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Navigating Crisis: Understanding Patterns and Scale of Forced Migration in Greater Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria (2014-2019)

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Forced Migration,
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Greater Yola,
Displacement Tracking
Matrix (DTM),
Migration Patterns.

This study investigates the dynamics of forced migration driven by the Boko Haram insurgency into greater Yola from 2014 to 2019. Combining primary data from questionnaires and interviews with secondary records from the International Organization for Migration, the research unveils that over 70% of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Greater Yola were propelled by the Boko Haram conflict. Notably, a peak in IDP influx occurred in July/August 2016, exceeding 140,000 individuals. The predominant trend observed is direct migration to Greater Yola, underlining the urgency and severity of security concerns linked to the insurgency. The study also highlights strategic step-wise migration among certain local government areas, emphasizing the adaptive nature of displacement patterns. These findings contribute vital insights for policymakers and humanitarian efforts grappling with the intricate challenges of forced migration. The study recommends bolstered security measures to facilitate the return of IDPs to their native regions, addressing the root cause of displacement.

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INTRODUCTION

Migration and mobility continue to attract much interest and growing concern. The 2013 United Nations (UN) World Population Policies Report states that among the 185 countries with available data in 2013, 80% of governments had policies to lower rural-to-urban migration, marking an increase from 38% in 1996 (UN DESA, 2013). This proportion is highest in low- and middle-income nations in Africa and Asia, regions currently undergoing urban transition.

Migration encompasses all kinds of movement of people from one place to another, within a particular geographical boundary of a country and beyond its boundaries. The rapid growth of rural-urban migration has been a common feature of developing countries. Various reasons for migration and types of migration may vary from country to country. Over many years, experience has shown that conflict and disasters often drive large-scale, sudden displacements of rural populations to cities and towns. This trend has increased considerably in recent years as more refugees and internally displaced people migrate to cities and towns during and after conflict, seeking protection or to reduce their visibility (UNHCR, 2016).

The Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas reflects these changing trends. Displacement places extra stress on urban services and resources, with forced migrants and existing urban dwellers sharing densely populated and poorly serviced environments. Increased competition and conflict between communities over limited urban resources such as land and water may further exacerbate the potential for urban crises (Tibaijuka, 2010). In Nigeria, especially in the North East, the Boko Haram insurgency has been the reason for forced migration. The genesis of

Boko Haram has been traced in large part to the frustration of disenfranchised Northeastern youths denied livelihood opportunities and education (Ayo, 2015). The trigger, Boko Haram's physical attack, has ravaged the Northeastern part of Nigeria, especially the local government areas, thereby forcing the inhabitants to flee to State Capitals to seek refuge.

In North-Eastern Nigeria, the driver of displacement in recent years has been the Boko Haram insurgency. This group has been attacking the inhabitants of Borno, Adamawa, Yobe, Bauchi, Gombe, and Taraba States. These attacks have led to mass displacement of people to the various State Capitals in the North East and across the country, increasing the urban population size and living conditions. Adamawa State, being one of the States in the North East, has experienced forced migration in recent years, with the entire northern parts and some parts of the central senatorial areas of the State being displaced by Boko Haram in 2014. However, little is known about the magnitude or even the direction of these movements. The affected Local Governments include Madagali, Michika, Mubi North, Mubi South, Maiha, Hong, Gombi, and Song Local Government Areas. The displaced persons from these Local Governments mostly fled to Yola for safety. People from other neighbouring Local Governments of Borno State also fled to Yola as their nearest place of refuge. Several studies, both local and international, have been carried out on forced migration, for example, the World Commission on Dams (2000) and UNHCR (2008).

