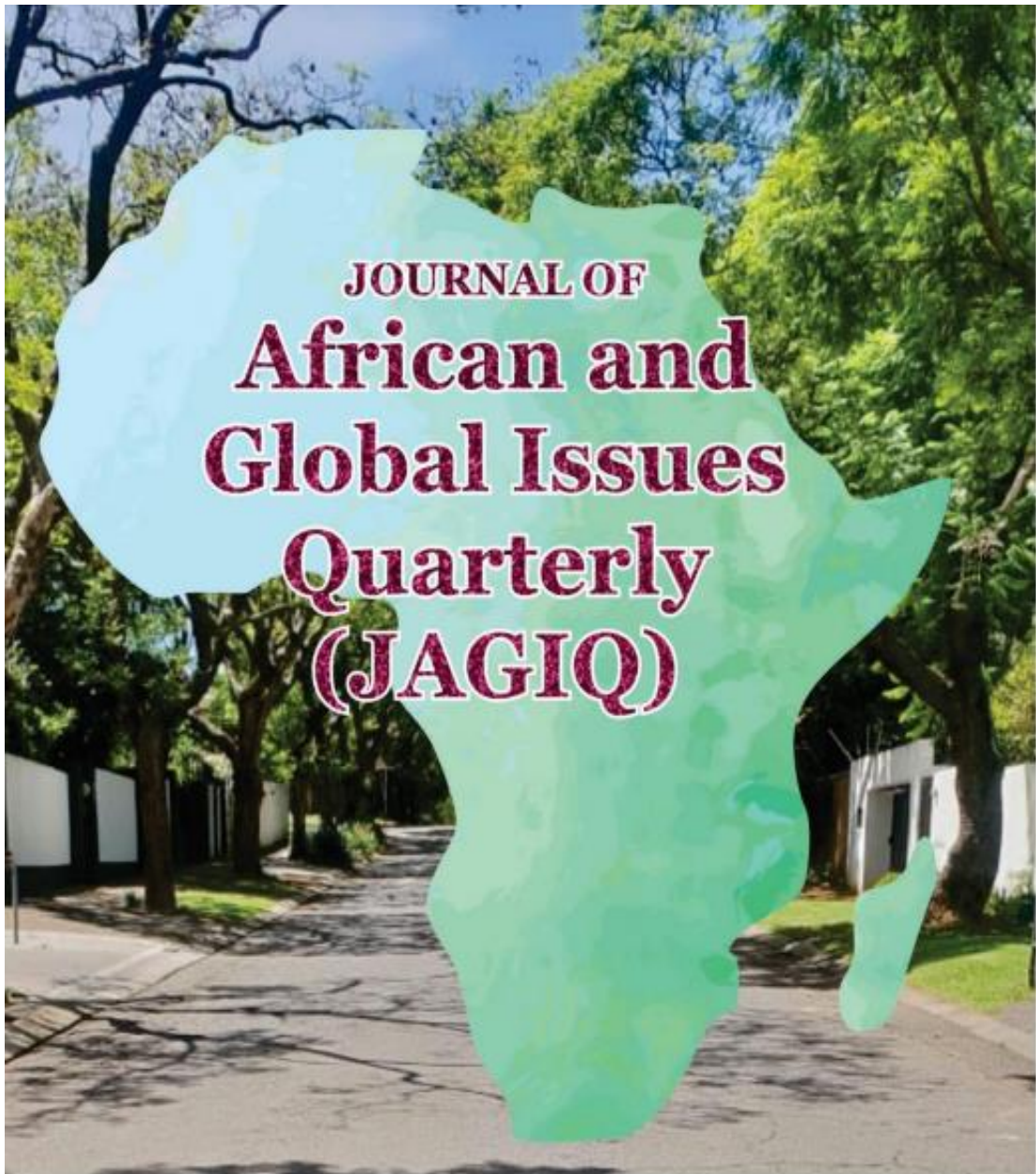




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Editorial Note:

Strengthening Accountability, Confronting Violence, and Reimagining Security in Africa

This Special Issue of African and Global Issues Quarterly arrives at a critical juncture. Across Africa, nations grapple with interconnected crises: the erosion of public trust in financial governance, the devastating rise of organised violence among youth, the persistent marginalisation of vulnerable populations, and the enduring legacy of colonial and neocolonial institutions that continue to shape contemporary realities. The thirteen papers presented here dissect these challenges with intellectual rigour and practical urgency.

