their distinctive experiences (Haydon et al. 2018). In contrast, this study will not employ the following strategies due to the following drawbacks: Experiment is primarily limited by its external validity (Schanzenbach, 2012); survey does not account for non-representative samples (Rice et al.

2017); archival research makes it difficult to find errors in documents, texts, and other material objects (Shultz et al. 2005); case study contains a bias toward verification (Flyvbjerg, 2006); ethnography makes it complicated to get concise and precise conclusions (Nixon and Odoyo, 2020); and the grounded theory is susceptible to methodological errors and has restricted applicability (El Hussein et al. 2014).

For this study, narrative inquiry would be selected based on the advantages it has over other approaches: it is a suitable method for examining experience (Clandinin and Connelly, 2004); it takes a subjective stance that is relationally connected to the participant's social and private worlds (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007); and it supports and strengthens future knowledge by influencing decisions and advancing practice (Clandinin, 2016). This explains why narrative inquiry is chosen in place of other research strategies to investigate the political economy of state fragility and the degree to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

3.5 Time Horizon

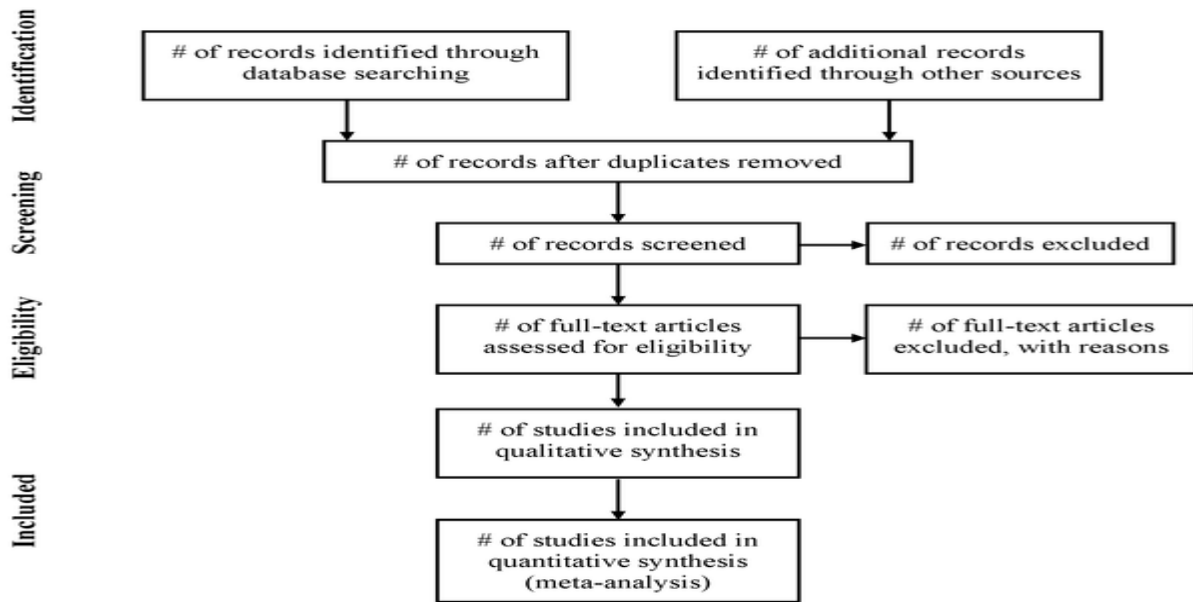
This shows how the study will be conducted using either a longitudinal or cross-sectional time horizon. A longitudinal time horizon specifies the collection of data across a specific period of time (Wang et al. 2017). A cross-sectional temporal horizon explains the research of different variables in each period (Connelly, 2016). However, Caruana et al. (2015) identified the following limitations in the use of longitudinal time horizon: incomplete and interrupted follow-up of individuals; difficulties in separating the reciprocal effect of exposure and outcome; the possibility of erroneous conclusions with statistical techniques; and increased time and financial demands. Meanwhile, the cross-sectional temporal horizon is rapid, simple, and inexpensive to implement in research (Sedgwick, 2014). The thesis would utilize a cross-sectional temporal horizon due to the constrained time range of this investigation.

3.6 Techniques and Procedures

This is made up of data collection and analysis. Primary and secondary sources of information were distinguished by (Kabir, 2016). Primary data collection, as they put it, is information gathered directly from people involved in the study. He defined secondary data as information that has previously been made public. However, Bell et al. (2022) criticized primary data collection because it requires more time, it is expensive to carry out, not ideal for inexperienced researchers, not practical with its feasibility, the accessibility distorts accuracy and valid data collection, and data collected cannot be compared with others based on its uniqueness. Nonetheless, Perez-Sindin (2017) highlighted the following as benefits of using secondary data collection method: it saves time, it provides access to vast amounts of information, it reduces cost, it presents a wider breadth of research, and it assists in generating new insights from previous analyses.

In this regard, this study will apply the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) search technique. Liberati et al. (2009) confirmed PRISMA as a critical tool for accurately and reliably summarizing the available evidence. It consists of the four phases as indicated in Figure. 2 (Liberati et al. 2009):

Figure 2: Stages involved in PRISMA



Liberati et al. (2009)

Firstly, a comprehensive search approach, including Google Scholar and the library's search engine, would be employed initially for identification purposes. Secondly, in agreement with Caldwell et al (2011), a limiter would be used for screening to limit the search to the ten-year period from 2012 to 2022. This would pay attention to the keywords Aveyard and Sharp (2017), which include: state fragility in Nigeria and factors that drive international migration in Nigeria. It would be used with the "AND" and "OR" Boolean operators to get more complex data (Trefts and Blakeslee, 2000). Thirdly, the PEO framework (population, exposure, and outcome) would be used in the search strategy to establish eligibility (Bettany-Saltikov, 2016). Thus, the Population would be linked to Nigerians, the Exposure to state fragility, and the Outcome to the forces that drive international migration. Lastly, the inclusion and exclusion criteria would be

applied to determine the scope of the review and to pinpoint potential papers for inclusion (Stern et al. 2014). Literature that directly addresses the conceptualization of Nigerians' foreign migration in terms of state instability would meet the inclusion criteria. It is divided into four sections: (1) an analysis of state fragility in Nigeria; (2) an assessment of international migration in terms of push factors in Nigeria and pull factors in foreign countries; (3) an analysis of international migration as a result of Nigeria's political economy of state fragility; and (4) an annotated bibliography of relevant papers and articles culled from the reference lists of those previously cited. The exclusion criterion would lead to the elimination of papers that do not meet the standards of the inclusion viewpoint.