Since the beginning of this displacement in Adamawa State in 2014, there has been little or no known research conducted on this subject matter. There is no information available on the direction and step-wise movement of the forced migrants. This paper aims to examine the movement,

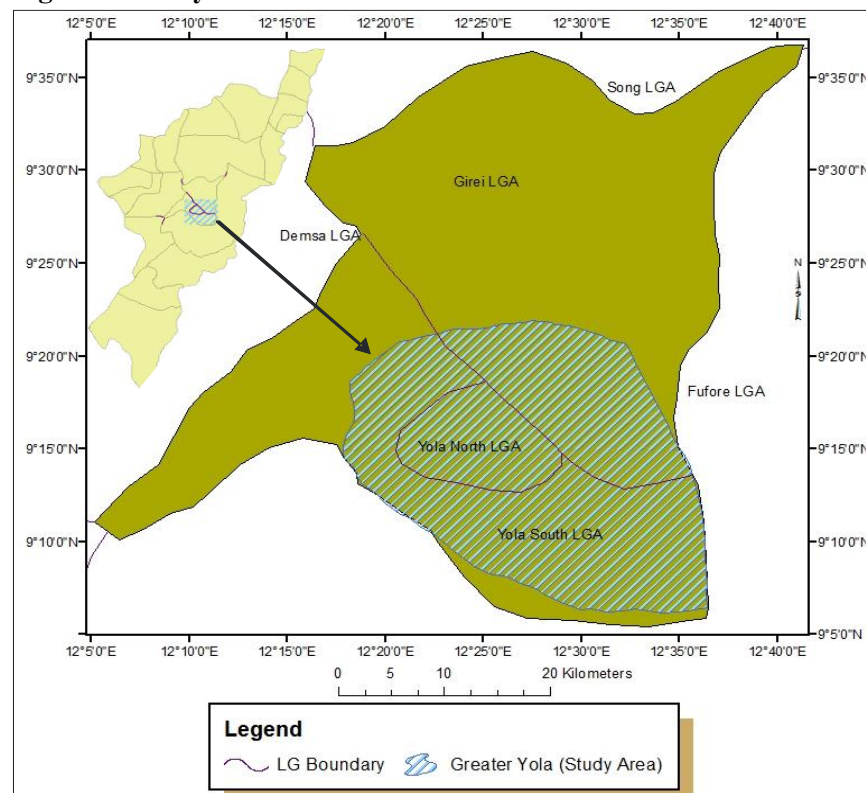
direction, and magnitude of forced migration into Greater Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria.

Location and Extent of the Study Area:

The study area lies between latitudes $9^{\circ} 7''$ to $9^{\circ} 19''$ N and longitudes $12^{\circ} 17''$ to $12^{\circ} 22''$ E. It comprises the twin towns of Yola, the traditional seat of the

paramount ruler (Lamido Adamawa), known as Yola South Local Government Area, and Jimeta, the administrative and commercial nerve of the State, known as Yola North Local Government Area. The study area also extends to some parts of the Girei Local Government Area, about “15 kilometres away from the State capital” (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Study Area



Source: *The Authors*

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Data Collection Sources and Sampling Procedure

Data for this study were obtained from primary and secondary sources. A preliminary survey familiarised the researcher with the study area, involving a questionnaire pre-test and understanding ward boundaries. Primary data was

acquired through observations and interview schedules, focusing on pre-arrival movements of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Greater Yola. Secondary data was sourced from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) documents, providing insights into IDP numbers (Tables 1 & 2). Table 1: Shows the number of wards and IDP households in each Ward in Greater Yola.

