

Countering the myth of religious indifference in Nigerian terror (10/2019 – 9/2023)

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Map of Nigeria with geopolitical zones and Christian population per state



Executive summary

Nigeria continues to face a multifaceted security crisis marked by widespread violence, particularly against religious communities. The data presented in this report covers a four-year period from 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2023 and provides critical insights into the patterns and dynamics of this violence. This executive summary presents 16 'highlights' from the data. The most striking point is that the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM) are killing Nigerian civilians unopposed. Mass killings, abductions and the torture of whole families go largely unchallenged as government forces pursue targets hundreds of miles away, according to the research findings. (See 5.7 INSERT, 6.7 INSERT.)

Nigeria was a very violent and insecure place to live in the 4-year reporting period, at least in parts of the country. In total 55,910 people were killed in 9,970 attacks, while 21,621 people were abducted in 2,705 attacks. There was some overlap. ORFA documented 11,610 distinct attacks in which people were killed and/or abducted. Out of these, 8,905 involved killings without abductions; 1,065 involved both killings and abductions; 1,640 involved abductions without killings. This is an average of 8 attacks per day involving killings and/or abductions over a 4-year period. These numbers include attacks with civilians, Security Forces and/or Terror Groups killed and abducted. (See Sections 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 2.2.)

Many civilians lived in high levels of insecurity and fear of the unexpected. For instance, eye witnesses talked about children sleeping in trees at night. In total 30,880 civilians were killed in 6,942 attacks. The remaining 25,030 people killed were members of the Security Forces or Terror Groups. Additionally, 21,532 civilians were abducted in 2,670 attacks. Another 89 people abducted were members of the Security Forces or Terror Groups. (See Sections 1.1, 1.2 2.1, 2.2.)

There were frequent clashes between Security Forces and Terror Groups and between Terror Groups themselves. This had impact on civilians too. In 3,028 attacks (out of the 9,970 attacks with killings) only non-civilians were killed: 4,377 were members of the Security Forces and 19,323 members of Terror Groups. In 35 attacks (out of the 2,705 attacks with abductions) only non-civilians were abducted: 68 belonging to the Security Forces and 2 to Terror Groups. (See Sections 1.1, 2.1.)

The data shows that more Nigerian Christians were victims of violence than Nigerians holding to other religious affiliations. Amongst the 30,880 civilians killed in the 4-year reporting period, the number of Christians killed was 16,769, while the number of Muslims killed was 6,235. Among the 21,532 civilians abducted, the number of Christians abducted was 11,185, while the number of Muslims abducted was 7,899. The number of African Traditional Religionists (ATRs) killed was 154 and the number of ATRs abducted was 184. The religious identity of 7,722 civilians killed and 2,264 civilians abducted remained unknown. (See Sections 1.2, 2.2.)

The ratio of Christians to Muslims killed rises significantly when the religious composition of the states is taken into consideration. Looking at the overall numbers, the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed was 2.7:1; the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted was 1.4:1. However, when taking into account the relative sizes of the Christian and Muslim populations within the different states, the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed increases to 6.5:1, and the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted to 5.1:1. (See Sections 1.3, 2.3.)

Violent attacks occurred all over the territory. There were 65 different LGAs over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings; 42 of them appeared only once in the LGA top 25 for civilian killings. The LGAs in the LGA top 25 for civilian killings were spread over 15 different states, in 4 different geopolitical zones. For abductions these data points were slightly different: There were 60 different LGAs over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions with 38 LGAs appearing only once. These were spread over 14 different states in 6 different geopolitical zones. (See Sections 1.4, 2.4.)

People were most vulnerable at home. Most civilians were killed (25,312) or abducted (16,761) during attacks on their communities, in distinction from other attacks during which 5,568 civilians were killed and 4,771 abducted. Attacks on communities were especially devastating for the victims. They often involved a whole spectrum of violence, suffering and destruction, leading to high numbers of forcibly displaced people. Their fields were destroyed or taken over by the aggressors ('land grabbing'). Ransom payment added to the loss of livelihood and often drove people deep into a debt trap. (See Sections 3.1.1, 3.2.1.)

The start of the rainy season, which is the heart of the farming season, saw most civilians killed. Over the year, considering the 4-year period in total, there was a peak in killings between January and June. The North West, North Central and North East were by far the main contributors to that peak. The data included members of Security Forces and Terror Groups killed with peaks in March and September. For

civilians killed the biggest peak was between April and June. The North Central contributed most to the April-June peak, followed by the North West and North East. (See Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.1.5.)

During the 'heart' of the farming season, attacks by the Security Forces against Terror Groups dropped significantly. While the number of civilians killed spiked from April to June, the number of those killed belonging to the Security Forces and Terror Groups dropped. The majority of civilians killed were Christian farmers. The killings of members of the Security Forces and Terror Groups were an indicator of their violent confrontation. It follows that in the period of the year when civilians were most severely attacked by Terror Groups, the Security Forces remained relatively absent. (See Section 4.1.5.)

Considering the 4-year reporting period in total, the North West was the epicenter of abductions, followed by the North Central. The abduction phenomenon was more spread out over the year than was the case with killings, although most abductions also took place in the context of community attacks. Looking at the four distinct reporting periods, the abduction phenomenon began slowly in the 2020 reporting period, but then picked up speed in 2021 onwards. (See Sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2.)

Most havoc was caused by less-known aggressors. Most civilians were killed by Other Terrorist Groups (12,039) and Armed Fulani Herdsmen (11,948). The better-known Boko Haram and ISWAP combined killed 3,079 civilians. The Armed Fulani Herdsmen are part of the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM). It is believed that part of the Other Terrorist Groups (often called 'Fulani bandits') are also connected to FEM (See Section 5.1).

It implies that FEM is a much bigger factor in the Nigerian culture of violence than Boko Haram and ISWAP. (See Sections 5.7 INSERT, 6.7 INSERT.)

Muslims were killed by the same groups that killed Christians, although with different percentages. 55% of the Christians killed were killed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (9,153); 29% by Other Terrorist Groups (4,895). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined stood for 8% of the Christians killed (1,268). For Muslims it was the opposite: 24% of the Muslims killed were killed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (1,473); 53% by Other Terrorist Groups (3,334). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined stood for 12% of the Muslims killed (770). (See Sections 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.6.)

The same aggressors that were responsible for most of the killings, were by far the most important actors in the Nigerian abduction industry as well. Most civilians were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (13,728) and Armed Fulani Herdsmen (6,380). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined abducted 1,023 civilians. The data warns against national and international attention being focused mainly on Boko Haram and ISWAP, with FEM activity being largely passed over. (See Sections 6.1, 5.7 INSERT, 6.7 INSERT.)

Muslims were abducted by the same groups that abducted Christians, but with different percentages. 60% of Christians abducted were kidnapped by Other Terrorist Groups (6,675) and 35% by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (3,914). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 4% of abductions of Christians (422). For Muslims it was comparable: 71% of the Muslims abducted were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (5,635); 24% by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (1,903). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 4% of the abductions of Muslims (300). (See Sections 6.1, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6.)

Since 2015, there have been consistent reports of disparate treatment meted out to Christian and Muslim captives by members of Terror Groups. Differences in treatment were observed based on reports from victims or their families, relating to forced labor; sexual violence; ransom demands and release; execution risks; religious tests. (See 2.3 INSERT.)

The areas of operation of Other Terrorist Groups and Armed Fulani Herdsmen merged into each other and partly overlapped. The main area for Armed Fulani Herdsmen activity was in North Central (including the southern part of Kaduna state); for Other Terrorist Groups it was the North West, also crossing into North Central. Boko Haram and ISWAP had their main area of operation in the North East. Mapping the killings and abductions, however, it can be seen that they all carried out violent attacks in other geopolitical zones too. (See Sections 5.7, 6.7.)

The epicenter of violent attacks was in the North West and North Central. Most civilian killings took place in the North West (11,626) and North Central (8,789). The North East followed with 5,521 civilians killed. For Christians these numbers were 5,250, 6,081 and 2,595; for Muslims they were 3,678, 1,106 and 1,262. Most civilian abductions were in the North West (12,042) and North Central (6,325). For Christians these numbers were 5,931 and 3,277; for Muslims they were 4,976 and 2,469. Please note that the numbers given for Christians and Muslims do not include the 7,722 civilians killed with 'Unknown Religious Identity' or the 2,264 civilians abducted with 'Unknown Religious Identity'. (See Sections 1.2, 2.2, 5.7, 6.7.)

The areas of operation of the Security Forces were mainly in the North West and the North East. That is where they killed 13,480 members of Terror Groups. They left the population in the North Central relatively in the lurch. In other words, they gave the Armed Fulani Herdsmen ample opportunity for their violent attacks, with Christians as their main victims. (See Section 5.7.)

Introduction

The violence data presented in this report is the result of a 4-year project of data-gathering by Nigerian partners within the country. The first phase of the project was from 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2020; the second phase from 1 October 2020 to 30 September 2021; the third phase from 1 October 2021 to 30 September 2022; the fourth phase from 1 October 2022 to 30 September 2023.

The project tried to be comprehensive in recording attacks involving killings and abductions. That means, it documented killings and abductions of civilians and their religious backgrounds, of the Security Forces and of aggressors referred to as 'Terror Groups'. (See Section 1 below).

The violence data presented in this report, however, limits itself to killings and abductions in the context of a 'culture of violence' created by 'Terror Groups' such as Boko Haram, ISWAP, armed Fulani herders, 'bandits'¹ and other, smaller groups. Many factors play a role but violent Islamism, as a religious ideology, is an important part of it.

¹ Bandits is a catch-all category used in many news reports, that can include the previously listed terror groups. The violence committed by 'bandits' is included in this report when there seems to be a direct or indirect relation to these groups. It is very likely that at times the term 'bandits' is not only used to simplify reporting but also to mask the true nature of the perpetrators.

However hard one tries, a data-gathering project like this one is never exhaustive since much violence goes unreported. Nevertheless, the researchers are confident that the data supplied gives a balanced indication of the situation in the country over the four reporting periods.

The numbers supplied in this report only represent actual victims of killings and abductions. However, many others were severely impacted. Attacks involving killings and abductions often represent a whole spectrum of violence and suffering: Communities raided or permanently occupied; people wounded or maimed; women and girls raped; houses, shops and other businesses destroyed or occupied; fields destroyed or occupied; houses of worship abandoned, closed or destroyed; people driven from their homelands into dire situations of internal displacement. Ransom payments bring families and religious communities to the brink of bankruptcy, while at the same time financing the operations of the 'Terror Groups'.

Structure of the report

The report is organized into several key sections, each addressing a crucial aspect of the violence that has plagued Nigeria. The **Executive Summary** provides an overview of the report's most significant findings. This section is essential for grasping the broader implications of the data and the urgency of the issues at hand. Following the executive summary and this **Introduction**, the report provides a detailed presentation of the **Methodology** that was followed to collect the data. The section on **Policy Recommendations** consolidates the report's findings into actionable steps for policymakers, international partners, and civil society organizations. These recommendations are designed to address the root causes of violence and encourage long-term peace and stability in Nigeria.

The report then presents all the data that was collected by the ORFA team, divided into several detailed sections that comprehensively analyze the state of killings and abductions across Nigeria, particularly focusing on the geopolitical zones, states, and Local Government Areas (LGAs).

The section **Summary Data on Killings in Nigeria's Geopolitical Zones, States and LGAs** provides an in-depth look at the attacks with killings reported over the specified period, breaking down the data into geopolitical zones, states and LGAs. It examines the total number of people killed, comparing the impact on different religious communities by calculating the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed, adjusted according to their population percentages in the different states. Additionally, the section explores the distribution of civilian casualties across various LGAs.