As it relates to analysis, thematic analysis would be employed in this study. Thematic analysis is a technique for discovering overarching themes within a dataset and drawing conclusions from those themes (Braun and Clarke, 2012). It includes the following sequential phases (Braun and Clarke, 2012): 1) Getting acquainted with the information by transcribing, reading, and rereading it while taking notes; 2) Developing preliminary codes to categorize intriguing parts of the data in preparation for the full data gathering and compiling pertinent information for each code; 3) Identifying patterns to arrange codes into prospective themes and gathering relevant information for each potential subject; 4) Creating a thematic map by determining whether topics are compatible with the coded extracts and the entire data set; 5) Identifying and naming themes by analyzing the narration as a whole to generate concise definitions and labels for each theme, and then further refining the details of each theme; and 6) Creating a scholarly paper by selecting strong extract examples, analyzing the research topic, and comparing it to the literature. On the contrary, Nowell et al. (2017) noted that there is a lack of consensus regarding the best practices for implementing this approach. Notwithstanding, by

distilling information into a manageable and understandable amount of data, thematic analysis reveals the myriad ways in which values are expressed (Waeraas, 2022). Because of its adaptability and ease of use, thematic analysis will be used to conduct data analysis in this study (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

3.7 Rationale for Choosing Literature-Based Approach

Bell et al. (2022) emphasized that empirical investigation and literature-based review are the two basic types of research. Empirical research employs verifiable evidence to attain research goals (Bell et al, 2022). Literature-based research leverages articles and other academic publications to develop new connections between current knowledge and the new research aims (Velliaris, 2016). In this context, Snyder (2019) identifies systematic, semi-systematic, and integrative techniques for a literature-based review. A systematic strategy identifies and evaluates pertinent research by collecting and analyzing data from the recognized study (Liberati et al. 2009). A semi-systematic approach acknowledges and comprehends that all pertinent research conventions have significance for the issue under investigation and synthesizes this information utilizing meta-narratives (Wong et al. 2013). An integrated method assesses, analyzes, and synthesizes the research literature by encouraging the development of novel theoretical frameworks and perspectives (Torraco, 2005). In contrast, Snyder (2019) highlighted that under a semi-systematic method, it is not possible to review every relevant publication, and that under an integrative approach, there is neither transparency nor true integration of research. Nevertheless, Moher et al. (2009) found that the application of a systematic method reduces bias and yields reliable findings from which inferences and decisions can be taken. Therefore, a systematic approach will be utilized as a literature study to investigate the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it contributes to international migration among Nigerians.

3.8 Ethics

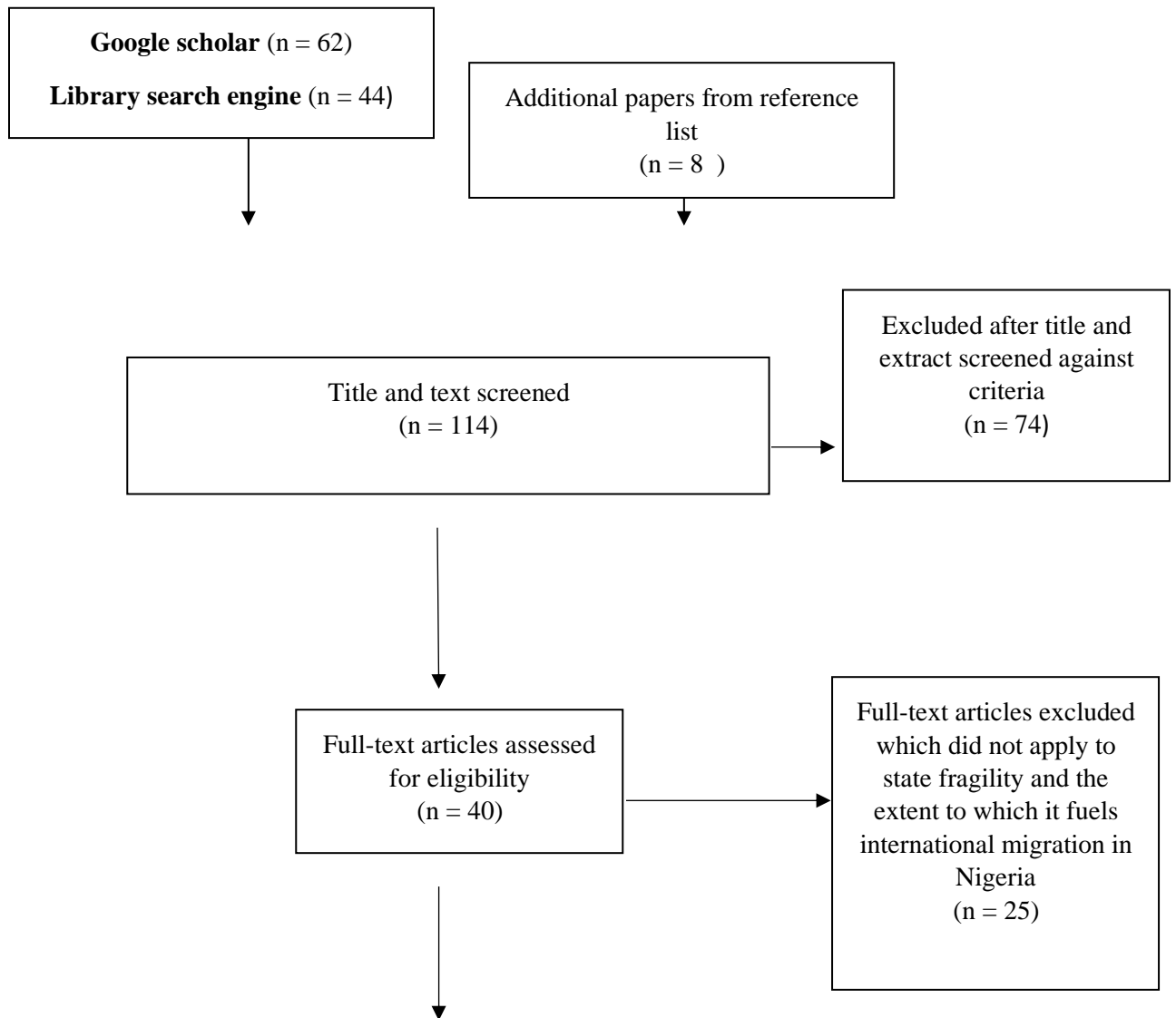
Driscoll (2011) affirmed that voluntary involvement, anonymity and confidentiality, and researcher bias are all important ethical issues when putting research into context. People's consent should be sought before they are asked to take part in a study if they are to participate voluntarily. Participants' identities are concealed by remaining anonymous, as shown by the confidentiality and anonymity procedures. The problem of researcher bias is shown when a researcher already has an idea of the study's conclusion before any data has been collected or analyzed. On the other hand, Savin-Baden & Howell-Major (2013) propose researcher's positionality as a remedy for resolving Driscoll's (2011) highlighted ethical concerns. They stated that there are three possible angles from which to examine this issue: subject positioning, participant positioning, and research context and procedure. The researcher's potential to exert influence over the research is illustrated by their position in relation to the subject. The researcher's position with respect to the participant clarifies their own and others' perceptions of them in light of careful deliberation and critical assessment. Positioning with respect to the research context and procedure illustrates how research is affected by itself and research factors. This thesis intends to take positioning into account in order to address the ethical difficulties that may arise throughout the research process and to acquire ethical approval from the institution before beginning the research process.

