



UNIVERSITY OF AGDER

Human Development in Spaces of Group Boundaries

Social and Spatial Borders Between Muslims and Christians and their Effects on the Human Development in Jos, Nigeria

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Development in Jos, Nigeria

Written by: Hanne Hellvik

Abstract

This thesis examines the social and spatial group boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos, Nigeria. Field work was carried out from October to December 2011. A qualitative research methodology based on semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation provides the research framework of the study. Through an exploration of local perceptions on group relations between the Muslims and Christians in Jos, as well as how this relationship affects them, this thesis sheds light on the consequences group boundaries have on the human development. Moreover, the circumstances that produce, maintain and strengthen the group boundaries will be elaborated. The thesis concludes that the social and spatial boundaries between the Christians and Muslims in Jos affect the citizens' basic freedoms and choices, thereby hindering human development in great measures. Therefore, weakening the group boundaries is essential for the human development and peace in Jos. How this can be done is also discussed in this thesis.

Declaration by Candidate

I hereby declare that the thesis:

**Human Development in Spaces of Group Boundaries –
Social and Spatial Borders Between Muslims and Christians and their Effects on the
Human Development in Jos, Nigeria**

has not been submitted to any other universities than the University of Agder for any type of academic degree.

Hanne Hellvik

22.05.2012

Hanne Hellvik

Date

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List of Abbreviations and Non-English terms

CeGHaD – Center for Gospel Health and Development

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

ECWA - Evangelical Church of West Africa

FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GNP – Gross National Product

GPO – U.S Government Printing Office

HDI – Human Development Index

HDR – Human Development Report

HRW – Human Right Watch

IDP – Internal Displaced People

IMF - International Monetary Fund

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NAIRA – Nigerian Naira (NGN). 1 U.S. dollar \approx 157 NGN (April 2012)

NHDR – Nigeria Human Development Report

OCHA – Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UN

Oyibo – White person in Pidgin English

Baturia – White women in Hausa

UN – United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

WB - World Bank

WHO – World Health Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Opening Remarks

Cities divided by armed conflict and political violence is a global phenomenon. Group divisions in cities further pose serious obstacles for peace building and can affect positive human development in great measures (Demichelis 1998). The Nigerian city of Jos is divided socially and spatially between Christians and Muslims due to the poly-ethnic conflict in the country. The main objective of this thesis is to analyse the consequences on the human development in light of the spatial and social boundaries found in Jos. How these group boundaries are produced, maintained and strengthened will also be elaborated, as this is an essential element for understanding the complex phenomenon. This thesis finds that the groups separate from each other physically because they find each other threatening. The given fear the two groups have for each other that contributes to spatial borders will therefore be discussed in this thesis. On the other hand, the thesis finds that the groups distance themselves socially from each other to protect their 'self'. The identity borders between the Muslims and Christians will therefore be discussed by others. Nonetheless, it is important to notice that it is a mutual relation between the social and spatial boundaries.

Furthermore, the thesis finds that the group boundaries between Muslims and Christians have many consequences related to the freedoms and choices for the citizens in Jos. It contributes to fear, violence and a lack of trust, which are explicit obstacles for human development. In addition, the group boundaries in the internal market system contribute to the two groups not doing business together anymore, which economically affects both groups, as they are interdependent on each other in the market system. Moreover, there are negative economic effects related to the citizens not being able to move around freely in the city anymore. For example, a Christian has extra expenses on transport to get to the university and market due to being pushed to the peri-urban areas. Furthermore, the thesis finds that the social and spatial group boundaries affect social opportunities, like going to school, work and getting access to health care. Nonetheless, these social opportunities in light of the group boundaries affected the Muslims more than the Christians.

Moreover, the thesis concludes that the boundaries between Christians and Muslims have to be weakened to gain peace and human development progress in Jos. Self-consciousness about how these simple-minded commitments to groups grow into a complex conflict between the two groups is essential. It is also important that the two groups identify with each other. As this thesis will conclude that the two groups are strikingly similar, acknowledging this might weaken the group boundaries. Respect, equality and dignity for each other are thus likely to be positive synergic effects. Furthermore, all the mechanisms discussed in this thesis, which create, maintain and strengthen the group boundaries, can be helpful in uniting the Muslims and Christians in Jos.

1.2 Brief Contextual Overview

Nigeria is a country that consists of over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups, with an almost equal share of Muslims and Christians (CIA 2012). The history of the last decade has been characterised by many violent and armed conflicts between the two religious groups. Jos is one of the cities hardest hit by the conflict in Nigeria. The city is today divided by clear social and spatial boundaries between the Christians and Muslims. This segregation has further consequences for the human development in Jos.

1.3 Brief Overview of Theoretical Framework

Wilton (1998) argues that borders between groups are naturally social, yet imminently spatial. He further argues that people strive to separate themselves physically from those they find different or threatening. On the other hand, people distance themselves socially from the other in order to protect a sense of 'self'. This thesis will look at the social and spatial group boundaries in Jos. Within the disciplines investigating spatial and social group boundaries, a wide range of academic literature is adopted as a theoretical base. Barth (1982), Cresswell (1996) and Sibley (1998) are some of the many academics that form the theoretical framework in this part of the thesis. The thesis will further investigate which consequences these social and spatial borders between Muslims and Christians have on the human development in Jos. The thesis' understanding of human development is closely linked to understandings of the concept of Sen (1999) and UNDP (1995).

1.4 Knowledge Gaps in Literature

There is several knowledge gaps in academic literature related to the topics of group boundaries and human development, and this thesis intends to fill some of them.

1.4.1 General Knowledge Gaps

Firstly, despite there being several academic contributions in existing literature on divided cities, they generally ignore armed conflicts (Anderson 2008:6). Furthermore, they usually focus more on peaceful cities, divided by ethnicity or social class. As this thesis is focusing on the case of Jos, which is a city divided by an armed conflict, it hereby fulfils some of the knowledge gaps that Anderson (2008) requests.

In addition, the thesis will have much attention on market interaction between the two groups, which Porter et al. (2005:5) claim have received minimal attention in the literature on conflict development and conflict resolution.

Also, there is no academic literature explicitly focusing on linking group boundaries to the concept of human development, as explained by Sen (1999) and UNEP (1995). Thus, there are many contributions focusing on group borders and social development.

1.4.2 Knowledge Gap on the Case of Jos

Moreover, there is a lack of academic literature on the spatial and social division between Muslims and Christians in Jos (Dung-Gwom and Rikko 2009:2). Therefore, there were very few published academic literatures found focusing on the divide in Jos. No literature also focusing explicitly on the group boundaries in Jos was found. The little existing literature on the case of Jos generally investigates reasons for the conflict or does quantitative mapping of topics related to the conflict and the two opposition groups, Muslims and Christians. In general, there is very little research conducted by Western academics in Jos.

Due to that, this thesis intends to fulfil some of the given knowledge gaps, thereby making this thesis an important contribution to the academic literature. Nonetheless, filling many knowledge gaps has its downside. In other words, it has been very challenging to find relevant studies to cite and use in this thesis, due to there being little academic research on some of the topics this thesis is focusing on. However, I have managed to find literature that is focusing

on aspects of what this thesis looks at. It has therefore been possible to compare different parts of the research from this study with research done by other researchers. This has further contributed to the findings that can be seen in a bigger context, rather than just Jos, and can be a part of international research (Øyhus 2011).

1.5 Personal Motivation

My first genuine interest for the topic of armed conflicts came when I was doing my bachelor degree at the University of Oslo. As a side course in political science, I took “Genocide and political mass violence in the 20th century politics”. With extremely skilled and committed professors, this given course was the most interesting I have ever taken during my years of education.

In June and July 2011, I had an internship at a local NGO in Jos. Villages that were attacked, where hundreds of people were relatively newly slaughtered as a cause of the conflict, were visited. This made an indescribable emotional impression on me. I also experienced and had conversations with citizens that were significantly affected by the conflict related to different spheres. By feeling helpless, related to the people in Nigeria affected by the conflict, I decided that I was going to write my thesis, focusing on the conflict in Plateau State.

1.6 Methodology in Brief

The primary research collection was carried out over the period of two and a half months, from October 2011 to December 2011 in Plateau State, Nigeria. A case study design and qualitative methodology was used for data collection. Qualitative interviews, focus groups and participant observation together with analysis of existing literature have been the main methods for data collection.

1.7 Research Objectives and Research Questions

1.7.1 Main Objective

The objective of this research is to find out how the boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos are produced, maintained and strengthened as well as which consequences these group borders have on the human development for the individuals in Jos.

1.7.2 Research Questions

The research question to be addressed in this study is:

How are the social and spatial boundaries between the Muslims and Christians in Jos produced, maintained and strengthened, and how have these group borders affected the human development in Jos, in terms of economical, cultural and social manners?

1.8 Disposition of the Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters: *Chapter one* presents an introduction as well as the background and relevance of the thesis. The objective and research question are additionally outlined. The *second chapter* provides a brief background of ethnicity and religion in Nigeria, and outlines a contextual overview of the study area of Jos. The history and political and ethnical profile of the city are further analysed. An overview of how the city today is divided is also outlined. In addition, a presentation on how the concept of human development is understood will be presented in this chapter. *Chapter three* explains the methodology adopted in the thesis and outlines the research process. The choices of research strategy, design, sample, data-collection techniques and limitations for this study are justified in the given chapter.

In this thesis, the presentation of existing literature, empirical findings and analysis are merged together. This part consists of four chapters: The *fourth chapter* of this thesis analyses how the spatial boundaries in Jos are produced and maintained as well as the consequences it has on the citizens. The *fifth chapter* discusses the social borders between the Muslims and Christians in Jos. Though the spatial boundaries are physical borders between the two groups as well as the social boundaries being more dependent on culture, these two types of boundaries are mutually related. However, they are divided into two different chapters in this thesis to simplify this complex phenomenon for the reader. In the *sixth chapter*, social and spatial boundaries in the internal market system in Jos will be discussed. These three chapters focusing on group borders will be further linked to human development in *chapter seven*. Finally, in *chapter eight* I will answer the main research question with some concluding remarks based on the discussion in previous chapters. The thesis concludes with the boundaries having to be weakened to gain peace and human development progress in Jos. The

last chapter will further introduce some thoughts on how the borders between Muslims and Christians in Jos can be weakened.

Chapter 2: Contextual Overview

In order to understand the phenomenon of social and spatial group boundaries and how these borders affect the human development in Jos, it is of great importance to explore the context in which this takes place. This chapter begins by providing a brief background of ethnic and religious composition in Nigeria. This will additionally contribute to a better understanding of the complexities surrounding the enduring conflict between Muslims and Christians in Jos, which will be secondly investigated. Finally, the thesis understanding of human development will be presented.

2.1 Nigeria



Figure 1: Map of Nigeria.

Source: CIA (2012)

2.1.1 Ethnicity and Religion in Nigeria

Nigeria is a country located in the heart of Africa. It borders the countries Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger. It is also the most populous country in Africa, with an estimation of over 170

million people (CIA 2012). Nigeria has been affected by violent conflicts in the last decade. The conflict in Nigeria is often emphasised as being between ethnical or religious groups. The CIA (2012) claims that there are over 250 ethnical groups, the most populous being Hausa Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo¹. However, the number of ethnical groups significantly varies from research to research, and there are no real figures about how many groups there are in the country. Therefore, the number varies from 62 to over 500 (Osaghae and Suberu 2005:9). These differences can be explained by which criteria the author emphasises in the given research (Best 2011:12). Language, core territoriality, kinship and myth of common origin are some of the criteria that contribute to different results due to different choices and compromises of the researchers (Osaghae and Suberu 2005:9). For example, there is no agreement on how dialects within a language should be used in the quantitative estimations. If dialects should constitute separate groups or sub-groups, it is one of the challenges with mapping the numbers of ethnical groups in Nigeria. Nonetheless, there is a general agreement that the country is compounded by many ethnical groups.

That being said, due to the problems with complexity of ethnical groups in Nigeria, religion is easier to refine. I have therefore decided to emphasise religious groups, rather than ethnical, in this thesis. However, since these two concepts are mutually related, some of the dominating ethnical groups will be referred to specific places in the thesis. The legal definition of a religious group is “a set of individuals whose identity as such is distinctive in terms of common religious creed, beliefs, doctrines, practices, or rituals” (GPO, 18 USC § 1093). It is this definition that the thesis is based on when defining the different groups of the conflict. It is a general agreement that Nigeria has three main religious groups. The CIA (2012) claims that 50 percent in Nigeria are Muslims, that 40 percent are Christians and that the remaining 10 percent have indigenous beliefs. However, Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (2010) argues that there is no up-to-date data about the religious distribution in the country. Moreover, Land Info² (2011:6) claims that all quantifications of Muslims and Christians in Nigeria will be met with criticism by the religious group that is reported as a minority, claiming that their own group has been underreported.

¹ According to CIA (2012), the Hausa Fulani represent 29 % of the population, Yoruba 21 %, Igbo 18 %, Ijaw 10 %, Kanuri 4 %, Ibibio 3.5 %, and Tiv 2.5 %.

² Land Info is an independent entity in the Norwegian immigration authorities.

2.2 Jos

2.2.1 History and Politics

Jos is the capital of Plateau State with over one million residents (Dung-Gwom and Rikko 2009:5). Geographically, Plateau State is located in the highlands of central Nigeria, between the predominantly Muslim north and the mostly Christian south (Krause 2011:1). The British colonised Nigeria in 1914 (Nkolika 2007:1), and the city was established around tin mining activities during the colonial times, which attracted migrants with diverse backgrounds from within and outside Nigeria (Mohammed 2005:1). A large number were attracted to the mine camps, such as mine labourers. However, many were also attracted by trading. Many of the Hausa Fulani people came to Jos at the same time as the miners, whereas others came due to a policy of forced labour imposed by the colonial government during the Second World War. In contrast, the ethnical groups Igbo and Orhobo came to Jos as craftsmen in the mines and for commerce, while the Yorubas mainly migrated due to trading. In addition to mining, an attractive climate condition has attracted many to the area of Jos. The city witnessed a rapid socio-economic development in 1914 with the rail line that was extended from Zaria to Jos (Dung-Gwom and Rikko 2009:5-6).

Nonetheless, the indigenous people were hostile to the foreign mining interest and did not join the mines nor moved into the mining camps to settle. To try to limit the friction between the ‘natives’ and the ‘settlers’, the colonial masters adopted different administrative systems for the ‘indigenes’ and ‘settlers’ (Dung-Gwom and Rikko 2009:6). This furthermore contributed to people being regarded as indigenes in a region or state and them having more rights than settlers or non-indigenes related to governmental institutions (Land Info 2011:10). To get all political rights, a certificate issued by the Local Government Authority claiming that you are an indigene is necessary. Thus, many Nigerians are still registered as indigenes in states they do not live in, or have never lived in (HRW 2006:1). Despite their family having lived in the same place for generations, it is impossible to be registered as indigenous because they belong to a certain ethnical group, which does not have its history belonging to that specific place (Land Info 2011:11). Jos and the areas around Jos see the predominantly Muslim Hausa Fulani³ people as one of the ethnical groups that are usually considered as settlers. However,

³ Fulanis or Fula people are nomadic people who run cattle from the west of Senegal to Chad in the east (Land Info 2011:6). In Nigeria, the Fulanis is often categorised as Hausa, since the Fulanis concurred with the Hausa people during the Fulani War in 1804. After this, their histories in the region have been largely intertwined. Nonetheless, outside Nigeria the two groups are usually considered distinct.

there are several ethnical groups, like Afizere, Anaguta and Berom, which are seen as indigenes. Nevertheless, there are some ethnical groups that are mostly Muslim that are considered indigenous in Plateau State, like in the origins from Wase. Some of the Christian groups, as we have seen, are also characterised as settlers in Plateau State. However, these are minorities. Simply put, in Jos the Muslims can therefore be referred to as ‘settlers’, and Christians as ‘indigenes’.

That being said, based on this given administrative system of ‘indigenes’ and ‘settlers’, armed conflicts between the groups have developed in many places in Nigeria. However, Jos and Plateau State are two of the areas worst hit by the conflict. This thesis focuses on the urban conflict found in Jos, the capital of Plateau State. Both Land Info (2011:15) and HRW (2001:5) argue that the violence in Jos has usually been between the so-called ‘indigenes’ and ‘settlers’.