Moving from killings to abductions, the section **Summary Data on Abductions in Nigeria's Geopolitical Zones, States and LGAs** focuses on the prevalence and impact of abduction attacks during the reporting period. It presents a comprehensive overview of the number of people abducted, again adjusted according to religious demographics. The section also delves into the geographical spread of these abductions, identifying key hotspots and trends over time.

The section **Distinguishing Attacks on Communities from Other Forms of Attack** differentiates between community-targeted attacks and other types of violence, offering a nuanced analysis of how these distinctions impact the nature and scale of both killings and abductions. It highlights the overall distribution of attacks, the number of civilians affected, and the specific targeting of religious groups in community versus other attacks.

In section **Spread of Attacks Over the Year**, the report examines how killings and abductions fluctuate throughout the course of a year, providing a temporal analysis of violence. The data is broken down further according to geopolitical zones and distinct reporting periods, allowing for a detailed understanding of the patterns and peaks in violent attacks.

The critical section **Killing Analysis per Aggressor** analyzes the aggressors behind the killings, categorizing them by the groups involved and the specific communities they target. It provides a breakdown of overall and civilian killings by aggressors, identifying the main areas of operation for these groups and offering insight into the religious demographics of the killed individuals.

Similar to the killing analysis, the section **Abduction Analysis per Aggressor** focuses on the groups responsible for abductions. It includes a detailed breakdown of civilian abductions by different aggressors and an examination of the most threatening terror groups for both Christians and Muslims.

We strongly encourage the reader to study the full report. It provides vital context and offers a roadmap for addressing the ongoing challenges in Nigeria. Engagement with this report is crucial for shaping informed and effective policies that can make a tangible difference to the lives of those affected by violence.

Methodological justification

How the violence data was collated

In 2023, approximately 52% of the attacks were reported by ORFA’s primary partner organization in Nigeria. The remaining 48% was sourced by ORFA researchers, other local partners, and other organizations.²

ORFA’s primary partner organization (name withheld due to security considerations) collected information on the ground via their network, whereas ORFA researchers reviewed the latest media and NGO reports from local, national and international sources including Armed Conflict and Location Data (ACLED).

ORFA considers the inclusion of attributes such as religious background critical for understanding the scope and nature of the violence.

ORFA’s primary partner intentionally included data on the religious background, which other local partners and other organizations collecting data do not provide. For this reason, our primary partner organization reviewed and confirmed each recorded attack and gathered additional data points (esp. religious background).

As a matter of practice, ORFA researchers work to ‘triangulate’ all the information from different sources to avoid any attack being reported multiple times and to provide as much relevant information as possible. Often there was an overlap of attacks initially reported by our primary partner organization and later also

² More information about these other sources can be obtained at request by email to ORFA.

reported by ORFA researchers or other organizations. The additional reports often proved valuable and either confirmed facts already gathered from other sources or provided additional insights about specific attacks.

For the periods 2020 and 2021 the number of civilian victims with unknown religious identity was much higher compared to 2022 and 2023. The explanation for this is that during the reporting periods 2022 and 2023 the attacks from ACLED were integrated monthly and it was possible for our primary partner to review the religious identity of civilian victims in a timely manner. However, the data from ACLED for the reporting periods 2020 and 2021 were only integrated in 2023 and it was no longer feasible to accurately determine the religious identity of the civilian victims.

More information about the methodology can be found [here](#).

Why does the report include the religious background of the civilian victims?

The report distinguishes between the religious background of the civilian victims because a variety of contradictory analyses exists concerning the causes of violence in Nigeria. Some analyses blame everything on a ‘classical’ herder-farmer conflict made worse by environmental degradation in the wider region.³ Other analyses see as the exclusive guiding theme the vision of Usman Dan Fodio, a Fulani radical Islamic scholar who began an Islamic jihad in Gobir in 1804, and by 1808 had established the Sokoto Caliphate. He had vowed to enforce Islam through the power of the sword from the Sahara Desert in the north to the Atlantic Ocean in the south.

ORFA is not taking sides. The Observatory wants to let the data speak for itself without purposefully steering towards one or other of these narratives.

Data gathering and organization process

The data on killings and abductions was registered for four reporting periods:

1. October 2019 to September 2020 – indicated in the column headings as 2020.
2. October 2020 to September 2021 – indicated in the column headings as 2021.
3. October 2021 to September 2022 – indicated in the column headings as 2022.
4. October 2022 to September 2023 – indicated in the column headings as 2023.

The term ‘4-year reporting period’ refers to all four periods taken together: October 2019 to September 2023.

In the report, data is presented in two ways:

- a. Per geopolitical zone: Overall data covering the 4 reporting periods is presented per geopolitical zone. There are 6 geopolitical zones in Nigeria.

³ “Classical” means that conflicts between herders and farmers have been ongoing for generations. However, “classical” also includes the scope of weapons used: ‘sticks and machetes’, not AK-47 rifles. The frequent use of assault weapons such as AK-47 rifles, at least partially undermines that narrative.

- b. Per individual reporting period: Overall data covering the 6 geopolitical zones is presented per individual reporting period. There are 4 individual reporting periods.

The appendices give more details about the data presented in the tables in the main body of this report.

The combination of both ways of presentation gives an insight into the geographical dimension of the violent attacks in Nigeria, as well as the time dimension.

The report also distinguishes between killings and abduction in the context of attacks on communities and other attacks that were more on an individual basis or at least outside the context of attacks on communities as such. (See Section 3.)

‘Unknown Religious Identity’ killed or abducted

When data for killings or abductions of Christians, Muslims and ATRs is used for analysis, all people killed or abducted with “Unknown Religious Identity” are unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages (%) or ratios. It is a problem when bare data is used.

KILLINGS: There is a high number of “Unknown Religious Identity” in the data (**7,722**), split over the four reporting periods: 2,806 in the 2020 reporting period, 4,351 in the 2021 reporting period, 471 in the 2022 reporting period and 94 in the 2023 reporting period. If the number of “Unknown religious identity” were divided over the categories “Christians killed”, “Muslims killed” and “ATRs killed” using the same ratios as registered for the 2022 and 2023 reporting periods, the total number of Christians killed would rise from 16,769 to 22,361. For Muslims killed it would rise from 6,235 to 8,314. (See Section 1.2.)

ABDUCTIONS: There is also a high number of “Unknown Religious Identity” in the data (**2,264**), split over the reporting periods: 597 in the 2020 reporting period, 1,312 in the 2021 reporting period, 247 in the 2022 reporting period and 108 in the 2023 reporting period. If the number of “Unknown religious identity” were divided over the categories “Christians abducted”, “Muslims abducted” and “ATRs abducted” using the same ratios as registered for the 2022 and 2023 reporting periods, the total number of Christians abducted would rise from 11,185 to 12,499. For Muslims abducted it would rise from 7,899 to 8,827. (See Section 2.2.)

Actual versus proportional ratio for Christian victims compared to Muslim victims

To understand whether religious background plays a role in a person becoming a victim of violence, the report relates as far as possible the numbers of Christians and Muslims killed or abducted in the different Nigerian states to the size of their populations in those states. A small Christian population with just slightly more victims than the Muslim population, could still be disproportionately affected by the violence.

Section 1, subsection 1.3 (table 5) shows the example of the North West with 5,250 Christians killed and 3,678 Muslims killed over the 4-year reporting period (actual ratio of 1.4:1). When the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the different states of the North West are taken into consideration, this ratio increases significantly (proportional ratio of 7.5:1).

Section 2, subsection 2.3 (table 13) gives a comparable example for abductions in the North West: 5,931 Christians abducted compared to 4,976 Muslims giving an actual ratio of 1.2:1; the proportional ratio is 6.2:1.

For Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 the proportionality issue is not taken into account in the religious analysis. Just the directly recorded numbers are used. Taking into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the different Nigerian states ('proportionality') in the analysis in Sections 3 to 6 would further emphasize the trends.

Policy Recommendations

1. The Nigerian government should give **priority to value reorientation** that promotes justice, forgiveness, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence among all Nigerians. The National Orientation Agency (NOA) should be funded and directed to create a national program to awaken the consciousness of the entire Nigerian populace on its responsibility to peace and foster a sense of oneness in the people.
2. The Nigerian government should wake up to its **responsibility of securing the lives and properties of Nigerians**. Impunity has allowed targeted attacks against innocent people to continue unabatedly. The government has responsibility to maintain law and order, therefore, providing protection for lives and properties will reassure citizens and endear trust in the government. If the people cannot trust the government to deliver justice, more militant groups and sub state actors could rise up to the State against its citizens.
3. **Respect for Freedom of Religion and Belief (FoRB)** should be elevated to the level of national discourse and social action as a conversation, practice and structural framework. For example, the use of discriminatory words that reinforce religious intolerance such as arne (infidel) and kafir (pagan) should be treated as hate speech and be outlawed not only in Nigeria's Criminal and Penal Codes, but also in the Constitution. The Nigerian government, religious leaders and Civil Society Organizations should draft targeted peacebuilding and reconciliation programs that address ethnic and religious biases, particularly focusing on the disparities in violence against Christians and Muslims. These programs should include interfaith dialogue, community workshops, and education campaigns aimed at promoting mutual understanding and reducing tensions between different groups. Religious leaders should be actively involved in these efforts to leverage their influence in promoting peace and reconciliation.
4. The Federal government and State governments in Nigeria need to **work together with unity of purpose**, across political party lines to address the factors which have triggered the violence, killings and abductions which this study has revealed. A striving for peace in all the country's trouble hotspots should be pursued to put an end to the violent attacks recorded in this report. As much as possible, State governments should be given support to take independent decisive action based on the specific forms of violence in each state.

5. The violent community attacks in the North Central zone are often tagged “farmer-herder conflicts” and attributed to climate change. The study shows this is often not the case. There is therefore a need to acknowledge that there are **different dynamics and nuances at play** in different locations where violent attacks occur in Nigeria and re-define the narrative accordingly. Insisting on one generic narrative, engaging in denial and insisting on political correctness is not only overly simplistic in many cases but also misleading and unhelpful. For example, when villagers report that they have been attacked by Armed Fulani Herdsmen or Fulani militia, it is important to report this fact instead of using the word “Bandits” or “Unknown Gunmen.”
6. The narrative that Armed Fulani Herdsmen kill villagers as a form of reprisal for earlier attacks is also **not only simplistic but unfounded**. It hides the real issue and ensures unjust killings continue in the North Central zone in particular. It is important for the media, government and Security Forces to ensure they do not pass on narratives that aggravate the victims of violence and exonerate perpetrators, which in the end leads to double victimization.
7. Perpetrators of violence who have been arrested in connection with violence should be **duly prosecuted**. This will end impunity by deterring others who may be inclined to engage in violence and criminal activities.
8. Federal and State governments should adopt **policies for support of victims of mass violence**. The different ministries should develop and implement targeted support programs for vulnerable populations, especially programs working closely with women, children and religious minorities. These programs should include safe havens, trauma counselling, and reintegration support for abductees. Additionally, establishing early warning systems in communities prone to attacks can help reduce the number of casualties and abductions.
9. There is a need to ensure security presence at all times by **increasing and improving policing at community level**. Nigerians in rural areas are the farmers who ensure the nation is fed. Yet they bear the heavy brunt of violence and insecurity. Consequently, violent attacks on villagers have devastating effects on the direct victims and on the nation as a whole. The nation is currently facing food scarcity which in large part is due to the violence that has displaced many, making them Internally Displaced Persons (IPDs) in their own country. This reality has made it impossible for them to cultivate their land. The Nigerian government and local governments should allocate increased funding and resources to establish and enhance local security infrastructure, particularly in the North West and North Central regions. This should include training and equipping community-based security groups and integrating them with national security forces to ensure rapid response to attacks. Regular joint detachments and community engagement initiatives should be conducted to build trust and cooperation between local communities and security forces. Community policing is key in securing communities.
10. In many communities, rural dwellers have been **driven out of their ancestral lands** by continuous acts of violence on their persons and properties. As a consequence of their becoming IDPs, their lands have been taken over by their attackers, renaming the villages in some cases. This issue of land-grab also affects food security. The Nigerian government should take a clear stance on such gross violation of citizens’ rights by taking a stance that supports the immediate return of all

displaced citizens to their ancestral homelands and a commitment to end the rampant ‘food terrorism’ that is being witnessed today in Nigeria in areas prone to violence.