Table 1: Number of Wards and IDP Households in Each Ward in Greater Yola

L.G. A	Ward	Number of households	Sample Size
Yola North	Ajiya	194	8
	Alkalawa	10	1
	Dobeli	207	8
	Gwadabawa	60	2
	Jambutu	1009	41
	Karewa	589	21
	Limawa	86	3
	Luggere	194	7
	Nassarawo	64	2
	Rumde	0	0
	Yelwa	91	7
Girei	Modire	664	27
	Damare	748	30
	Dakri	299	11
	Girei 1	1474	59
Yola South	Bako	54	2
	Bole Yolde Pate	949	38
	Makama A	168	7
	Makama B	142	6
	Mbamba	155	6
	Namtari	1461	58
	Adarawo	178	7
	Mbamoi	80	3
	Tongo	0	0
Total	24	8876	354

Source: IOM, 2017

Sampling Strategy

Saunders et al.'s (1997) approach guided sample size determination, resulting in 10,175 heads of households as the study population. A proportionate allocation led to 354 IDP respondents across three Local Government Areas. The host community and

camp IDPs were surveyed using questionnaires. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed for host community IDPs, ensuring representation in each ward. For camp IDPs, simple random sampling through the balloting method was used, minimising bias (Tables 1 & 2).

Table 2: Shows the Names of Camps, the Number of Heads of Households and the Sample Size in Each Camp.

Site name	L.G. As	Ward	Number of Households	Sample Size
EYN Church Vunoclang	Gerei 1	Modire	24	5
Saint Theresa Cathedral	Yola North	Luggere	139	28
Dokkitilla Wurocheke	Yola South	Adarawo	79	16
Hulere	Yola North	Jambutu	0	0
Kilbaje Extension	Yola South	Namtari	57	12
Sangere Dutse	Girei	Gerei 1	21	4
Nana Villa	Girei	Gerei 1	60	12
Wadai	Girei	Damare	12	2

Site name	L.G. As	Ward	Number of Households	Sample Size
Unguan Abuja	Girei	Gerei 1	50	10
Chekamederi	Girei	Gerei 1	99	20
Lowcost Quarters	Girei	Gerei 1	44	9
Unguan Kara	Girei	Damare1	138	29
Rumde Alkali Gujibabu	Yola South	Bole Yolde Pate	26	5
Malkohi Camp	Yola South	Namtari	24	5
Malkohi Village	Yola South	Namtari	526	109
Total			1299	269

Source: IOM, 2017

Data Collection Methods

Questionnaires and interviews probed the frequencies and directions of IDP movements before reaching Greater Yola. Additionally, the study utilised IOM records to depict the flows of IDPs from January 2015, to December 2019 through the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM). In essence, the study's robust methodological framework involved a balanced combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, ensuring comprehensive insights into the patterns and scale of forced migration in Greater Yola.

Method of Data Analysis

The study employed descriptive statistical tools, including tables and percentages. A trend line was

used to illustrate the flow of IDPs entering Greater Yola, recorded in the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) from January 2015 to December 2019.

RESULTS OF THE FINDINGS

Places of Origin of the IDPs in the Host Community:

The IDPs residing within the host communities were not originally indigenes of the study area but came from different Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state, neighbouring states in the northeast, or from other parts of the country. Table 3 shows the places of origin of IDPs in the host community (Greater Yola).

Table 3: Places of Origin of IDPs in Host Community (Greater Yola)

Place of Origin	State of Origin	Frequency	Percent (%)
Bama	Borno	1	0.3
Biu	Borno	2	0.6
Askira-Uba	Borno	10	2.8
Chibok	Borno	13	3.7
Damboa	Borno	11	3
Gamboru-Ngala	Borno	1	0.3
Konduga	Borno	1	0.3
Numan	Adamawa	19	5.4
Demsa	Adamawa	4	1.8
Song	Adamawa	6	1.7
Hong	Adamawa	24	6.9
Gombi	Adamawa	9	2.5
Madagali	Adamawa	101	28.5
Maiha	Adamawa	13	3.8
Michika	Adamawa	61	17

Place of Origin	State of Origin	Frequency	Percent (%)
Mubi	Adamawa	27	7.6
Wukari	Taraba	2	0.6
Gboko	Benue	1	0.3
Total		354	100

Source: *Field Work 2019*

Table 3 shows the Local Government and State of Origin of the IDPs. The table shows that over 60% of the IDPs that were residing within the host communities as of the time of this research were from Madagali, Michika and Gwoza Local Government Area. The remaining (less than 40%) of the IDPs were either from Mubi North/South,

Maiha, Hong, Gombi or Numan. The reason why Madagali, Michika and Gwoza Local Government Areas accounted for higher numbers of the displaced population may be due to the fact that these three Local Government Areas were the worst hit in the State by the Insurgency.

