



Research Article

Artificial Intelligence and the future of global Migration: The Africa perspective

Mohammed Kabeer Garba (Ph. D)

PhD Scholar, ECOWAS Parliament, Abuja, Nigeria



ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT



Keywords:

Artificial Intelligence (AI). Global Migration. Africa. Digital Borders. Algorithmic Governance. Ethical AI

Article History:

Received: 11-10-2025

Revised: 19-12-2025

Accepted: 19-02-2026

Published: 03-03-2026

This study explores the transformative impact of Artificial Intelligence (AI) on global migration governance, with specific focus on Africa. As AI-driven systems increasingly shape migration processes, ranging from border surveillance to visa risk profiling, African migrants face new layers of digital control and exclusion. The research aims to examine how AI technologies are being integrated into migration management and the implications for African mobility, sovereignty, and development. Using a qualitative methodology combining policy analysis and case studies, the study interrogates the ethical, political, and socio-economic consequences of algorithmic migration governance. It also explores the opportunities AI may offer for labor mobility, talent matching, and predictive modeling in climate-induced displacement. Expected findings suggest a dual reality: while AI may enhance migration efficiency, it risks reinforcing global inequalities and data colonialism. This research contributes to debates on ethical AI, digital sovereignty, and Africa's strategic positioning in shaping the future of global migration.

Cite this article:

Garba, M. K. (2026). Artificial Intelligence and the future of global Migration: The Africa perspective. *International Journal of Contemporary Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(1), 20-24. <https://doi.org/10.55559/ijchss.v2i1.13>

Introduction

The rapid advancement of Artificial Intelligence (AI) has begun to fundamentally reshape global governance systems, including migration management. AI technologies are now being deployed to predict migration flows, identify irregular migrants, automate border controls, and manage asylum applications, particularly in high-income countries such as those in the European Union, the United States, and Canada (Molnar, 2019; Brouillette et al., 2021). These systems rely heavily on large-scale data analytics, facial recognition, biometric surveillance, and algorithmic decision-making. While these innovations promise efficiency and enhanced border security, they also raise significant concerns about bias, transparency, and human rights.

In parallel, Africa continues to experience complex migration trends, driven by a mixture of economic, political, and environmental factors. Historically, African migration has been characterized by intra-continental movement, particularly within regional economic communities such as ECOWAS and SADC (Adepoju, 2008). In recent years, however, migration to Europe, the Middle East, and North America has intensified due to conflicts, climate change, youth unemployment, and global inequality (de Haas et al., 2020). As AI systems become central to the regulation of these migration flows, African migrants are increasingly subject to digital profiling, algorithmic risk scoring, and technologically mediated exclusion.

Problem Statement

The integration of AI into global migration governance presents new challenges and opportunities, especially for the African continent. While AI can enhance migration forecasting, streamline documentation, and match skills with labor shortages abroad, it also introduces opaque systems of control that may discriminate against migrants from low-income regions. Many African states lack the digital infrastructure, legal frameworks, and institutional capacity to respond to or shape the deployment of AI technologies that affect their citizens abroad. As such, Africa risks becoming a passive subject of algorithmic governance rather than an active participant in shaping ethical and inclusive migration futures (Latonero, 2019; Gwagwa et al., 2020).

Research Questions/Objectives

This research is guided by the following central questions:

- How is AI currently being applied in global migration systems?
- What are the implications of AI for African migrants and for national and regional migration governance?
- What opportunities and risks does AI present for the future of mobility across and beyond the African continent?

The objectives of the study are to:

- Examine the specific ways AI technologies are being integrated into migration management.

*Corresponding Author:

✉ kabirmashi@gmail.com (M. K. Garba)

© 2026 The Authors. Published by Juria Publisher, India. This is an open access article published under the CC-BY license

 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

- ii. Explore how these technologies affect African migrants and national policies.
- iii. Identify policy recommendations to ensure ethical, inclusive, and rights-respecting use of AI in migration governance from an African standpoint.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for several reasons. First, it addresses a notable gap in literature and policy that often centers Western perspectives on AI and migration while overlooking African agency, voice, and vulnerabilities (Ajana, 2021). Second, it contributes to ongoing debates about digital sovereignty, data justice, and the ethical deployment of AI in contexts of power asymmetry and postcolonial governance. Third, the study highlights the urgency of equipping African governments, civil society, and regional organizations with the knowledge and tools to engage proactively with AI governance in migration, especially as global digital infrastructure increasingly shapes the mobility of Africans (Taylor & Broeders, 2021; Kwet, 2019).