Land Info (2011:15) presents the most serious episodes related to armed conflicts in Jos. The first serious event took place in September 2001, when over 1000 people were killed. Another 10,000 people were internally displaced and there was massive material destruction after four days of violence in Jos and rural areas around Jos (HRW 2001:2, 15). According to Land Info (2011:15), the reason for the outbreak was mainly a fight of local political power between the ‘indigenes’ and ‘settlers’, which had been since around 1990. In November 2008, the local governmental elections developed into an armed conflict between the ‘indigenes’ and ‘settlers’ in Jos. More than 700 people were killed. While in January 2010, an estimate of 200 people were killed in violent armed fights in Jos, between the 17th and 19th of January. The motive was uncertain. On Christmas Day 2010, several bombs went off in two areas of Jos, which are predominated by Christians. This contributed to an armed conflict, where over 200 lives were claimed. Also, the ‘indigene’ and ‘settler’ problematic was seen as a cause of the violent outbreak, according to Land Info (2011:16). In September 2011, violence flared up again in Plateau, and the Nigerian press reported around one hundred deaths between September 1st and September 10th.

That being said, it is important to emphasise that there is no easy explanation for the conflict, and the variables that contribute to the conflict can always be discussed. By looking deeper into the underlying causes, you will always find interactions between many factors. For example, Ostein (2009:1) claims that the conflict in Jos can be explained by an interaction

between ethnicity, religion, local history, local politics, national laws on the subject of indigenes' rights, and a corrupt and incompetent government.

2.2.2 Spatial and Demographic Divide in Jos

However, after Nigeria's independence in 1960 the 'indigenes' and 'settlers' lived peacefully together for a long time. It was moreover considered as one of the most peaceful places in Nigeria. Furthermore, Plateau State was referred to as "home of peace and tourism" (Danfulani 2006:2). Nevertheless, as highlighted, Jos has witnessed many violent clashes between the Muslims and Christians in the last decade. Today, the city is furthermore divided. In other words, Muslims and Christians live separately and have their own areas that they predominate. Therefore, strong spatial and social boundaries between the two groups have been created.



Picture 1. Car sign - Plateau State.

That being said, most cities can be characterised as divided to a certain degree, whether by class, race, gender, generation or other divisions (Anderson 2008:3). However, this divide is often more indirect and is not as obvious as the one observed in Jos. The case of Jos also stands out from most other "divided cities" due to the clear physical division between Christians and Muslims as a source of the national conflict and that the clear divide happened very fast in extreme measures. As a researcher, however, I have not personally observed how Jos was before the conflict started in 2001; it is likely to believe that there was also a certain degree of division at that time. Nonetheless, according to all my informants in the urban area, a change has happened: they previously lived together in mixed neighbourhoods and could

move around freely in the city before the conflict. Thus, this thesis is based on the informants' experience of what has happened.

Dung-Gwom and Rikko (2009:9) also found that the Muslims and Christians used to live together in the same neighbourhood, but today they live separately due to the ethno-political conflict. Moreover, they witnessed a massive movement of Christians from the inner city areas of Gangare, Sarkn Arab, Abba Nashehu, Rikkos, Anguwna, Rimi, Dilimi, Yan Keke and Anguwan Rogo to peri-urban areas. Many moved because they lost their properties in the 2001 and 2008 crises. In addition, many Christians escaped from the inner-city areas due to them being prone to violence during the crises. Most central areas in Jos are mainly occupied by the Muslim Hausa Fulani people. Nonetheless, there are some central areas that are predominated by the Christian ethnical group Igbos as well as southern groups, such as Jenta, Apata, Vanderpuye, and Tafawa Balewa. Furthermore, Dung-Gwom and Rikko (2009:9) argue that the Hausa Fulani people do not feel safe in the peri-urban areas and therefore congest in the inner areas where they are predominant.

Figure 2 illustrates how the city of Jos is spatially divided today. The map makes it furthermore clear that the Muslims live in the centre of the city. Therefore, the Muslim-predominated areas are marked with a dark red. The map illustrates that the Christians also occupy a few areas in the city centre. These areas are marked with a dark blue in the map. However, as pinpointed, most Christians live in the peri-urban areas. These areas are also marked with blue on the map. Nevertheless, note that the areas marked as mixed neighbourhoods are also usually divided, as the two groups often dominate subareas within these areas. Krause (2011:33), for example, argues that Ali Kazaure used to be a mixed neighbourhood. Thus, it has become predominated by Muslims since the violence in 2008 and 2010. Moreover, the few remaining Christians mostly live in segregated parts of this area.

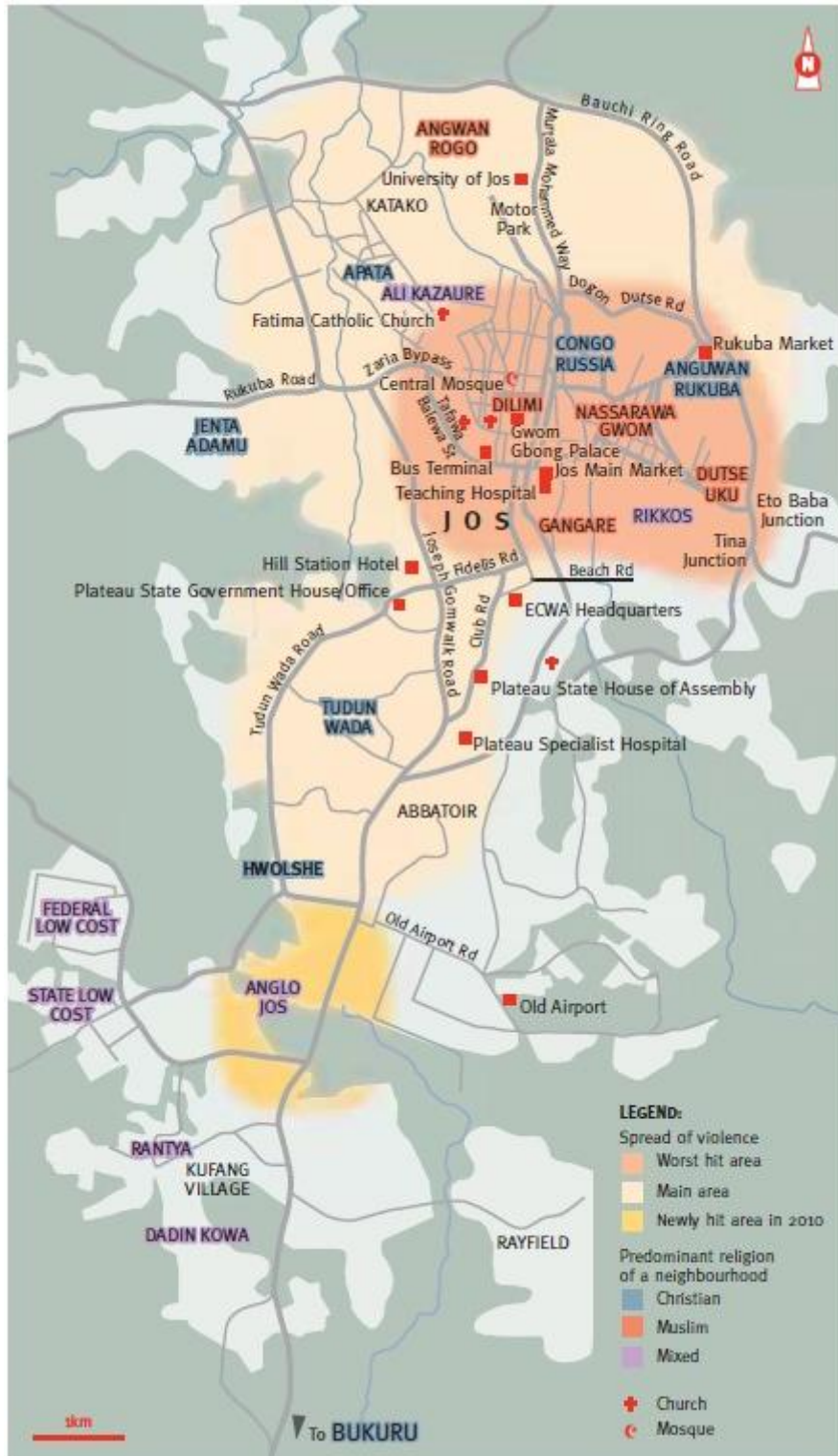


Figure 2: Map of Jos
Source: Krause 2011

2.3 The Concept of Development

The word ‘development’ is an umbrella term used in different ways depending on the context. However, it always describes a type of change. Nonetheless, there are many different and contradicting meanings on what kind of change is desired, how it can be achieved and how it can be measured. In this section I will therefore shortly clarify how the concept of development is used further in this thesis.

2.3.1 Human Development

The discourse that development is equal to economic growth dominated for decades (Thomas 2000). Nonetheless, this discourse has lately been under much criticism. Dudley Seers and Amartya Sen are some of the pioneers that contributed to changing the development discourse from the focus on economic growth to a focus on human development. Today, people are often seen as the most plentiful resource developing countries have and they are put in the centre of the development process (Streeten 2000:32). Thus, the wealth of nations is based on the individuals and their well-being. A basic objective of development is therefore to enable people to be creative and to develop in their own ways. While in the discourse of only focusing on economic growth and financial wealth, this dimension is overlooked. However, human development makes the centrality of people explicit (Alkire 2010:37).

According to Sen, development is “*a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy*” (Sen 1999:36). Moreover, he emphasises five forms of elemental forms of freedom: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security (Sen 1999:38). However, all the five types of freedoms are interlinked (Sen 1999:40). For example, the social opportunity of physical security or freedom to move around can enhance the possibility to be economically and politically active.

That being said, to expand individuals’ capabilities, one single person’s actions are not enough. However, appropriate institutions have to be created, which are economic, social and political arrangement preconditions for development. Therefore, Sen (1999:53) emphasises the supporting role of the society and state to strengthen the capabilities of the people, and he sees the human being as the prime actor of development if given the opportunity in shaping destiny.

Thus, as mentioned, this human-centred discourse has had a great influence on the current development discourse. UNDP, IMF and the WB have all changed their development approaches to be more human-centred. UNDP thus defines human development as “*a process of enlarging people’s choices*” (UNDP 1995:11). In contrast to most academic contributions that mostly focus on human capabilities, UNDP’s definition is linked to capabilities and functions on the one hand and opportunities on the other. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have, so that human potential will be increased (Streeten 1994).

This thesis will be based on the current dominating discourse and an understanding of development that is closely related to Sen’s and UNDP’s understandings of the concept. This is because this research found that the social and spatial boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos affect the freedom and choices of the citizens in different ways, and that they further hinder their human potential, which is essential to gain development (Sen 1999:18). In other words, the boundaries restrict the ability for the citizens in Jos to help themselves and the possibility to influence the world decreases. Nonetheless, the parts of the thesis focusing on how the group boundaries are created, maintained and strengthened can also be related to development on a more general basis, as it describes a type of social change that has happened in Jos.

2.3.2 Measure Human Development

The measurement usually related to human development is UNDP’s human development index. The measurement includes GNP per capita, child mortality, education level, life expectation and literacy rate. This moreover indicates the level of health, education, and standard of living.

To summarise, Nigeria is ranked as 0.459 in the HDI, which means that they are ranked as number 156 of 187 countries on the list of HDI (UNDP 2011). Nigeria is further ranked as having a low human development, and is moreover below the average in sub-Saharan Africa (for more details about Nigeria’s HDI, see appendix 3). Plateau State, where Jos is the capital, was ranked as having an HDI between 0.128 and 0.174, and is thus far beyond the average in Nigeria (Earth Trends 1993). Also, the 2009 HDR argues that the location of Plateau State and Jos is below the country average (UNEP 2009).

Though the HDI can indicate the freedom of a country, state or city to a certain degree, in this thesis I will not use this measurement when discussing the human development related to boundaries in Jos. Firstly, I do not see this measurement as a sufficient way to measure development. Mainly because it does not measure all types of human freedoms, as some are difficult to measure in numbers (Streeten 2000). However, that does not mean that they are less important. Another shortcoming of the HDI is that it fails to reflect an individual's view of well-being, choices and freedoms (Shanmugaratnam 2001).

The primary data source for this thesis is individuals living in Jos and their own thoughts about how the lack of freedoms and choices that come from the group boundaries affects them. As mentioned, this thesis is a qualitative case study, which furthermore gives some implications of the answers the research obtains. Nonetheless, this qualitative research can moreover be an important contribution to academic literature on human development. The reason is that general theories at macro level exist of contextual knowledge, which is a prerequisite for epistemic theories (Flyvbjerg 1993:142). For example, Sen (1999) often cites and bases on cases of India in his theory about human development. Case studies are therefore essential for solid academic development within a field. Knowledge about the group boundaries between the Muslims and Christians in Jos, the freedom these boundaries rob from the citizens in Jos, and how this furthermore affects the human development can contribute to peace and development theories at a higher macro level. The following chapter will discuss more of the methodology adopted in the thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The findings of this thesis are based on a qualitative data collection that was conducted between October and December 2011. Qualitative data collection poses several challenges associated with ensuring an adequate and valid knowledge base. One of the greatest challenges is that the researcher positions knowledge and behaviour. This again affects the answers the researcher eventually receives in an interview situation. Thus, the researcher holds power related to influencing the material in all phases of the data collection (Thagaard 2009).

The data-collection techniques and the challenges I faced during my data collection will moreover be discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, the ethical decisions made during the collection are important and will also be presented. The chapter will end by drawing conclusions about validity and reliability of the research conducted.

3.1 Case Study of the Divided City of Jos

This research is based on a case study research design. There are disagreements about what a case study should contain. However, I will emphasise the definitions of George and Bennett (2005) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007). George and Bennett (2005:17) define a case as an occurrence of a class of events. In other words, by using the case study research method you look deeper into a well-defined aspect of a phenomenon of scientific interest. You do not look into the entire phenomenon in itself, but rather choose a particular approach to the given phenomenon. This approach furthermore decides which class of events and theoretical approach are relevant for the given study.

The definition of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) is similar. However, they distinguish between setting and case. The concept of setting is the location. In other words, the setting is the context in which the given phenomenon occurs. This phenomenon can be studied from a variety of angles; however, the selected angle is conceptualised as the case. Selection of a case contributes to just a few areas of the phenomenon being studied. Related to the definition of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), in my research the setting is the city of Jos, where the group borders between Christians and Muslims take place. Furthermore, in line with George and Bennett (2005), how the social and spatial boundaries are created and how they affect the

human development are in my case. That being said, the case is likely to move outside the given setting (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). In other words, how the social and spatial borders are produced, maintained and strengthened as well as the effects on the human development as a result of these group boundaries between Muslims and Christians are likely to be a part of something more than what is happening locally in the city of Jos.

3.1.1 Exploratory Design

That being said, this research is moreover based on an exploratory design. Johnston et al. (2005:249) argue that an exploratory design and analysis is particularly valuable when there is a relatively weak theoretical base on the given area that is going to be studied. As seen in the introduction chapter, this was also the case for my research. In other words, much information is unknown about the conflict between Muslims and Christians in Jos. To choose my occurrence of a class of events and a particular approach to the given phenomenon, I started conducting the interviews and doing unstructured observations when I first arrived in Jos. Thus, my research questions were broad, vague and unclear. The goal was furthermore to find more specific research questions that could be explored in the next phase of the research. When I found my class of events, the research questions became more specific and the investigation became of more systematic character (Hellevik 2009). For example, the questions asked in the interviews and what I looked for in the participant observations became more specific. Using an exploratory design furthermore contributed to the conclusions drawn in this thesis not being consistent with prior expectations (Johnston et al. 2005:249).

Nonetheless, how a case study is carried out varies significantly from case to case. Therefore, I will further explain the methods selected for this research and choices made prior to and during the data collection. In the research conducted in Jos from October to December 2011, I used a combination of several data-collection techniques. In other words, triangulation was adopted (Fangen 2004:140). There were semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation.

3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

The main data-collection technique used in my research was semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. In other words, the interviews were conducted with the help of an interview guide that was developed to cover the areas that were relevant for the topic.