Tale 4: Place of Origin of IDPs in Camp in Greater Yola

Places of Origin	State of Origin	Frequency	Percent (%)
Bama	Borno	3	1.1%
Biu	Borno	2	1%
Askira-Uba	Borno	3	1.1%
Chibok	Borno	3	1.1%
Dambo	Borno	5	1.9%
Gamboru-Ngala	Borno	2	1%
Gwoza	Borno	151	56.1%
Konduga	Borno	4	1.4%
Numan	Adamawa	4	1.4%
Demsa	Adamawa	5	1.4%
Song	Adamawa	5	1.9%
Madagali	Adamawa	42	15.6%
Maiha	Adamawa	1	0.4
Michika	Adamawa	16	6%
Mubi	Adamawa	11	4
Sardauna	Taraba	2	1%
Gujiba	Yobe	6	2%
Potiskum	Yobe	4	1.4%
Total		269	100%

Source: *Field survey, 2019*

Table 4 shows the indigeneity of migrants (IDPs) in Camp settings. Over 70% of them are from Gwoza and Madagali Local Government Areas. While the remaining percentage goes for other parts of the northern parts of the state that were affected by the insurgency, parts of Borno, Taraba and Yobe States. The reason why Gwoza is one of the Local Government Areas in Borno but had the highest percentage of IDPs living within a camp setting is

that it shares a boundary with Sambisa forest, and the only route to Maiduguri being the State capital of Borno, has been captured by Boko-Haram. The only option is to flee to Yola, the State capital of Adamawa State, for refuge, the seat of power where military prowess abounds, with more job opportunities that can be exploited by the IDPs. Hence, the high number of Gwoza inhabitants in various camps in the State. During an interactive

session with the IDPs to ascertain the reason why the majority of the inhabitants of Gwoza and Madagali Local Governments IDPs were found in good numbers in Camps, the response they gave was that security challenges were still prevalent in these LGAs, hence their inability to return to their ancestral homes.

Reasons for Displaced IDPs living with Host Communities

Displacement can be the resultant effect of so many factors. These factors may include insurgency, communal clashes, farmers/herders and environmental disasters (such as floods, earthquakes, volcanoes among others). Table 5 depicts the reasons for population displacement into greater Yola.

Table 5: Reasons for Displacement IDPs Living in Host Communities

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Insurgency	257	72.6
Communal Clashes	16	4.5
Farmers/Herders Clashes	68	19.2
Environmental Disasters	2	.6
Others	3	.8
Total	346	97.7
No Response	8	2.3
Total	354	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2019

Table 5 shows the reasons for the displacement of the IDPs living in host communities. The reasons were particularly due to the Boko-Haram insurgency (over 70%). Less than 30% of the IDPs were displaced by either communal clash, Farmers/Herders clashes, environmental disasters, among others. Going by the table, it can be concluded that the major factor for the displacement in the State was Boko-Haram. Some of these displaced populations moved straight to Yola as their place of refuge, while some did not move straight to Yola, thinking that the next town may be safer with a lot of military garrisons and may not be captured by Boko-Haram and as such, some moved

for more two times before arriving at greater Yola as their places of refuge.

Reasons for Displaced IDPs living in Camps

Just like Table 5, displacements can be the resultant effect of so many factors. This factor may include insurgency, communal clashes, farmers/herders and environmental disasters (such as floods, earthquakes, volcanoes, among others). Table 6 depicts the reasons for population displacement into greater Yola for IDPs in various camps across the study area.