Scope and Limitations

The study focuses primarily on the intersection of AI and international migration involving African countries. It examines both emigration from Africa to global destinations (especially Europe and North America) and intra-African migration flows influenced by emerging AI applications. While the research aims to be as comprehensive as possible, it is limited by the availability of data on proprietary AI systems used by immigration agencies, as well as the emerging nature of policy frameworks across African countries. Additionally, the study does not cover internal displacement in detail, although it acknowledges the potential of AI in managing climate-induced migration within the continent.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Developed by Lee (1966), the push-pull theory explains migration as a result of factors that push individuals away from their home countries (e.g., poverty, conflict, lack of jobs) and those that pull them toward destination countries (e.g., economic opportunities, safety, better living conditions). This theory is relevant in analyzing how AI-enhanced immigration systems alter the pull factors by making entry more restrictive or selective for migrants, particularly from Africa.

World Systems Theory, associated with Wallerstein (1974), sees migration as a consequence of global economic structures that divide the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery zones. It emphasizes how capitalist expansion in the Global North leads to the disruption of traditional economies in the Global South, triggering migration. In the context of AI, World Systems Theory helps explain how digital infrastructures and AI-powered migration governance reflect and reinforce global inequalities.

Transnationalism refers to the sustained ties migrants maintain across borders, creating a social field that links together their origin and destination countries (Vertovec, 1999). AI can both facilitate and disrupt these transnational practices by enabling digital communication and remittances, while also imposing algorithmic monitoring and restrictions on mobility.

The concept of Technological determinism posits that technology is an independent force that shapes society and drives historical change (McLuhan, 1964). Applying this lens to AI suggests that technological tools deployed in migration governance (e.g., biometric identification, facial recognition, risk scoring algorithms) significantly influence migration flows, often independent of human agency or moral considerations. This framework invites caution against assuming AI neutrality, instead questioning who builds these systems, with what assumptions, and whose interests they serve.

Data colonialism refers to the extraction and control of personal and biometric data from populations, often in the Global South, by powerful state and corporate actors in the Global North

(Couldry & Mejias, 2019). In migration management, African citizens often become subjects of intensive datafication through visa applications, biometric enrolments, and surveillance at borders. Digital borders, virtual perimeters created through AI and data infrastructures, are erected long before physical movement occurs, effectively restricting migration based on predictive profiling and algorithmic assessments. This concept helps situate Africa in a digitally mediated global mobility regime marked by asymmetrical power.

Ethical AI emphasizes the importance of fairness, transparency, accountability, and human rights in the development and deployment of AI systems. Algorithmic governance refers to decision-making processes increasingly mediated by algorithms, particularly in administrative domains like immigration. In African contexts, where there is often limited oversight over the use of imported AI systems, this framework helps analyze risks such as racial bias, lack of recourse, and democratic accountability. It also underscores the urgency of embedding principles of digital justice and inclusive governance in both national and continental AI strategies.

Literature Review

Predictive Analytics, Biometric Surveillance, and Border Control

AI is increasingly central to migration governance in the Global North, where it is used to predict migration patterns, detect “high-risk” applicants, and automate visa processing (Molnar, 2019). Governments and international organizations deploy biometric systems (e.g., iris scans, facial recognition) to track migrants and refugees. These tools also inform “smart borders,” using real-time data analytics to detect anomalies and unauthorized movements (Brouillette et al., 2021). AI-based technologies are further integrated into refugee screening and risk assessment systems, raising concerns about bias, transparency, and human rights violations. While these tools promise efficiency and accuracy, scholars have warned of their discriminatory tendencies, especially against migrants from developing countries, including Africa (Ajana, 2021).