However, the respondents were free to answer how and what they desired without much interruption by the researcher. As this sometimes evolved to include topics outside the main focus of the study, the interview guide was used as a tool to make sure all areas of interest were covered. This type of interview was picked because the subjects are allowed to respond freely and specific questions are examined (Bryman 2008:438). In addition, the interview process is very flexible. It also helps in emphasising what the interviewee views as important in explaining the patterns, forms and behaviours related to how the division and boundaries between Christians and Muslims affect them. Each interview lasted between fifteen and forty minutes, depending on how much the informant desired to talk about the ongoing conflict. A voice recorder was used in some interviews that were held indoors. In the rest of the interviews, a pen and paper were used due to noise distraction. The interviews were transcribed into the laptop on the same day that the interviews were conducted.

3.2.1 Sample

No setting is possessed by a homogeneous group of people; with local differences, it is normal with a sample (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Therefore, whoever is participating in a research design determines which answers the researcher gets. I will therefore further illustrate whom I have interviewed to find out how the human development is affected by the fact that the city is now divided socially and spatially between Christians and Muslims. In addition to examine how these group borders are produced, maintained and strengthened.

The sample of the respondents was chosen by using what Larsen (2007:77) characterised as a discretionary selection. This was mainly done to ensure a variety of respondents. In my research, the respondents were selected using variables such as gender, age, religion, occupation, and geographical residence. In table 1, the urban informants are presented related to the variables of gender, age and religion.

Table 1: Overview of the Urban Informants

Sample overview				
Semi-structured interviews – urban area				
Coded number	Gender	Age	Religion	No of people
U1	Female	Under 20	Muslim	1
U2	Male	20-30	Muslim	1
U3	Female	20-30	Christian	1
U4	Male	30-40	Muslim	3
U5	Male	40-50	Muslim	1
U6	Male	30-40	Christian	1
U7	Female	40-50	Christian	1
U8	Male	50-60	Muslim	1
U9	Male	30-40	Muslim	1
U10	Male	40-50	Christian	1
U11	Male	20-30	Muslim	1
U12	Female	20-30	Christian	1
U13	Male	20-30	Christian	2
U14	Female	20-30	Christian	1
U15	Female	50-60	Christian	1
U16	Male	40-50	Muslim	1
U17	Male	30-40	Muslim	1
U18	Female	60-70	Muslim	1
U19	Male	20-30	Muslim	1
U20	Female	20-30	Muslim	1
U21	Female	Under 20	Christian	1
U22	Male	20-30	Christian	1
U23	Male	20-30	Christian	1
U24	Female	20-40	Christian	4
U25	Male	50-60	Christian	1

Qualitative methods usually have a sample that is relatively small. A sample of twenty-five was chosen for this research due to me wanting to cross-check the findings to see if they were also relevant to other individuals. In addition to that, I was afraid of excluding important findings, and I wanted to see if other people had additional information. Nonetheless, after conducting over twenty interviews, I felt that most of the information was repeated and that a small amount from the interviews was new. For example, when asking the informants about how the conflict had affected them, they started mentioning all the same spheres and ways that the previous informants had described. The same thing happened when I asked for solutions for bringing peace to the city. In other words, I reached the point of data saturation. According to Thaagard (2006:56), the sample can be characterised as sufficient and large enough when reaching this point.

In addition, twenty-five semi-structured interviews were done in rural areas around Plateau State. The respondents live in the areas of Jos (east, south and north), B-ladi and Bokkos, Wasse and Langtang (north and south). Thirteen of them were females and twelve were males. All the rural informants were Christians (see Appendix 2 for an overview of the rural informants). This was due to challenges such as limited time and resources to gain access to the rural Muslims, which are mainly nomads. In addition, I received warnings about intervening with them due to security reasons. That being said, one focus group with four Muslim rural leaders was conducted. Nonetheless, these interviews done in rural areas will only be referred to as supplementary findings in the analysis, due to the limited space of this thesis.

Even though the urban informants were chosen on the basis of the mentioned variables, I used the convenient method. I went to markets where Muslims were as well as the markets Christians belong to. I went to the different areas predominated by each of the groups and found people there to ask, without making any agreement before the interviews. However, in three of the interviews, I agreed to interview the informant in advance. Nonetheless, as said, I was very conscious about having informants with a variety of religions, genders, ages, occupations and locations in the city. Therefore, before going out I knew which type of informant I was looking for.



Picture 2: Muslim Nomads. in Langtang South.

3.2.2 Language Barrier

Nigeria's official language is English due to a history of being under British rule. Nonetheless, this does not mean that everyone speaks perfect English. However, almost everyone can understand and can make himself/herself understood in the urban city of Jos. That being said, the English that most people speak in Nigeria is slang-based English called Pidgin English. However, due to a long pre-visit to Nigeria before the fieldwork, I will say I was used to Pidgin English and could understand it rather well. Hausa is the other dominating language in Jos and there are people in Jos that only speak this language. Despite these challenges regarding languages, there were only problems due to languages barriers in three of the urban interviews that I conducted. In one of them I had a translator. In the other two interviews, I spent much time repeating the questions in different forms when they did not understand them, and I ensured that I understood what they were trying to tell me. Even though it can be a challenge in some interviews that some questions influence the interviewees to provide answers that do not correspond sufficiently with their reality, I think this was a bigger challenge in these two interviews. As I all the time had to ensure that I understood them, the questions were not as open and much more leading as they intended to be.

In all the rural interviews besides six, a translator was used due to the informants only speaking Hausa. This again contributed to the information given being outside the researcher's control. Therefore, I sometimes noticed that the translator in the first interviews in rural areas started answering the questions himself and explained to me without asking the informant when I asked additional questions. When I asked him to ask for the informant's view, I believe he made his own interpretations of what the informant said. This being the case was indicated by the informant saying a sentence and the translator forwarding this sentence to me by saying many more sentences. Altogether, I had three different translators in the rural areas. Also, the rural informants that did speak English and that I interviewed alone did not speak it well. I therefore had the same problems as with the two urban informants that had problems speaking and understanding English that I interviewed without a translator.

3.2.3 Interview Guide

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that a qualitative interview is usually not determined in advance. Thus, the researcher usually adjusts his or her interview related to the given informant. Nevertheless, it is common that researchers bring a list of questions that he or she wishes to investigate. Others bring a complete interview guide. However, often the different informants are not asked the same questions due to following an interview guide slavishly often leads to the repetition of answers to some degree. There may also be differences between the informants, which suggests that some speak more freely than others. In other words, there are variations between different interviews. The researcher sometimes has to follow up with several questions and steer the conversation; other times that is not necessary. Like I mentioned, I had to steer the conversation more when there were language barriers in the interviews.

That being said, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), qualitative data collection is never a simple conversation due to the researcher having a research agenda. It is therefore important that the researcher has some control over the conversation and that questions you want answered are asked, so that it cannot be categorised as any other normal conversation. As mentioned, I therefore brought a complete interview guide to my interviews (see appendix 1). This interview guide was pre-tested three times before I started the interviews. However, the interview guide was used more to follow a set of topics and have something to support me, especially at the beginning of the interviews. However, the conversation usually flowed after a while and the interview guide was not used too much. In addition, I usually added

questions to the guide that I also wanted to further explore when new interesting findings came up. Thus, the interviews I conducted can be characterised as semi-structured interviews.

3.2.4 The Interviewer's Role

The researcher's identity can influence the information collected from the informants (Valentine 2005). Gender, age, ethnicity and marital status are all factors that can influence the data. In my research I was aware of my privileged position in terms of wealth. My impression during my stays in Nigeria is that white people are usually looked up to. This can furthermore be related to complex power relations that have come as a consequence of the colonialism. In addition, in the setting of an interview you are in an authoritative role when being the interviewer. This may result in people answering what they think you want to hear. However, I do not think this was the case in my research, due to the questions being very open, as mentioned. Moreover, no notice about what I wanted to hear was given, and the informants usually responded freely.

That being said, being a white woman, *Oyibo* or *Baturia*, might have created a picture of inequality. Furthermore, I could easily be confused with being a missionary or working for international NGOs or the UN, like most other *Oyibos* or white persons. However, the authoritative relationship may make the informants describe their situation worse than it actually is, in the hope of getting some economic help. It was therefore important that I regularly emphasised that I was just a student with limited resources. In the rural areas, I especially noticed that people usually asked for economic finances. While in the urban areas, it did not look like this was as big a problem. This is probably because the urban informants better understand the concept of a master thesis than the rural informants due to them being better educated. Also, in the interviews conducted without a translator, it was easier to explain what this material was going to be used for. Furthermore, I also spoke to many people I knew in Jos to confirm whether the patterns I found were applicable.

3.3 Focus Group

The use of focus groups as a research method was not originally planned for this study. Nevertheless, during my field work I got the opportunity to have two focus groups with persons belonging to a part of the Muslim group, who were challenging to get in touch with. One group was with six Muslim women living in an urban area predominated by Muslims in

Jos South, which I was warned about entering by my Christian employees. I will further come back to this in the next chapter.

The other focus group was with four Muslim leaders in a rural area. That being said, as already pinpointed, the rural interviews and the focus group conducted with the rural Muslim leaders will not have a central place in this thesis, but will be referred to in certain places in the thesis.

Related to the focus group done with the urban Muslim women, the snowball method was used. Through a Nigerian friend, I gained access to an organisation that arranges a monthly meeting where Christian and Muslim women meet to discuss the conflict. I participated in that meeting and got in touch with a Muslim woman. She further gathered five other Muslim women in her office for a focus group. The name of the organisations will not be presented in this thesis due to a promise made about total confidentiality; women participating in these meetings can be in danger.

In addition, it happened during three individual interviews that curious people came and got involved in the discussion. These interviews also turned into focus groups. In table 1, it can be seen that interviews U4, U13 and U24 were individual interviews that turned into group interviews, with two, three and four people. Each focus group lasted for approximately one hour.

That being said, I believe that the focus groups gave essential and additional information to my research. Firstly, it allowed the participants perceptions to be relived in ways that were different from individual interviews (Bryman 2008:488). As Palmer et al. (2005) note, in focus groups the participants can explore underlying (possibly unconscious) influences on their actions and behaviour. Also, a focus group has a greater degree of validation compared to interviews. If one informant is being untruthful or controversial, the remaining informants will possibly start arguing and disagree with the given statements. This happened in some of my focus groups. For example, in interview U24, which turned into a focus group, one of the ladies accused the military men around the town for the crisis and that they had to be removed to bring peace to Jos. The other ladies completely disagreed with this statement and an argument started. In addition, focus groups are less artificial compared to interviews, for example, because group interactions are a part of normal life; they are therefore not an unnatural situation (Bryman 2008:487).

3.3.1 Changes in Procedures

When conducting the focus group with the rural Muslim leaders, I went with a Christian NGO, CeGHaD. This further posed several challenges to the situation. Firstly, my perception was that they did not want to open up due to probably being unsure of the purpose of the interview and being afraid that the information could be used for something other than a master thesis, hence against them. This is probably because we belonged to the opposite and conflicting group and were not one of them. It is also likely to believe that they might not even understand the concept of a master thesis.

However, after the focus group we were contacted by the police: they wanted my identification and investigated what I was doing. Based on that incident, I changed my procedure and went alone as a neutral person related to the conflict when interviewing Muslims. I had no further problems getting them to open up when using this approach.

3.4 Participant Observation

Participant observation was used as a supplementary method in the given research. However, the observations were of an unstructured character. During my stay in Jos, I lived and socialised with the locals; I used the same transport, ate at the same places, and used the same shops and markets as the locals. I tried to live like them as much as possible. In addition, I had three of the Muslim women that I had a focus group with to show me around for approximately one hour in a Muslim-predominated area, which I was warned against going to. As already mentioned, I also attended a meeting where Christian and Muslim women meet to discuss the conflict, which gave me essential field contacts and a broader aspect of the complex situation in Jos.

Fangen (2004:31) and Bryman (2008:466) argue that as interviews are more constructed, participant observation makes you more sensitive to the less-obvious sides of the topic studied. In other words, you gain access to deviant and hidden activities. It also made me better equipped to see through the eyes of the locals (Bryman 2008:465). Sometimes, I even started to feel the fear that the locals described having when moving into certain areas of the city. For example, on one occasion I was conducting interviews and I was going from one side of the city to the other. The bike man did not speak English well, and my limited knowledge about names around the city resulted in a misunderstanding about where I

intended to go. The bike man drove through an area I had never been before - an area dominated by very conservative Muslims. I felt he was driving for a very long time - much longer than I knew it took to the area I thought I was going. I had heard stories several times about Christians that had been kidnapped and killed by Muslim drivers; this was one of the times I really started to be afraid. I tried talking to the driver, asking where he was going, but he did not understand what I was saying due to the language barriers. However, after a long time he stopped, saying we were at the place I was going. I told him it was the wrong place. Other bike men were standing there and they were better at English. It was clear that he had misunderstood the place, as the name of the place he had taken me was strikingly similar to the name of the place I was actually going.

Reger (2001) argues that it is important that the researcher investigates and analyses his/her own emotions, along with the data. As with analysing one's own emotions, important social dynamics of the research location can be uncovered. Other times I actually did not feel scared when violent things happened, because it became "common". For example, when I was sitting with some friends at a bar on a Saturday night, 10 December 2011, a good friend of mine was called up by his friend saying there had been a bomb at Tina Junction. A little while afterwards, we heard a bang close to us. It was clear that it was another bomb. Later, I remember thinking how stupid I was not being frightened by this incident and that I wanted to be at the bar for a longer time. It would be more natural to act like the other Brazilian girl who was there: she just wanted to travel back home, especially for a girl coming from a calm country like Norway. However, I would say I was getting used to these things: even the very first day I came to Nigeria, and stayed in Abuja, there was a bomb in the police headquarters, 16th of June 2011. I remember sitting and eating food, and then we heard a big bang - that made me scared. Losing this fear after a while indicated that I got used to such incidents, like the locals. They were not too bothered by the bombs that Saturday evening. However, I will claim that despite occasionally thinking more like the locals, I did not "go native"; I still questioned the activities that were observed.

In addition, I believe that participant observation gave information that would not have been revealed if this data technique was not used. On several occasions, I found that the information from the interviews did not correspond with what I found doing participant observation. For example, as pinpointed, people in the interviews may answer what they think you want to hear, or want you to write a thesis favouring their group. However, when having

informal conversations with friends and colleagues, things were said other than in the interviews. One example was related to violence against the opposite group in areas that the informant group predominates. This example will be subsequently discussed in detail in the thesis.

Furthermore, participant observation helps linking behaviour and context due to the researcher interacting with people in a variety of situations. Despite that, many of the impressions the researcher gets through participant observation can be challenging to put words to; it will contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon, according to Fangen (2004:30). Thus, interviews reflect on the subjective experiences of individuals related to what has happened. However, you are also selective when observing, but at the same time you reflect over one's own selections and impressions, and you can use these in the reflection of data (Fangen 2004:31).

3.5 Categorising of the Interview Material

Based on the transcribed interviews, I categorised the information received when talking with citizens in Jos. Inspired by guidelines in Thaagard (2006:132) and Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003:2), I firstly identified units in the text that were categorised by selected categories. Some of the categories were decided before the data collection based on existing theories and literature, while others emerged from the data. Afterwards, I collected all the information together that was related to one code in a word document. Moreover, I did so with all the codes.

To illustrate an example: when I asked people how they think peace can be achieved in Plateau State, I got diverse answers. These were some of the different codes I received out of this question: government, employment, poverty, praying to God, no solution, and understanding each other. All the information about the given code, e.g. government, was gathered together in a word document.

Though each interview consisted of several pages of raw data, I also used colours to code before copying data into the word document. According to Campadelli et al. (2001:2283), coding with colour is particularly effective when coding and formatting qualitative information. To illustrate an example: every time someone mentioned something about physical or spatial group boundaries, I would mark it in blue. On the other hand, social

boundaries were marked in red before I was gathering all the data belonging to each of these codes into a word document.

After coding the data, I interpreted the data. This was done by finding the most obvious patterns in the coding. For example, when all informants, besides one, pinpointed that they did not enter into areas that are predominated by the opposite group due to fear of violence, this was one obvious finding. I also strived to find patterns related to the same things that people had brought up in the interviews, as the interview questions were very open. Afterwards, these patterns were seen in light of the participant observation and through excising literature on the topic.