We open with Nakabago and Hofisi's forensic examination of Uganda's Universal Primary Education capitation grant. For decades, UPE has been hailed as a pro-poor triumph. Yet, as the authors reveal, weak monitoring and evaluation of internal controls have turned a lifeline into a leaky vessel. Without real-time auditing and community-based oversight, financial accountability remains aspirational. This paper is a clarion call: education funding cannot be separated from forensic vigilance.

The crisis of youth violence, examined across two complementary studies by Somtochukwu, Muyideen, and colleagues, forces us to look where society often refuses to look: inside Ogun State's correctional facilities. Their first paper critically submits that socioeconomic indicators unemployment, broken kinship networks, and educational exclusion are causal pathways into cultism. The second adds a psychosocial layer, revealing how trauma, identity displacement, and the search for belonging drive young inmates deeper into violent collectives. Together, these studies argue that incarceration without therapeutic intervention is not rehabilitation but a factory for recidivism.

History matters. Daniel Oluwafemi John takes us into Igangan Town, Oyo State, between 1973 and 2021. The farmer-herder crisis is often framed as a contemporary emergency, but John demonstrates its long arc: decades of land tenure ambiguity, climate-induced migration, and state neglect. Understanding 1973 is essential for solving 2026. This is a sobering lesson in how unresolved grievances become inherited wars.

Joel Odaudu moves beyond Africa's borders with a multidimensional causal analysis of terrorism. Rejecting single-factor explanations, Odaudu insists on the confluence of political exclusion, economic inequality, and social fragmentation. His framework is a necessary tool for any government designing a counterterrorism policy that does not merely react but prevents.

The international justice system faces a necessary reckoning in Avitus A. Agbor's incisive critique of the International Criminal Court's racist image and agenda. Through comparative analysis of the situations in Ukraine and Palestine, Agbor exposes the selective application of international law a double standard that undermines the Court's legitimacy and perpetuates global hierarchies of victimhood.

Choma, Thobejane, and Ranneditsheni's revisiting of human rights for people living with albinism foregrounds a community too often marginalised in both policy and scholarship. Their work reminds us that human rights discourse must move beyond abstract universality to address specific, lived vulnerabilities rooted in superstition, stigma, and systemic neglect.

Governance and accountability receive comprehensive treatment. Mohono, Gabanakgosi, and Shopola's Public Value Theory perspective on parliamentary oversight provides a fresh framework for understanding democratic governance in Southern Africa. Zweni and Mahlala extend this conversation to grassroots public participation in municipal budget development, demonstrating that budgets are political statements about whose needs are prioritised.

The spectre of fragmentation looms large in Kelechi Johnmary Ani's unravelling of secessionist movements in Ambazonia and Biafra. By examining governance failures, identity politics, and historical grievances, Ani illuminates the root causes of separatist aspirations rather than merely managing their symptoms.

The private sector's challenges in volatile environments are explored by Parsad and Chummun, whose study of operational excellence in VUCA (Volatile, Uncertain, Complex, and Ambiguous) environments focuses on South Africa's insurance industry, offering practical insights for navigating uncertainty.

Academic rigour and methodological integrity come under the spotlight in Musaigwa, Nojiyeza, and Tabane's practical guide to writing strong conclusion chapters, addressing a perennial challenge in research dissemination and preempting reviewer criticism.

Nthambeleni Charles Netshisaulu's conceptual analysis of reversible metaphors in Tshivenda adds a rich linguistic dimension, demonstrating how language reflects and shapes cognition, culture, and social relations.

Taken together, these contributions remind us that accountability is not a bureaucratic checkbox. It is the thread linking school grants to classroom outcomes, correctional policies to safe communities, land history to peaceful coexistence, international law to genuine justice, and linguistic expression to cultural identity. The papers collectively argue that sustainable development in Africa demands simultaneous attention to financial probity, social inclusion, historical reckoning, and institutional reform.

We extend our deepest gratitude to all contributing authors for their intellectual rigour and commitment to advancing knowledge that serves African communities. In a world increasingly characterised by complexity and contestation, the role of critical scholarship has never been more vital. This Special Issue intervenes with rigour, compassion, and hope.