Chapter Four

4.0 Presentation of Findings

Findings from the study are presented in this chapter, along with details about the searches and summaries that are utilized to compile the primary literatures for review.

4.1 Figure 3: Search strategy used in identifying the key articles – PRISMA search process flowchart



Studies included in
qualitative review
(n = 15)

4.2 Critical Analysis of the 15 Articles Identified for Review.

The following 15 articles were identified from the search strategy

1. Kirwin and Anderson (2018) Identifying the factors driving West African Migration.

Using nationally representative surveys and focus group data obtained in West Africa, Kirwin and Anderson (2018) explore migration motivations at the individual level. Evidence from the six-country study indicates that individuals migrate for economic reasons, but statistical examination of Nigerian data reveals a different set of push factors that motivate migration. Kirwin and Anderson (2018) argues that economic status has a lot of impact on Nigerians' desire to relocate. Individual assessments of the robustness of Nigeria's democracy are most closely correlated with Nigerians' desire to travel overseas, as well as low levels of trust in local security institutions. This highlights state fragility causes responsible for international migration amongst Nigerians as economic, political and security factors.

2. Darkwah et al. (2014) Determinants of International Migration: The Nigerian Experience.

Using annual time series data for the years 1991-2011, Darkwah et al. (2014) analyzed several factors that contribute to Nigerians leaving the country in search of better opportunities elsewhere. Using the ordinary least squares regression method, they found that the unemployment rate, the amount of money sent back home by migrants, and the overall rate of

population growth are all significant predictors of Nigerians leaving the country. For Darkwah et al. (2014) political and economic changes should help alleviate some of the strain on the economy's labor market caused by the high unemployment rate in the country in question. Money sent home by migrants may also aid those living in poverty. If the political and economic problems in Nigeria are not resolved, Nigerians will continue to leave the country in search of a better life. The Nigerian government should urgently provide better opportunities and a suitable climate to discourage migration and attract qualified workers from overseas to aid in national growth. Darkwah et al. (2014) thus foreground economic and political factors as the state fragility factors responsible for international migration amongst Nigerians.

3. Duru (2021) Examination of the Causes and Consequences of International Migration in Nigeria.

Duru (2021) articulated the primary reasons and effects of foreign migration in Nigeria. For this study, researchers relied on a survey format. A questionnaire was used to compile the information. One hundred people were surveyed using the purposive sample method to get their thoughts on the main drivers and effects of foreign migration in Nigeria. According to the data, Nigerians leave the country for reasons including improved jobs and economic prospects, lower crime rates, greater wages, and safer neighborhoods. These primary economic drivers of international migration from Nigeria were the most important in explaining why so many people left the country. In addition, the results demonstrated that integrated development, an increase in remittances, cheap and surplus labor, strained urban services and social infrastructure, stricter immigration norms, a multiethnic society, and increased tolerance were the most notable positive and negative effects of international migration in Nigeria. This points out that Nigerians migrate for economic and social reasons.

4. Osasumwen (2022) Decolonizing State Fragility and Forced Migration in Postcolonial Nigeria.

The importance of fragility as a cause of population movement in postcolonial Nigeria is further explored by (Osasumwen, 2022). He relied on both secondary evidence and analytical reasoning while embracing the notions of the social contract and of frustration aggression theory. He argues that Nigeria's political elites' colonialist-era legacy of political and economic exploitation, social inequality, and a broken social compact is to blame for the country's persistent instability and the resulting need for people to relocate for safety. He concluded that for Nigeria to successfully decolonize state fragility and forced migration, the country's political elite must be dedicated to the social compact between the state and the citizenry. This explains that the state fragility factors responsible for international migration amongst Nigerians include economic, and social factors.

5. Nwosu et al. (2022) Poverty and Youth Migration Out of Nigeria: Enthronement of Modern Slavery.

Nwosu et al. (2022) investigated the connection between poor governance, illegal migration, and contemporary slavery, as well as the factors that motivate young people to migrate despite the risks. This study used a qualitative research approach, conducting in-depth interviews with individuals to gather data. Twenty-five young adults from the Umuzo neighborhood in Isiala-Mbano, Imo State, Nigeria, were recruited using a stratified selection method. In order to analyze the data, descriptive statistics were applied. Results showed that young people are aware of the risks associated with illegal migration but are nevertheless willing to take that risk in order to reach their destination. The force of the push and pull elements is responsible for this. As a result, the rising poverty rate is making young people more willing to become slaves by choice.

Therefore, it is imperative that governments in Nigeria take steps to alleviate poverty and educate the youth to discourage illegal migration, which serves as the basis for modern-day slavery. Nwosu et al. (2022) therefore pinpoints poverty as the major cause of migration which are brought about by social and economic factors and poor governance as state fragility factors responsible for international migration amongst Nigerians.

6. Oreofe and Eyitayo (2022) Migration and Human Capital mobility in Nigeria:
Motivations and Implications.

Oreofe and Eyitayo (2022) noted that over the years, the dynamics of migration-related activities in Nigeria have continued to intensify, driven by a variety of factors, the most prominent of which is globalization, which has presented countless opportunities to the citizens, most notably on the path of the youths by bringing to their doorstep exposure to the numerous opportunities and benefits present throughout the globe. This Migration reality is a phenomenon with both positive and negative values, as it has led to the emigration of human capital, particularly the highly skilled youth population, from Nigeria to more developed nations of the world in search of a higher standard of living, leaving Nigeria in a state of brain drain caused by the effects of this human capital mobility. They highlighted some reasons why Nigerians migrate to include, overpopulation which increases competition for jobs, economic and social resources, and social vices; economic reasons with the need to escape poverty and better business prospects ranking as the two main drivers; poor social infrastructure and services, such as inadequate health care, inadequate education, excessive unemployment, deteriorating infrastructures, deteriorating roads, inadequate electricity supplies, and insecurity; high unemployment and underemployment rate which is a result of the labor market's inability to absorb the country's oversupply of workers; increased sense of insecurity in the country is another factor driving people to leave Nigeria; and

social media and personal willingness to emigrate, which is influenced by a vast social network span and knowledge on how to migrate through various means is readily available with network with the appropriate individuals. This explains that Nigerians migrate internationally due to overpopulation, economic reasons, poor social infrastructure and services, high unemployment and underemployment rate, increased sense of insecurity, and social media and personal willingness to emigrate.

7. Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021) Migration and its Impact on Sub-Saharan Africa.

The effects of migration on the peace situation in Sub-Saharan Africa were analyzed by Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021), who looked at the underlying social, economic, political, and ecological factors that have led to the current displacement. They employed qualitative research techniques to compile information from preexisting resources such books, magazines, newspapers, and online resources. With the use of the Systems Theory of Migration, they were able to analyze the gathered data. They mentioned that persecution based on one's race, religion, or culture, as well as actual or potential armed conflict, are all examples of societal causes that motivate people to relocate. They highlighted that conflicts within states have the potential to escalate when religious and ethnic identities are politicized to lead to migration. They found that people are more inclined to migrate to a nation with a better economy when economic conditions become particularly unfavorable and there are no indicators of any change for the better. This includes things like the country's labor standards, the unemployment rate, and the economy. They argued that people whose living conditions are negatively affected by environmental change are more likely to move to another state in quest of more favorable living conditions. Thus, helping to further foreground the argument that social, economic, and ecological factors of state fragility are what fuels international migration in Nigeria.

8. Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2012) *The Political Economy of Forced Migration in Nigeria: Prospects and Challenges in the New Millennium*.

Gopalkrishna Murthy and Samuel Oloruntoba (2012) highlighted that Nigeria's postcolonial history is one of squandered potential, stunted growth, and dashed hopes. It is characterized by weak socio-economic performance which is a symptom of poor governance, which can lead to misery and unmet expectations and can even enable insurgency, wars, and political instability. Multilateral development institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank's participation in the administration of the country's economy has only made development difficulties worse. In this work, they phrase this phenomenon "forced economic migration" since it describes the movement of large numbers of highly educated people, typically from developing nations, to industrialized nations in Europe and North America. The conventional wisdom holds that sending countries benefit from voluntary migration of skilled professionals through brain gain, brain circulation, and remittances. However, sending countries suffer greater losses because they are unable to benefit from the migrants' critically important expertise and services. The study suggests that Nigeria should refocus her development efforts on reducing the factors that have historically required the forced economic migration of professionals. This will allow for migration to occur less often and be more voluntarily. Additionally, given the fact that many Nigerians today live and work abroad as professionals, the government must make conscious, concerted efforts to creatively involve this diaspora community in accomplishing the necessary development goals. This indicates poor socio-economic performance, poor governance, and political instability as state fragility factors responsible for international migration among Nigerians.

9. Attoh (2019) *Mobility, Migration, and its Discontents: Insights from Nigeria*.

Using insights from Nigeria, Attoh (2019) examines the phenomena of mobility, migration, and consequent discontent. He maintained that both the number of people migrating internationally, and the intricacy of their journeys are on the rise. He stated that consequent to this, more and more people are moving out from unstable economies and war-torn regions to the world's developed nations. He revealed that although they may be connected to globalization, the underlying social, economic, and political structures are complex and not always obvious. He highlighted that these include the uneven international political system, the developed world's insatiable appetite for low-wage labor, the widespread availability of fast and cheap transportation, and cutting-edge communications and computing technologies. He illustrated that countries like Nigeria have established extensive family networks across Europe and the Americas. He mentioned that the desire to find work and improve one's standard of living are two major motivating factors in the decision to migrate. He confirmed that migration, however, has caused widespread unhappiness in both sending and receiving countries, with many affluent nations blaming migrants for crimes, terrorist attacks, and rising youth unemployment. Using secondary sources (from libraries and the Internet) and an analysis based on Caldwell's theory of Intergenerational Wealth-flow and Political Economy theories, this paper argued that migrants' dissatisfaction results from their lack of rights and opportunities to earn a legitimate livelihood in their host countries. As the paper's findings show, Nigerians have been the target of xenophobic violence in places like South Africa and Libya, and have been sold as slaves, stigmatized, and insulted in other nations as well. The report concludes that closing the international inequality gap is necessary to stop the loss of talent and resources. This highlights social, economic, and political factors as state fragility factors that make Nigerians migrate internationally.

10. Ezemenaka (2019) Unregulated Migration and Nigeria-EU Relations.

Concerning the unregulated migration that has been impacting the European Union, Ezemenaka (2019) explains the social and political causes. Interviews, data collection, and a review of relevant documents were all part of the qualitative and quantitative methods used to reach these conclusions. The paper argues, based on the research conducted and the points raised in the discussion, that the political situation in Nigeria is the primary obstacle standing in the way of the European Union's efforts to intervene on migration. EU aid and grants will be largely symbolic if the political system in Nigeria is not overhauled to root out corruption and other vices that threaten the country's economy and security. It also describes the unusual neo-vectors of migration and concludes that migration problems cannot be solved by constructing migration centers since they are intrinsic to the human right to freedom of movement, which is also inscribed in human security. However, they can be mitigated by the joint efforts of the European Union and Nigeria, as well as other African states, to implement strict border controls and promote enabling development as a prelude to tackle migration issues. This points out the social and economic causes of international migration among Nigerians as it relates to state fragility.

11. Adhikari et al. (2021) Expanding Legal Migration Pathways from Nigeria to Europe.

Adhikari et al. (2021) highlighted those countries with low or moderate per capita income, like Nigeria, are experiencing a surge in their labor force. Young people today are becoming increasingly educated and talented; however, many of them are unable to find fulfilling employment in their home countries due to a lack of accessible positions or a mismatch between their talents and those employers need. In response, many people are leaving their home countries in search of better prospects elsewhere, raising concerns about a "brain drain" in their home countries. Meanwhile, high-income regions like Europe are experiencing a sharp decline in

their populations of productive age. Companies in these nations are suffering from severe talent shortages that are causing them to lose money and stop investing. This report uses data from over a hundred interviews to apply the Global Skill Partnership model developed by the Center for Global Development (CGD) to the healthcare, construction, and information and communication technology (ICT) industries in Nigeria, with the end goal of creating partnerships between Nigeria and a few specific European countries. Increasing the global supply of workers and contributing to "brain gain," the report explains how countries of destination can address labor shortages by providing high-quality, industry-relevant education to both migrants and non-migrants in Nigeria. This shows economic reasons as state fragility factors responsible for international immigration among Nigerians.