There are advantages and disadvantages with using categorising as an analysing tool. It gives you a great overview of the data material and you can detect new points that you were not aware of to begin with. On the other hand, it is time consuming to do this in a good way. In addition, coding is criticised because it entails fragmentation of data and therefore results in a loss in the sense of context (Coffey & Atkinson 1996 in Bryman 2008:549). In other words, analysing the data with coding contributes to the data becoming of a more quantitative character. I therefore always went back to the whole transcribed interviews when detecting new points in order to not lose the sense of context. That being said, the phase of analysing will always consist of interpretations by the researcher.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Firstly, since conflicts and negative sides related to these events are a rather sensitive topic, which can further bring out personal stories and sensitive issues for the informants, it is important that the informants are willing to participate (Bryman 2008:118). That being said, in relation to the participant observation, I could not ensure that my presence as a researcher while going around the city observing and doing my daily living was obvious for everyone. It would furthermore be very difficult or impossible to inform everyone that was observed about the research and observations. I therefore did not always follow the ethical consideration of informed consent when doing participant observation. However, in these cases no specific people were observed; it was the city as a whole. Thus, I often did not know the identity of the people observed. However, all my informants for the interviews and focus groups were informed. During my interviews and focus groups, I always introduced myself and was open about the topic and reason for the study. In addition, I explained that the information collected

would be used as material for the thesis. Nevertheless, telling the subjects about what exactly is being studied may affect their answers. Finding a balance between these issues was therefore important. This informed consent was done verbally.

In addition, since the topic, (ongoing conflict) is sensitive, the implications of the research have to be considered. Especially when dealing with both sides (Christians and Muslims), as they are opposite parts of the conflict, it is important that all the informants remain anonymous. To avoid the participants being under any circumstances of being harmed during or as a result of the research, name codes are used rather than real names in this thesis (Bryman 2008:118). Nonetheless, confidentiality alone does not protect the informants from reflecting on the sensitive topic of conflict, as many of the informants had lost their home and people they dearly loved. The interviews may also make them aware of fear or negative effects, which were not obvious for them before, that might have affected them mentally. I therefore emphasised to all my informants that they were allowed to skip any questions, leave the interview and recall their data if they so desired (Bryman 2008:123). I usually gave out my number and email address, saying that they could contact me any time if they changed their mind and did not want me to use their information from the given interview in my research. That being said, it only happened once that a person declined being interviewed. It never happened that people left or contacted me saying that they regretted participating afterwards.

3.7 Quality of the Research

I will end the methodology chapter by considering this thesis' reliability and internal validity. While the ideal of reliability comes from quantitative methods, Fangen (2004:209) and many other qualitative researchers argue that this ideal is impossible to transfer to a qualitative method. Furthermore, Glassner and Loughlin (1987:27) argue that the reliability should have another content when applied in a qualitative method. Strauss and Schatzman (1973:134) say that reliability is possible if the researcher explains how he or she has interpreted by showing which observations they are based on and how these observations can be understood in light of the terms and theories that are used. Fangen (2004:209) and Thagard (2006:194) argue that the more detailed the given interpretations are that you present, the easier it will be for another person to consider the reliability of them.

Validation is used to say something about the interpretations corresponding with the reality we have studied (Silvermann 2006). Validity also refers to whether the scientist is investigating the question posed. According to Larsen (2007:80), qualitative data is more valid than quantitative: when applying a qualitative method, it is easier to ensure that the data are more relevant for the research question, as the process is more flexible. According to Kuhn (1996 [1962]), the validity depends on the existing paradigm. Today we do not look at social science through positivist eyes due to it being outside the existing paradigm. However, today a more reflexive approach to data collection dominates (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:18). In this approach the researcher is a part of the social world we are studying. An accurate and open methodology chapter thus responds to a science paradigm concerned with reflexivity, where I have included my own role and impact level in the data collection and analysis of the data. In addition, the transparency is strengthened, which again strengthens the external validity, or what Thagaard (2009) calls transferability. Based on this, I will argue that the openness and detailed presentation in this methodology chapter strengthens the reliability as well as the validation of the research done for this thesis. In addition, the triangulation conducted in this study increases the validation of this research. As discussed previously in this chapter, the findings from the interview did not always correspond with what I found when doing the participant observation. Thus, getting information confirmed or disconfirmed by using a triangulation of methods qualitatively ensures the data.

Chapter 4: Spatial Group Boundaries

Wilton (1998) argues that borders in nature are social, yet imminently spatial. This chapter will focus on the spatial boundaries between the Muslims and Christians in Jos, while the next chapter will focus on the social group boundaries. However, it is important to notify that the two types of boundaries interact and are mutually related. Nonetheless, they are divided into two categories in this thesis to simplify the complex phenomenon for the reader.

That being said, Wilton (1998) argues that people strive to separate themselves physically from those they find different or threatening. This chapter will therefore focus on fear of the other group in terms of violence, which furthermore contributes to spatial boundaries. Moreover, the fear can also be seen as a consequence of the group boundaries. How the group borders are produced, maintained and strengthened as well as the consequences of these boundaries also are mutually related.

4.1 Fear of Violence

“Freedom from fear could be said to sum up the whole philosophy of human rights”

Dag Hammarskjold

All my urban informants, besides one, from the semi-structured interviews highlighted that they feared entering areas that are dominated by the opposite group, as opposed to the one they belonged to. They therefore did everything in their power to avoid it. The same was confirmed by the focus groups done in the urban area and from the participant observation.

When I asked my informants why they avoided certain areas, all answers were connected to a fear of violence. The debate within academic disciplines about why fear develops is ongoing. However, many emphasise the victimisation theory, which claims that fear comes as a result of the perceived probability of becoming a victim (Bannister and Fyfe 2001; Cops 2010). Furthermore, many academics claim that fear develops when people see themselves as vulnerable due to feeling that they are not able to control their lives or other people's behaviours and activities (Bannister and Fyfe 2001; Cops 2010; Pantazis 2010). Moreover, fear is a product of factors of the public space that the individual does not have the ability to

influence (Yavuz and Welch 2010). According to Tuan (in Holloway and Hubbard 2001:107), fear and anxiety are generally associated with being away from home, in places where you feel you do not belong. This feeling often results from a sense that the place belongs to other people.

Moreover, Bannister and Fyfe (2001) claim that fear of violence is a consequence of social and physical characteristics of a particular place, in addition to the individual's knowledge of that given space. They call this theory the urban environment theory. For my urban informants not daring to enter areas that the other group dominates, the fear may be risk-based, as the person does an evaluation of the risk that violence actually could occur (Reid et al. 1998; Pain 2001). In other words, before moving into these areas, the individuals take into consideration how high the risk of being a victim of violence is, in addition to the probability of being helped in case of victimisation (Bannister and Fyfe 2001).

That being said, when Bannister and Fyfe (2001) discuss what causes fear of crime, they forget one essential aspect in the construction of the phenomenon. To start fearing violence, it is not necessary to become a victim yourself (Hanum 2011:17). It is sometimes sufficient hearing other people such as friends, neighbours and relatives being victimised. Caldeira (2000) calls this the talk of crime. Also, Taylor (2009) emphasises the important influence of the talk of crime and mentions factors, such as media attention and rumours, that all might produce the fear of crime. These talks of crime further create discourses of fear.

For many of my urban informants, I would argue that the fear came as a result of being victimised themselves, as many informants had lost their homes and most of their belongings due to attacks because they were displaced and living in areas predominated by the opposite group, though they at that time were mixed neighbourhoods. This was also the case with all my rural informants, except the Muslim rural leaders I interviewed in a focus group. A few of the urban informants also said they had witnessed people being killed or injured. However, for most of the urban informants, I would say that the fear came and developed from the talk of crime. They often told me about friends, relatives and neighbours that had lost their lives or been injured because they found themselves in an area that was dominated by the opposite groups. Also, many of the informants emphasised that there were many rumours going around in the city, which moreover made people fear the other group to a greater extent.

Furthermore, the talk of crime contributed to some of the informants fearing going into the areas that were dominated by the other religion as an outsider, as they thought they could be killed and injured even though there was no fighting and were in rather peaceful times. Others were afraid that a crisis or fighting could suddenly break out when they were in these areas. They could be caught and displaced in this area due to road blocks and hereby killed due to belonging to the opposite group.

4.1.1 The Bike Men

During my participant observation, I also found that bike men who are responsible for most of the public transport in Jos often refuse to drive people that are going into areas that are dominated by the opposite group. Most of the drivers are Muslims belonging to the ethnic group Hausa-Fulani. Often when I stopped these bike men, asking them to drive me home to Lamingo Road, a peri-urban Christian-dominated area, they often said: “*No, I’m not going into that area*”, or just shook their head before they drove away. Other times it seemed like they hesitated before they decided to drive me home. This affirms the findings of Dung-Gwom and Rikko (2009:9), who argue that the Hausa-Fulani people do not feel safe in the peri-urban areas of Jos where the Christians usually dominate.

That being said, it was more common that the bike men refused to drive me home in the evening. According to Cobbina et al. (2008), avoidance strategies often change both temporal and geographical patterns. The dark is often associated with more fear, and avoiding certain areas may be more common when it is dark outside (Skogan and Maxfield 1981). When going home in the evening at around six or seven o’clock from a Muslim-dominated area to the peri-urban Christian area, I usually had to take three different bikes, when in daylight I could take one or two⁴. During my stay, the government also constructed new rules, and bike men were not allowed to drive between seven o’clock before midnight and six after midnight due to fear of terror attacks. I also noticed that it was impossible to get home to the peri-urban Christian area by using Hausa-Fulani bike men on the days following three bombs on bars broadcasting a football match on television, probably because they were afraid of revenge by the Christians. I could stop up to ten different bike men, who all refused to drive me five minutes

⁴ Referring back to figure two, the map of Jos: I started as far north as the map shows in the evening, and I had to take a bike to the West of Mines, not located far from Zaria bypass, then another bike further to British, located near Abattoir. I took a last bike and arrived at the final destination (Lamingo Road), which is a peri-urban area located west of Plateau Specialist Hospital in the picture. However, during daytime the bike men followed Bauchi Ring Road. Or I could take one bike through M. Muhammad way, before shifting over to another bike at British that would take me to Lamingo Road, depending on the religion and ethnicity of the driver.

away into a Christian area. However, after a while I got help from locals that managed to distinguish the Hausa-Fulani bike men from bike men with another ethnicity. I found a bike man with an ethnicity that would not feel as threatened going into the Christian area I lived in. We will come back to how the people in Jos manage to distinguish their own group from the other group in the next chapter.



Pictures 3-4: Picture of Jos. The pictures were taken on a mountain north central in Jos, not far from the University of Jos.

4.1.2 Safe or Unsafe in the Other Group Area?

Moreover, I witnessed several occasions where local friends and colleagues feared going into areas dominated by the opposite group. They often drove long detours to get to a certain area, due to wanting to avoid areas they feared. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, I was warned against going to the area that I conducted the focus group with the Muslim women in Jos South. Nonetheless, I was driven there by a Christian colleague. However, she stopped on a junction along Gero Road and refused to drive down the street where I was going to conduct the focus group with the Muslims women. This was a completely new area for me, and I had to call the Muslim woman that had arranged the focus group to ask her to come and meet me at the given junction to follow me to the office where my informants were waiting. When she came to the junction, a few sentences were exchanged about the situation between the Muslim woman and my Christian colleague about why she did not dare to drive down the Muslim-predominated street - it was only about sixty metres. I did not understand the conversation, as it was in Hausa. Nevertheless, based on the body language, I understood it was this given situation they were talking about. Moreover, the Muslim woman explained what they were talking about when she followed me to the office. My impression by talking to this Muslim woman afterwards was that she thought it was foolish that my Christian colleague was afraid of driving down that specific street. However, they later agreed in the focus group that they were afraid to go into Christian areas themselves. Furthermore, I observed how nervous and anxious my Christian colleague was when she was driving me to this area. Thus, her desire to get away as fast as possible from that area was great. That being said, I often witnessed people I knew being uncomfortable when they were located in an area that was predominated by the opposite religion. Nevertheless, it was very common in the interviews that the Christians said that the Muslims were safe in their areas, as nothing would happen to them, but that Christians, on the other hand, were not free to walk into the Muslim areas. The same was with Muslims; a typical quote was the following: *“I don’t go to Christian areas, because I will get killed. But the Christians are free to go anywhere, also in the Muslim areas.”* [Interview U17]

That being said, only a few of the informants from the interviews said they had witnessed extreme crime on the other group in their own area. They were more concerned with presenting all the negative things the opposite group had done to them. Like in the quotation, they often presented their role of being victims in the interviews. However, based on many informal conversations with friends, it seemed that it was very common to have witnessed killings. In these informal conversations, it was obvious that the killings were usually on

people belonging to the other group in their own area. In other words, Muslim friends of mine said they had seen Christians been killed and injured in Muslim areas. The Christians I knew said Muslims were also killed in the predominated Christian areas. Whilst moving around in the city, you also observe uncountable abandoned houses. In Christian areas, mosques and houses of previous Muslim residents that are burned down can easily be observed. In Muslim areas, churches and houses that had Christian residents are also in ruins. The houses that are burned down belonging to the other group rather than the group currently dominating the given area was confirmed by asking several random people passing on the street, in various places in the city.

This finding contradicts the informants saying that the opposite group are safe if they come to the areas that the group that the informant belongs to dominate. If they have witnessed such crimes, this suggests different. In other words, the information I got in the interviews did not correspond with what I observed. However, this can be related to the informants from the interviews trying to present themselves as the good group, and the others as bad, and furthermore hoping that I would write a thesis that favours their group. On the other hand, it can also be related to them themselves feeling safe in their own area, because that is where their own people are, and it is furthermore a place they are not vulnerable in. Therefore, they have difficulty understanding that others do not feel safe in the given area. According to Sibley (2001), fear of the unknown other is associated with a lack of order. Thus, patterns, order, and clearly defined boundaries are often essential in coping, related to this fear. Moreover, he claims that what is considered bad and good is incorporated through the socialisation process. It will, in other words, be natural to view one's own group as good and the opposite group as bad, and moreover strive to separate themselves physically from those they find different or threatening.



Pictures 5 - 8: Attacked houses. Hundreds of metres of burned-down homes, Jos South.

4.1.3 Coping Strategies and Fear

According to Glassner (1999), fear of violence may also be constructed through efforts to protect against it. These are efforts that involve responses people create in order to reduce or eliminate their fear, and they are furthermore often called coping strategies. Moreover, he claims that coping strategies may function as constant reminders of the fear of victimisation. That being said, coping strategies are usually believed to help manage insecurities and thus reduce fear. Therefore, it works as protection against dangerous situations (Zebrowski 2007). Furthermore, coping strategies can be a conscious part of everyday life or an unconscious routine in daily actions. Also, different types of fear motivate different coping strategies (Reid et al. 1998). Coping strategies can moreover be individual or collective.

As already noted, all my urban informants, except one, coped with the fear of violence by just staying in areas that were dominated by own groups and avoiding areas that were predominated by the opposite group. Ferraro (1995) calls this an avoiding strategy, which further involves changing or limiting daily activities because of fear, such as avoiding areas the individual considers unsafe. Nonetheless, some of the informants sometimes had to enter the areas they considered unsafe due to different purposes. They then had to use other strategies to deal with the fear, which I will elaborate on.

According to Cresswell (1996), the discursive rhetoric establishes and maintains group borders. Furthermore, meaning is attributed to specific places. Thus, the meaning of a place is subject to various discourses of power (Cresswell 1996:15). People thus create an image of how to behave appropriately in each particular place. In other words, they create an image of the given normative behaviour in specific areas. My urban informants moreover did this if they had to go into areas that were dominated by the other religion. The young female Muslim informant U1 said the following: *“I just stay in the Muslim areas. If I have to go to a Christian area I remove my veil. If not I am afraid I will get shot.”* [Interview U1]. The Muslim women from the focus group furthermore confirmed that this normative behaviour was common.

Other informants claimed that pretending to belong to the other religion or manipulating the behaviour to fit into the image of the normative behaviour of that specific place would not help if violent fighting suddenly broke out, as everyone will be asked to quote from the Koran or Bible, depending on which area you are in. If you are not able to answer you will be killed. It was therefore more common to constantly avoid these areas based on the fear of being identified as a minority.