Africa and Global Migration Trends

African migration is shaped by diverse push factors including unemployment, political instability, and environmental change. The continent experiences both internal (intra-African) and external migration, often characterized by skilled labor emigration—commonly referred to as brain drain (Adepoju, 2008). Economic migrants seek opportunities in Europe, North America, and the Middle East, while climate change has increasingly triggered displacement in vulnerable regions like the Sahel and the Horn of Africa (IOM, 2021). These trends intersect with AI as destination countries increasingly use algorithmic filters to control who gets in, prioritizing skilled workers and excluding those deemed “risky.” Consequently, African migrants encounter structural and technological barriers to mobility.

Africa’s limited digital infrastructure and unequal access to technology complicate its engagement with global AI systems. Many countries lack robust data protection laws, institutional oversight, and local AI capacity (Gwagwa et al., 2020). As AI becomes embedded in visa applications, employment screening, and refugee management, African populations are disproportionately excluded or misrepresented due to algorithmic design biases and incomplete data. Scholars emphasize that digital inequality not only reflects disparities in access to tools but also in the power to influence how those tools are built and deployed. This raises concerns about “digital dependency” and “AI imperialism” in African migration policy contexts (Kwet, 2019).

Case Studies from Europe, North America, and the Global South

Several studies have documented how AI systems operate in Western migration regimes. In Canada, automated systems like “Chinook” assist in processing visa applications, often without human oversight (Molnar, 2021). In the EU, projects such as iBorderCtrl use emotion detection and risk profiling, disproportionately flagging applicants from Africa and the Middle East (Bellanova, 2020). The U.S. employs machine learning in refugee resettlement decisions and deportation risk assessments. In contrast, Global South countries like India and Brazil are experimenting with digital ID systems and automated service delivery, though often lacking human rights safeguards. These examples provide critical insights into how AI’s application in migration policy reflects broader geopolitics and racial hierarchies in global mobility.

Methodology

A mixed methods research design is adopted for this study to combine the depth of qualitative inquiry with the contextual breadth of quantitative data. The qualitative component enables an in-depth exploration of how AI technologies and governance structures affect African migrants, while the quantitative aspect allows for the analysis of migration trends, AI deployment rates, and demographic data. This approach provides both empirical rigor and conceptual richness.

- Qualitative component: Interviews, policy documents, and discourse analysis of AI systems in migration.
- Quantitative component: Migration statistics and AI adoption indicators drawn from global datasets.

Data Sources

The study reviews migration-related policy documents and technical reports from national governments, regional bodies (e.g., African Union), and international organizations such as: International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), World Bank Migration and Remittances Data and African Union’s Migration Policy Framework. These sources provide insights into the institutional use of AI and the governance of cross-border movement in Africa.

Analytical Framework

Discourse analysis will be applied to policy texts, official statements, and media coverage to uncover underlying narratives, ideologies, and power dynamics in the framing of AI and migration, particularly as it concerns African mobility.

Africa, AI, and the Changing Nature of Migration

European Union (EU) migration governance increasingly relies on AI-powered surveillance and data systems that directly impact African mobility. The European Travel Information and Authorization System (ETIAS) uses automated pre-screening and risk assessment protocols to evaluate visa-free travelers, disproportionately affecting African applicants (Molnar & Gill, 2020). Similarly, Eurodac collects and compares asylum seekers’ fingerprints using algorithmic matching, while Frontex engages in joint operations with African states, extending European border surveillance technologies into West and North Africa. These practices represent the externalization of European borders through AI-driven infrastructures, creating a “digital buffer zone” in Africa.

Smart borders, incorporating facial recognition, real-time data analytics, and behavioral tracking, are being piloted and expanded across several African borders with donor and private sector involvement. In countries like Kenya, Nigeria, and Morocco, AI-driven e-passport systems and biometric identity schemes are linked to migration control. These technologies aim to reduce irregular movement but often lack transparency,

oversight, or appeal mechanisms, placing migrants at risk of arbitrary exclusion. The adoption of such systems reflects Africa’s growing entanglement in global AI migration architectures, often through dependency on external technologies and funding (Taylor & Broeders, 2021).

Future Scenarios

Migration Risk Scoring Algorithms and African Applicants

AI systems increasingly assess visa and asylum applications through algorithmic risk profiling. African applicants are often categorized as “high-risk” due to socio-political instability or economic precarity, based on data models that may encode racial and geographical biases. These algorithms can silently enforce discriminatory filters, reducing African migrants’ chances of entry before they even interact with a consulate or officer. If these systems become standardized globally, entire populations could be digitally excluded based on flawed predictive models and opaque criteria.