12. John (2019) Labor Migration: Causes and Patterns in Nigeria.

John (2019) analyzed labor migration in Nigeria, focusing on its factors and trends. In its simplest form, "labor migration" refers to migration driven primarily by economic need. Work migrants or migratory workers are people who have moved from one location to another in quest of better economic opportunities. Due to a lack of legal protection and inadequate education about their rights, migrant workers are susceptible to exploitation and abuse by recruiters, employers, and authorities. International labor migrants, who frequently work in the informal economy, are particularly vulnerable to racism and xenophobia-related abuses. The results of this study show that unemployment, poverty, and insecurity are major driving factors in the emigration of Nigerian workers. In Nigeria, unemployment is seen as the primary cause of economic hardship. Since the 1980s, graduate unemployment in Nigeria has been incredibly high, a trend that can be traced back to the country's dramatic increase in the number of people enrolling in postsecondary education. But unemployment occurs when people want to work for

money but cannot find it owing to long-term trends or temporary fluctuations in the labor market. The paper relied on secondary resources for its data collection and embraced two hypotheses, the Neo-classical theory of migration and the New economic theory of migration. It is recommended, among other things that entrepreneurship centers be set up in each of the 36 states of the federation, plus the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja; these centers would be responsible for providing training to the country's unemployed youth, with the goal of lowering the country's outward and inward migration rates and preserving its workforce. This describes social and economic factors considering state fragility factors responsible for international migration among Nigerians.

13. Schurmann et al. (2022) Migration in West Africa: A Visual Analysis of Motivation, Causes, and Routes.

Schurmann et al. (2019) evaluated and analyzed survey-based case studies and migration pathways to depict the elements that drive migration and their interplay. After analyzing 26 separate case studies, researchers concluded that environmental and economic factors were the most influential factors in migration throughout the study's three focal nations of Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria. Although environmental concerns were listed as a leading cause of emigration, it seems that economic opportunities were the primary draw for people to relocate to other areas. Their visual analysis shows that the push and pull factors of the important drivers are related, but that the opposite of a push factor is not always obvious. Since in around 75% of cases more than one push factor was cited, the compiled data supports the hypothesis that the choice to relocate is dependent on the concurrence of numerous negative events. The push-pull model allowed for the spatial allocation and characterization of both destination and origin areas with migration-influencing elements, and the visualization of these findings in overarching maps.

They pointed out that Sankey diagrams is a good way to highlight the results of the overview maps, especially when it came to debunking the idea that a destination area would be defined by elements that were not present in the origin region. This strategy yielded a fresh improvement on the traditional push-pull model that may be readily applied to new contexts. Policy and decision makers can utilize this information to comply with and accomplish certain SDGs, such as the targeted registration of land, or to understand the factors that push individuals to migrate and assign them to locations where out- or in-migration occurred. This describes economic and environmental factors in line with state fragility in Nigeria that influences international migration.

14. Anene et al. (2019) The Push and Pull factors of Poverty: Migration of Nigerians to Europe.

Anene et al. (2019) established a strong connection between poverty and cross-border migration of the unemployed and financially strapped Nigerian youths, taking into consideration other factors such as the need for qualitative and quantitative education and skill acquisition, conflict, and political persecution. They added that poverty-induced migration through regular and irregular routes outside Nigeria is the most prevalent and most visible type of migration. In contrast, remittances made by migrants to their home countries to help lessen the effects of poverty on their families at home are linked to poverty as a pull factor. Thus, it was established that the exodus of young Nigerians in huge numbers has significantly tarnished the country's reputation as a long-standing underdeveloped one. To make this point, a qualitative method was used to outline the push and pull variables in a chronological order. Thus, revealing that economic and social perspectives of state fragility that makes Nigerians migrate internationally.

15. Okeke-Ihejirika, and Odimegwu (2022) Managing the rising tide of Nigerian migrants to the West: A Policy Vacuum or a Structural Challenge?

Okeke-Ihejirika and Odimegwu (2022) investigated the increasing allure of migrants to perceived better pastures, as well as the causes and effects of international migration, particularly for irregular migrants. The findings of two focus group discussions with Nigerian scholars, policymakers, service providers, and members of society suggest: (1) public policy on international migration should consider the social, political, and economic challenges that make many Africans desperate to leave the continent regardless of the harsh realities awaiting them on the journey or in a new country; (2) given the fundamental rights of individuals to migrate, it is crucial that relevant in-country policies respect these rights; and (3) given the fundamental rights of individuals to migrate, it is essential that relevant international policies respect these rights. Together, this indicates social, economic, and political factors as state fragility concerns responsible for international migration among Nigerians.

This chapter presented the findings of this thesis by identifying significant articles for review using PRISMA (Liberati et al. 2009). The highlighted articles revealed the following themes Braun and Clarke (2012) as state fragility factors that fuels international migration amongst Nigerians. It is conceptualized in line with Bijak (2006) migration framework.

Authors	State fragility factors responsible for international migration amongst Nigerians
1. Kirwin and Anderson (2018)	Economic and sociological factors.
2. Darkwah et al. (2014)	Sociological, geographical, economic, and unifying factors.

3. Duru (2021)	Sociological, economic, and unifying factors.
4. Osasumwen (2022)	Economic and sociological factors.
5. Nwosu et al. (2022)	Economic and sociological factors.
6. Oreofe and Eyitayo (2022)	Geographical, economic, sociological, and unifying factors.
7. Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021)	Geographical, economic, and sociological factors.
8. Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2012)	Sociological, economic, and unifying factors.
9. Attoh (2019)	Sociological, economic, and unifying factors.
10. Ezemenaka (2019)	Sociological, economic, and unifying factors.
11. Adhikari et al. (2021)	Sociological, economical, and unifying factors.
12. John (2019)	Economic and sociological factors.
13. Schurmann et al. (2022)	Economic and sociological factors.
14. Anene et al. (2019)	Sociological, economic, and unifying factors.
15. Okeke-Ihejirika, and Odimegwu (2022)	Economic and sociological factors.

These identified themes will be discussed in chapter five.

Chapter Five

5.0 Discussion of Findings

The common themes that emerged from the literature reveal that economic, sociological, geographical, and unifying factors are responsible for migration amongst Nigerians. This is similar to Bijak (2006) migration framework which argues that the reasons for accelerated migration amongst Nigerians are multi-faceted. These themes will be discussed in subsequent sections in relation to how it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians.