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A HISTORY OF FARMER-HERDER CRISIS IN IGANGAN TOWN, OYO STATE, NIGERIA, 1973-2021

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Abstract

Escalating conflicts between farmers and herders continue to threaten political stability and wellbeing in various part of Nigeria. This tension continues to spread to Southwestern Nigeria and this study examines Igangan Town in Oyo State. The community welcomed Fulani herders in the 1970s and coexistence until this deteriorated into violent clashes which resulted in significant losses of lives, livelihoods, and property. This study examines the interplay between migration, communal solidarity, and peace enforcement in the context of the Igangan farmer-herder crisis. The study integrates primary data from oral interviews (conducted with Igangan community leaders, residents, farmers, and traders) and secondary data from textbooks, journals, etc. Findings reveal that the conflict's resolution stemmed not from state government efforts, but from the radical agency of the Igangan community itself and this highlights communal solidarity as pivotal to enforcing lasting peace.

Keywords: *Farmers-herders crisis, Fulani herders, conflict, resolution, migration,*

Introduction

In earlier times, the relationship between farmers and herders in Nigeria was once symbiotic as farmers relied on livestock manure to fertilize their crops, while herders depended on farmland for grazing (Onoja & Anyawu, 2019; Nwakanma & Boroh, 2019; Osuchukwu & Enemoh, 2020; Audu & Audu, 2024). Members of the indigenous Yoruba community and immigrant Fulani herders coexisted without friction to the extent that many

Fulanis have adopted Yoruba culture in terms of food and language. Wealthy

Yoruba farmers entrusted their cattle rearing to Fulani herders (Olaniyi, 2015, Sowale, 2024). This mutual relationship fostered cooperation and peaceful coexistence. This balance was later disrupted by demographic pressures, environmental degradation, and economic shifts (Olamide, 2024; Ehiane, Zondi, Gumedede, 2024; Egbule & Okonta, 2024). Rapid population growth intensified competition for land and

water resources, while climate change exacerbated resource scarcity (Cabot, 2017).

The 1970s saw the influx of Fulani herders amidst people of the southwestern Nigeria due to the environmental disasters and Sahel drought experienced (Ajala, 2020; Jonjon, 2021). The environmental disasters drove nomads towards southwestern Nigeria in search of pasture and water for cattle herds (Fabusoro, 2009; Herbert & Husaini, 2018, Ejiofor, 2022; Timpong-Jones, *et al.*, 2023). Many herders settled permanently in Igangan, a small town in Oyo state, due to changing socio-economic conditions in northern Nigeria. Migration is a natural response to environmental challenges which often triggers tensions in host communities

The major factor for conflict between Fulani pastoralists and Igangan farmers was the incursion of cattle on farms which destroyed either planted or harvested crops (Quadri, 2023; Jimoh, *et al.*, 2023; Olaoye & Odunayo, 2023). Although Oyo State government shouldered the responsibility of restoring peace and harmony between the Fulani herders and farmers of the Igangan community, the conflict was resolved through the 'enforcement' of peace by the indigenes of Igangan who permanently forced Fulanis out of their territory. While previous studies have concentrated on hotspot zones within Nigeria with Fulani-farmers' crisis, this study

demonstrated the occurrence and impact of farmers-herders crisis in Igangan town, Oyo State (Davidheiser & Luna, 1996; Bello, 2013; Ajibefun, 2018).

This paper investigates the dynamics and underlying causes of the farmer-herder crisis in Igangan town, Oyo State, Nigeria, with particular attention to the historical evolution of relations between indigenous farmers and migrating Fulani herders. The study evaluates how communal solidarity helped resolve the conflict while state intervention failed to achieve peace. This paper examined three main areas which include the reasons behind peaceful coexistence turning into violent conflict and the environmental and economic and demographic factors which shaped the conflict and the study of how both official and unofficial methods of conflict resolution functioned. The study investigates essential research questions which include understanding what caused the crisis and how the Nigerian government handled the conflict and whether community-based solutions create effective methods for resolving conflicts in similar situations.

This paper uses qualitative research methods which combine oral interviews with historical analysis as its main research method. Primary data were obtained through oral interviews with community leaders, farmers, traders, residents, and clergy). The study used firsthand accounts together with secondary information which the

researchers obtained from textbooks and journal articles and other academic sources. The paper used qualitative data to build a historical timeline of the conflict while studying its progression and determining its root causes and evaluating how state authorities and Igangan residents reacted to the situation to create a comprehensive evaluation of the historical events which occurred during that time.