11. The Nigerian government should provide **additional and proper security** for internally displaced people surviving in camps or other informal displacement settings.
12. **Collaboration and local ownership** should be a key underlining principle in all peacebuilding initiatives and so the importance of partnerships between government agencies, civil society organizations, religious leaders, and local communities cannot be overemphasized. Local actors should be empowered to take ownership of peacebuilding initiatives and ensure their voices are heard in decision-making processes. This also promotes transparency, accountability and sustainability.
13. The Nigerian government should create a **new recruitment and training program** for the police and armed forces, with the aim of a nationwide reform of police and security culture and restructuring of the entire security architecture of Nigeria.
14. The EU member states, and the US and UK governments, should **allocate more aid resources** to Nigeria’s North Central Zone and Southern Kaduna, which are suffering a crisis of displacement. Where return to home communities is possible, IDPs find it is to ruined houses and communities.
15. The EU, US and UK governments should enact aid programs charged with **transforming the situation in the areas affected by violent attacks and assisting the return of displaced persons**.
16. The US and UK governments should use their seats at the UN Security Council to **seek a resolution** that enhances the security of communities vulnerable to attack in Nigeria.

1. Summary data on killings in Nigeria’s geopolitical zones, states and LGA’s

When the recorded data for killings and abductions of Christians, Muslims and ATRs is used for analysis, all people killed or abducted with “Unknown Religious Identity” are unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages or ratios. It is a complication when the bare data is used.

1.1 Attacks with killings in the reporting period

In the 4-year reporting period many attacks with killings and abductions were registered in the context of violent attacks by aggressors summarized under the term ‘Terror Groups’. This section further focuses on attacks with killings. Section 2 focuses on attacks with abductions.

Table 1 and 2 give an overview of all attacks with killings. Table 1 focuses on the geopolitical zones for the 4-year reporting period; table 2 on the four separate reporting periods.

Table 1 shows that many people were killed (55,910). Table 9 in Section 2.1 shows that many others were abducted (21,621). The total number of attacks with killings was 9,970 and total number of attacks

with abductions was 2,705. There was some overlap. ORFA registered 11,610 attacks in which people were killed and/or abducted. Out of these, 8,905 have recorded killings, no abductions; 1,065 have recorded both killings and abductions; 1,640 have recorded abductions, no killings. This is an average of 8 attacks per day with killings and/or abductions over a 4-year period. Section 2 further elaborates upon the data on abductions.

There were frequent confrontations between Security Forces and Terror Groups and between Terror Groups themselves. This had impact on civilians too. In 3,028 attacks (out of the 9,970 attacks with killings) only non-civilians were killed (4,377 Security Forces, 19,323 Terror Groups). It follows that 95% of these killings were in mutual confrontations. See Section 5.7 for more details on the confrontations between Security Forces and Terror Groups.

Table 1: All attacks with killings in the geopolitical zones, for the 4-year reporting period, with emphasis on attacks with civilians killed

Geopolitical zone	# of all incidents with people killed	Grand total all people killed	# of incidents with civilians killed	Grand total civilians killed
North West	2,900	18,635	2,128	11,626
North Central	2,307	11,974	1,978	8,789
North East	2,058	18,508	823	5,521
South East	954	3,251	636	2,273
South South	921	1,978	671	1,369
South West	830	1,564	706	1,302
Grand Total	9,970	55,910	6,942	30,880

According to table 1, most attacks with killings took place in the North West (2,900), followed by the North Central (2,307) and North East (2,058). The South East (954), South South (921) and South West (830) had their share of attacks too. Looking at civilians alone, the North West (2,128) and North Central (1,978) had most attacks. The North East had far less (823), as did the South West (706), South South (671) and South East (636). The average of civilians killed per attack in the southern zones is lower than in the northern zones.

The difference between attacks with people killed (9,970) and with civilians killed (6,942) was considerable, because there were many clashes recorded between Security Forces and Terror Groups.

Table 2: All attacks with killings for the four separate reporting periods, with emphasis on attacks with civilians killed

Year	# of all incidents with people killed	Grand total all people killed	# of incidents with civilians killed	Grand total civilians killed
2020	2,111	11,913	1,519	7,434
2021	2,859	16,274	2,034	9,940
2022	2,576	15,037	1,740	7,651
2023	2,424	12,686	1,649	5,855
2020-2023	9,970	55,910	6,942	30,880

Table 2 shows that most attacks with people killed were in the 2021 reporting period (2,859), followed by 2022 (2,576), 2023 (2,424) and 2020 (2,111). For civilians killed, the order was the same: Most attacks with civilians killed were in 2021 (2,034), followed by 2022 (1,740), 2023 (1,649) and 2020 (1,519).

People killed in the context of attacks by ‘Terror Groups’ were categorized according to their religious background: Christian, Muslim or African Traditional Religionist (ATR). The religious identity of the victims was not always known. These four subcategories together formed the category “civilians”. The data also covered members of the Security Forces killed and members of the ‘Terror Groups’ killed. See Section 5 for more details.

Most attacks with civilians killed targeted communities, the majority of them Christian communities. See Section 3. Community attacks often involved a shocking variety of hostile acts and led to enormous numbers of forcibly displaced. At the end of 2023, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reported 3.3 million forcibly displaced civilians by conflict and violence in Nigeria.

The numbers of Muslims killed by Christian local vigilantes are included in this report, as are Muslims killed by retaliatory attacks by Christians on Muslims. However, the data shows that by far the majority of Muslims were killed by the same aggressors as those who killed Christians and ATRs. This means, that most of the Muslims killed as reported by ORFA must not be seen as victims of Christians but as victims of their radicalized religious kin. The main ‘victims’ of the Christian local vigilantes were members of the ‘Terror Groups’. See Section 5 for more data on this issue.

1.2 Total number of all people killed in the 4-year reporting period

Table 3 shows that the total number of people killed in the 4-year reporting period was 55,910. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 1. Amongst them the number of Christians killed was 16,769, while the total number of Muslims killed was 6,235. The total number of African Traditional Religionists (ATRs) killed was 154. The religious identity of 7,722 civilians killed remained unknown. The Security Forces (4,953) and Terror Groups (20,077) had high numbers killed too.

If the number of ‘Unknown religious identity’ were divided over the categories “Christians killed”, “Muslims killed” and “ATRs killed” using the same ratios as registered for the 2022 and 2023 reporting periods, the total for Christians killed rises from 16,769 to 22,361, and for Muslims it rises from 6,235 to 8,314.

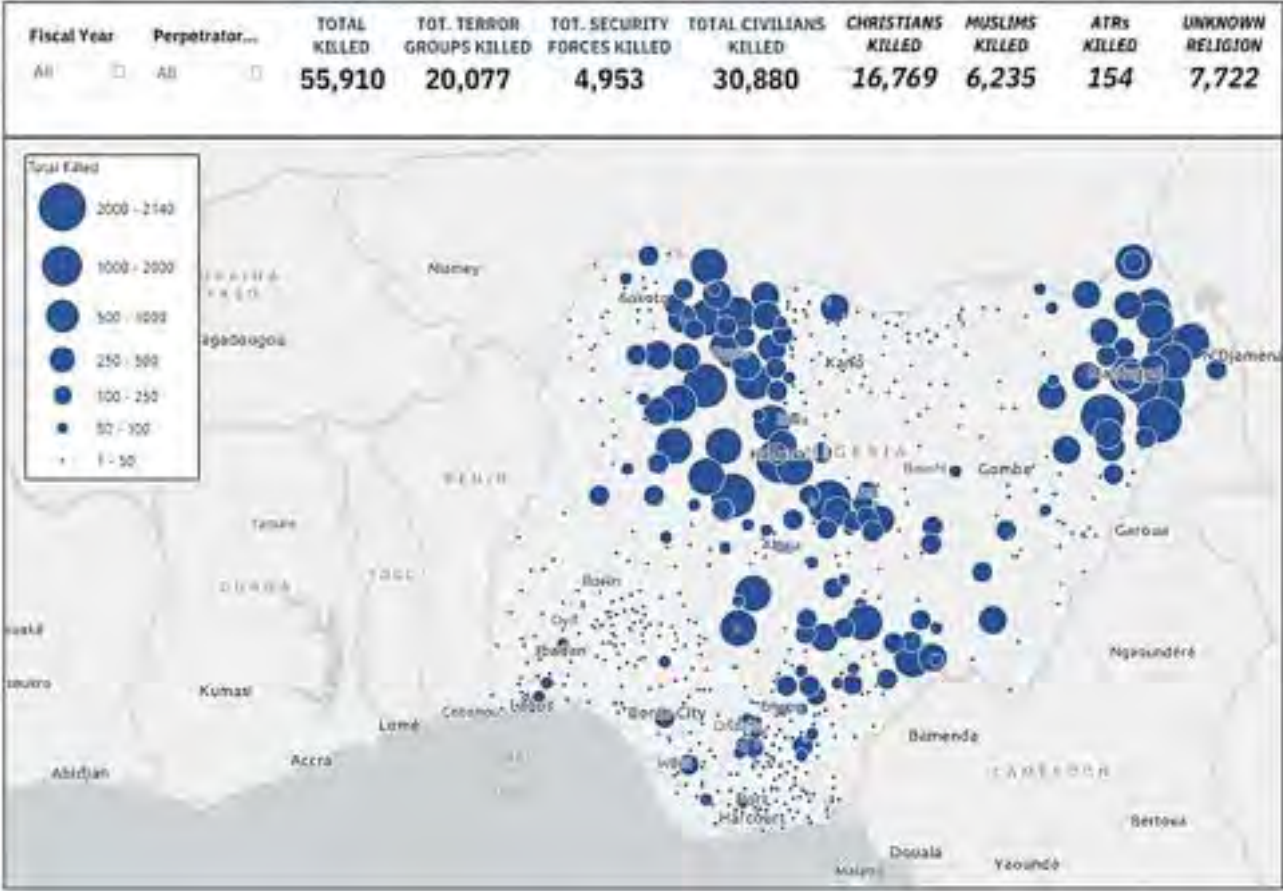
Table 3: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - People killed in Nigeria in the context of ‘Terror groups’ from Oct 2019 until Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	2020-2023							
	Total Killed	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	18,635	11,626	5,250	3,678	52	2,646	912	6,097
North Central	11,974	8,789	6,081	1,106	22	1,580	584	2,601
North East	18,508	5,521	2,595	1,262	21	1,643	2,612	10,375
South East	3,251	2,273	1,677	78	2	516	526	452
South South	1,978	1,369	622	23	15	709	236	373
South West	1,564	1,302	544	88	42	628	83	179
Grand Total	55,910	30,880	16,769	6,235	154	7,722	4,953	20,077

Most killings were in the North West (18,635), closely followed by the North East (18,508). These include high numbers of Security Forces killed in the North West (912 killed) and the North East (2,612 killed), and in particular Terror Groups killed in the North West (6,097 killed) and the North East (10,375 killed). When focusing on civilians, North West had most civilians killed (11,626), followed by North Central (8,789). In all geopolitical zones more Christians were killed than Muslims.