However, there is no further direct mutual relation between place and appropriate behaviour in everyday life. Cresswell (1996) therefore argues that as long as everything appears to be normal, the awareness of the place will disappear. On the other hand, actions out of place make people aware of the given abnormalities. Moreover, the problems arise when different groups have different ideas about what is or is not appropriate behaviour at a given place. In other words, the various ideas are made in different normative geographies. When different cultural values contradict, the group with most power will define the normative geography (Cresswell 1996). In the case of Jos, the Muslims will define the

normative geography in the areas they dominate, and the Christians in the areas they live as a majority.

That being said, when my urban informants were in their own area, and there was fighting between the two groups outside, they all stayed inside their houses because they feared being injured or killed. This meant an ensured security and safety. Only one of my urban informants said she was out fighting. The rest can be what Vetlesen (2005:253) describes as bystanders. Participant observation also found that many Christians stayed inside during the Sallah, a Muslim holiday, due to fear of outbreaks of the conflict. This is because they felt much more secure at home, inside their house. According to Warde et al. (2000:526, 529), it is common for people that fear violence from other groups to stay inside, as a coping mechanism. Greenberg and Ruback (1992:3) claim that staying at home makes crime and violence more likely to occur and is less risky for the people that commit it. In contrast to the finding of my urban informants, I found that in rural areas and in the focus group with the Muslim women that lived in Jos south, they did not stay inside but chose to run to other areas they considered safer. In rural areas they escaped into the bush, and in Jos south to the police station. The urban informants that had lost their homes because they were displaced also did this. These cases are different from the case of the people staying at home, as they all feared or experienced sudden attacks on their houses and themselves as a cause of living in a vulnerable area that pushed them to seek security somewhere else. In other words, the instinctual response of flight is activated (Kenrick et al. 2007:8).

In addition, I found that it was common to use collective coping strategies to protect one's own area, when there was fighting, by providing guards. If there was fighting, young guys usually went out guarding the area by providing roadblocks, ensuring that no one considered unwelcome came into the area. One of the informants said the following:

“There was some rumors that the Muslims was going to attack my area in the last fighting; we therefore prepared. None slept, and we stayed outside. We had weapons, like knife, and someone of us had guns. [...] After two days no one came to attack us so we went home.” [Interview U23]

This quote can furthermore be referred back to the discussion of why fear of the other group occurs. The informant is saying that the fear of being attacked by the Muslims came from rumours - the talk of crime. In the rural area the collective strategies were more common than

individual ones. However, they also had people guarding their area every night. They called these the “vigilantes”. This is a group of five men from the village patrolling together with security men. Each group has one day of the week for patrolling. The informants said that local and traditional weapons were brought during the patrolling. In addition, they go to the farm in groups, which they could go to before as individuals. They usually went to the farms with the strong youths that could run if they were being attacked. Some of the farmers are furthermore not working and are instead looking for enemies. They are moreover prepared to defend themselves with knives that they use for farming. While the women are at home and watching out for enemies, they will call their husbands that are in the farm if they see something suspect.

Also, the government have introduced some restrictions in the city to reduce fear of terror. Checkpoints with military guards are all around the town. These checkpoints were also the case elsewhere in Nigeria. However, they are more frequent in the north and middle belt, compared to the south in the country.

4.2 Violence and Struggle over Boundaries

As already discussed, the fear of violence often comes from actual cases of violence, e.g. you have been a victim of violence yourself. This section will discuss the actual violence related to the borders between Muslims and Christians in Jos. There being much political violence and murder between the two groups in Jos is unquestionable, based on statistics and the numbers presented in Chapter 2. However, has the actual violence increased, and not just the fear of violence, paralleled with the two groups moving in separate areas in Jos?

Calame and Charlesworth (2009) argue that “walls” or a clear physical divide are set up by the conflicting groups as barricades as a measure to hinder a conflict. However, according to Ley (in Holloway and Hubbard 2001:97), violence such as street fights and shootings between gangs whose territories were geographically close to each other was more common than between gangs that had borders far from each other. In other words, the violent incidents decreased with the distance between the groups, and violence was more likely between gangs that shared a boundary. Furthermore, he claimed that the violence was a part of a struggle over the boundaries between the territories. Fights were more about making territories, defining boundaries and maintaining group identity. According to informant U25, he had witnessed that violence had become more severe in the last couple of years, despite the two

groups now living separately. He said the following: *“From September the 7th 2001 to 2010 it was not as bad as it is now. But since 2010 there have been no stability and the crisis and violence have been often and much.”* [Interview U25].

This informant lived in an area called Tina Junction. This was often characterised as one of the worst areas, which is predominated by Christians, for Christians to live in. This is because it is very closely located to and shares a border with a Muslim-dominated area. The only physical thing that separates these areas is a boundary of some metres of houses that are burned down. Other informants that lived in peri-urban areas did not complain about the increase in violence or that there was much violence in their area in general, so this may indicate that the conflict-related violence is more common in the areas that share a boundary with areas that are dominated by the opposite group. Figure 2 also illustrates that the area worst hit by violence is the city centre and that Tina Junction is one of the areas hardest hit. Moreover, the picture supports my finding that most of the violence is conducted in the areas where Muslims and Christians share close borders. In other words, violence and sharing spatial borders are interlinked. Thus, Ley’s theory can be transferred to the case of Jos.

In addition, Tina Junction is an area where Muslims and Christians used to live mixed together; this informant actually claims that the violence has been worse since they physically separated, indicating that separating the groups has not helped preventing conflict-related violence. Nonetheless, some academics argue that visibility of the other group may furthermore have an impact on the negative stereotypical images of the other group, e.g. that they are dangerous, because the differences become more apparent. On the other hand, Wilton (1998) argues that trespassing borders could be good due to them leading to a higher acceptance for differences. Watt and Stenson (1998 in Pain 2001) found in their study in southeast England that the commonness of school friendships between young people of different ethnic backgrounds leads to a less-marked fear based on ethnicity and violence, including fear of other areas. That being said, the dimension of fear strengthens the spatial borders and control, especially when ethnicity is manifested in violence, like in the case of Jos. However, constructions of ethnicity and fear differ according to the context, and the different ideas and manifestations will be influenced by local history of ethnic relations and demographics (Smith 1986), as discussed in the background chapter.

Nonetheless, the fear of the other religious groups in Jos increasing, while paralleled with the spatial borders, may be related to the boundary becoming stronger and the violence being used to clarify the borders between the two groups, as well as the fear of the other having increased. Glover (2001:131) argues that violence that occurs between two groups in armed conflicts will increase as a cause of what he calls the trap of “Hobbesian fear”. In other words, since the two groups are a potential threat to each other, this results in mutual fear that gives each group a reason for striking first. Referring to the statistics of Land Info (2011:15), presented in chapter 2, it can also be observed that armed violence has become more frequent since January 2010. Figure 3 also illustrates that estimates of violent incidents related to the conflict in Jos have increased in line with the strengthened spatial group boundaries. Thus, physical or spatial borders between the two groups have therefore not helped in preventing violence.

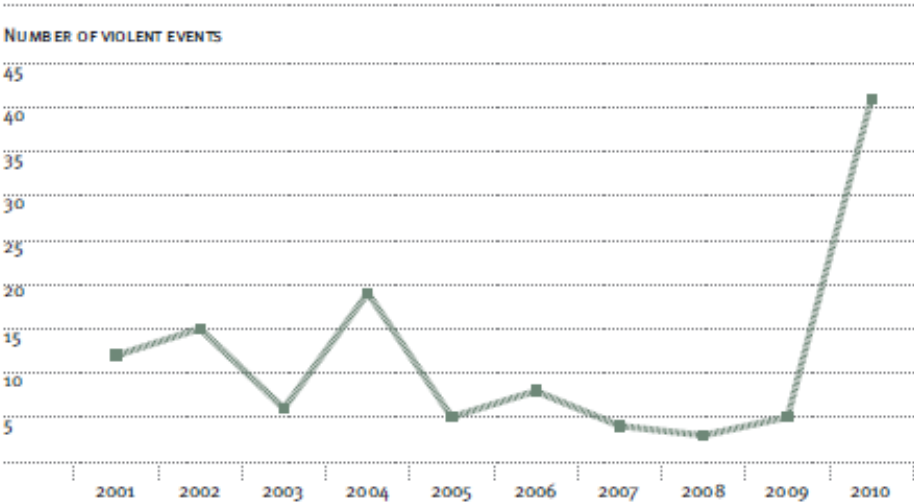


Figure 3: Estimates of Violent Clashes in Jos, 2001–10

Source: Kruse 2011

That being said, the fear of the other religious group and the spatial boundaries discussed are closely linked to social group borders. This thesis will now look at the social boundaries between the Muslims and Christians in Jos.

Chapter 5: Social Group Boundaries

The previous chapter emphasised that people strive to separate themselves physically from those they find threatening. On the other hand, people distance themselves socially from the other in order to protect a sense of 'self'. Wilton (1998) calls this the spatiality of difference: a spatiality of difference is created when groups distance themselves from what they perceive as different from them, and separate them and us by employing social and spatial borders.

This chapter will discuss social boundaries between the Christians and Muslims in Jos. Due to social boundaries being constructed to protect one's self, this chapter will focus on aspects related to group identity.

5.1 Identity Borders

A collective identity is a way of symbolic representation of commonness among the members of the group, which is set in contrast to other collectives. There are several examples of people identifying themselves with a group and feeling hostility towards other groups, even when they belong to minimal groups without any emotionally charged ethnic, religious or political basis (Glover 2001:141). In some extreme cases, the group membership may be random. This is shown in a psychological experiment conducted by the pioneer Philip Zimbardo. In the study, healthy students were randomly assigned to become prisoners or prison guards. They quickly started to identify themselves with their own group and became further hostile to the other group. One prison guard, for example, forced some prisoners to clean the toilets with a toothbrush. Furthermore, the prison guards often refused the prisoners going to the toilet and making them empty stool boxes they had in their cells. It did not take long before several of the prisoners revolted. The experiment had to be stopped after only six days, despite the fact it was planned to be for fourteen days (Jones 2006:274-275).

That being said, when discussing and explaining group identity related to poly-ethnic conflicts, like in Jos, it goes beyond minimal groups like described in the prisoner experiment. This is because the tribal and religious identification observed in Jos is much stronger and superior than an identity related to an occupation, such as being a prisoner, trader, doctor or teacher (Glover 2001:144). This may be because the religious and ethnical group identity is bounded to long roots of history. Moreover, the identity that is strongest in Nigeria is

religiously and ethnically bounded. According to Lewis and Bratton (2000:27), Nigerians generally define themselves in terms of their ethnic and religious affinities compared to any other identity. Lewis and Bratton (2000:26) also found that the identity of ethnic groups and religion was characterised with much pride for Nigerians. It can furthermore cost much for an individual to break out of the given ethnical or religious groups; this is because deep feelings of identity and social relations have to be rejected. It can feel painful to seek a new fundamental reorientation (Natvig 2008).

On the one hand, some scholars believe that ethnic identities will disappear in the process of globalisation, and be erased paralleled with modernity (Mamdani 1996 in Tarimo 2010). On the other hand, others believe that ethnic identities will be reinforced when bringing together people of different origins (Tarimo 2010). Through the process of being exposed to different ethnic groups, one may feel a greater belonging to their own group, and ethnic affiliations will be reinforced. Furthermore, belonging is a key concept in the conceptualisation of ethnic identity among all groups (Yancey et al. 2001)

Nonetheless, it is important to mention that borders are not constant. However, they shift continuously. Barth (1982) argues that it is up to each individual to decide which factors are crucial to them. Thus, the differences are not the sum of objective differences. The individuals may therefore decide whether they define themselves through personal attributes (personal identity) or through a group membership (social identity). However, as discussed, the social identity or group membership, like belonging to the Muslims or Christians, usually stands superior to the personal identity. According to Glover (2001:152), downgrading personal identity is common during tribal and religious conflicts. Therefore, your personal achievements do not mean anything anymore, and your identity is moreover formed and based on your group belonging. You are furthermore identified as one person of many millions of Muslims or Christians, and not as a doctor or teacher, for example. It is also important to notice that identity can be context-dependent. In some contexts, the personal identity will also be activated, while in other situations the social identity will be dominating. For example, I observed that students did not emphasise the religious identity of other people so much when they found themselves at the university, as Muslims and Christians have classes together. However, outside the university it was clear that the religious social identity was dominating to a greater extent.

5.1.2 Minor Differences between Muslims and Christians in Jos

Huntington (1996:21) claims that the most serious armed conflicts are between groups that are radically different from each other in terms of language, religion and culture. In contrast, Jones (2006:262) argues that academics are often stroked by how groups in armed conflicts are closely linguistic or geographic. Also, Kolstø (2007:153) argues that in most ethnic conflicts and civil wars in the 20th century, the cultural differences between the conflicting groups have been very small. The conflicts between Hutu and Tutsis, Serbs, Bosnians and Croats, and Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland are some examples.

Freud was the first one to write about the narcissism of minor differences. The idea is that it is the minor differences between people who are actually rather similar that form the feeling of hostility and strangeness between them. Also, Kolstø (2007:153) argues that when the members of two groups are difficult to tell apart, violence is often inserted in order to create identity boundaries between them. Furthermore, groups will define their identity in relation to other groups. For example, in Jos a Christian will define himself in relation to the Muslim, and vice versa. Ignatieff (1999:96) argues that globalism brings people closer together. However, he also argues that it has also driven them apart. Furthermore, it destroys boundaries shaped by identity and reacts by insisting and defining even the margins of difference that remain. He moreover argues that the smaller the real differences are between the two groups, the larger these differences are likely to loom in their imagination, hence the term narcissism.

I will argue that the differences between Muslims and Christians in Jos are minor and that the two groups are remarkably similar. I will also argue that it has therefore been very important for the two groups to define the small differences in identity that exist, and hence strengthen the identity boundary. Personally, I could not see differences between the Muslims and Christians in Jos if they were not dressed in their religious clothes. I therefore often asked people how they managed to distinguish their own group from the other. They usually answered with the clothes, the way they spoke English and Hausa and the way they walked. However, they also agreed that it is not possible to distinguish them by genetic features. Nonetheless, Ignatieff (1998:50) points out that what may look like a minor difference seen from the outside may also feel like a major difference when seen from the inside. Nevertheless, I will illustrate an example of there being narratives of linguistic difference that the individuals in Jos claim distinguish the two groups.

Both Muslims and Christians that have grown up in Jos speak the languages English and Hausa. However, I got the impression from the informants that it was more typical that the Christians knew English better than Hausa. The Muslims talk Hausa better than English. Nonetheless, I met several Muslims that talked perfect English. I also met many Christians that preferred talking Hausa rather than English. For example, during my stay I lived with a local family. The women I lived with had adopted a twelve-year-old boy from a rural village, 2-3 years back. He belonged to one of the Christian native tribes in Plateau State. However, the woman I lived with was afraid of letting him out even in unknown Christian areas, because if a conflict broke out, they could mistake him for being a Muslim. This is because his mother language was Hausa and because his English was not very good, since he started speaking the language when he started school two years ago. Even though some of my informants emphasised that the way of talking the two languages, in terms of dialects, could distinguish the groups from each other, this example of the little Christian boy talking like the stereotypical Muslim illustrates that there is also narcissism of minor differences between the Muslims and Christians in Jos.

Pictures 9-10: Muslim and Christian children. The picture to the left comprises Muslim children, while the one to the right features Christian children.



Furthermore, there are many examples that illustrate that the differences between Muslims and Christians in Jos are minor. For example, a Christian friend of mine grew out a beard. In Jos it is more common for Muslims to have much of a beard than Christians. Therefore, when having this beard he was mistaken for being a Muslim all the time. He furthermore told me that people left restaurants, cafes and bars when they saw him coming into these places with a backpack. He claimed that they were afraid of him being a suicide bomber. This did not happen when he did not have the beard and people recognised him as a Christian. People leaving these places may also be a signal of the identity boundaries that are between the two groups.