Causes and Patterns of the Farmers-Herders Conflict in Igangan

Oral histories recount Igangan's welcoming nature towards strangers offer valuable social context, scholarly research is needed to verify such claims. Igangan emerged as a focal point for Fulani settlement primarily due to a confluence of profound ecological necessity, strategic economic factors, and specific historical pressures, operating within a broader context of evolving land tenure and weak state governance (Dcn. Ajibade, Clergyman, 1st February, 2026). Hospitality of the Igangan people may have facilitated initial interactions, but it was not the primary driver; instead, structural forces shaped by the environment and political economy determined the choice. The timing of settlement around 1970, as noted in oral accounts, is highly significant. It aligns precisely with the devastating Sahelian droughts of 1968-1973, a period of intense environmental catastrophe that acted as a powerful catalyst, forcing pastoralists southward in a desperate search for survival

(Abaje & Magaji, 2022). Igangan's resources represented an ecological lifeline, not merely a hospitable convenience.

Initial interactions between the incoming Fulani and resident Igangan farmers did exhibit elements of agro-pastoral reciprocity, creating an environment where settlement could take root. Documented exchanges, such as herders offering non-edible byproducts like snakes and rabbits encountered during movement in return for farmer produce and temporary rest access (Okunola, 2016; Adebo & Olotu, 2018), represent a classic, though often fragile, pattern of mutual benefit. Igangan's position within a major agricultural zone also made it strategically valuable for accessing essential crop residues and proximity to local markets. This initial economic complementarity likely eased the process of integration once the ecological imperative had drawn the Fulani to the area. However, the settlement process itself was multifaceted, occurring through gradual transition from seasonal itinerancy to semi-permanent residence (Okunola, 2016), dispersal from older established enclaves under population pressure and resource degradation, and the southward push triggered by the Sahelian droughts.

These farmer-populated areas such as Igangan provided dry season foods and also functioned as drought reserves for Fulanis who came enmasse during dry session (Olaniyi, 2015,

Sowale, 2024). The switch in production meant major changes in the way that land in West Africa is utilised, and played a major role in the increased land and natural resource competition between the Fulani and agriculturalists of recent years (Onyima, 2021). They came through various processes and streams. In families and as itinerants, Fulanis soon populated Igangan. Soon, Fulanis started moving nearer and settled around Igangan. They invited one another from various parts of Nigeria and Niger as a result of the green pastures and arable land for their cattle which they found in Igangan.

Over the years, some of these Fulanis also became farmers like Igangan indigenes and dropped their herding business. Although this was not a general thing; we had herders who settled and those who were itinerant. Until last twenty years, the disagreements between herder and farming communities used to be solved by negotiations and usually the heads of villages and herder communities agreed on simple solutions such as a herder must compensate the damage in a farm if he could not control his animals and prevent them damaging the growing crops (Onoja & Anyawu, 2019; Nwakanma & Boroh, 2019; Osuchukwu & Enemoh, 2020; Audu & Audu, 2024).

The mutual trust between Fulani and Yoruba was systematically disappearing as Fulani often reported that the cow kept in custody by the Yoruba disappeared, was killed by

snakes or crushed by vehicles (Ibijoju Femi, Security personnel, 31th January, 2026). This type of case brought mistrust in commercial transactions and peaceful cohabitation. There was fierce competition for resources as Igangan people accused Fulani of destroying their farms and monopolising the cattle market. It can be clearly seen that there was inherent wickedness in the mind of Fulanis towards Igangan people as they chose not to value human lives (Ojedokun, *et al*, 2024). They sought to entrench themselves as authority in the land. Over time, serious conflict erupted between Fulani herdsman and farmers of Igangan leading to loss of lives, valuable properties and destruction of vast expanse of arable agricultural farmlands thereby posing serious threat to food security since farmers for fear of attack could no longer go to farm and harvest their farm produce (Adebayo Ajara, a resident of Igangan, 29th January, 2026). Fulani herders frequently pass through farmlands owned by local farmers and destroy their crops and other properties. Fulani herders claimed that they are only trying to protect their cattle from being expelled from farms. The traditional negotiation mechanisms between the groups had collapsed (Ibrahim, 2020; Oladosun, *et al*, 2025).