Map 1 visualizes the overall data for people killed presented in table 3. It shows the spread of the killings over the country.

MAP 1: All people killed in the 4-year reporting period



(Map source: ORFA)

Table 4 shows the killings in the four individual reporting periods.

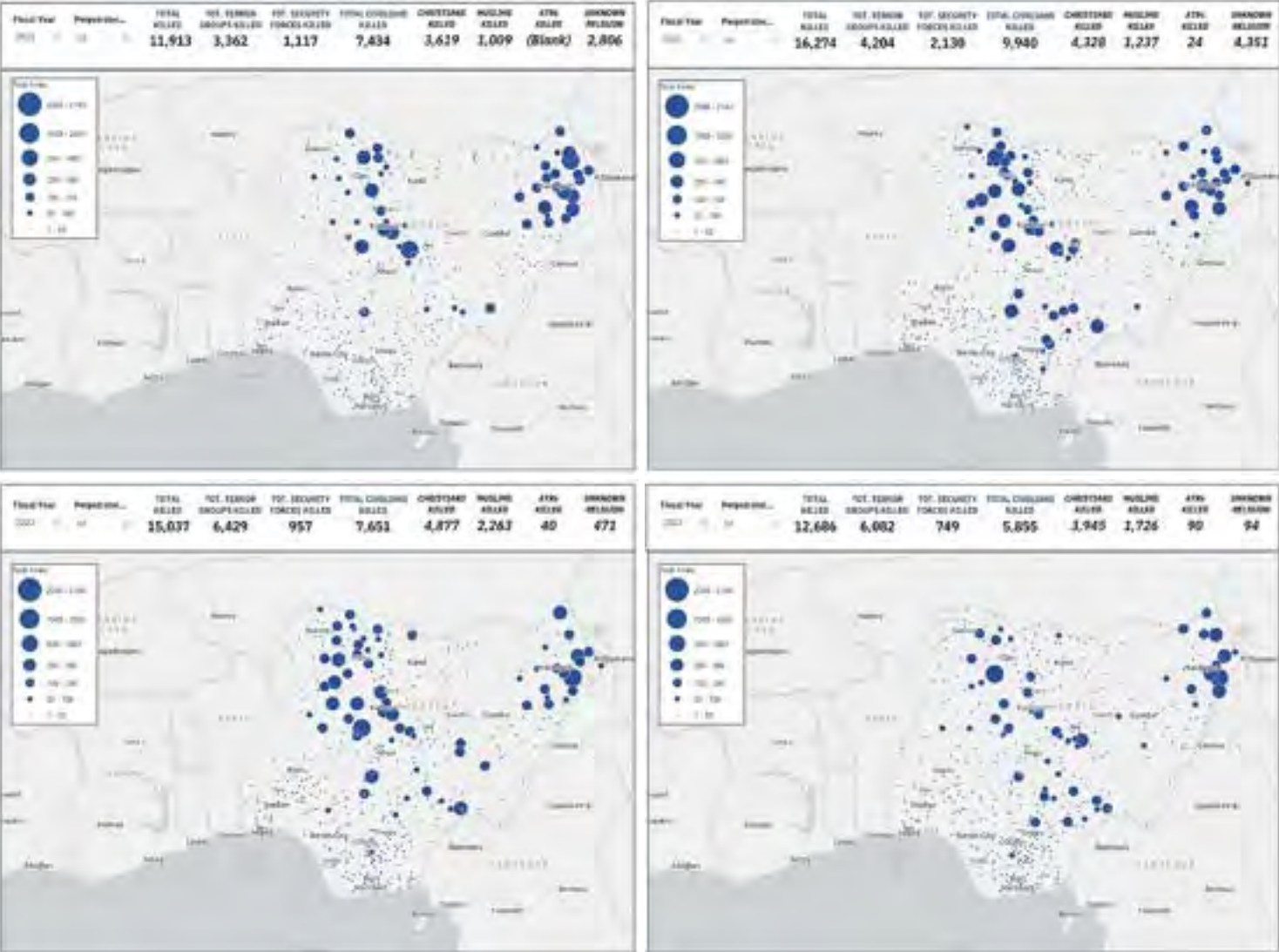
Table 4: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - People killed in Nigeria in the context of ‘Terror groups’ from Oct 2019 until Sept 2023

Year	Total Killed	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
2020	11,913	7,434	3,619	1,009	-	2,806	1,117	3,362
2021	16,274	9,940	4,328	1,237	24	4,351	2,130	4,204
2022	15,037	7,651	4,877	2,263	40	471	957	6,429
2023	12,686	5,855	3,945	1,726	90	94	749	6,082
2020-2023	55,910	30,880	16,769	6,235	154	7,722	4,953	20,077

Table 4 shows the number of the killings over the four separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (11,913) to 2021 (16,274) and then decreased in 2022 (15,037) and 2023 (12,686). Particularly in the 2023 reporting period, the number of people killed decreased, although the 2023 number was still higher than the 2020 number. This was due to the much higher number of members of Terror Groups killed in 2023 (6,082), mainly by the Security Forces. However, the number of civilians killed in 2023 (5,855) was lower than the number of civilians killed in 2020 (7,434). This might be (partly) related to the 2023 elections period. See Section 4 for more details.

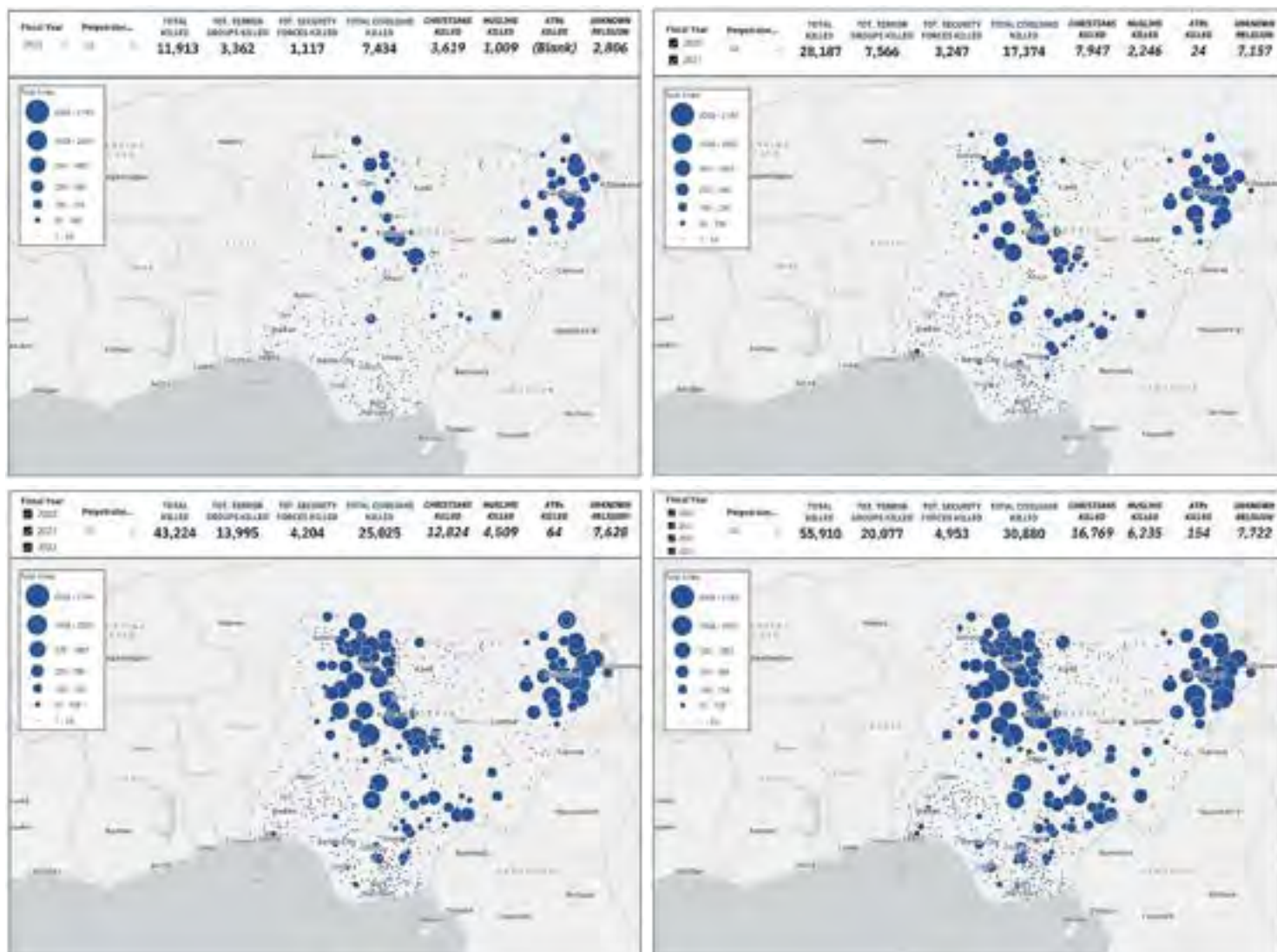
Maps 2A - 2D visualize these data for each individual reporting period. Maps 3A - 3D do so for the four reporting periods cumulatively.

Maps 2A – 2D: All people killed in the four individual reporting periods displayed



(Maps source: ORFA)

Maps 3A – 3D All people killed in the four reporting periods cumulatively



(Maps source: ORFA)

1.3 Ratio of Christians to Muslims killed in the 4-year reporting period, adjusted according to population percentage

To understand whether religious background plays a role in a person becoming a victim of violence, this section of the report relates the numbers of Christians and Muslims killed in the different Nigerian states to the size of their respective populations in those states. A small Christian population with just slightly more victims than the Muslim population, could still be disproportionately affected by the violence.

Tables 5 and 6 indicate that in the 4-year reporting period, the actual ratio of Christians to Muslims killed was **2.7:1**. When taking into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the individual states where attacks occurred, the proportional ratio of Christians to Muslims killed rises to **6.5:1**. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 2.

Table 5: GEOPOLITICAL ZONE - Comparison of the ratio of the number of Christians killed to the number of Muslims killed from Oct 2019 until Sep 2023 taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

Geopolitical zone	2020-2023				
	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportional ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	8,928	5,250	3,678	1.4	7.5
North Central	7,187	6,081	1,106	5.5	4.6
North East	3,857	2,595	1,262	2.1	5.3
South East	1,755	1,677	78	21.5	5.3
South South	645	622	23	27.0	6.3
South West	632	544	88	6.2	3.1
Grand Total	23,004	16,769	6,235	2.7	6.5

Table 5 shows that the initial ratio of Christians to Muslims killed was by far the highest in the South South (27.0:1) and the South East (21.5:1). The ratio in the North West (1.4:1) and the ratio in the North East (2.1:1) were the lowest. However, when taking into account the population sizes of Christians and Muslims in the different states, the highest ratio was in the North West (7.5:1), followed by the South South (6.3:1) and the North East and South East (both with a ratio of 5.3:1). It is remarkable that these ratios for the Christian-majority South South and South East were still so high.