5.2 Historical Borders

Zanazanian (2012) argues that historical consciousness can construct group boundaries. According to Tokin et al. (1989:1), groups use and select history in the process of defining their identity. Also, Hoskins (1993:82) found narratives and myths of storytelling about origins. He further argues that the image of being historical enemies often is nurtured. As we saw initially, the crisis in Jos originates from political causes about the settlers and indigenous rights from the colonial times. However, after the colonial time, people lived peacefully together and were not bothered much by settlers and indigenous rights. But as the group boundaries became more defined, this political element has been used to strengthen the boundaries between the groups, thus making the identification to one's own group stronger. The Muslims argue that they are entitled to the same indigenous rights as the Christians due having stayed in Jos for over a century and being born there. As described in the background chapter, the Muslims in Jos do not receive the same opportunity by the government due to not having a certificate that confirms the indigenous-ship in Plateau State. The women in the Muslim focus group complained: *"We are against the government; that is the truth. Because they have taken sides. They are not sympathizing us. They don't care about us."* [Focus group UFG 1]. In contrast, the Christians claimed that Jos belonged to them, that the Muslims did not deserve the same rights, and that the Muslims or settlers tried to take Jos away from them. One of my Christian informants argued: *"The Muslims want to collect something that is not theirs. The state is not theirs; we were here first."* [Interview U12]

Also, Glover (2001:146) argues that tribal identity connected to a group is constructed partly by means of a story about the past and that narratives used can contribute to sharpening

boundaries and conflicts. Also, in these quotations we can see that both parties portray their own group as victims, and the good one, while the other and opposite group is described as the bad one. However, the relationship between good and bad, when presenting one's own group as victims, is this time described in a historical context.

5.3 Group Narcissism

Glover (2001:144) argues that the tribal identity characteristics are often mythical and stereotypical, as seen in the language example discussed previously. Moreover, Jones (2006:263) argues that groups often see themselves as superiors to any other group. This type of self-love of one's own group is called collective or group narcissism by many academics. In my research, I also found that this is the case in Jos, as each group looks at themselves as extraordinary. One of my informants stated the following:

“The Hausa people see themselves as superior. They see their tribe as superior to any other tribe, because they are one of the largest tribes in Africa. So they discriminate. I think that is also a factor that processes the crisis. An average Hausa person will not see you as an equal, which is not supposed to be; we are all human beings. Your tribe is not supposed to determine your superiority. [...] Because if you discriminate against me, I become angry. And it gets out of hand, and I get pushed to the wall, and I might react.” [Interview U2]

This informant was a Muslim, but did not belong to the ethnical group Hausa-Fulani. This person feeling discriminated by the Hausa-Fulani people indicates that the ethnical identity of the Hausa-Fulani people is stronger than their religious identity. Also, Christians felt discriminated by the Hausa-Fulani people as well as by the Muslims. They therefore believed that they felt superior as a group. On the other hand, we can see in the first quotes under historical boundaries that the Hausa-Fulani also feel discriminated by the Christians and the government, due to not getting the same political rights.

That being said, in the quote this informant does not present himself as superior. No one in the interview explicitly presented that they felt superior to the other group. However, some discourses from the interviews indicate that it is the case that they feel extraordinary. Moreover, referring back to the quotations discussed under the historical boundaries, it is underlying in the quotations that both parties say that they will not be satisfied until their own

group gets everything they deserve. Christians claim they deserve having the state to themselves, and the Muslims argue they deserve the same equal local political rights as the Christian settlers. It is also underlying that their own group is entitled to get the respect they deserve. It is furthermore underlying that both groups claim that Jos would be a better place to live if they had the whole power over the state. Therefore, this indicates that there is also group narcissism and an idea of superiority of one's own group of the two groups in Jos (Zavala and Chicoka 2009:12).

All these mechanisms that produce social group borders have consequences, and the thesis will further look at a lack of trust between the two groups. That being said, it can again be stated that how the boundaries are created and the consequences they have interact.

5.4 Lack of Trust

In my research I found that there is a general lack of trust between the Muslims and Christians in Jos. Putnam (2007:137) claims that the more diverse a community is, the greater the loss of trust is. That being said, as discussed, the differences between the two groups are relatively minor. However, the informants see these minor differences as big differences. As already noted, I found much mistrust between the two groups. My urban informants often pinpointed that the lack of trust for the other group was one of the reasons why they did not interact with them. Some of my informants told stories they had heard about persons that had been poisoned by buying fruit from the opposite group, and therefore did not buy from them anymore. The case of trade will be discussed in the next chapter.

That being said, Putnam (2007:137) claims that in diverse ethnical communities, the trust towards one's own group also declines. Moreover, he claims that altruism and community cooperation are rarer, and a social network is poorer compared to homogenous societies. In supporting Putnam's finding, Green (1999:55) claims that fear divides communities by creating suspicion and apprehension not only of strangers but also of the people you already know. Furthermore, it destabilises social relations with distrust between family members, neighbours, and friends.

In my research in Jos, I did not find that there was a lack of trust, helpfulness and cooperation related to one's own group of people. In other words, they seemed to be very great, as all the informants that had lost their homes had been helped by unknowns, family, NGOs or friends

to get on their feet again. Nonetheless, this might come as a result of the two groups living separately; if they lived and mixed together, this trust and altruism to one's own group would not be as great. However, though the city is divided and the boundary between Muslims and Christians is strong, it was obvious that the trust and helpfulness to the other group was almost non-existent anymore. Yet according to most of my informants, they had friends, business partners, customers, and colleagues that were of the opposite group before the crisis started in 2001. However, they do not help and trust each other anymore due to the group boundaries that exist between the Muslims and Christians in Jos.

Related to this, Salter (2006:146) argues that a homogeneous society invests more in public goods. He further claims that this indicates a higher level of public altruism. Citizens of homogeneous societies have therefore an average higher level of wealth, as the government share the GDP more and spend a larger portion of their budgets and less per capita on public services than in multi-ethnic societies. He also found multi-ethnic societies to be less charitable. They also have poorer public infrastructure. Putnam (2007:137) claims that the local government and institutions are less trusted in mixed communities. This was also the case in Jos, as many of the informants - Muslims as well as Christians - accused the government for the crisis, and that the responsibility to get peace was mainly on them. They further argued that the government had to avoid tribalism. This is again related back to the complex settlers and indigenous system as well as the issue of indigenes' rights previously discussed.

That being said, as the informants claim that there was a greater extent of trust both related to the other group and the government before, it is clear that this lack of trust has come as a result of the social boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos. Furthermore, another consequence of the produced identity group boundaries is that the Muslims and Christians do not socialise with each other anymore.

5.5 Socialisation with the Other Group

The main patterns found from the interviews were that people had stopped having friends from the opposite religion. One of the ladies from the interview U25, which turned into a focus group, highlighted the following: *"We used to have Muslim friends, but now I don't even pick their calls when they call, because I am afraid they will kill me."* [Interview U25] However, I interpreted this lady to be a bit extreme in her statements. However, all the other

ladies in that focus group agreed and said they did not have Muslim friends anymore. Nonetheless, some of the informants emphasised that they still had a few friends from the opposite religion. However, they did not interact with each other like they did before and only talked on the phone or met in public places where both felt rather safe, such as some of the markets or at the university.

Not socialising with the other group is furthermore related to the discursive practice. It is therefore maintained through the daily discourses. This can be referred back to Sibley (2001), who argues that what is considered bad and good is incorporated through the socialisation process. I also found that this was the case in Jos. In other words, at an early age the children have learned not to interact with people with the other group. One young girl stated the following when I asked what the solution was to get peace in Jos: *“Parents have a part to say. If they tell their children don’t have Christian friends, they don’t contribute to that people see each other as one.”* [Focus Group FGU 1]

The children learning through the socialisation process to distance themselves socially from the opposite group is a factor that contributes to strengthening the group boundaries. The two groups not interacting thus strengthens the borders. Furthermore, people used discourses such as 'we' and 'them' in all interviews. I also observed in the participant observations that these discourses were used on a daily basis. The children therefore learn from the very beginning that the other group is different, thereby distancing themselves to protect their identity.

That being said, as highlighted, the social and spatial group boundaries are mutually related. This thesis will therefore now discuss the social and spatial group boundaries between Muslims and Christians found in the internal market system in Jos.

Chapter 6: Economic Market Interdependence

This chapter will analyse the social and spatial group boundaries in the internal market system in Jos. It will furthermore discuss whether the market strengthens or weakens the boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos as well as some of the economic consequences the borders have on the citizens.

6.1 Social and Spatial Boundaries in the Market System

Barth (1969:36) argues that in societies where people live under threat of arbitrariness and violence outside their primary community, the insecurity itself acts as a constraint on intergroup contact. As a result, many forms of interactions between the groups may fail to develop, despite a potential complementarity of interests. He further claims that the existence of a dynamic process on various levels constructs and reproduces individuals and groups as different. Moreover, the interaction and differences between groups play a decisive role in maintaining the borders between them (Barth 1969:18). The same can be argued in Jos, as demonstrated.

Markets are often a potential meeting place for different groups in cities (Porter et al. 2005:17). Izikowitz (1969:137) argues that the market is a meeting place for different groups of ethnicities, and he emphasises that in urban areas the contact between different groups is usually very strong and established, despite the contact being limited or non-existent outside the market (Izikowitz 1969:136). However, in Jos the social and spatial borders between the two groups observed outside the market also exist within the market sphere. In other words, the two groups are not doing internal trade⁵ and business with each other. However, internal trade contact across the boundary between the two groups was common before, but changed in line with the conflict. That being said, today the two groups have separate markets, besides a couple of markets that are supposed to be open for both groups. However, these markets are also often divided into Christian and Muslim parts.

The biggest and main market in Jos, Terminal, is a market that is supposed to be open for Muslims and Christians. However, it is dominated by Muslim traders. Nevertheless, there are

⁵ The term "internal trade" is in this thesis used to characterise trade within the national border. The term is used to distinguish this type of trade from trade across international borders, which most development theories in the academia focus on.

also some areas within the market where there are Christian traders. When going to these Christian areas of Terminal market, I often got warnings from Christian sellers about going into certain areas of the market due to Muslims being there. Comments such as “*do not take the road to the left; that is where the Muslims are; they will kill you!*”, or “*It is dangerous!*” were common. In contrast, when talking to Muslims, they probably saw me as a Christian due to white people being often characterised as missionaries. They would not warn me but would say that they would be killed if going into the Christian areas, as mentioned earlier in this thesis.

That being said, Majeski and Fricks (1995:624) claim that groups often communicate a great deal in time of conflict. In other words, the groups “talk, negotiate, signal, and make threats, commitments, and promises” with each other. However, as seen in Jos, this kind of interaction is not common, as they do not verbally communicate. Nonetheless, not doing business together can be seen as a communication signal, signalling the social and spatial boundaries between the groups.



Picture 11: Terminal Market. Market area dominated by Muslim traders, but this is one of the few places in Jos where both religions are relatively free to walk around.

Nonetheless, despite Muslims and Christians in Jos having separate markets and not interacting with each other, I found that they depended on each other and that both groups had economical disadvantages of not doing business together. This thesis will now look at the interdependence in the market system for the two groups.

6.2 Economic Interdependence in the Market System

Referring back to Sibly and Wilton, we saw that they argued that borders were about getting order in the society. Moreover, Sibley (1998) argues that borders mostly have positive benefits for the society, despite the classification of space and time resulting in a stigmatisation of some human activities. These authors presented boundaries as something positive and necessary for a society to work. However, all my informants that had trade and business as an economical income source said that they were financially and negatively affected by the fact that they did not do business together with the other group anymore because of the social and spatial boundaries in the market system. Most of them were upset over the situation and said that Christians and Muslims depended on each other to get financial growth. The following are some of my informants' statements about this issue:

“The Muslims and Christians need each other. Without each other we can't have any development. There is no inter-relationship between Muslims and Christians anymore. There is no business like before with the Muslims. It is because of patronizing and because of this, the business goes very slow.” [Interview U13]

“I don't have Christian customers anymore because they are afraid of coming to this area. This has affected my business much. I have less money. I have to minimize, and spend less. Before I could spend like 500 Naira each day, but after the crisis I have only 200 naira, maybe 300 to use.” [Interview U19]

“I don't do any business with Muslims anymore. It's patronizing. And I cannot go into their areas and they cannot go into mine. It is sad because the Muslims and Christians need each other, but now each are on their own.” [Interview U25]

This finding supports Izikowitz (1969:144), who claims that groups are generally interdependent on each other in relation to businesses. For example, the two groups depending on products from each other here is central. In addition, Sheehan (2003:131) argues that the enormous potential cities making progress in development is limited when a city is divided. In other words, when groups are concentrated in one place of the city, like in Jos, they have

access to fewer materials. These things have moreover contributed to inflation in the city, according to the informants.

That being said, not doing business with the other group is not the only explanation for the negative economic trends observed in businesses. People having less money to buy because of a direct cause of the conflict and people having lost everything they owned or their job also influence these negative trends. That does mean many people left the state as a cause of the conflict. However, the informants emphasised the boundary between the two groups as one of the main causes of their business going financially bad. Nevertheless, in the rural areas this interdependence between the groups was not as significant. Only one of the twenty-five informants said that he used to do business with the Hausa-Fulani people by selling them shoes and that the group border affected his business negatively. This supports Izikowitz's (1969:137) findings, which claimed that groups in urban areas depend more on each other and that the establishment of business bonds is usually stronger than in rural areas.

That being said, Sen (1999:7) argues that markets are one social institution that can contribute to development by enhancing individual freedom. Furthermore, he claims that markets have two roles that are both essential for development. Firstly, markets are a source of income, which again is an important element of human capability. Secondly, he claims that the ability to transact is a freedom in and of itself and is one that the majority of humans seem to have a reason to value. He therefore claims that even if the two systems were just as efficient at producing goods and services, most people would prefer a free market system.

Others would conversely argue that a free market system or trade would contribute to unequal growth (Bliss 2007). That being said, most theories focusing on trade look mostly at trade over international borders; however, the arguments are analogical and can be transferred to cases of internal trade (Håvard Hegre, personal communication 07.03.2012). In the case of Jos, both groups said they were affected negatively by them not doing business together. It moreover is clear that both groups would gain by trading with each other.

That being said, Smukkestad (2000:103) talks about the reciprocity principle. This is a principle that is often overlooked in Western theories analysing market situations, but the idea is that the market situation contains different forms of symmetrical exchange of goods and services between humans. This transaction is characterised by these differing from time to time. If someone helps you this time, you will help them with something else later

(Smukkestad 2000:104). The transactions have economical content but no market price. It is culturally defined and usually follows social norms. Furthermore, the reciprocity principle contributes to resources in the society being distributed evenly, so that all members will survive independently of fluctuation in the production year. Smukkestad argues that the reciprocity principle plays a significant role in developing countries. In the case of Jos, the informants highlighted that a type of exchange was common between the Muslims and Christians in Jos before the crisis. One informant told me that the Muslims used to look after his shop when he needed it; however, they do not do this type of exchange anymore. In other words, the exchange does not exist across the group boundaries today. This moreover affected both groups in the way they have less people to depend on in times of need.

The finding that Muslims and Christians in Jos depend on each other in the area of markets, and that they are aware of it, raises the question of why they do not act rational and trade together. However, according to Lichbach (1996:60), though it can make sense to say that an individual is rational, there is no sense in saying that a group is rational. If an action is of collective interest of a group and the members of the group are rational, the group must be collectively rational (in the same sense). In other words, the group must act in its interest, just like each of the rational members would do. Individual interests and the collective interests will often be different. Lichbach therefore argues that there is a trade-off between self-actualisation and fitting into the group. In other words, group members that believe in a greater goal the group can achieve might sacrifice personal development, working for that group as a united consequence (Lichbach 1996:125). Therefore, even though the people related to the market system in Jos could have benefitted personally by doing trade with the other group, they do not do it because they believe in a larger and political goal of the group they belong to, related back to the political core of the conflict.