Table 6: Reasons for Displacement of IDPs in Camps

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Insurgence	201	74.7
Communal Clashes	19	7.0
Farmers/Herders Clashes	42	15.6
Environmental Disasters	1	0.4
Others	1	0.4
Total	264	98.1
No Response	5	1.9
Total	269	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2019

Table 6 shows the reasons for the displacement of the IDPs living in camps. The reasons were particularly due to the Boko-Haram insurgency (over 74%). Less than 30% of the IDPs were displaced by either communal clash, Farmers/Herders clashes, environmental disasters, among others. Going by the table, it can be concluded that the major factor for the displacement in the State was Boko-Haram. Some of these displaced population moved straight to Yola as their place of refuge, while some did not move straight to Yola thinking that the next town may be safer with a lot of military garrisons and may not be captured by Boko-Haram and as such some moved for more than two times before arriving at the various camps in greater Yola as their places of refuge (Table 7).

Stages/Steps of IDPs Movement Into Greater (IDPs in Host Communities)

Over 70% of the migrants moved straight from their places of origin to their various current host communities (Greater Yola), while less than 30% of the migrants moved to other places first before arriving at their current host communities. The reason for the higher percentage of those who moved straight from their various places of origin to Greater Yola was that the displacement was sudden and the insurgency had created fear in the heart of the IDPs, thereby making them not look for anywhere else, rather than Greater Yola for security. Table 9 shows the number of times the IDPs moved since displacement before finally settling down in Greater Yola.

Table 7: Direction and Stepwise Movement of IDPs into Greater Yola (IDPs in Host Communities)

Place of Origin	State of Origin	Number of IDPs and Steps of Movement					Total
		First Step	Second Steps	Third Steps	Fourth Stets	Fifth Steps	
Bama	Borno	-	1	-	-	-	1
Biu	Borno	2	-	-	-	-	2
Askira- Uba	Borno	2	6	1	1	-	10
Chibok	Borno	13	-	-	-	-	13
Damboa	Borno	8	1	1	1	-	11
Gamboru- Ngala	Borno	-	1	-	-	-	1
Gwoza	Borno	1	15	12	11	9	48
Konduga	Borno	-	-	1	-	-	1
Mubi	Adamawa	19	4	2	2	-	27
Numan	Adamawa	19	-	-	-	-	19
Madagali	Adamawa	89	6	4	1	1	101

Place of Origin	State of Origin	Number of IDPs and Steps of Movement					Total
Michika	Adamawa	47	8	2	2	-	61
Maiha	Adamawa	2	9	2	-	-	13
Gombi	Adamawa	9	-	-	-	-	9
Song	Adamawa	6	-	-	-	-	6
Hong	Adamawa	24	-	-	-	-	24
Demsa	Adamawa	4	-	-	-	-	4
Gboko	Benue	1	-	-	-	-	1
Wukari	Taraba	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total		250	51	25	18	10	354

Source: *Field survey, 2019*

Movement of IDPs in Camps since Displacement

Over 70% of the IDPs moved straight from their place of residence to Yola. While less than 30% of the IDPs moved in a step-wise migration before arriving in greater Yola. The majority of the IDPs that moved step-wise before arriving in greater Yola were mainly IDPs from Gwoza, then followed by

Madagali, Michika, and Mubi LGAs, respectively. This means that the farther the distance of an IDP from Yola, the more migration steps the IDP takes. This implies a distance decay effect in the migration process. Table 8 shows the number of times the IDPs in the various places in the study area moved before arriving at their present destinations.