Table 6: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Comparison of the ratio of Christians killed to Muslims killed from October 2019 until September 2023 taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

Year	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportional ratio Christians to Muslims killed
2020	4,628	3,619	1,009	3.6	9.3
2021	5,565	4,328	1,237	3.5	7.7
2022	7,140	4,877	2,263	2.2	6.6
2023	5,671	3,945	1,726	2.3	3.7
2020-2023	23,004	16,769	6,235	2.7	6.5

Table 6 shows that the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed decreased over the 4 reporting periods from 3.6:1 to 2.2:1/2.3:1, meaning that in the course of the violence, Muslims were increasingly targeted by Terror Groups compared to Christians, though still less in number than Christians. When taking into account the population sizes of Christians and Muslims in the different states, the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed decreased from 9.3:1 to 3.7:1. Although 3.7:1 still shows a serious difference between Christians and Muslims killed in relation to their population sizes in the Nigerian states, this decrease indicates that over the four reporting periods there was a relative shift of the stage of the violence to states with higher proportions of Christian populations.

1.4 Civilian killings in different LGAs in the overall reporting period

This section analyses the geographical volatility of the violent attacks causing civilian killings.

The project has registered data on people killed for 762 LGAs, with civilian killings in 710 LGAs spread over Nigeria. Appendix 11 gives the data of the LGA top 100 with most civilians killed over the 4-year reporting period.

Table 7: Numbers and percentages of civilians killed in the LGA top 10, 25 and 100 with most killings for all four reporting periods combined

2020-2023	Total civilians killed		Christians killed		Muslims killed		ATRs killed		Unknown religious identity killed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Top 10	7,268	24	5,264	31	918	15	32	21	1,054	14
Top 25	12,324	40	7,918	47	2,161	35	48	31	2,197	28
Top 100	22,846	74	13,019	78	4,929	79	90	58	4,808	62
All 710	30,880		16,769		6,235		154		7,722	

Most civilian killings took place in a limited number of LGAs. Table 8 shows the numbers and percentages of civilians killed in the LGA top 10, 25 and 100 with most killings for all four reporting periods combined. Out of the 710 LGAs with civilian killings, 24% took place in the LGA top 10, 40% in the top LGA 25 and 74% in the LGA top 100. The remaining 26% of killings took place in ranks 101 to 710.

Table 8: 25 LGAs with the most civilian killings (totals over the four year reporting period)

LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	2020-2023				
			Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	1,232	1,013	35	1	183
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	986	571	291	-	124
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	858	699	50	1	108
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	718	535	34	-	149
Guma	Benue	North Central	707	657	4	-	46
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	641	397	197	29	18
Bassa	Plateau	North Central	607	442	14	-	151
Munya	Niger	North Central	509	299	92	1	117
Katsina-Ala	Benue	North Central	506	423	-	-	83
Giwa	Kaduna	North West	504	228	201	-	75
Faskari	Katsina	North West	465	160	142	-	163
Takum	Taraba	North East	420	407	8	3	2
Monguno	Borno	North East	388	244	99	-	45
Kaura	Kaduna	North West	362	330	10	-	22
Maru	Zamfara	North West	360	18	137	-	205
Sabon Birni	Sokoto	North West	359	29	177	-	153
Mangu	Plateau	North Central	349	305	33	-	11
Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	North West	337	177	74	-	86
Anka	Zamfara	North West	334	79	221	-	34
Gwer West	Benue	North Central	303	258	-	1	44
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	286	48	145	-	93
Maiduguri Metro (MMC)	Borno	North East	285	81	45	-	159
Multiple LGAs combined in	Imo	South East	284	256	28	-	-
Igabi	Kaduna	North West	278	93	102	-	83
Bali	Taraba	North East	246	169	22	12	43
Total civilians killed top 25 LGAs			12,324	7,918	2,161	48	2,197
Total civilians killed all LGAs			30,880	16,769	6,235	154	7,722

Table 8 (above) gives the data for all four reporting periods combined. Analysis of each reporting period separately leads to the following results:

- 65 different LGAs over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings

- 42 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings once in 4 years
- 14 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings twice in 4 years
- 6 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings three times in 4 years
- 3 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings in all 4 years

This corresponds with an indication of geographical volatility of **200**. The range of this indication varies between 100 and 400. If all killings were focused on the LGAs over the four years, the value would have been 400. If all killings took place in different LGAs over the four years, the value would have been 100.

- 15 different states over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 3 states 1 time in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 2 states 2 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 1 state 3 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 2 states 4 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 1 state 5 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 1 state 8 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 1 state 9 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 3 states 13 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - 1 state 21 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings

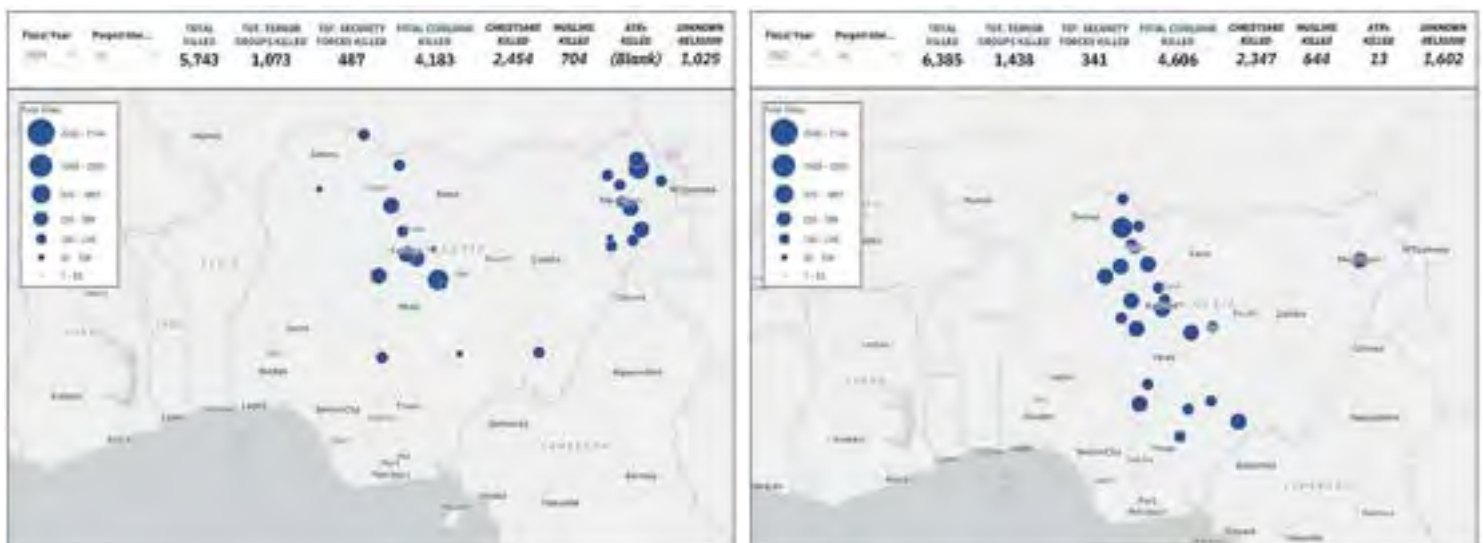
In the 2020 reporting period, the LGA top 25 killings were in 10 different states. So, it went from 10 states in 2020 to 15 states in 2023.

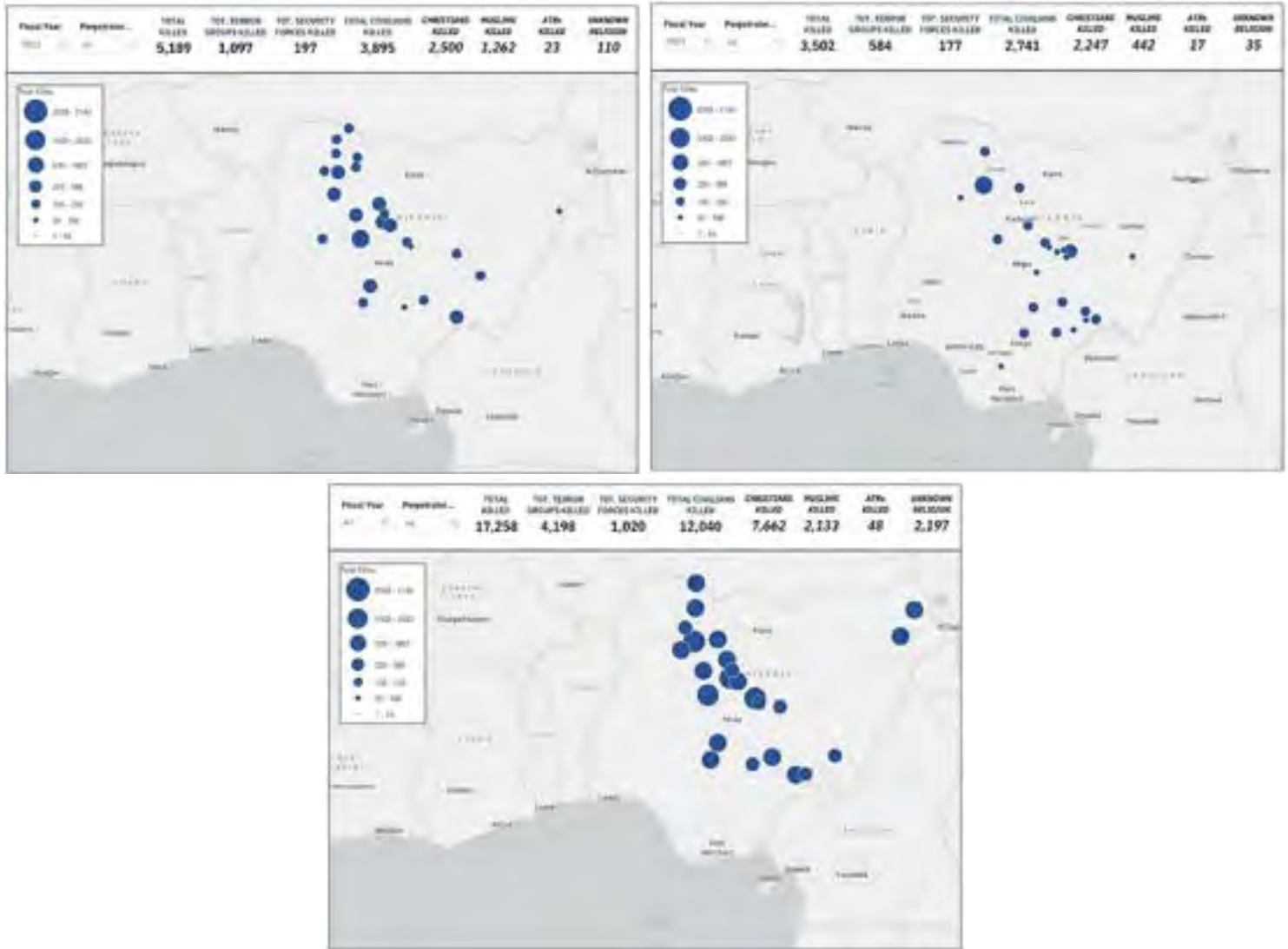
- 4 different geopolitical zones over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian killings
 - North West: mentioned 45 times out of 100
 - North Central: mentioned 32 times out of 100
 - North East: mentioned 20 times out of 100
 - South East: mentioned 3 times out of 100

In the 2020 reporting period, the LGA top 25 killings were in 3 different geopolitical zones. So, it went from 3 geopolitical zones in 2020 to 4 geopolitical zones states in 2023.

Maps 4a – 4d show how the geographical focus of civilian killings has shifted over the four reporting periods. Map 4e gives the combined image for all four years together.

Maps 4A – 4E: 2020–2023 annual LGA top 25 with most civilians killed





(Maps source: ORFA)

2. Summary data on abductions in Nigeria’s geopolitical zones, states and LGA’s

When the recorded data for abductions of Christians, Muslims and ATRs is used for analysis, all people killed or abducted with “Unknown Religious Identity” are unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages or ratios. It is a complication when the bare data is used.