This can also be related to Durkheim's theory about organic and mechanic solidarity. When the two groups live separately, as they do now more than they did earlier, it can be argued that they live in societies consisting of mechanic solidarity. Such societies or groups are characterised by similarities of the members. Furthermore, if you go against the values, beliefs and norms the group or society has, you will be punished hard, as it will be characterised as a crime on the whole group. Doing trade with the other group can therefore be described as a violation of the group rules. Based on Durkheim's theory, it is societies with this kind of solidarity that are described as being lightly developed. On the other hand,

societies consisting of organic solidarity are seen as modern societies. In a society with organic solidarity, the difference between the members and their professional specialisation will create a sense of interdependence between the members in the society (Durkheim 1997[1893]). Though the informants acknowledged the interdependence of the other group, it can be argued that Jos has been a society of organic solidarity. However, now that they live in societies only depending on their own group, and interaction with the other group not being accepted, it may be argued that Jos has gone from a modern society to a simpler and traditional society. In other words, Jos has gone from organic to mechanic solidarity paralleled with the two groups having been socially and spatially divided by group boundaries.

6.3 Trading as a Technique to Bridging the Boundary?

Porter et al. (2005:17) argue that since markets are meeting points for diverse ethnic and social groups and that indigenes and settlers are interacting, they are key conflict flash-points. Furthermore, they argue that trading between different groups can trigger conflicts (Porter et al. 2005:15). This might indicate that separate markets for the Christians and Muslims are positive, related to conflicts not breaking out so easily due to the two groups not being mixed together in the same area. That being said, the costs of trade and market conflict can be enormous, not only as a direct result of violent conflict, but also related to the broad loss of confidence and feelings of insecurity (Porter et al. 2005:7). These are already raised as negative effects of the conflict in chapters four and five. In addition, we have seen that most traders and business people depend on market peace for their livelihood. Porter et al. (2005:20) therefore claim that traders and business people often have a vested interest in using their entrepreneurial energy towards conflict avoidance and conflict management.

That being said, Porter et al. (2005:4) also raise the positive effects of doing business and trading together across ethnic boundaries, as they can build cultural and social capital. They therefore argue that more individuals in Nigeria should be encouraged to take up these boundary-spanning activities to get positive development effects. They further claim that people related to the market can be key connectors in building social capital and a network between ethnic groups. They therefore suggest that bringing business people from the two groups together in boundary regions like Jos can be an essential part in the peace resolution (Porter et al. 2005:18). Avoiding group conflict can also be done by making and using trader

associations, ethnical-based or inter-ethnic, and these provide services in an urban context that help maintain harmony among members in trade transactions (Porter et al. 2005:22).

They also emphasise that market places are important potential mediation spaces, since they bring conflict-related groups together, particularly in boundary regions (Porter et al. 2005:20). Moreover, in their research they found that in many areas of Nigeria, trade continued despite conflicts (Porter et al. 2005:26). My findings disagree with this statement, as I found that the two groups have separate markets in Jos and that there is almost no interaction across the groups when doing trading. Using the markets as a space for uniting the groups will be challenging at this time.

That being said, Porter et al. (2005:26) did not find the same divide in markets in Jos as I did; this can be related to their research being done in 2005. My informants also said that things have changed in the market system during the last years. Porter et al. (2005) found in Jos that the markets and trade often caused and fuelled conflict instead of bringing peace. On the other hand, they also found that there was a need to obtain a livelihood for many through trade and market interactions and claimed that this brought the two groups together rapidly in the market, after a violent outbreak.

I agree with Porter et al. (2005) that the people that are related to the market system in Jos depend on market peace and each other for their livelihood. However, I will further argue that the situation in Jos is more complex. The solution for bringing peace and bridging the group boundaries is not as simple as bringing traders from each conflicting part together, because they depend on each other for their livelihood. Referring back to Lichbach (1996:125), we saw that people belonging to groups often sacrifice personal development, as they believe in a greater goal benefiting the group. Individual rationality might therefore work against a group goal. On the other hand, it might help using the people depending on peace in the market system in the process of weakening the group boundaries, as they would be more interested in this compared to most other sub-groups within the two religions. However, they cannot do this all alone, and other thoughts about how the social and spatial boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos can be weakened will be discussed in the concluding chapter. As we have seen so far in this thesis, weakening the social and spatial boundaries is essential to get peace and human development in the city. This thesis will further look deeper into the

consequences the boundaries have on the citizens in Jos and will discuss how they affect the human development of these individuals.

Chapter 7: Consequences of Boundaries on the Human Development

The best road to progress is freedom's road.

John F. Kennedy

In summarising the discussions of the three previous chapters, we have seen that both the social and spatial boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos have had severe consequences on the human development. It has contributed to fear, violence, a lack of trust, discrimination and that the two groups do not interact on a social or business level anymore. It has also contributed to economic loss due to the two groups not doing business together. All these variables are obstacles for human development in itself, but it is also interlinked with the other essential forms of freedom, emphasised by Sen (1999). Referring back to Sen (1999:38), we saw that he emphasises five forms of elemental forms of freedom: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. Moreover, all of them are interlinked (Sen 1999:40). This chapter will discuss how the boundaries affect these types of freedoms and the choices people have, which UNDP (1995) argue are essential to get development. Elements such as education, health, income, and other elements mentioned in the HDR, like employment and human security, will be discussed in this chapter. Despite choosing to focus on the effect on human development that is directly linked to the social and spatial group boundaries, it is important to emphasise that other factors also influence the given effects and not the group borders alone.

7.1 Boundaries and Social Opportunities

The divide between Muslims and Christians in Jos affects the freedom of social opportunities, as Sen (1999) highlights in his theory. Also, Sheehan (2003:131) argues that when living in a divided city, it hinders people being easily linked to school, health care and other social key services. This section will discuss the social opportunities of education, work and health care.

7.1.1 Education and Work

Based on the interviews and the urban focus group, I found that the social and spatial boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos affect the freedom of education and work among other things. There were many informants mentioning these issues in the interviews; however, I will firstly illustrate the problem with a typical example. A young Christian girl told in the interview that the social and spatial group boundaries had affected both her freedom to go to school and work: *“My school was Christian, but in a Muslim-dominated area, so I had to stay back. Now that I work, I can’t go to work when there is conflict, because the shop is surrounded by Muslims.”* [Interview U3] In this statement, it is clear that due to a fear of going into the Muslim-dominated area, this girl is occasionally robbed of the opportunity and freedom to attend school and go to work on a daily basis. Many other informants complained about delays in education, as it often took extra time to complete a university degree because they could not go to school due to the conflict.

Many informants from the interviews emphasised that there were almost no inter-employments between the Christian and Muslim groups. Noticeably few Muslims were employed in organisations where Christians worked, and vice versa. The same applied to school, with the exception of the university, as the Muslims and Christians usually have separate schools. These findings were also confirmed by participant observation and the focus group. One of the ladies from the focus group said: *“There is a divide everywhere, in school, [she mentions many different spheres] and employment.”* She further spoke: *“In the school I work we are 66 in the staff; I am the only Muslim.”* [Focus group FGU 1] This quote indicates that some employments exist across the group boundaries; however, they are not common. This divide observed in the education system and in employment furthermore limits the freedom of choosing where to work and which schools to send your children to.

Both freedom to go to school and work are elements central to human development. Education has many positive development benefits for an individual as well as a society. When attending school, children and young adults developed knowledge that furthermore helps them to become self-governing adults. Education moreover contributes to economic participation. In addition to that, the individuals develop a sense of justice and reciprocity. Education and knowledge is furthermore something that, once acquired by an individual, cannot be taken away from him or her (Birdsall et al. 2005:25). In this sense, education can therefore be seen as the core in Sen’s and UNDP’s concept of human development, as it

expands individual freedoms, choices and human capabilities in great measures. This again can have severe positive effects in other areas of development. World Bank (2011) argues that, on an individual level, education improves health, earnings and reduces inequality. The society will benefit because education contributes to economic competitiveness, has synergistic poverty-reduction effects, contributes to democratisation, and promotes peace and stability.

Being able to go to work is also essential in human development. Work seen from a Western perspective is necessary for human well-being. Going to work every day is a core component of positive self-confidence and self-reliance (Waddell and Burton 2006:ix). However, in Jos, most people work to survive. The money they earn provides basic necessities of life such as food and shelter. As demonstrated, the freedom and choice to go to work when and where they want are deprived from many citizens in Jos, because of the social and spatial borders between Muslims and Christians in Jos. This moreover affects the individual's well-being and income.



Picture 12. Christian School in Jos.

7.1.2 Health Care

Sen (1999) also emphasises the freedom to have access to appropriate health care. Though there are hospitals in Jos, the fear of the people belonging to the opposite group restricts

people from accepting essential health care. A nurse that worked in a hospital told me about the fear the Muslims have when they are admitted to the hospital she worked in, where almost all the employees are Christians.

“We get many Muslims at the hospital when there is fighting. When they come we don’t discriminate. Me and some other nurses have used our own money to buy them milk, bread and sugar, because they can’t take their medicine without food, and most of them do not get relatives to visit them because they are afraid to come. But most times, they don’t want to take the food or medicine we give them. They think we will harm them.” [Interview U7]

She further told of people that were Muslims that had run from the hospital badly injured because they thought they would be killed by the Christian hospital employees. Most hospital care centres in Jos are predominated by Christian employees due to many being funded by Christian NGOs, churches and by the government, which mainly hire indigenous people. However, the fear related to health care can also be a problem for the Christians, as there are hospitals such as the ECWA hospital in Jos where there are many Muslim workers and where most patients are Muslims. Also, Plateau hospital has some Muslim workers.

That being said, there are clear linkages between health and human development. According to the WHO (2012), better health is central to human happiness and well-being. It also contributes to economic progress due to a healthy population living longer and is more productive. Based on the fear of the other group, it restricts some people in Jos in getting essential health care. The positive synergic development effects will be absent for these individuals.

In addition, I found that people were very selective in which hospital they decided to ask for help: their choices were based on which group worked at the hospitals, which group dominated the area the hospital was located, and which areas you had to pass to get to that given hospital or health care centre. In other words, they are not free to select the best or nearest hospital, despite having money to pay for it, due to employees from the opposite group dominating the hospital rather than the patient himself. This further indicates that the citizens have limited freedom and choice related to where they can seek help; this is related to health issues due to the social and spatial boundaries that exist between the Muslims and Christians.

7.1.3 Horizontal Inequality in Social Opportunities

Horizontal inequality has a central part in the HDR. Horizontal inequality describes inequality between groups and is seen as essential in relation to human development, people's choices and freedoms. Nigeria is furthermore ranked as one of the countries with the highest level of horizontal inequality in the world (UNEP 2011). As we saw in the background chapter, the conflict in Jos is triggered by the "settlers" and "indigenous" dilemma as well as the benefits the natives received from the English colonisers. It can therefore also be argued that there is inequality between Christians and Muslims in Jos today, and most academics seem to agree that this inequality is the core to the conflict.

Some of the informants described to me, in support of what was pointed out based on existing literature in the background chapter, that a "state of origin" status is needed in Nigeria, e.g. to get a job in the local or federal government. Thus, the Muslim "settlers" are not entitled to official jobs. This furthermore robs them of a number of job opportunities. Taking the example of hospitals, we saw in the previous section that most hospitals are governmentally owned or funded by Christian organisations, which further makes it hard for Muslims to get jobs within the health sector. As mentioned, this also contributes to an inequality between Muslims and Christians related to access to health care due to the social and spatial boundaries between the two groups.

Related to school, some of my Muslim informants complained that they have to pay higher school fees than the Christians due to not being characterised as original inhabitants. In addition to that, they are robbed of the opportunity to get scholarships in governmental schools, such as the university in Jos. Ostein (2009:3) also found an inequality related to job and scholarship opportunities in Nigeria between "settlers" and "indigenous". HRW (2005) also recognises that the "indigenous" have lower school fees than "settlers" in Nigeria.

Ergo, it can be argued that there is a significant horizontal inequality between Muslim "settlers" and Christian "indigenous" in Jos related to social opportunities. In other words, the Christians furthermore have a greater variety of choices, opportunities and freedoms related to employment, health care and education.

7.2 Human Security

As discussed in this thesis, both fear of the other group and actual violence are consequences of the boundaries between the Muslims and Christians in Jos. UNDP's Human Development Reports emphasise human security as an essential part of development. While there are many definitions of human security, the simplest one is the “absence of insecurity and threats” (Tadjbakhsh 2005:5), where being free from fear of violence is central. Thus, development and human security are interlinked, and UNEP (1994:23) claims that progress in one area enhances the chances of progress in the other. But failure in one area also heightens the risk of failure in the other. Also, Stewart (2004:19) argues that human security and development are interlinked, as fear of violence affects human well-being and thus a human’s capabilities and choices negatively.

According to Maslow, it is impossible to develop further if the basic need of human security is not fulfilled (Kenrik et al. 2010:293). The need for safety including personal security is the second of five needs. Based on this theory, the fear and lack of security the citizens of Jos experience moreover hinder them in applying their human capabilities, which Sen (1999) and UNDP (1995) argue are essential in development. That being said, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs has been criticised by many academics for simplifying a complex phenomenon. Max Neef (1992:1999) argues that basic needs are not hierarchical, but interrelated. He further claims that poverty can result from a lack of satisfaction of any of the fundamental human needs presented by Maslow. Nonetheless, the contrasting theories support that the lack of human security will affect a human’s capabilities.

Also, violence in itself has a great effect on human development. As mentioned, many of my informants had lost their homes and everything they owned as well as lost dear and loved ones due to violent fights between Muslims and Christians in Jos. One of my informants that had lost her house in the 2001 crisis said: *“When my house was attacked and burned, it affected me much. I was not myself for over a year. [...] It was very hard starting all over again economically.”* [Interview U24] This quote is typical, and there is no doubt that the informants that had been affected by violence struggled with both psychological and economical costs. The Geneva Declaration (2006:1) also emphasises that violence destroys lives and livelihoods and thus imposes enormous cost on the state, communities and individuals. According to UNDP (2010), armed violence is one of the greatest hinders to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

Consequently, the mutual fear of violence the Christians and Muslims in Jos have towards each other as well as the actual violence have severe negative effects on the human development. Moreover, insecurity and fear thwarts the use of human potential (Stewart 2004:24). Ergo, reducing fear of violence and actual violence between the two groups is therefore not only essential in uniting the two groups, but also in achieving human development.

7.3 Economic Freedom and Boundaries

As already highlighted, Sen (1999) emphasises economic freedom in his academic contribution. This thesis has already concluded that many citizens in Jos are affected negatively in economic terms due to lost money as a result of Muslims and Christians not doing business together. However, this section will further discuss other economic consequences that come from the social and spatial group division in Jos.

7.3.1 Group Boundaries and Transport

Referring back to the chapter discussing spatial group boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos, we saw that most citizens in Jos are afraid to move around freely in the city. Sen (1999) does not directly write about the case of not being able to move around freely; however, from his book you can draw links. For example, an increase in personal income can be converted into an increase in substantial freedom. Nonetheless, the conversion is not equally easy for everybody. A person living in a city where he or she is afraid of moving around is less able than a person living in a city where she or he feels safe to convert a given increase in income to a wider range of real opportunities.

That being said, all my informants, besides one, said they had economically lost in one way or another due to strong borders that exist between the Muslims and Christians in Jos. Related to this physical divide, many respondents complained that they had to spend much more on transportation now than before due to certain areas having to be avoided. Many students moreover had to move due to the conflict and had a much longer distance to get to school and university. As one young informant notified: *“I have to pay more for transport to get to the university because we can’t stay in the area we used to stay. So the cost of living has gone up.”* [Interview U13] A few people having businesses told me they had to travel further to buy supplies because they bought supplies from the opposite group before the divide, but could

not do that anymore due to social and spatial boundaries between the two groups. Thus, this often took much time and financial resources. A young Christian boy stated that his family had financial challenges due to this issue:

“The crisis has affected us much economically, especially related to my mom’s shop. Before she bought Yam in a Muslim area and now she can’t go there anymore. She is forced to buy it somewhere else from Christians, and it’s far. She uses a lot of money on transport to get there.” [Interview U22]

These quotes can be further linked to other elements of human development, besides the economic withdrawal that is pinpointed. These individuals could have been much more productive if they did not have to use extra money and time to do daily activities. However, it was only Christian informants that complained about the extra economic costs that came as a result of more expenses used on transport. This is related to Christians having fled from central areas of Jos to more peri-urban areas. The Muslims, as mentioned, congest in the inner city, where they have easier access to both the university and supplies. Nonetheless, as highlighted, the Muslims are also affected economically by the group borders, like higher school fees. Since most people in Jos have little money to live on, these extra expenses can have much to say and furthermore go on behalf of basic needs. This will be discussed in the next section.