Table 8: Direction and Movement of IDPs into Greater Yola (IDPs in Camps)

Places of Origin	State of Origin	Number of IDPs and steps of movement					Total
		1step	2steps	3steps	4steps	5steps	
Bama	Borno	-	1	2	-	-	3
Biu	Borno	2	-	-	-	-	2
Askira-Uba	Borno	2	1	-	-	-	3
Chibok	Borno	2	1	-	-	-	3
Damboa	Borno	3	2	-	-	-	5
Gamboru-Ngala	Borno	-	-	2	-	-	2
Gwoza	Borno	61	35	26	21	8	151
Konduga	Borno	-	4	-	-	-	4
Numan	Adamawa	4	-	-	-	-	4
Demsa	Adamawa	5	-	-	-	-	5
Song	Adamawa	5	-	-	-	-	5
Madagali	Adamawa	32	2	3	2	3	42
Maiha	Adamawa	1	-	-	-	-	1
Michika	Adamawa	11	2	2	1	-	16
Mubi	Adamawa	6	5	-	-	-	11
Sardauna	Taraba	2	-	-	-	-	2
Gujiba	Yobe	6					6
Potiskum	Yobe	4					4
Total		146	53	35	24	11	269

Source: *Field Survey, 2019*

Table 8 shows the movement of the IDPs in camps since displacement. The table shows that over 50% of the IDPs moved straight from their places of origin to their current places in Greater Yola, while less than 50% of the IDPs followed a step-wise migration before arriving in Greater Yola. Step-wise migration is the migration in which people tend to migrate multiple times before arriving at their destination (Ingelaere *et al*, 2018). The reason for this type of migration is that one of the fundamental 'laws' of migration behaviour is that the volume or intensity of migration declines as distance increases. According to (Ingelaere 2018), movements of displaced persons often take place in a stepwise manner and a recent study documented, through interviews of migrants in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan show that migration routes of migrants to Europe often involve several steps. Nearly eight in ten interviewed migrants from the Syrian Arab Republic were internally displaced inside the Syrian Arab Republic at least once, and 65 percent at least moved twice or more before crossing international borders. The reason for this is that the majority of migrants preferred to stay closer to their places of origin in culturally and socially

familiar environments and in close proximity to friends, family and not lose the benefit of community facilities.

The Magnitude of Forced Migration into Yola since 2014

In the north-eastern part of Nigeria, millions of people have been displaced by Boko-Haram insurgency, which has caused them to leave their places of origin for a place of refuge. Table 9 shows the magnitude of forced migration into Yola since the beginning of the insurgency in the State. The International Organization for Migration is the body that is responsible for keeping such records. They started taking the records using their Displacement Tracking Matrix in the State from November/December 2014, but the outcome of the November/December was not based on LGAs/wards. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the displaced population in Adamawa State during Round One of their Displacement Tracking Matrix in November/December 2014 was 142,796 IDPs for Adamawa State.

Table 9: Magnitude of Forced Migration into Yola 2015-2019

YEAR	VOLUME OF IDPs					
	Jan-Feb	Mar-Apr	May-Jun	Jul-Aug	Sep-Oct	Nov-Dec
2015	115159	93276	37357	42209	36117	34096
2016	30546	43058	59278	140394	67298	51950
2017	43490	47202	44297	47078	46150	43102
2018	48179	47779	44758	56638	46778	52038
2019	45439	45020	37353	43434	51465	45774

Source: *International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2015-2019).*