2.1 Attacks with abductions in the 4-year reporting period

In the 4-year reporting period many attacks involving killings and abductions were recorded in the context of violent attacks by aggressors summarized under the term ‘Terror Groups’. This section further focuses on attacks with abductions. Section 1 focuses on attacks with killings.

Table 9 and 10 give an overview of all attacks with abductions. Table 9 focuses on the geopolitical zones for the 4-year reporting period; table 10 focuses on the four distinct reporting periods.

Table 9 shows that many people were abducted (21,621). Table 1 in Section 1.1 shows that many others were killed (55,910). Total attacks with abductions 2,705 and total attacks with killings 9,970. There was

some overlap. ORFA registered 11,610 attacks in which people were killed and/or abducted. Out of these, 8,905 have recorded killings, no abductions; 1,065 have recorded both killings and abductions; 1,640 have recorded abductions, no killings. This is an average of **8 attacks per day** with killings and/or abductions over a 4-year period. Section 1 further elaborates upon the data on killings.

There were frequent confrontations between Security Forces and Terror Groups and between Terror Groups themselves. This had an impact on civilians too. In 35 attacks (out of the 2,705 attacks with abductions) only non-civilians were abducted: 68 members of the Security Forces and 2 members of Terror Groups. Mutual confrontations clearly did not lead to abductions but to killings. See Section 1 for the data on killings.

Table 9: All attacks with abductions in the geopolitical zones, for the 4-year reporting period, with special emphasis on attacks with civilians abducted

Geopolitical zone	# of all incidents with people abducted	Grand total all people abducted	# of incidents with civilians abducted	Grand total of civilians abducted
North West	1,054	12,062	1,047	12,042
North Central	999	6,351	993	6,325
North East	269	1,599	261	1,579
South East	124	476	115	465
South South	135	708	132	701
South West	124	425	122	420
Grand Total	2,705	21,621	2,670	21,532

According to table 9, most attacks with abductions took place in the North West (1,054), followed by the North Central (999) and North East (269). The South East (124), South South (135) and South West (124) had their share of attacks too. Looking purely at the number of civilians abducted, the North West (1,047) and North Central (993) had most attacks. The North East had a lower number (261), as did the South West (115), South South (132) and South East (122). In the southern zones, the average number of civilians abducted per attack was less than in the northern zones.

The difference between attacks with people abducted (2,705) and with civilians abducted (2,670) is small because during the many clashes between Security Forces and Terror Groups, many were killed but very few abducted.

Table 10: All attacks with abductions for the four individual reporting periods, with special emphasis on attacks with civilians abducted

Geopolitical zone	# of all incidents with people abducted	Grand total all people abducted	# of incidents with civilians abducted	Grand total of civilians abducted
2020	264	1,677	260	1,665
2021	734	5,907	747	5,907
2022	861	7,762	829	7,705
2023	846	6,275	834	6,255
2020-2023	2,705	21,621	2,670	21,532

Table 10 shows that most attacks with people abducted were in the 2022 reporting period (861), followed by 2023 (846), 2021 (734) and 2020 (264). For civilians abducted it was the same: Most attacks with civilians abducted were in 2023 (834), followed by 2022 (829), 2021 (747) and 2020 (260).

As with killings, people abducted in the context of the attacks by Terror Groups were categorized according to their religious background: Christian, Muslim or African Traditional Religionist (ATR). The religious identity of the victims was not always known. These four subcategories make up the category civilians. The data also covered members of the Security Forces and Terror Groups killed. See Section 6 for more details.

2.2 Number of people abducted in the overall 4-year reporting period

Table 11 shows that the total number of people abducted in the 4-year reporting period was 21,621. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 3. The total number of Christians abducted was 11,185; Muslims abducted numbered 7,899 and African Traditional Religionists (ATRs) 184. The religious identity of 2,264 civilians abducted remained unknown.⁴ The Security Forces (85) and Terror Groups (4) had very low numbers abducted.

If the number of ‘Unknown religious identity’ were divided over the categories “Christians abducted”, “Muslims abducted” and “ATRs abducted” using the same ratios as registered for the 2022 and 2023 reporting periods, the total for Christians abducted rises from 11,185 to 12,499. For Muslims abducted it rises from 7,899 to 8,827.

Table 11: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - People abducted in Nigeria in the context of ‘Terror groups’ for the period October 2019 until September 2023

Geopolitical zone	2020-2023							
	Total Abducted	Total civilians abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	12,062	12,042	5,931	4,976	60	1,075	19	1
North Central	6,351	6,325	3,277	2,469	113	466	26	-
North East	1,599	1,579	681	377	-	521	17	3
South East	476	465	437	11	-	17	11	-
South South	708	701	582	23	4	92	7	-
South West	425	420	277	43	7	93	5	-
Grand Total	21,621	21,532	11,185	7,899	184	2,264	85	4

Most abductions were in the North West (12,062), followed by the North Central (6,351). When focusing on civilians, North West had most civilians abducted (12,042), followed by North Central (6,325). In all geopolitical zones more Christians were abducted than Muslims.

⁴ The number of ‘Unknown religious identity’ abducted is high. As explained in the methodology section, additional violence incidents from 2020 and 2021 recorded by ACLED were integrated into the existing data. Unfortunately, it was no longer possible to identify the religious background of the victims from these additional attacks. For the third and fourth year of the reporting period, ACLED data was included from the beginning, as was the determination of the religious identity of the victims. The total of ‘Unknown religious identity’ abducted for the third and fourth reporting periods was 355 civilians. Using this information, a value for the percentage of Christians abducted compared to Muslims abducted for the full 4-year reporting period can be confidently estimated.

Map 5 visualizes the overall data for people abducted in table 11. It shows the spread of abductions over the country.

Map 5: All people abducted in the 4-year period



(Map source: ORFA)

Table 12 shows the abductions in the four separate reporting periods.

Table 12. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - People abducted in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' from October 2019 until September 2023

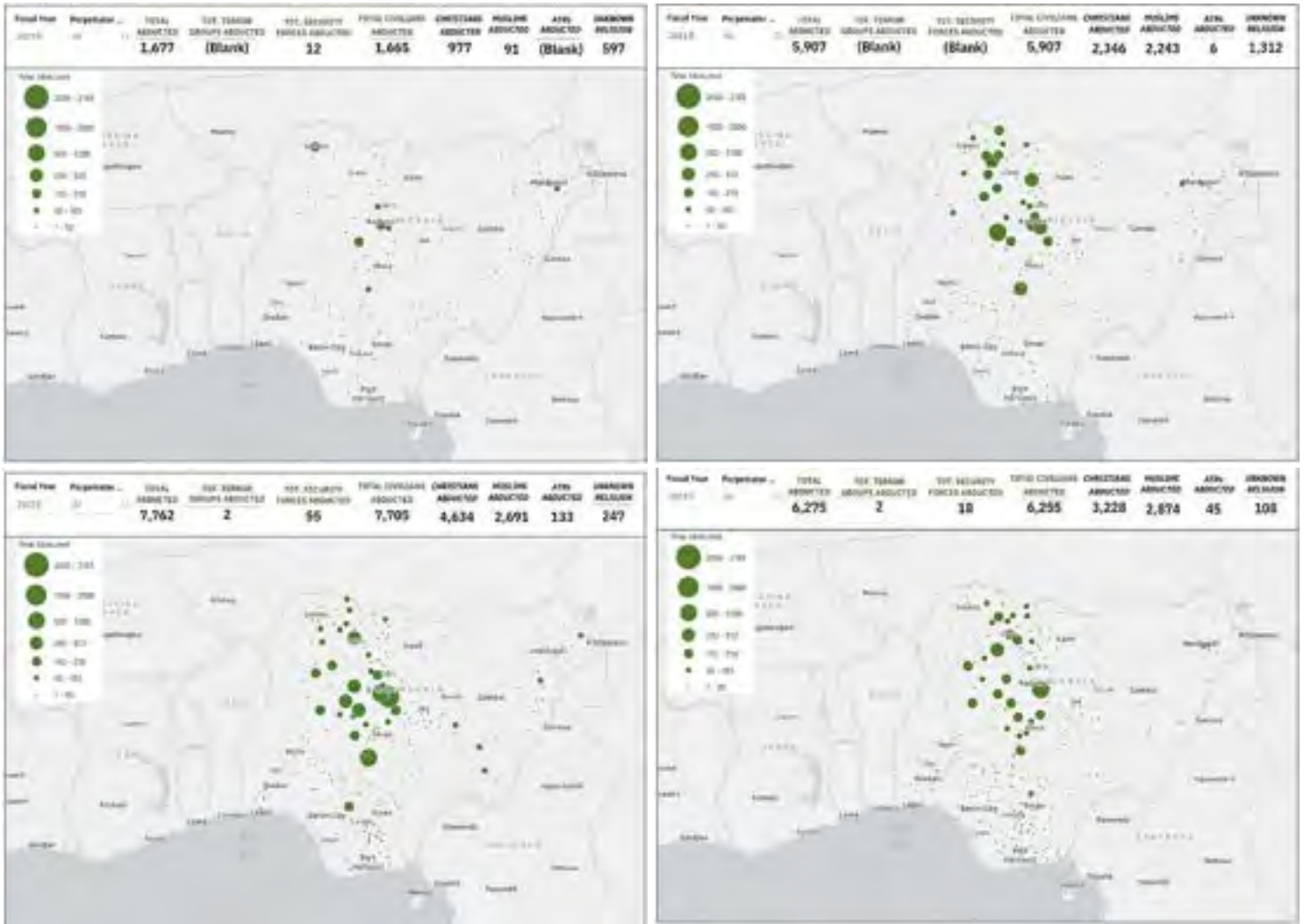
Year	Total Abducted	Total civilians abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
2020	1,677	1,665	977	91	-	597	12	-
2021	5,907	5,907	2,346	2,243	6	1,312	-	-
2022	7,762	7,705	4,634	2,691	133	247	55	2
2023	6,275	6,255	3,228	2,874	45	108	18	2
2020-2023	21,621	21,532	11,185	7,899	184	2,264	85	4

According to table 12, abductions increased sharply from 2020 (1,677) to 2022 (7,762) and then somewhat decreased in 2023 (6,275). The number of civilians abducted in 2023 (6,255) was still much higher than the number of civilians abducted in 2020 (1,665).⁵

⁵ As with killings, it seems that the 2023 reporting period shows a break – possibly temporary – in the trend. Some analysts argue it has to do with the election period, suggesting 'powers in the shadows' wanted to give the voters a sense of security under the wings of the ruling party. They say that violence took off again in full force after the elections.

Maps 6A - 6D visualize the data for each separate reporting period. Maps 7A - 7D visualize the same data presented cumulatively.

Maps 6A – 6D: All people killed in the four individual reporting periods



(Maps source: ORFA)

Maps 7A – 7D. All people abducted in the four reporting periods cumulatively





(Maps source: ORFA)

2.3 Ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted in the 4-year period, adjusted according to population percentage

To understand whether religious background plays a role in a person becoming a victim of violence, this section of the report relates the numbers of Christians and Muslims abducted in the different Nigerian states to the size of their respective populations in those states. A small Christian population with just slightly more victims than the Muslim population, could still be disproportionately affected by the violence.

Tables 13 and 14 indicate that in the 4 years reporting period, the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted was **1.4:1**. When taking into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the individual states where attacks occurred, the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted rose to 5.1:1. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 4.