5.1 Economic Factors

Several reports have shown that economic factors are responsible for how Nigerians migrate internationally (Darkwah et al. 2014); (Adhikari et al. 2021); (Duru 2021); (Schurmann et al. 2019); (Oreofe and Eytayo, 2022). Economic factors demonstrate migration in terms of wage discrepancies owing to excess labor in one country and excess capital in another which makes migrants choose their destinations to maximize the net present value of their predicted future income, minus direct and indirect migration costs (Bijak, 2006). This includes per capita GDP, investment, natural resources, schooling, government expenditures, trade openness, and inflation (Bertocchi and Guerzoni, 2012). Darkwah et al. (2014) confirmed that Nigerians frequently leave their home country in quest of better chances abroad. They discovered that Nigerians departing the nation are significantly predicted by the unemployment rate, the quantity of money emigrants send home, and the general rate of population increase using the ordinary least squares regression method. They maintained that these adjustments ought to lessen some of the pressure that the high unemployment rate in the nation in question is putting on the labor market for the economy. Money that migrants send home may also help people who are

struggling financially. They reiterated that Nigerians would continue to migrate abroad in quest of a better life if the country's political and economic issues are not handled.

Additionally, Adhikari et al. (2021) noted that labor force growth is increasing in low-income nations like Nigeria where many brilliant and educated young people cannot find rewarding jobs due to a lack of available positions or a mismatch between their skills and businesses' needs. They revealed that many people are leaving their home countries to find better opportunities, causing a "brain drain" in their home countries in Europe where their productive-age population is declining, and talent deficits are costing them money and investment. However, Kirwin and Anderson (2018) examined individual migration motivations using nationally representative surveys and West African focus group data. The six-country analysis found that people migrate for economic reasons, but Nigerian data shows various push causes. They observed that economic reasons do not really affect Nigerians' desire to migrate, that Nigerians' desire to relocate abroad and poor faith in local security institutions most strongly correspond with their democratic ratings. This shows that public policy on international migration should consider the social, political, and economic challenges that make many Africans desperate to leave the continent regardless of the harsh realities awaiting them on the journey or in a new country (Okeke-Ihejirika and Odimegwu, 2022). Nonetheless, Duru (2021) pointed out that Nigeria's high outbound immigration rate can mostly be attributed to the country's poor economic conditions. This indicates that economic opportunities were the primary draw for people to relocate to other areas (Schurmann et al. 2019). In this context, as unemployment rose in the 2000s, international migration of Nigerians increased Besenyo and Karman (2022), by generating a brain drain in Nigeria as a result of the exodus of human capital, especially the highly skilled youth population, from that country to more developed countries throughout the

world in search of better living standards and economic opportunities (Oreofe and Eyitayo, 2022).

5.2 Sociological Factors

Prior studies have noted the importance of sociological factors as determinant factors in explaining why it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians (Osasumwen, 2022); (Oreofe and Eyitayo, 2022); (Ezemenaka, 2019); (Tsuwa and Adzaigba, 2021). From a sociological perspective, migrations occur at a rate that is proportional to the desirability of the destination and inversely proportional to that of the origin (Bijak, 2006). These comprises of hard migration factors like humanitarian crises, armed conflicts, and environmental catastrophes; and soft migration factors like poverty, social exclusion, and unemployment (Oberg, 1994). It reveals that the societal discourse on migration is intertwined into the debate on greater social concerns like corruption, unemployment, inadequate infrastructure, and mismanagement of public resources (Arhin-Sam, 2019). Osasumwen (2022) expands on fragility's role in population mobility in postcolonial Nigeria. He utilized the tenets of aggressive frustration and the social contract. He established that Nigeria's political elites' colonialist-era legacy of political and economic exploitation, social inequality, and a broken social compact is to blame for the country's chronic instability and the necessity for citizens to move for safety. In addition, Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021) noted that persecution based on one's race, religion, or culture, as well as existing or possible armed conflict, are examples of sociocultural factors that push people to migrate. They emphasized that conflicts within nations have the potential to develop when religious and ethnic identities are politicized in a manner that results in migration. Furthermore, Nwosu et al. (2022) identified that the rising rate of poverty is making young Nigerians more willing to migrate out of their home countries due to the forces of push and pull elements. Nwosu et al. (2022) Anene et

al. (2019). reveals that poverty-induced migration through regular and irregular routes outside Nigeria is the most prevalent and most visible type of migration.

Conversely, Attoh (2019) demonstrated that although international migration may be associated with globalization, the underlying social, economic, and political processes are complicated and not necessarily consistent. Notwithstanding, Oreofe and Eytayo (2022) confirmed that poor social infrastructure and services, such as inadequate health care, inadequate education, excessive unemployment, deteriorating infrastructures, deteriorating roads, inadequate electricity supplies, and insecurity make Nigerian migrate. This suggests that people are more inclined to leave a fragile state in search of safety and economic opportunity when that state lacks the capacity to provide for its citizens in the areas of administration, social security, and national defense (Martin-Shields, 2017). It shows that the breach of the social compact that existed between the state and its citizens is directly responsible for fragility (Manyena and Gordon, 2015).

5.3 Geographical Factors

Schurmann et al. (2019); Darkwah et al. (2014); Oreofe and Eytayo (2022) assessed the efficacy of geographical factors in determining why Nigerians migrate internationally. The common theme is that taking into account geographical parameters, the likelihood of migration is proportional to the product of the population sizes of the origin and destination regions - the masses; and the inverse of the power of the distance between the regions- the discounting factor (Bijak, 2006). They are usually accounted for through latitude, access to sea, and the presence of fragile neighbors (Bertocchi and Guerzoni, 2012). Schurmann et al. (2019) studied and rated survey-based case studies and migration paths to illustrate the factors that drive migration and their interplay. They found that environmental concerns were mentioned as a primary cause of

emigration in all three of the study's focus nations of Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria, after reviewing 26 individual case studies. This shows the need to strategically focus on areas where interests are most at stake by paying special attention to those states whose precariousness could destabilize the region (Burns et al. 2016). Additionally, Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021) identified that people whose living conditions are negatively affected by environmental change are more likely to move to another state in quest of more favorable living conditions.

In contrast, Kupiszewski (2002) contended that current migration theories are not well suited for direct application to the prediction of international population flows. Nevertheless, Schurmann et al. (2019) pointed out that Sankey diagrams is a good way to highlight the results of the overview maps, especially when it came to debunking the idea that a destination area would be defined by elements that were not present in the origin region. In addition, Darkwah et al. (2014) confirmed that the argument that the overall rate of population growth are all significant predictors of Nigerians leaving the country. Thus, demonstrating how overpopulation increases competition for jobs, economic and social resources, and social vices (Oreofe and Eyitayo, 2022). It also highlights pull factors which attract people to specific locations, and push factors which make people take decisions to leave their home countries (Krishnakumar and Indumathi, 2014).

5.4 Unifying Factors

Previous studies have explored the relationships between unifying factors and international migration among Nigerians (Adhikari et al., 2021); (Attoh, 2019). Unifying elements show that migration is always interacting with the historical, economic, cultural, and political relationships between countries, on both the micro and macro levels (Bijak, 2006).