7.3.2 Spatial Poverty Trap

Thus, it can be argued that most of my informants in Jos are situated in the spatial poverty trap. According to chronic poverty (Harries et al. 2010:2), the spatial poverty trap can come from sources of exclusion. They further argue that this includes physical isolation, ethnicity and religious discrimination, intimidation and physical violence, which all are elements previously discussed as consequences in this thesis and which furthermore strengthen and maintain the group boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos.

As mentioned, all informants, besides one, said they were affected negatively by the conflict and by the group boundaries. Many of my informants further argued that they had to cut down on their food consumption: *“We just have to manage. Before we ate three meals a day; now we eat once or twice.”* [Interview U5] These were very common statements in the interviews. According to Tulane University (2012), FAO (2011) and Chambers and Conway (1992:15), it

is common to reduce the number of meals per day as a coping strategy in times of economic needs. However, in the tables presented by Tulane University (2012), FAO (2011) and Chambers and Conway (1992:15), this coping strategy is seen as the first stage, when people are too poor to afford normal food consumption. In other words, due to the spatial poverty trap they are caught in, many individuals in Jos have to cut down on basic needs and therefore lack economic freedom. This makes some people desperate, as we will clarify further in the next section. That being said, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, some informants may present themselves as poorer than they actually are. However, from participant observation, I can confirm that many people have little money and barely enough finance for basic needs. Nonetheless, this comes as a source of social and spatial group boundaries and can be discussed, as there are many factors that can influence the spatial poverty trap they are caught in.

4.3.3 Poverty and Violence

Due to the fact that many people in Jos lack economic freedom, some people take advantage of this and use this to strengthen the boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos further. Many of my informants pinpointed poverty as a cause of the conflict. It was further told that poor people were paid by the more wealthy citizens to set out bombs or to kill people from the other group. Due to people not being able to afford basic needs such as food, some people get desperate. Due to many emphasising this problem, it moreover confirms that people are getting poorer due to the crisis between Muslims and Christians and that poverty was not only brought up in the interviews in the hope of getting some extra money. One of my informants reported the following:

“Some give 5000 NAIRA to shoot someone. That is poverty. They say a hungry man is an angry man. So if you give a hungry man 5000 NAIRA to go shoot someone, he will actually shoot.” [Interview U2]

Furthermore, there has been much discussion in the different academic disciplines as to whether violence and conflict cause poverty, or whether poverty causes violence. I found that there is a mutual relationship between these two. As we have seen previously, the conflict in Jos has caused many people in Jos to become poorer. However, as seen in the quote, poverty can also fuel the conflict.

4.4 Mutually Related Freedoms

We have seen in this chapter that the boundaries have severe effects on the human development for the citizens in Jos. Thus, it limits people's freedoms and choices, which again illustrates that people are caught in a trap. Having limited freedom in one area will affect the freedom in another area. This also supports Sen (1999) who argues that different types of freedoms interact. As demonstrated, if you do not have the freedom to go to work due to fear of the other group, this will affect your income, which further affects your economic freedom. This can again contribute to violence against the other groups. In other words, the effects and freedoms are complex and are mutually related. As long as the social and spatial group boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos exist, many people will be stuck in a trap of limited freedom and choices.

Chapter 8: Summing Up and Conclusion

In this thesis we found that the Muslims and Christians in Jos separate from each other physically because they find each other threatening. In other words, the two groups have made clear spatial borders in the city of Jos, because they fear that the other group will hurt or kill them. On the other hand, social boundaries were made to protect the “self”. The social borders were made for distinguishing group identity in a different light. This has further consequences like a lack of trust and that the two groups do not interact with each other. Furthermore, these mechanisms contribute to the boundaries being maintained and strengthened. Nonetheless, it is important to notice that it is a mutual relation between the social and spatial boundaries.

Besides discussing how the social and spatial group boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos are produced, maintained and strengthened, this thesis has also elaborated on which consequences the boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos have on the human development of the citizens in the city. Moreover, the thesis found that it affects the human development in great measures. This is because it contributes to the citizens being robbed of the elementary freedoms and choices. Furthermore, it hinders them from using their capabilities. The boundaries contribute to fear, violence and a lack of trust, which are obstacles for the human development in itself. It is also the elements that strengthen the social and spatial boundaries between Muslims and Christians in Jos. In addition, the group boundaries in the internal market system contribute to the two groups not doing business together anymore. This economically affects both groups negatively due to both being interdependent on each other in the market system. Furthermore, this thesis found that the social and spatial group boundaries affect social opportunities, such as going to school, work and health care access. Inequality related to these social opportunities has also been discussed, finding that the Muslims as “settlers” are robbed of freedoms and choices related to these elements. In addition, negative economic effects were found, such as more expense on transport for Christian citizens, due to the social and spatial group boundaries. Consequently, the thesis found negative effects on the human development for both Muslims and Christians.

Moreover, there is no doubt that the strong and trespassing boundaries between the Muslims and Christians in Jos have to be weakened in order to get peace and positive human development in Jos. The following will provide some thoughts on how that can be done.

8.1 The Capacity to Weaken the Group Boundary

“Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding”

Albert Einstein

Knowledge about how these social and spatial group boundaries in Jos are created, maintained and strengthened as well as which consequences it has on the citizens give valuable knowledge about how these boundaries can be weakened, as well as the importance to do so, and which aspect should be included in an attempt to do so. Thus, mechanisms such as fear of the other group, violence, and a lack of trust are all elements that need to be taken into account when trying to unite the Muslims and Christians in Jos. For example, we have seen that a general trend is a group distancing itself from the other group due to rumours that the other group is dangerous. Working in the roots to stop such rumours, *“something has to be done about all of these rumors.”* [Focus Group FGU 1] This may contribute to the spatial borders being weakened.

However, as we have seen, group identity, especially the tribal identity observed in Jos, runs so deeply within us that it might be impossible to eliminate (Glover 2001:49). According to Kenrik et al. (2007:468), there is a universal tendency to favour the members of one’s own group and dislike the others as well as see them as less truly human. Hagtvet (2008:56) argues that our differences are what all humans have in common and are what defines us as humans. Also, Wilton (1998) and Sibley (1998) emphasise the necessity for group boundaries. We should therefore not strive after vanishing the differences between groups, except to preserve them.

That being said, even though you cannot or should not eliminate the group boundary between Muslims and Christians in Jos, measures to weaken the boundary have to be implemented in order to get peace and positive development in the city. Firstly, as Glover (2001:150) argues, if people acknowledge shared moral status, it makes it harder to kill and torture each other. I believe this to also be the case in Jos, as some of the informants, both Christians and Muslims, emphasised that the crisis had affected them in the *“matters of moral”* [Interview U25 and Focus Group U1]. Moreover, treating the opposite group with discrimination, violence, or looking at people from the other religion being killed in front of their eyes without doing

anything goes against their moral identity. All my informants mentioned God as the solution of the crisis. Since the moral identity is closely linked to religion, I believe that religious leaders could be an essential part of provoking a sense of shared moral status. Several of my informants furthermore highlighted the importance of making use of religious leaders to bridge the divide between Muslims and Christians in Jos.

However, I also think it is essential that the two groups identify with each other to weaken the boundaries. Also, Christie (2008:464) emphasises this importance. In his study, he found that if the prison guards in the Serb camps in Northern Norway identified with the prisoners, through language or other identities, such as father, son, or brother, they distracted themselves from injuring the prisoners. It is furthermore important to notify that we are all unique individuals identifying with more than just a religious or ethnic identity. Identifying with being a mother, father, brother, teacher, doctor, or student can help the two groups identifying with each other to a greater degree. The 'me' should therefore stop disappearing behind the 'we' and 'you' behind 'they' (Vetlesen 2005:272). Moreover, if the Muslims and Christians in Jos can realise that the differences between them are not so big, and that they consist of a narcissism of minor differences, they might start identifying with each other to a greater extent.

In addition, people need to be self-conscious about these simple-minded commitments to the given group growing into a complex conflict between the two groups (Glover 2001:149). This may further result in people not uncritically accepting the given group narcissisms discussed in this thesis. Seeing how modern plural nations differ from tribal nations may also weaken the grips of old narratives (Glover 2011:150). It is additionally important that a mutual awareness and understanding of both sides of the story are constructed. Thus, a shared recognition on how things have gone wrong is essential. Moreover, awareness about any act of generosity or gesture being able to shape the version of the story for individuals is important (Glover 2001:151). Informant U22, a young Christian boy, highlighted that he had lost his home and everything he owned, due to being attacked by the Muslims. After this accident, he was really suffering and had no place to live or money for food. Though many people had helped him, a Muslim family living over the street had helped him with much food. Since he had lost his home, it would be natural to develop hatred against that Muslim group. However, this gesture restricted him in doing this. He stated how grateful he was for the help from this Muslim family.

Last but not least, it is important that the groups have respect, equality and dignity for each other and the individuals belonging to the opposite group (Glover 2001:151). Related to this, I will hereby end this thesis by quoting one of my informants expressing his thoughts about how to get peace in Jos:

“The solution is understanding each other. And to bring down the pride, people need self-consciousness, because we need peace and we need each other.” [Informant U11]



Picture 13. Nigerian children

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Qualitative Interview Guide⁶

Date and where the interview is conducted:

Code name of informant:

Background Info

Rural/urban citizen:

Urban

Rural

Gender:

Female

Male

Religion:

Muslim

Christian

Other What: _____

Age _____

Occupation _____

In-depth Questions

1. In which way does the conflict hinder you to do what you want to do?
2. Do you do anything different when it is peaceful compared to when it is fighting?

⁶ This interview guide was used in the individual semi-structural interviews and focus groups. However, as pointed out in the methodology chapter, other in-depth questions than the one presented in the interview guide was in addition asked the informants. Ergo, not all informants were asked the same questions.

3. In which was have the conflict affected you?
4. How does the conflict affect your working condition?
5. How does it affect the possibility to live a normal life?
6. How does it affect your family and friends?
7. How does it affect your social life?
8. What do you do to protect yourself from the conflict?
9. What does the community do to protect themselves? (Only asked in rural areas)
10. Does the conflict in any way affect you economically?
11. Is there any difference in how poor and rich are affected by the crisis?
12. What do you think is the answer to get peace in Plateau state?
13. Is there anything else you want to add related to this topic?

Appendix 2

Overview of the Rural Informants

Sample overview				
Semi-structured interviews and focus group – Rural area				
Coded number	Gender	Age	Religion	No of people
R1	Female	20-20	Christian	1
R2	Male	30-40	Christian	1
R3	Male	20-30	Christian	1
R4	Male	40-50	Christian	1
R5	Female	40-50	Christian	1
R6	Female	30-40	Christian	1
R7	Female	40-50	Christian	1
R8	Male	20-30	Christian	1
R9	Male	30-40	Christian	1
R10	Female	30-40	Christian	1
R11	Male	50-60	Christian	1
R12	Female	40-50	Christian	1
R13	Male	40-50	Christian	1
R14	Male	50-60	Christian	1
R15	Female	30-40	Christian	1
R16	Female	40-50	Christian	1
R17	Male	60-70	Christian	1
R18	Female	40-50	Christian	1
R19	Female	30-40	Christian	1
R20	Male	Under 20	Christian	1
R21	Female	20-30	Christian	1
R22	Male	20-30	Christian	1
R23	Female	30-40	Christian	1
R24	Male	40-50	Christian	1
R25	Female	30-40	Christian	1
Focus group				
RFG1	Male	40-60	Muslim	4

Appendix 3

Nigeria Country Profile: Human Development Indicators 2011

Following is detailed information about the human development, in Nigeria. The statistics are obtained from UNEP (2001) and their HDI of Nigeria.

Human Development Index

Rank 156

Year	Nigeria	Low human development	Sub-Saharan Africa	World
<u>2011</u>	<u>0.459</u>	<u>0.456</u>	<u>0.463</u>	<u>0.682</u>
<u>2010</u>	<u>0.454</u>	<u>0.453</u>	<u>0.460</u>	<u>0.679</u>
<u>2009</u>	<u>0.449</u>	<u>0.448</u>	<u>0.456</u>	<u>0.676</u>
<u>2008</u>	<u>0.446</u>	<u>0.443</u>	<u>0.451</u>	<u>0.674</u>
<u>2007</u>	<u>0.441</u>	<u>0.437</u>	<u>0.445</u>	<u>0.670</u>
<u>2006</u>	<u>0.438</u>	<u>0.430</u>	<u>0.438</u>	<u>0.664</u>
<u>2005</u>	<u>0.429</u>	<u>0.422</u>	<u>0.431</u>	<u>0.660</u>

Health

Life expectancy at birth 51.9

Indicators	Value
<u>Expenditure on health, public (% of GDP)</u>	<u>1.7</u>
<u>Under-five mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)</u>	<u>138</u>
<u>Life expectancy at birth (years)</u>	<u>51.9</u>
<u>Health index (life expectancy)</u>	<u>0.503</u>

Income

GNI per capita in PPP terms (international \$) 2,069

Indicators	Value
<u>GDP per capita in PPP terms (constant 2005 international \$)</u>	<u>2,001</u>
<u>GNI per capita in PPP terms (constant 2005 international \$)</u>	<u>2,069</u>
<u>Income index (GNI per capita)</u>	<u>0.434</u>

Poverty

Multidimensional Poverty Index (%) 0.310

Indicators	Value
<u>Multidimensional Poverty Index (%)</u>	<u>0.310</u>
<u>MPI: Intensity of deprivation</u>	<u>57.3</u>
<u>Headcount of MPI poor (% of population)</u>	<u>54.1</u>
<u>Population living below \$1.25 PPP per day (%)</u>	<u>n.a.</u>

Inequality

Inequality-adjusted HDI 0.278

Indicators	Value
<u>Income Gini coefficient</u>	<u>n.a.</u>
<u>Loss due to inequality in life expectancy (%)</u>	<u>43.8</u>
<u>Loss due to inequality in education (%)</u>	<u>44.2</u>
<u>Loss due to inequality in income (%)</u>	<u>28.8</u>
<u>Inequality-adjusted education index</u>	<u>0.247</u>
<u>Inequality-adjusted life expectancy index</u>	<u>0.283</u>
<u>Inequality-adjusted income index</u>	<u>0.309</u>
<u>Inequality-adjusted HDI</u>	<u>0.278</u>

Education

Education index (expected years of schooling) 0.442

Indicators	Value
<u>Public expenditure on education (% of GDP)</u>	<u>0.8</u>
<u>Expected years of schooling (of children under 7) (years)</u>	<u>8.9</u>
<u>Adult literacy rate, both sexes (% aged 15 and above)</u>	<u>60.8</u>
<u>Mean years of schooling (of adults over 25) (years)</u>	<u>5.0</u>
<u>Education index (expected and mean years of schooling)</u>	<u>0.442</u>
<u>Combined gross enrolment in education (both sexes) (%)</u>	<u>54.8</u>

Sustainability

Adjusted net savings (% of GNI) n.a.

Indicators	Value
<u>Endangered species (% of all species)</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Ecological footprint of consumption (global hectares per capita)</u>	<u>1.4</u>
<u>Adjusted net savings (% of GNI)</u>	<u>n.a.</u>
<u>Greenhouse gases per capita (tonnes of CO2 equivalent)</u>	<u>1.1</u>
<u>Fresh water withdrawals (% of actual total renewable water resources)</u>	<u>n.a.</u>
<u>Natural resource depletion (% of GNI)</u>	<u>15.0</u>
<u>Carbon dioxide per capita emission (growth 1970-2008) (%)</u>	<u>1.3</u>
<u>Forest area (thousand ha)</u>	<u>9,860</u>
<u>Change in forest area (%)</u>	<u>-42.8</u>
<u>Impact of natural disasters: number of deaths (average per year per million people)</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Impact of natural disasters: population affected (average per year per million people)</u>	<u>1,295</u>
<u>Environmental Performance Index</u>	<u>40.2</u>
<u>Forest area (% of total land area)</u>	<u>10.8</u>
<u>Carbon Dioxide Emissions per capita (tonnes)</u>	<u>0.6</u>