The state's response proved decisive in shattering any remaining social contract. Nigeria's security institutions demonstrated a fundamental failure to provide protection or justice. Communities felt

abandoned, forced to rely on vulnerable vigilante groups. When these vigilantes did apprehend suspects involved in serious crimes like kidnapping or murder, handing them over to the police offered no solace. Disturbingly consistent reports emerged of such suspects being released shortly after their arrest, allegedly due to intervention by "higher powers" – a euphemism suggesting political, traditional, or corrupt influences within the security apparatus itself (Ejiogu, 2019; Ekundayo, 2022; Ejiofor, 2022). This pervasive impunity was perhaps the most corrosive factor. It confirmed the community's darkest suspicions: that the state, or powerful figures within it, was either unwilling or actively complicit in protecting the perpetrators. The perceived ethnic dimension of these releases – protecting Fulani suspects accused of atrocities against Yoruba communities – cemented a narrative of state bias and betrayal. Justice became an illusion, and trust in any official mechanism evaporated.

Therefore, the descent of Igangan into violence cannot be understood as a simple linear outcome of desertification-driven migration and subsequent resource clashes. While ecological pressures provided the initial context and migration impetus, the transformation into a crisis defined by terror and communal breakdown was driven by the interlocking failures of the Nigerian state (Adeoke Kayode, a resident of Igangan, 29th January, 2026). The porous borders and absence

of effective security allowed transnational mercenaries and criminals to infiltrate, militarizing the environment and committing atrocities. The explosion of kidnapping, rape, and killings, attributed to the Fulani presence, instilled profound fear and hatred (Odutola Omoloye, a farmer, 29th January, 2026). Finally, and most devastatingly, the state's consistent failure to protect its citizens and its perceived complicity in releasing suspects destroyed all legitimacy and hope for non-violent resolution. The conflict in Igangan became less about competing land uses and far more about a community navigating conflict the best way they know how.

Implication of Fulani Herders and Farmers' Crisis on Security Architecture of Oyo State

The impact of herder-farmer conflict in Igangan cannot be overemphasised as the effects on human lives and livelihoods were grievous. Many Igangan dwellers lost their homes and lives as well, while experiencing dwindling productivity in crop production and herds (Onyima, 2021). In actual fact, the Fulani herdsmen attacks raised security concerns to the point that Governor Makinde had to visit the place. Igangan became a bandit stricken town and was regarded as the hotspot of killings during 2021 (Taiwo-Hassan, 2021; Lamidi, *et al*, 2023). While the arrival of migrant Fulani pastoralists seeking dry-season grazing resources in Igangan provided the initial

demographic shift and created underlying tensions through increased competition for land and water, attributing the catastrophic violence and societal breakdown solely to this group constitutes a dangerous oversimplification.

The migrant Fulani became a crucial vector, but the crisis was fundamentally ignited and sustained by the exploitation of Nigeria's porous borders by foreign mercenaries and criminal elements from Sudan, Mali, Niger, and Chad (Ibrahim, 2020; Ajayi *et al.*, 2022), who often operated under the convenient label of "Fulani herders," leveraging the existing presence to mask their activities in banditry, kidnapping, and targeted killings, while the profound failure of the Nigerian state to secure its territory, protect its citizens, and administer justice – exemplified by the alleged intervention of "higher powers" to release arrested suspects (Ejiogu, 2019; Ekundayo, 2022; Ejiofor, 2022) – fostered pervasive impunity, eroded all trust in authority, and transformed localized resource disputes into a maelstrom of communal fear, resentment, and retaliatory violence where the migrant Fulani served as both perpetrators in some instances and, significantly, as a scapegoated identity conflated with the transnational criminals and predatory actors who found fertile ground within Nigeria's security vacuum. Thus, while migrant Fulani presence was a necessary catalyst within the specific context of

Igangan, the true causes of the crisis lie in the lethal intersection of transnational infiltration, state security collapse, rampant criminality, and the weaponization of ethnic identity amidst a vacuum of justice.