These are explained in the following subsections:

5.4.1 Historical Ties

Under historical ties perspectives, Adepoju and van der Wiel (2010) noted that Nigeria and most African nations have a long history of migration. In this regard, Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2012) highlighted that Nigeria's postcolonial history is characterized by squandered potential, stalled development, and dashed dreams. This is defined by low socioeconomic performance, which is a symptom of poor governance, which can lead to unhappiness and disappointed expectations and even facilitate insurrection, wars, and political instability (Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba, 2012). For Collier (2020) it is the history of weak governance and violence which has caused fragile and conflict-affected states to become trapped in a dysfunctional but stable equilibrium, commonly referred to as a "fragility trap". However, Carment et al. (2011) revealed the use of different strategies of intervention, prioritization, and sequencing for countries with different durations and histories of fragility. Meanwhile, Baggio (2014) pointed out that Nigeria is shaped by historical, cultural, and political developments which have molded the mobility patterns and made it an important destination for immigrants in and out of the West African region. This indicates how historical ties fuel international migration among Nigerians.

5.4.2 Economic Ties

Adhikari et al. (2021) applied the Global Skill Partnership model created by the Center for Global Development (CGD) to the healthcare, construction, and information and communication technology (ICT) industries in Nigeria, with the aim of forming partnerships between Nigeria and a few specific European nations. Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2012) on the other hand pointed out that the involvement of Multilateral Development Institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the administration of the country's

economy has only exacerbated development issues. This phenomenon is described as "forced economic migration" in this study because it involves huge numbers of highly educated people migrating from underdeveloped countries to industrialized countries in Europe and North America. Nonetheless, Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021) found that people are more inclined to migrate to a nation with a better economy when economic conditions become particularly unfavorable and there are no indicators of any change for the better. Thus, revealing that economic ties is one of the reasons Nigerians migrate out of the country based on economic problems in Nigeria versus the idea of the European illusions as asserted by Besenyo and Karman (2022).

5.4.3 Cultural Ties

Attoh (2019) demonstrated that countries such as Nigeria have cultivated significant family networks throughout Europe and the Americas. He stated that the desire to obtain employment and enhance one's level of living are two of the most important motivations for migration. On the contrary, Baggio (2014) pointed out that Nigerian migration is fraught with ethical and humanitarian issues, forced displacement and international mobility, and embedded religio-cultural elements. Additionally, Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021) observed that persecution based on ethnicity, religion, or culture, as well as military conflict, are examples of sociocultural forces that push individuals to migrate. Notwithstanding, Kedir (2011) emphasized that in order to effectively build capacity in fragile nations, donors and receivers must address technical, cultural, and financial disparities, thus demonstrating the influence of cultural ties on international migration among Nigerians.

5.4.4 Political Ties

Kodila-Tedika and Simplice (2016) discovered that the link between political interference and revolutions makes state fragility less likely, while the link between natural resources and political interference makes state instability much more likely. Ezemenaka (2019) argues that the political situation in Nigeria is the primary obstacle standing in the way of the EU's efforts to intervene on migration. This reveals the uneven international political system between developed and less developed countries (Attoh, 2019). Conversely, Vallings and Moreno-Torres (2005) identified that these three elements can balance the political regimes of state institutions: selection to select and replace government leaders, control to limit the executive's power by making it accountable, and participation to increase the degree of involvement of the public in the political process.

Nevertheless, Imhonopi et al. (2017) identified the following political economy contradictions in Nigeria as first, elites and their offspring are the only ones who can recruit and hire for respectable and important positions. Second, Nigeria's democratic process is one of the most expensive. Third, the Nigerian political party system does not support excellence, brilliant ideas, nationalist or patriotic fervor, but rather subterranean interests in the form of God-fatherism or political demagogues who are the gatekeepers, regulators, arbiters, and determiners of candidates, parties, manifestos, and party politics. Fourth, the political process is full of shadiness and malfeasance. Fifth, the elite control the banking system, which launders stolen public funds, permits massive loan requests to fund fake, nonexistent, and noncommercial companies owned by the elite, and provides a safe refuge for stolen public funds. Sixth, meritocracy has not been used to pick public leaders, resulting in bad leadership without ideas. Seventh, public officials are corrupt and have been legitimized. Finally, the government seems to

favor their personal networks. This points out political ties as reasons why Nigerians are influenced to migrate internationally.

Chapter Six

6.0 Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

The purpose of this chapter is to draw a broad conclusion from this thesis' findings, give some suggestions for future study, and offer some recommendations for policy and practice.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians. I adopted the qualitative research method to critically review 15 articles that I identified using the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA). I employed thematic analysis to demonstrate how the following significant state fragility factors fueled international migration amongst Nigerians: economic factors, sociological factors, geographical factors, and unifying factors (historical, economic, cultural, and political ties).

Based on the objective the following findings were discovered:

The findings of this thesis reveal that Nigeria ranks 14th among 48 countries in the state fragility index when human rights, public services, demographic pressures, refugees and internally displaced persons, and security were used as indicators (Fragile States Index, 2022). Thus, revealing that Nigeria has a high fragility index and that fragility factors are some of the factors that make Nigerians migrative. However, because of the limiting factors of state fragility factors which excessively focused on social factors to the detriment of economic factors, Baggio's (2016) migration theory was also adopted as a framework which provides a much broader outlook on factors that drive migration.

This thesis explores the nature of migration and discovered that the post-independence period in Nigeria was mostly characterized by internal migration of workers within Nigeria to administrative and economic centers; but, as unemployment worsened in the 2000s, international migration of Nigerians increased. By the year 2020 the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2022) reported that the number of emigrants from Nigeria increased from 446,753 in 1990 to 1,670,455 in 2020. Which is thrice the 1990 rate. (Besenyo and Karman, 2022).

Economic Factors: The conclusion from this thesis reveals that there are several factors responsible for immigration amongst Nigerians, but the main driver are the economic factors. Thus, economic factors and search for economic responsibilities are significantly responsible for international migration among Nigerians as articulated by (Darkwah et al. 2014), (Adhikari et al. 2021), (Duru, 2021), (Schurmann et al. 2019), and (Oreofe and Eyitayo, 2022). For Schurmann et al. (2019), the fact that most international migration are to developed countries reveal that Nigerians are in search of better living standards and economic opportunities (Oreofe and Eyitayo, 2022).

Sociological Factors: This thesis highlights that sociological factor are one of the key influences of international migration among Nigerians and this resonate with the findings of (Osasumwen, 2022), (Oreofe and Eyitayo, 2022); (Ezemenaka, 2019), and (Tsuwa and Adzaigba, 2021).