AI and Refugee/Migrant Prediction in Conflict-Prone African Regions

AI is also being used to predict refugee flows from regions affected by conflict, such as the Sahel, the Great Lakes, and the Horn of Africa. Satellite imagery, mobile phone metadata, and social media analytics are employed to anticipate displacement patterns. While such tools can improve humanitarian planning and early warning systems, they also risk securitizing African populations, turning humanitarian concerns into data-driven threats. Moreover, predictive models developed in foreign institutions may lack contextual understanding, leading to flawed assumptions about African mobility drivers.

African Responses and Resistance

In response to external AI interventions, African policymakers and digital rights advocates are calling for digital sovereignty, the ability to control, govern, and define the use of data and technologies within national and regional contexts. Countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa are beginning to draft national AI strategies and data protection laws to resist algorithmic dependency and colonial logic in global tech governance. These movements emphasize the need for African control over AI systems that impact mobility, particularly in terms of ethical standards, transparency, and accountability.

At the regional level, the African Union (AU) has initiated frameworks such as the Digital Transformation Strategy for Africa (2020–2030) and the Migration Policy Framework for Africa (MPFA). These efforts aim to harmonize data governance, encourage intra-African mobility, and promote inclusive digital development. The AU’s agenda stresses Pan-African collaboration on digital identity systems, ethical AI deployment, and protection of migrants’ rights. Though still at a nascent stage, these initiatives provide a platform for resisting exploitative AI practices and ensuring that Africa helps shape, rather than merely respond to, the future of global migration governance.

Bias and Discrimination in AI Migration Tools

AI-driven migration systems are often developed and trained using datasets that reflect historical patterns of inequality and discrimination. This can lead to algorithmic bias in risk assessments, visa approvals, and refugee screening processes. For example, predictive algorithms may disproportionately classify African applicants as “high-risk” based on economic or geopolitical indicators, regardless of individual circumstances (Ajana, 2021; Eubanks, 2018). These biases are compounded by the lack of transparency and accountability in many AI systems, where decisions are made by “black box” algorithms with limited avenues for appeal. As a result, African migrants may face automated exclusion from asylum or entry opportunities, reinforcing global hierarchies of mobility.

AI systems in migration governance often rely on biometric data (e.g., fingerprints, facial recognition, iris scans), which are collected and stored by governments, private contractors, and international agencies. In many African contexts, legal safeguards for data privacy are either weak or non-existent, leaving migrants vulnerable to surveillance and data misuse. Moreover, partnerships between African governments and external actors (such as the EU or multinational tech firms) may result in the transfer of sensitive personal data across borders without adequate protection. This raises serious questions about consent, ownership, and the commodification of African bodies in digital form. The deployment of AI tools without robust data governance mechanisms risks institutionalizing digital exploitation under the guise of migration management.

Global AI Governance and Africa's Position

Current global AI governance structures, whether through the OECD, EU AI Act, or UNESCO AI Ethics Recommendations, are largely shaped by powerful states and corporations in the Global North. Africa remains underrepresented in these forums, with limited influence over standard-setting processes that directly affect its citizens. This imbalance mirrors broader historical patterns of exclusion in international governance and threatens to digitally entrench global inequality. If African countries do not assert their agency in shaping ethical AI standards, they risk becoming testing grounds for unregulated technologies and surveillance experiments. Conversely, African participation in multilateral digital diplomacy can help advocate for inclusive, equitable, and rights-respecting AI governance.

Policy Gaps in African Migration Governance and Digital Rights

Despite increasing digitization, many African countries lack comprehensive migration policies that address the implications of AI, digital surveillance, and algorithmic decision-making. Similarly, national digital rights frameworks are often fragmented or under-enforced, making it difficult to hold governments or tech firms accountable. Few migration policies explicitly consider algorithmic fairness, data localization, or cross-border data flows, even as digital systems become central to mobility governance. This legal and policy vacuum enables external actors to deploy AI tools with minimal oversight. Bridging these gaps requires a concerted effort to harmonize digital rights legislation, develop AI-specific regulatory tools, and build institutional capacity to monitor AI's use in migration contexts.

