Urban landscapes of territoriality and ethnic violence
The spread and recurrence of deadly riots in Jos, Nigeria
Madueke, K.L.

Publication date
2018

Document Version
Other version

License
Other

Citation for published version (APA):
URBAN LANDSCAPES OF TERRITORIALITY AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE

The Spread and Recurrence of Deadly Riots in Jos, Nigeria

Kingsley L. Madueke
URBAN LANDSCAPES OF TERRITORIALITY AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE:
The Spread and Recurrence of Deadly Riots in Jos, Nigeria

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
op dinsdag 6 november 2018, te 14:00 uur
door Kingsley Lawrence Madueke
egenomen te Jos, Nigeria
Promotiecommissie:

Promotor: Prof. Dr. J. N. Tillie Universiteit van Amsterdam
Copromotor(es): Dr. F. F. Vermeulen Universiteit van Amsterdam
Dr. W. J. Nicholls University of California, Irvine

Overige leden: Prof. dr. M. E. Glasius Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. D. W. Rodgers Universiteit van Amsterdam
Prof. dr. K.I.L. Vlassenroot Universiteit Gent
Dr. J. Krause Universiteit van Amsterdam
Dr. R. Spronk Universiteit van Amsterdam

Faculteit der Maatschappij- en Gedragswetenschappen

The research leading to this dissertation has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement n° 316796.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .............................................................................................................. vii

## Chapter One: Background and General Introduction ...................................................... 1
   Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1
   Key perspectives on ethnic conflict and violence in Jos ...................................................9
   An intriguing puzzle .......................................................................................................15
   Research questions .......................................................................................................16
      *Main research question:* .......................................................................................16
      *Sub-questions* .........................................................................................................17
   Research objectives and organisation of dissertation ....................................................17
   References ....................................................................................................................20

## Chapter Two: From Neighbours to Deadly Enemies: Excavating Landscapes of Territoriality and Ethnic Violence in Jos, Nigeria .................................................. 27
   Introduction ..................................................................................................................29
   Contextualizing ethnic conflict and violence .................................................................32
   Methodological considerations ......................................................................................33
   The emergence of group concentration and category construction .........................34
   The politics of indigeneity ..........................................................................................36
   Creating Jos North LGA and the territorialisation of neighbourhoods .....................37
   Ethnic associations, religious organizations and segregated neighbourhoods ..........40
   Dominance-ownership and patterns of violence .........................................................44
   Conclusion ...................................................................................................................47
   References ....................................................................................................................49

## Chapter Three: The Emergence and Development of Ethnic Strongholds and Frontiers of Collective Violence in Jos, Nigeria ......................................................... 55
   Introduction ..................................................................................................................57
   The progression of ethnic conflict and the spatial dimension of violence .................59
Research Methods and Data .................................................................61
  Interviews and Discussions ............................................................61
  Primary School Common Entrance Registers ..................................63
  Election Results ..............................................................................63
The Evolution of an Ethnic Stronghold ...............................................63
The Making of the Frontier ..................................................................71
Patterns of Violence in the Stronghold and the Frontier ......................75
Conclusion .........................................................................................79
References ..........................................................................................81

Chapter Four: Frontier Neighbourhoods in a Violent African City: Explaining Ethnic Conflict’s Spread and Recurrence in Jos, Nigeria ..................................................87
Introduction .......................................................................................89
Related Literature ..............................................................................91
Recounting a Bloody Decade ..............................................................95
Research Design and Data ...............................................................98
Location and Cross-Boundary Violent Networks in Ali Kazaure ..........103
Cross-Validating with Other Ethnically Mixed Areas .........................108
Conclusion .........................................................................................111
References ..........................................................................................112

Chapter Five: Routing Ethnic Violence in a Divided City: Walking in the Footsteps of Armed Mobs in Jos, Nigeria .................................................................117
Introduction .......................................................................................119
Ethnic composition, neighbourhood location and rioters’ spatial patterns 121
Research design and methods ..............................................................124
The 2008 post-election violence .........................................................128
Rioters’ footsteps in and around a segregated neighbourhood ..........130
Rioters’ spatial patterns in a mixed neighbourhood ..............................135
Factors enhancing and impeding armed mob’s mobilization and mobility 139
Conclusion .........................................................................................144
References ..........................................................................................146