Table 13: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Comparison of the ratio of the number of Christians abducted to the number of Muslims abducted from October 2019 until September 2023 taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

Geopolitical zone	2020-2023				
	Total Christians and Muslims abducted	Christians Abducted	Muslims Abducted	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims abducted	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims abducted
North West	10,907	5,931	4,976	1.2	6.2
North Central	5,746	3,277	2,469	1.3	2.9
North East	1,058	681	377	1.8	4.9
South East	448	437	11	39.7	8.5
South South	605	582	23	25.3	4.5
South West	320	277	43	6.4	3.4
Grand Total	19,084	11,185	7,899	1.4	5.1

The ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted was by far the highest in the South East (39.7:1) and the South South (25.3:1). The ratio in the North West (1.2:1) and the ratio in the North Central (1.3:1) were the lowest. When taking account of the population sizes of Christians and Muslims in the different states, the highest ratio was again in the South East (8.5:1), followed by the North West (6.2:1), North East (4.9:1), South South (4.5:1), and then the South West (3.4:1) and North Central (2.9:1).

Table 14. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Comparison of the ratio of the number of Christians abducted to the number of Muslims abducted from October 2019 until September 2023 taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

Year	Total Christians and Muslims	Christians Abducted	Muslims Abducted	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims abducted	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims abducted
2020	1,068	977	91	10.7	55.1
2021	4,589	2,346	2,243	1.0	4.4
2022	7,325	4,634	2,691	1.7	5.9
2023	6,102	3,228	2,874	1.1	3.4
2020-2023	19,084	11,185	7,899	1.4	5.1

The ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted was very high in the 2020 reporting period (10.7:1). In the three following reporting periods this ratio dropped sharply with strongly increasing total abductions for Muslims and Christians (with ratios between 1.0:1 and 1.7:1), apparently meaning that the abductors suddenly focused on Muslims as well as Christians. However, when taking into account the population sizes of Christians and Muslims in the different states, the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted remained in the range of 3.4:1 – 5.9:1, indicating a stronger focus of the abductors on Christians than on Muslims.

2.3 INSERT - Disparate treatment of Christian and Muslim captives by members of Terror Groups

Disparate treatment meted out to Christian and Muslim captives by members of Terror Groups

Since 2015, there have been consistent reports of disparate treatment meted out to Christian and Muslim captives by members of Terror Groups. The following differences in treatment were observed based on reports from victims or their families. The information was gathered during interviews with our primary partner. The identity of the victims and their families has been kept confidential at the request of the victims.

- **Forced Labor:** Christian captives, including men, women, and children, are routinely subjected to forced labor and grueling physical tasks, often under inhumane conditions. In contrast, their Muslim counterparts are typically spared from such treatment.
- **Sexual Violence:** Christian women and girls are frequently subjected to rape, sexual abuse, and other forms of sexual violence perpetrated by their captors. Muslim women, on the other hand, are generally not subjected to such atrocities.
- **Ransom Demands and Release:** Muslim captives who cannot afford to pay ransoms are sometimes released without payment, indicating a degree of preferential treatment. However, Christian captives are rarely granted such leniency.
- **Execution Risks:** According to media reports and research conducted over the past 10 years, Christian captives are more likely to be executed in captivity than Muslim captives held by the same terror groups. There are numerous instances where Christian captives were brutally murdered by their abductors, even after ransoms were paid.

- Religious Tests: In documented attacks, such as one in 2022 where over a hundred people were kidnapped from a village, the bandits asked Muslim captives to identify themselves and recite portions of the Quran to ascertain their faith. Those who could recite the Quran were allowed to go home without ransom payment, while those who could not were taken to the camp, presumed to be Christians.
- Christian women for the sexual gratification of their FEM captors: There are documented cases of Christian women being subjected to brutal sexual abuses in captivity by their FEM captors. A nursing Christian mother from a certain community, who had barely given birth to her child, was repeatedly raped by her captors. She eventually bled to death in captivity. Some of the victims who witnessed the barbaric attack said the FEM members who took turns to rape the woman were boasting and saying that Christian women will always be for their sexual gratification whenever and wherever they find them.

2.4 Civilian abductions in different LGAs in the overall reporting period

This section analyses the geographical volatility of the violent attacks causing civilian abductions.

ORFA has data on the number of people abducted and the number of specifically civilian abductions in 440 LGAs spread over Nigeria. Appendix 12 gives the data of the LGA top 100 with most civilians abducted over the 4-year reporting period.

Table 15: Numbers and percentages of civilians abducted in the LGA top 10, 25 and 100 with most abductions over the 4-year reporting period

	Total civilians abducted		Christians abducted		Muslims abducted		ATRs abducted		Unknown religious identity abducted	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Top 10	9,077	42	5,066	45	3,352	42	87	47	572	25
Top 25	13,404	62	7,024	63	5,360	68	129	70	891	39
Top 100	18,933	88	9,453	85	7,429	94	171	93	1,880	83
All 440	21,532		11,185		7,899		184		2,264	

Even more than with killings, most civilian abductions took place in a limited number of LGAs. Table 15 shows the numbers and percentages of civilians abducted in the LGA top 10, 25 and 100 with most abductions for all four reporting periods combined. Out of the 440 LGAs with civilian abductions, 42% took place in the LGA top 10, 62% in the LGA top 25 and 88% in the LGA top 100. The remaining 12% of abductions took place in ranks 101 to 440.

Table 16: 25 LGAs with the most civilian abductions (totals over the four year reporting period)

LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	2020-2023				
			Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	2,184	2,001	175	-	8
Rafi	Niger	North Central	1,275	356	725	53	141
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	1,158	899	123	1	135
Munya	Niger	North Central	1,151	648	424	4	75
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	845	479	338	-	28
Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	North West	627	259	263	24	81
Maru	Zamfara	North West	546	63	402	5	76
Talata Mafara	Zamfara	North West	443	21	422	-	-
Giwa	Kaduna	North West	425	279	133	-	13
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	423	61	347	-	15
Kachia	Kaduna	North West	420	340	79	-	1
Kankara	Katsina	North West	403	52	335	-	16
Bungudu	Zamfara	North West	390	147	239	-	4
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	377	190	159	1	27
Paikoro	Niger	North Central	334	201	110	2	21
Rijau	Niger	North Central	288	210	43	35	-
Mashegu	Niger	North Central	287	94	181	4	8
Igabi	Kaduna	North West	280	195	84	-	1
Kagarko	Kaduna	North West	259	93	143	-	23
Gusau	Zamfara	North West	246	61	185	-	-
Jibia	Katsina	North West	219	29	147	-	43
Sabon Birni	Sokoto	North West	216	36	71	-	109
Bakura	Zamfara	North West	206	66	136	-	4
Lapai	Niger	North Central	202	94	96	-	12
Sokoto South	Sokoto	North West	200	150	-	-	50
Total civilians abducted top 25 LGAs			13,404	7,024	5,360	129	891
Total civilians abducted all LGAs			21,532	11,185	7,899	184	2,264

Table 16 (above) gives the data for all four reporting periods combined. Analysis of each individual reporting period leads to the following results:

- 60 different LGAs over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 38 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions once in 4 years
 - 11 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions twice in 4 years
 - 4 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions thrice in 4 years
 - 7 LGAs in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions in all 4 years

This corresponds with an indication of the geographical volatility of **230**. The range of this indication varies between 100 and 400. If all abductions were focused on the LGAs over the four years, the value would have been 400. If all abductions took place in different LGAs over the four years, the value would have been 100.

- 14 different states over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 6 states 1 time in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 1 state 3 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 2 states 5 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 1 state 6 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 1 state 12 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 1 state 16 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 1 state 23 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - 1 state 24 times in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions

In the 2020 reporting period, the LGA top 25 abductions were in 9 different states. So it went from 9 states in 2020 to 14 states in 2023.

- 6 different geopolitical zones over the 4 years in the LGA top 25 of civilian abductions
 - North West: mentioned 55 times out of 100
 - North Central: mentioned 28 times out of 100
 - North East: mentioned 13 times out of 100
 - South East: mentioned 1 time out of 100
 - South South: mentioned 2 times out of 100
 - South West: mentioned 1 time out of 100

In the 2020 reporting period, the LGA top 25 abductions were in 5 different geopolitical zones. So it went from 5 geopolitical zones in 2020 to 6 geopolitical zones states in 2023.

Maps 8a – 8d show how the geographical focus of civilian abductions has shifted over the four reporting periods. Map 8e gives the combined image for the complete 4-year period.

Maps 8A –8E: 2020 – 2023 annual LGA top 25 with most civilians abducted





(Maps source: ORFA)

3. Distinguishing attacks on communities from other forms of attack

For this section the proportionality issue is not taken into account in the religious analysis. Just the directly recorded numbers are used. Taking into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the different Nigerian states ('proportionality') in the analysis in this section would further emphasize the trends.

This section looks deeper into the attacks involving killings and abductions. It distinguishes between attacks on communities and other attacks that were more on an individual basis or at least outside the context of attacks on communities as such. Therefore, the analysis focuses on civilians: Christians, Muslims, ATR adherents and those of 'Unknown Religious Identity', although mention is also made of Security Forces or Terror Group members killed.

Attacks on communities are especially devastating for the victims. As indicated in the introduction, it is particularly attacks on communities which often involve a whole spectrum of violence and suffering with people killed or abducted; people wounded or maimed; women and girls raped; houses, shops and other businesses destroyed or occupied; fields destroyed or occupied; houses of worship abandoned, closed or destroyed; people driven from their homelands into dire situations of internal displacement.

3.1 Killings in community or other attacks

In this section where the religious background is mentioned, the data presented does not take into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the states where the killings were recorded.

When data for the killings of Christians, Muslims and ATR adherents is used for analysis, all people killed or abducted with 'Unknown Religious Identity' are unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages or ratios. It is a complication when the bare data is used.

3.1.1 Killings occurring during community attacks and other attacks

Table 17 shows how many of the overall killings and civilian killings occurred in community attacks or in other attacks. The data is shown per geopolitical zone and covers the overall 4-year reporting period.

Table 17: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Killings within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Geopolitical zone	Total killed (community and other incidents)	# of incidents with civilians killed	Total civilians killed (community and other incidents)	Community incidents				
				Total community incidents	Total killed	Civilians killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	18,635	2,128	11,626	1,657	11,470	10,305	298	867
North Central	11,974	1,978	8,789	1,475	8,251	7,515	215	521
North East	18,508	823	5,521	578	6,272	4,632	339	1,301
South East	3,251	636	2,273	292	1,501	1,377	79	45
South South	1,978	671	1,369	346	908	821	68	19
South West	1,564	706	1,302	318	702	662	16	24
Grand Total	55,910	6,942	30,880	4,666	29,104	25,312	1,015	2,777

Geopolitical zone	Total killed (community and other incidents)	# of incidents with civilians killed	Total civilians killed (community and other incidents)	Other incidents				
				Total incidents otherwise	Total killed	Civilians killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	18,635	2,128	11,626	471	7,165	1,321	614	5,230
North Central	11,974	1,978	8,789	503	3,723	1,274	369	2,080
North East	18,508	823	5,521	245	12,236	889	2,273	9,074
South East	3,251	636	2,273	344	1,750	896	447	407
South South	1,978	671	1,369	325	1,070	548	168	354
South West	1,564	706	1,302	388	862	640	67	155
Grand Total	55,910	6,942	30,880	2,276	26,806	5,568	3,938	17,300

A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 5.