Therefore, poverty-induced migration through regular and irregular routes outside Nigeria are the most prevalent and most visible type of migration (Anene et al. 2019). For Manyena and Gordon (2015), this shows a clear breach of the social contract between the Nigerian state and its citizens is directly responsible for fragility.

Geographical Factors: Findings from this thesis reveal that geographical factors play important roles in international migration amongst Nigerians to corroborate the ideas of Schurmann et al.

(2019), Darkwah et al. (2014), and Oreofe and Eytayo (2022) who highlights the pull factors that attract people to specific locations, and push factors that make people take decisions to leave their home countries. Krishnakumar and Indumathi (2014) Tsuwa and Adzaigba (2021) identified people whose living conditions are negatively affected that are more likely to move to another country in quest of more favorable living conditions. Thus, foregrounding the argument that state fragility factors and its impact push people to migrate.

Historical Ties: The findings of this thesis reveal that historical ties are significant in influencing international immigration trends among Nigerians to strengthen the findings of Adepoju and van der Wiel (2010), Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2012), and Baggio (2014). This reveals that Nigerians have a long history of migration and migrating is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria and this depicts a history of poor governance and violence, fragile and conflict-affected states have become locked in a dysfunctional but stable equilibrium, which is widely known as a "fragility trap" (Collier, 2020) (Adepoju and van der Wiel, 2010).

Economic Ties: It is discovered from the findings of this thesis that economic ties play a key role in influencing international migration among Nigerians to support the ideas of (Adhikari et al. 2021), (Tsuwa and Adzaigba, 2021), and (Besenyo and Karman, 2022). This demonstrates economic linkages as one of the reasons Nigerians migrate out of the country based on Nigerian economic challenges and European delusions (Besenyo and Karman, 2022). Thus, restating the fact that when economic conditions become exceptionally unfavorable and there are no signs of any change for the better, people are more likely to migrate to a country with a better economy (Tsuwa and Adzaigba, 2021).

Cultural Ties: This thesis concludes that cultural ties are also significantly responsible for international migration among Nigerians to echo the findings of (Attoh, 2019) and (Kedir, 2011).

This is because Nigeria have developed substantial family networks across Europe and the Americas which makes it easier for them to want to migrate.

Political Ties: This research work points out that political ties are key influences of international migration among Nigerians in consistency with the findings of Kodila-Tedika and Simplice, (2016); Imhonopi et al. (2017) who demonstrates that disparate international political structure between developed, and less developed nations makes the link between political interference and revolutions in state fragility less likely (Kodila-Tedika and Simplice, 2016) (Attoh, 2019).

6.2 Recommendations

This thesis recommends that continued efforts are required by the Nigerian government to ensure that the number of international migrants relocating from Nigeria are reduced.

In this regard, Duru (2021) suggested that the Nigerian government should adopt strategies aimed at reducing international migration to tackle push factors in form of unemployment, safety, security, and low salaries; and pull factors in form of job opportunities, wealth prospects, better conditions of service, and higher standards of living. He highlighted that these strategies should be combined with poverty reduction and human development and introduced as policies of development in Nigeria at the federal, state, and local government levels. This will to an extent reduce the number Nigerians relocating out of Nigeria as international migrants.

Ensuring appropriate systems, services, and support are put in place by the Nigerian government to reduce international migration outflow among Nigerians. Darkwah et al. (2014) proposed that the Nigerian government should urgently provide better opportunities and a suitable climate to discourage migration and attract qualified workers from overseas to aid in

national growth. In addition, Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2012) advocated that Nigeria emphasis her development efforts on eliminating the reasons that have traditionally necessitated the forced economic relocation of professionals. Furthermore, Okeke-Ihejirika and Odimegwu (2022) stressed that the public policy on international migration should consider the social, political, and economic issues that force many Africans to flee the continent despite the unknown realities that await them on the voyage and in their new home. This will discourage several Nigerians from internationally migrating from their home countries. However, this thesis disapproves of any containment effort to reduce migration, rather the Nigerian government should make the nation attractive for its citizens and not formulating containment promoting policies which is against the tenet of human rights.

Another practical implication for the Nigerian government to reduce the international migration outflow of Nigerians is to adopt the following strategies suggested by Marc et al. (2015): refocus growth strategies on labor-intensive industries and foster the growth of the informal sector; increase violence prevention programs, with a particular emphasis on gender-based violence and social inclusion; improve the availability of and quality of education, particularly technical training; and enhance knowledge of the systemic factors that limit the opportunities and potential of young people over the long run. These measures will reduce the rate of migration among Nigerians migrating internationally if handled strategically.

A reasonable approach to address the issue of Nigerians migrating extensively internationally can be to tackle the state fragility concerns associated with the country using the internal and external approaches recommended by (Signe, 2019). The internal approaches include: decentralization of decision making, implementation, and mobilization of resources; inclusive resource mobilization in rural and urban areas; economic diversification of exports and

domestic production; institutional reform and strengthening at the national and local levels, and provision of inclusive institutions; political settlement that expand institutional representation; formal social recognition of group identities and creation of shared national identity; and power-sharing and political settlement particularly for the resolution of conflicts. The external approaches comprise of private investment focused on job creation and decreasing infrastructure gaps; partnerships with civil society organizations; technical assistance to improve core service delivery; peace and conflict mediation; facilitated monetary and technical aid particularly to generate turnaround in post conflict situations; regional partnerships and cooperation; debt relief; and engagement with local groups and leaders to help build coalitions for reform. This will aid the transformation of Nigeria from fragility to health as well as address the concerns associated with more Nigerians migrating out of the country internationally.

A natural progression of this thesis would be a cross-national study to compare the political economy of state fragility of Nigeria with another West African country in the state fragile index to examine the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians and those in the identified country. This will provide better understanding into the differences and similarities across both countries to validate the identified factors responsible for international migration in this thesis; and provide additional information about the causes of important context-relevant aspects that are unrelated and highlight the context-relevant key factors that are comparable. These will provide insights into their similarities and differences in order to make policy and practice recommendations to address their state fragility concerns.

6.3 Conclusion

The growing quantity of research that examines the political economy of state fragility and the extent to which it fuels international migration amongst Nigerians is expanded by this

thesis. It confirmed economic factors, sociological factors, geographical factors, and unifying factors (economic ties, historical ties, political ties, and cultural ties) as key state fragility factors responsible for international migration amongst Nigerians. This reveals that there are numerous factors that fuel international migration amongst Nigerians, and that the adverse impact must be tackled by prompt and effective interventions. It explained how the findings of this thesis can be utilized to develop targeted interventions aimed at mitigating the detrimental consequences of international migration in Nigeria.

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