Discussion of Major Findings

Artificial Intelligence is fundamentally altering how migration is regulated, predicted, and experienced worldwide. Through tools like biometric systems, automated visa screening, and predictive analytics, states and institutions are reconfiguring traditional approaches to border management into technologically mediated regimes of control. For Africa, these changes are deeply consequential. African migrants are increasingly subjected to algorithmic gatekeeping before their movement even begins, via AI risk profiling, pre-arrival screening systems, or remote surveillance partnerships.

This reshaping of global migration dynamics has created a deterritorialized border regime where African migrants are screened by European and North American technologies, policies, and decisions outside their own countries. Africa, therefore, is not only experiencing physical border restrictions but also becoming enmeshed in virtual migration infrastructures designed by external powers. The implication is a more exclusionary, data-driven migration regime that often operates without adequate oversight or accountability from African governments or institutions.

AI offers opportunities like such as talent matching and labor mobility. AI-driven platforms can match African workers with

labor shortages in other regions, helping to optimize skilled migration and reduce brain waste. Secondly, it also provides digital inclusion. AI can streamline documentation, provide digital IDs, and enhance access to information about safe migration routes or legal rights. However, some inherent threats include border securitization. Predictive algorithms and biometric screening tools increasingly militarize migration management, treating mobility as a threat rather than a right. Another major threat is algorithmic exclusion. Opaque AI systems can exclude African applicants based on biased data or flawed assumptions, denying visas, refugee status, or family reunification without due process. This tension illustrates how AI can either amplify justice or entrench inequality depending on how it is designed, governed, and deployed. For African nations, harnessing the opportunities requires investment in local AI capacities, ethical oversight, and equitable partnerships.

The deployment of AI in migration governance is not just a technological shift, it is a reflection of geopolitical power asymmetries. AI systems are primarily developed, owned, and controlled by entities in the Global North. Through mechanisms such as EU external migration funding, U.S. security partnerships, and multilateral data-sharing agreements, global powers increasingly shape who moves from Africa, when, and under what conditions.

These dynamics reinforce digital neocolonialism, whereby African bodies and movement patterns are surveilled and controlled using technologies imported without reciprocal influence. Africa becomes both a source of data and a target of regulation, with limited say in the values or rules underpinning such systems.

Moreover, AI-based governance tends to obscure power by framing migration decisions as "scientific" or "objective," even when they reflect deeply political judgments about race, risk, and desirability. African migrants are disproportionately caught in this matrix of automation and asymmetry, rendered more visible through surveillance, but less empowered in decision-making processes.

To challenge this imbalance, African states and institutions must assert agency in global AI debates, insist on algorithmic transparency and accountability, and develop continent-wide digital justice frameworks that prioritize rights, dignity, and autonomy.

Conclusion, Summary and Recommendation

Conclusion

The integration of Artificial Intelligence (AI) into global migration governance represents a profound shift in how human mobility is managed, predicted, and controlled. This study has examined this transformation through an African lens, highlighting the complex interplay between technology, migration, and geopolitical power.

Key findings reveal that while AI offers opportunities, such as improved talent matching, early warning systems for displacement, and digital documentation, it also introduces new forms of exclusion, surveillance, and algorithmic discrimination, particularly for African migrants. AI tools, often developed and governed by actors in the Global North, increasingly shape the fates of African populations with little transparency or African input.

The research contributes to migration and AI scholarship by foregrounding Africa's position not only as a subject of global algorithmic control but also as a site of potential agency and resistance. Through emerging digital strategies, continental policy frameworks, and growing awareness of data sovereignty, African governments and institutions are beginning to assert their role in shaping ethical and inclusive AI governance.

In light of accelerating global migration crises and technological change, Africa's engagement with AI will be crucial,

not only to safeguard the rights of its migrants but to help build a more just and equitable global migration regime. Bridging the current power asymmetries requires collective efforts, from African states, regional bodies, global actors, and researchers, to ensure that technology serves people, not power.