Chapter Six:
Conclusion ..........................................................................................151
Introduction .................................................................................................................. 151
Key findings ................................................................................................................ 153
Academic implications ............................................................................................... 157
Practical implications ................................................................................................. 162
Limitations and biases ............................................................................................... 163
Final remarks and directions for further study ......................................................... 165
References .................................................................................................................... 166
Appendices ................................................................................................................... 171
Author’s contribution to article ................................................................................... 177
Summary ....................................................................................................................... 179
“When eating bamboo sprout, remember the man who planted them” quips the Chinese. This dissertation was possible only because a number of individuals made sacrifices and went beyond the confines of duty. This passage is an effort at remembering and thanking these persons. Floris Vermeulen – your mentorship as the daily supervisor is a blend of intelligence, conscientiousness, professionalism, encouragement, empathy and kind-heartedness. I don’t know how you manage to retain these qualities altogether but I do know that your type is extremely rare. Words cannot convey the depth of my gratitude for the support you provided me both within and outside the demands of this study. As the promotor, Jean Tillie showed exemplary commitment to the project, providing direction through the torturous maze that a doctorate study can oft become. I remain sincerely grateful. Walter Nicholls – your sharp eye for details and deep understanding of the subject improved the prospects of the study in more ways than one. You believed in the project from the start and, though you were away at some point, you maintained contact and did not relent in providing direction.

Though my interest in ethnic conflict, collective violence, and related themes go back to September 2001 when Jos became a killing field in the wake of Christian-Muslim clashes, my formal initiation into this puzzling, wildly exciting and often inevitably grim field of study took place at the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies, University of Jos (CECOMPS), when I enrolled for a post-graduate diploma (PGD) in 2005. It was a special honour to have been part of the first set for the newly introduced PGD at the time and, subsequently, M.Sc. in Conflict Management and Peace Studies. For the mentoring, nurturing and encouragement I received while a student, I remain indebted to the former directors of the centre – Shedrach G. Best and Audu N. Gambo, and the current director – Z.K. Dagona. To this list, I must add Habu Galadima, Kachollom Best, Luka Dinshak, Joseph Lengmang, Samuel Obadiah, Henry Mang, Chris Kwaja, Elias Lamle, Angela Olofu-Adeoye, Imran Abdulrahman, John Galadima, Katherine
Hoomlong, and all others whom I had the special privilege of encountering through my scholarly sojourn at CECOMPS. This paragraph will be incomplete without a mention of my classmates with whom I shared a passion and commitment to learning about conflict, its positive power when effectively channelled, its unbridled destructiveness when mishandled, and pathways for its management.

The fieldwork for this dissertation was tough. It was only successfully and safely completed because I was lucky to have some amazing individuals on board. While scouring the streets of Jos for bits of data, I would have been helpless without the cooperation of several gatekeepers, research assistants, and respondents. I’m eternally grateful for their unquantifiable charities and invaluable contributions. I can’t mention your names for obvious reasons but many thanks to Idris, Nandom and Abu!

Out from the field, enters the arduous task of making sense of notes, transcribed texts, analysis and composing the mass of seemingly disparate data into coherent sentences, paragraphs and chapters. At this stage, I would have been lost if not for my supervisors and some individuals that provided guidance at critical junctures and crossroads. Among them I ought to mention Ruud Koopmans who read through part of the manuscripts and provided incisive feedback, Jennifer McGarrigle, Jana Krause, Maria Kranendonk and Davide Gnes for valuable advice and recommendations. Many, many thanks to the amazing colleagues I shared office and ideas with in B 10: 01: Emmy, Lars, Loes, Remko, Eefje, Elko, Erika, Herman and Lijing. I’m also thankful to the directors and members of the Challenges to Democratic Representation programme group for support, members of the Political Sociology club for discussions and insightful feedback, the entire Political Science department and Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR) for providing an awesome working environment.

I must reserve a paragraph to the beautiful people I met in the course of this study: Marie Curie Fellows in Integration and International Migration (INTEGRIM). You guys gave me a piece of Europe! Thanks for the feedback and plenty laughter during conferences and workshops. To another set of beautiful people – Abigail, Elijah and Nathaniel - you made Amsterdam memorable and gave me a family away from home. Many thanks to Rachel Spronk for all the
encouragement and finding time to always connect with my family in both Amsterdam and Jos. Karina Hof – you started it all, and you saw it to the end. I remain indebted.

To my family: my wife and ever blossoming flower Vickie, the endless flow of juice, coffee, understanding, love and smiles (and add to the list the incomparable culinary delights!) kept me when the task was toughest. You were my signpost to sanity and when it almost overwhelmed me all I needed was to turn to you. My girls - Star and Merit - were a source of energy and inspiration and a reminder that the task must be accomplished. I remain eternally grateful to the Mornos, Maduekes, my dad, Habu-Shagayas, and especially Julius and Uncle Dogay for accompanying me in some of my wanderings in the neighbourhoods that represent Jos’ conflict hotspots. Lastly, thanks to Mum for all the encouragement, support and prayers. Without her love, I wouldn’t have survived the punches life threw at me, let alone accomplish this task.