The impact was multifaceted as it affects the social, political, economic and environmental spheres. The implication of the current clashes between Fulani herdsman and local Igangan farmers was evident on prospective and existing business enterprises. While potential foreign and local investors were deterred from making actual investments because of the high security risk, already existent ones were unsure of the safety of their investments. In addition, existing businesses were affected in their inability to do well in their functional areas (production, finance and marketing, among others). The resultant effect of these crippling factors was that the productivity of businesses was receded, poverty was more manifest, social dislocation and population displacement as well as the disruption of family and communal life in Igangan ((Ibrahim, 2020; Ojedokun, *et al.*, 2024; Oladosun, *et al.*, 2025). For a predominant farming community like Igangan, agriculture was no longer business as usual. Too many farmers were displaced and dispossessed of their farms by armed Fulani herdsman and this had psychological effects. The effects of the sustained Fulani herdsman crisis in Igangan led to farmers' reluctance to go back to their

farms, even after the issues were resolved.

Conflict Control Mechanism: Responses of Government and Igangan Community

Initially, Igangan residents attempted to utilise formal channels, reporting incidents of farm destruction, violence, kidnapping, and other crimes perpetrated by individuals associated with Fulani herders to local police and authorities (Orukpe, 2023). Farmers encountered endless delays, uninvestigated reports, and a palpable sense that justice was inaccessible, particularly when allegations implicated influential figures. This profound breakdown in the rule of law and the absence of credible redress destroyed any remaining trust in the state's willingness or ability to protect them or adjudicate fairly, leaving the community feeling utterly abandoned and vulnerable (Babalola Ishola, a Chief in Igangan, 1st February, 2026).

'Faced with this institutional void and escalating violence, the Igangan community adopted autonomous security measures by coordinating local vigilante groups aiming to fill the security gap by patrolling farmlands, tracking suspected kidnappers, and attempting to apprehend individuals believed responsible for attacks. While born of necessity and a desire for self-preservation, this shift towards self-policing carried significant risks since vigilante actions often lacked due process, increasing the potential for

wrongful targeting, extrajudicial violence, and cycles of retaliation. The perception of bias within the formal system fuelled reciprocal biases within the community militias, hardening ethnic and communal fault lines. Furthermore, the very act of taking security into their own hands, however justified by circumstance, further undermined the legitimacy of the state and formal rule of law, creating parallel structures of authority and justice that were inherently unstable and prone to abuse. The community's strategy, therefore, evolved from seeking state-mediated solutions towards risky self-defence, a response that, ultimately contributed to the entrenchment of fear, mutual suspicion, and an environment where communal violence became increasingly likely and difficult to contain. Beyond the peace initiatives of traditional authorities, police and community-based organisations, the internecine conflicts between farmers and Bororo Fulani herders attracted the intervention of Sunde Igboho (Baba Gbenro, Personal Communication, 1st February, 2026).

Conclusion

The farmers-herders crisis in Igangan town, Oyo State, is a microcosm of the broader socio-political and economic challenges facing Nigeria. The conflict reflects a complex interplay of migration, communal solidarity, and efforts to enforce peace amidst deep-seated grievances. At its core, this crisis underscores the fragility of intergroup

relations in a multi-ethnic society grappling with resource scarcity, weak governance, and systemic injustice. Communal solidarity emerged as both a coping mechanism and a source of conflict in Igangan. Faced with perceived threats to their livelihoods and identity, Igangan farmers rallied around local leaders like Sunday Igboho to resist what they saw as encroachments by Fulani herders. This solidarity was instrumental in mobilising collective action, including protests and demands for government intervention. However, it also fuelled ethnic polarization and vigilante justice, which often escalated violence rather than resolving disputes.

The triggers of the clashes between Fulani herdsmen and Igangan farmers were based on alleged trespass on farmlands for grazing purposes which destroys crops and deprive

farmers of high productivity and projected profits. This was the primary factor. It was alleged that the Fulani often graze their animals over the farm which causes destruction of farmland. The human cost of the crisis was devastating as many lives were lost on both sides due to clashes over land use or retaliatory attacks. Beyond these, the crisis has had long-term consequences for food security and economic stability in Igangan and surrounding areas. The destruction of farmland reduces agricultural productivity even as Igangan continues to rebuilds her walls. By learning from past failures and implementing sustainable solutions, Nigeria can chart a path toward peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders, one that preserves both livelihoods and cultural identities for future generations.

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