Summary of Key Findings

This study has explored how Artificial Intelligence (AI) is reshaping the governance, control, and experience of global migration, with a particular emphasis on Africa. It finds that:

- AI technologies, such as predictive analytics, biometric identification, and algorithmic decision-making, are increasingly central to global migration management, particularly in the Global North.
- African migrants face growing exclusion risks due to biased algorithms, opaque risk scoring systems, and digital surveillance mechanisms that often operate beyond the continent's jurisdiction.
- African governments and institutions are largely excluded from the design, deployment, and governance of AI tools that profoundly affect their populations.
- Despite these challenges, AI presents opportunities for talent matching, migration forecasting, and enhancing intra-African mobility, if governed equitably and ethically.

Recommendations

- I. African Governments should strengthen AI Governance and Data Protection Laws by developing national AI strategies that include migration implications.
- II. Build institutional capacity for algorithmic auditing and ethical tech oversight.
- III. Regional bodies like AU frameworks on ethical AI and migration should expand the AU digital transformation strategy to include AI in migration governance.
- IV. Create regionally harmonized ethical standards for AI deployment in cross-border contexts.
- V. Global actors should promote inclusive, transparent AI systems by ensuring that international AI and migration initiatives meaningfully involve African stakeholders in design and governance processes.
- VI. Promote algorithmic transparency, accountability, and impact assessments for any tools affecting African mobility.
- VII. Respect data sovereignty and avoid exploitative surveillance practices in the name of border security.
- VIII. Expanding Interdisciplinary Work at the Intersection of AI and African mobility by conducting empirical studies on how African migrants interact with AI systems.

Reference

- Adepoju, A. (2008). Migration in sub-Saharan Africa. Nordic Africa Institute.
- Ajana, B. (2021). Digital borders and algorithmic profiling: Migration, surveillance and the politics of data. Polity Press.
- Bellanova, R. (2020). Digital surveillance at the EU borders: The iBorderCtrl project. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 22(2), 205–228.
- Brouillette, A., Molnar, P., & MacDonald, K. (2021). Bots at the gate: A human rights analysis of automated decision-making in Canada's immigration system. International Human Rights Program, University of Toronto.
- Couldry, N., & Mejiias, U. A. (2019). The costs of connection: How data is colonizing human life and appropriating it for capitalism. Stanford University Press.
- de Haas, H., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020). The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world (6th ed.). Red Globe Press.
- Eubanks, V. (2018). Automating inequality: How high-tech tools profile, police, and punish the poor. St. Martin's Press.
- Gwagwa, A., Kazim, H., Van Brakel, R., & Radu, R. (2020). Artificial intelligence (AI) deployment in Africa: Challenges and opportunities. *European Journal of Futures Research*, 8(1), 1–15.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2021). World migration report 2022. <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int>
- Kwet, M. (2019). Digital colonialism: US empire and the new imperialism in the Global South. *Race & Class*, 60(4), 3–26.
- Latonerio, M. (2019). Governing artificial intelligence: Upholding human rights & dignity. Data & Society Research Institute. <https://datasociety.net/library/governing-artificial-intelligence/>
- McLuhan, M. (1964). Understanding media: The extensions of man. McGraw-Hill.
- Molnar, P. (2019). Technology on the margins: AI and global migration management. *Cambridge Journal of International Affairs*, 32(4), 441–459.
- Molnar, P., & Gill, L. (2020). Bots at the gate: A human rights-based analysis of automated decision-making in Canada's immigration and refugee system. International Human Rights Program. <https://ihrp.law.utoronto.ca>
- Taylor, L., & Broeders, D. (2021). Infrastructural inversion as a methodology for public interest research. *Big Data & Society*, 8(1), 1–14.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2021). Global trends: Forced displacement in 2021. <https://www.unhcr.org/statistics>
- World Bank. (2022). Migration and remittances data. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittance/sdiasporaissues>
- African Union Commission. (2020). Digital transformation strategy for Africa (2020–2030). <https://au.int/en/documents/20200518/digital-transformation-strategy-africa-2020-2030>
- African Union Commission. (2018). Migration policy framework for Africa and plan of action (2018–2030). <https://au.int/en/documents/20181206/migration-policy-framework-africa>
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 447–462
- Wallerstein, I. (1974). The modern world-system I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century. Academic Press.