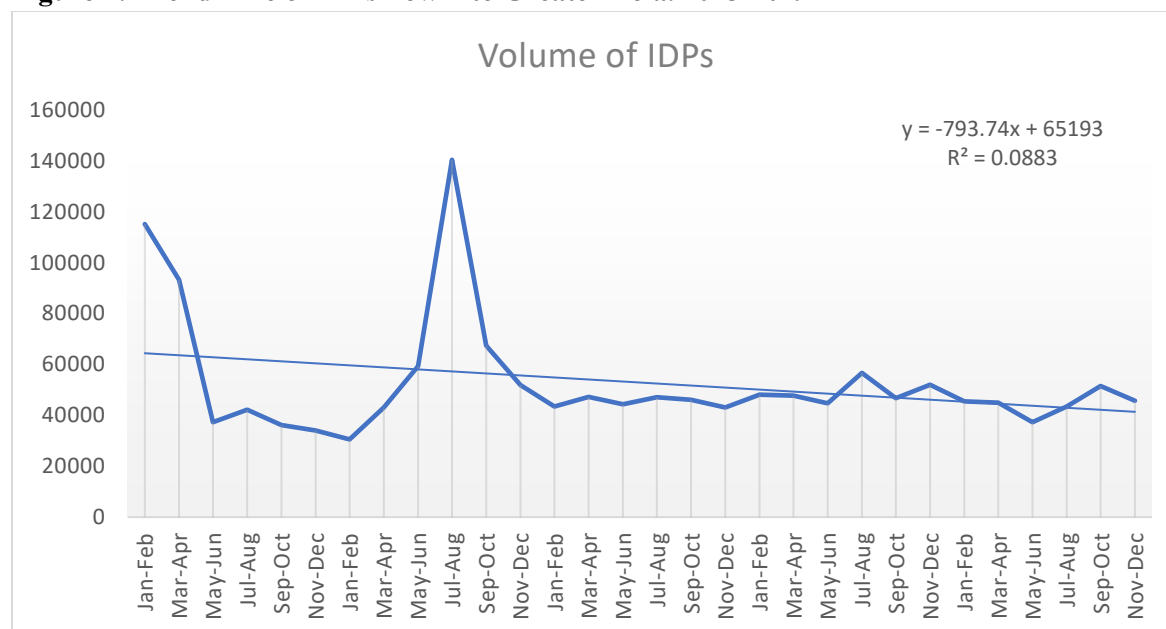
Table 9 shows the magnitude of forced migration into Greater Yola from January 2015 to April 2019. The table shows that over 115,000 internally displaced persons who were displaced from the Northern and central part of the State, Borno, Yobe and other parts of the country, settled in Greater Yola as their place of refuge. The flow of the migrants into the study area drastically fluctuated from over 115,000 IDPs in January/February 2015

to less than 35,000 in November/December 2015 up to January to February 2016. The flow of the IDPs later picked up momentum in March/April 2016 from over 40,000 and rose to over 140,000 in July/August 2016, which was slightly higher than the peak it reached in January/February 2015. The flow of the IDPs gradually reduced again from over 140,000 to as low as less than fifty thousand (50,000) IDPs in September 2018 and up to April

2019. The reason for the fluctuation, that was the rise and fall in the flow of the IDPs into the Study area was due to the fact that as security improves in the State, most especially in the Northern part of the State, the IDPs tend to go back home because there can be no place like home especially in relation to livelihood supplant and the inflow gradually declines. However, whenever there were any security challenges again in the State, most especially in the Northern part of the State, the flow

of IDPs into the study area increased, and this accounts for the fluctuation in the flow of IDPs into the Study area. Figure 1 depicts the trend/flow of IDPs into the Study area. The graph showed a slighting negative trend of -953.0, which implies that the overall population of IDPs from each round is decreasing over time. In other words, it explained that as the date (round) advances, the number of IDPs recorded decreased, which suggests that the number of IDPs recorded in the area was declining.

Figure 2: Trend Line of IDPs flow into Greater Yola. 2015-2019



Source: International Organization for Migration (IOM)

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study provides insights into the dynamics of forced migration driven by the Boko Haram insurgency in Greater Yola from 2014 to 2019. The research shows that the majority of IDPs in Greater Yola were displaced due to the Boko Haram conflict, with a peak influx in July/August 2016. Direct migration to Greater Yola is the predominant trend, highlighting the urgent security concerns associated with the insurgency. The study also emphasises the adaptive nature of displacement patterns, with strategic step-wise migration observed in certain local government areas. These

findings have significant implications for policymakers and humanitarian efforts in addressing the complex challenges of forced migration. The study recommends enhanced security measures to facilitate the safe return of IDPs to their native regions and address the underlying causes of displacement.

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