ALL PEOPLE KILLED: Table 17 shows that the total number of people killed during attacks on communities and during other attacks were comparable. Community attacks claimed the lives of many civilians, while other forms of attack claimed the lives of many members of Terror Groups and Security Forces. Many of the Security Forces and Terror Groups members killed happened in the context of

clashes between Security Forces and Terror Groups and were mostly (though not exclusively) outside the context of community attacks.

- The number of people killed during 4,666 attacks (with civilian casualties) on communities was 29,104.
- The number of civilians killed during 2,276 other attacks (with civilian casualties) was 26,806.
- The ratio 'People killed during community attacks' to 'People killed during other attacks' was 1.1:1.
- The average number of people killed per community attack was 6.2; for other attacks it was 11.8.
- Members of Security Forces killed and Terror Groups killed during community attacks numbered 3,792 out of 29,104 (13%).
- Members of Security Forces killed and Terror Groups killed during other attacks numbered 21,238 out of 26,806 (79%).
- During community attacks, the ratio of Terror Groups to Security Forces killed was 2.7:1; during other attacks it was 4.4:1.

It follows that there were fierce clashes between Security Forces and Terror Groups. These clashes were mostly outside the context of attacks on communities. This suggests that most of these clashes did not take place as interventions by the Security Forces during attacks on communities by Terror Groups. The high number of Terror Groups killed during 'other attacks' also refers to internal clashes within the category 'Terror Groups'.

CIVILIANS KILLED: Most civilians were killed during attacks on their communities compared to other attacks. Attacks on communities aim at disrupting the life of inhabitants and terrorizing them or driving them away from their livelihoods. Other attacks were more individually focused or occurred outside the context of attacks on communities as such.

- The number of civilians killed during 4,666 attacks on communities was 25,312.
- The number of civilians killed during 2,276 other attacks was 5,568.
- The ratio of 'Civilians killed during community attacks' to 'Civilians killed during other attacks' was 4.5:1.
- The average number of civilian killings per community attack was 5.4; for other attacks it was 2.4.

Table 17 also allows a breakdown of the overall data for civilians killed for the different geopolitical zones.

GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – CIVILIANS KILLED:

- **ALL ATTACKS:** Most civilians were killed in the North West (11,262), followed by the North Central (8,789) and North East (5,521). The total number of killings in the three southern geopolitical zones was 4,944 civilians killed in all forms of attack.
- **COMMUNITY ATTACKS:** Most civilians were killed in the North West (10,305), North Central (7,515) and North East (4,632). The total number of civilians killed in the three southern geopolitical zones was 2,860.
- **OTHER ATTACKS:** Most civilians were killed in the North West (1,321), the North Central (1,274) and in the North East (889). The total number of civilians killed in the three southern geopolitical zones was 2,084.

Table 18 compares the number of civilians killed during community attacks with those occurring during other forms of attack for the four individual reporting periods.

Table 18: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Killings within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Year	Total killed (community and other incidents)	# of incidents with civilians killed	Total civilians killed (community and other incidents)	Community incidents				
				Total community incidents	Total killed	Civilians killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
2020	11,913	1,519	7,434	1,187	6,919	6,565	176	178
2021	16,274	2,034	9,940	1,577	9,279	8,484	382	413
2022	15,037	1,740	7,651	859	7,156	5,521	222	1,413
2023	12,686	1,649	5,855	1,043	5,750	4,742	235	773
2020-2023	55,910	6,942	30,880	4,666	29,104	25,312	1,015	2,777

Year	Total killed (community and other incidents)	# of incidents with civilians killed	Total civilians killed (community and other incidents)	Other incidents				
				Total incidents otherwise	Total killed	Civilians killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
2020	11,913	1,519	7,434	332	4,994	869	941	3,184
2021	16,274	2,034	9,940	457	6,995	1,456	1,748	3,791
2022	15,037	1,740	7,651	881	7,881	2,130	735	5,016
2023	12,686	1,649	5,855	606	6,936	1,113	514	5,309
2020-2023	55,910	6,942	30,880	2,276	26,806	5,568	3,938	17,300

INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – CIVILIANS KILLED:

- ALL ATTACKS: Most civilians were killed in the 2021 reporting period (9,940), followed by 2022 (7,651) and 2020 (7,434); the lowest number was in 2023 (5,855).
- COMMUNITY ATTACKS: Most civilians were killed in the 2021 reporting period (8,484), followed by 2020 (6,565) and 2022 (5,521); the lowest number was in 2023 (4,742).
- OTHER ATTACKS: Most civilians were killed in the 2022 reporting period (2,130), followed by 2021 (1,456) and 2023 (1,113); the lowest number was in 2020 (869).

3.1.2 Many attacks with limited numbers of civilians abducted

Table 19 shows the breakdown of data on attacks with civilian killings, specifying the numbers of civilians killed per attack. Lower numbers per attack (“smaller scale”) might indicate small-scale attacks or high alertness of the population to flee the locations of the attacks.

Table 19: Civilians killed during community attacks and other attacks

Killings with Civilians		
ALL incidents with Civilians - 6942	Community 4666 incidents:	Other 2276 incidents:
0 – 5 civilian killings = 5704 incidents 82%	0 – 5 civilian killings = 3577 incidents 77%	0 – 5 civilian killings = 2127 incidents 93%
6 – 10 civilian killings = 623 incidents 9%	6 – 10 civilian killings = 521 incidents 11%	6 – 10 civilian killings = 102 incidents 5%
So % 91 on “smaller scale”	So 88% on “smaller scale”	So 98% on smaller scale
11 – 25 civilian killings = 445 incidents	11 – 25 civilian killings = 410 incidents	11 – 25 civilian killings = 35 incidents
26 – 50 civilian killings = 130 incidents	26 – 50 civilian killings = 122 incidents	26 – 50 civilian killings = 8 incidents
51 – 100 civilian killings = 31 incidents	51 – 100 civilian killings = 28 incidents	51 – 100 civilian killings = 3 incidents
>100 (up to 256) civilian killings = 9 incidents	>100 (up to 256) civilian killings = 8 incidents	>100 (up to 256) civilian killings = 1 incident

Apart from their direct impact, the large number of ‘small-scale’ attacks creates massive fear.

3.1.3 Ratio of Christians to Muslims killed during community attacks and other attacks

Tables 20 and 21 give the breakdown of civilian killings within the community context or otherwise. Table 20 does so for the geopolitical zones; table 21 for the individual reporting periods.

The ratio of ‘Christians killed during community attacks’ (13,563) to ‘Christians killed during other attacks’ (3,206) was 4.2:1. The ratio of ‘Muslims killed during community attacks’ (5,201) to ‘Muslims killed during other attacks’ (1,034) was 5.0:1. This means that both Christian and Muslim killings were mostly done in the context of attacks on their communities, with the total of Christians killed being much higher than the total of Muslims killed.

Table 20: Breakdown of civilian killings per geopolitical zone within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Geopolitical zone	Community incidents				
	Total civilians killed community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed
North West	10,305	4,606	3,264	51	2,384
North Central	7,515	5,271	890	12	1,342
North East	4,632	2,235	995	19	1,383
South East	1,377	954	18	-	405
South South	821	281	11	2	527
South West	662	216	23	11	412
Grand Total	25,312	13,563	5,201	95	6,453

Geopolitical zone	Other incidents				
	Total civilians killed otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed
North West	1,321	644	414	1	262
North Central	1,274	810	216	10	238
North East	889	360	267	2	260
South East	896	723	60	2	111
South South	548	341	12	13	182
South West	640	328	65	31	216
Grand Total	5,568	3,206	1,034	59	1,269

COMMUNITY ATTACKS – CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS KILLED:

- **CHRISTIANS KILLED:** Over the 4-year reporting period, most Christians were killed in the North Central zone (5,271), followed by the North West (4,606) and North East (2,235). The three southern geopolitical zones together accounted for 1,451 Christians killed.
- **MUSLIMS KILLED:** Over the 4-year reporting period, by far most Muslims were killed in the North West zone (3,264), followed by the North East (995) and North Central (890). The three southern geopolitical zones together accounted for 52 Muslims killed.

OTHER FORMS OF ATTACK – CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS KILLED:

- **CHRISTIANS KILLED:** Over the 4-year reporting period, most Christians were killed in the North Central zone (810), followed by the South East (723), North West (644), North East (360), South South (341) and South West (328).
- **MUSLIMS KILLED:** Over the 4-year reporting period, most Muslims were killed in the North West (414), followed by the North East (267) and North Central (216). The three southern geopolitical zones together accounted for 137 Muslims killed.

Table 21: Breakdown of civilian killings per reporting period within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Year	Community incidents				
	Total civilians killed community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed
2020	6,565	3,196	909	-	2,460
2021	8,484	3,761	1,083	24	3,616
2022	5,521	3,308	1,865	28	320
2023	4,742	3,298	1,344	43	57
2020-2023	25,312	13,563	5,201	95	6,453

Year	Other incidents				
	Total civilians killed otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed
2020	869	423	100	-	346
2021	1,456	567	154	-	735
2022	2,130	1,569	398	12	151
2023	1,113	647	382	47	37
2020-2023	5,568	3,206	1,034	59	1,269

COMMUNITY ATTACKS - CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS KILLED:

- **CHRISTIANS KILLED:** Most Christians were killed in the 2021 reporting period (3,761), followed by 2022 (3,308) and 2023 (3,298); the lowest number was in 2020 (3,196). All values here are fairly similar.
- **MUSLIMS KILLED:** Most Muslims were killed in the 2022 reporting period (1,865), followed by 2023 (1,344) and 2021 (1,083); the lowest number was in 2020 (909).

OTHER ATTACKS – CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS KILLED:

- **CHRISTIANS KILLED:** Most Christians were killed in the 2022 reporting period (1,569), followed by 2023 (647) and 2021 (567); the lowest number was in 2020 (423).
- **MUSLIMS KILLED:** Most Muslims were killed in the 2022 reporting period (398), followed by 2023 (382) and 2021 (154); the lowest number was in 2020 (100).

3.2 Abductions in community or other attacks

In this section where the religious background is mentioned, the data presented does not take into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the states where the abductions were recorded.

When the data for abductions of Christians, Muslims and ATRs are used for analysis, all people killed or abducted with ‘Unknown Religious Identity’ are unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages or ratios. It is a complication when the bare data is used.

3.2.1 Abductions occurring during community attacks and other attacks

Table 22 compares the number of abductions taking place during community attacks with the number occurring during other forms of attack. This is shown for all geopolitical zones in the 4-year reporting period.

Table 22: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Abductions within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Geopolitical zone	Total abductions	# of incidents with civilian abductions	Total civilians abducted (community and other incidents)	Community incidents				
				Total community incidents	Total abducted	Civilians abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	12,062	1,047	12,042	809	9,585	9,573	11	1
North Central	6,351	993	6,325	772	5,473	5,456	17	-
North East	1,599	261	1,579	158	1,019	1,013	4	2
South East	476	115	465	57	251	249	2	-
South South	708	132	701	47	258	258	-	-
South West	425	122	420	62	212	212	-	-
Grand Total	21,621	2,670	21,532	1,905	16,798	16,761	34	3

Geopolitical zone	Total abductions	# of incidents with civilian abductions	Total civilians abducted (community and other incidents)	Other incidents				
				Total other incidents	Total abducted	Civilians abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	12,062	1,047	12,042	238	2,477	2,469	8	-
North Central	6,351	993	6,325	221	878	869	9	-
North East	1,599	261	1,579	103	580	566	13	1
South East	476	115	465	58	225	216	9	-
South South	708	132	701	85	450	443	7	-
South West	425	122	420	60	213	208	5	-
Grand Total	21,621	2,670	21,532	765	4,823	4,771	51	1

ALL PEOPLE ABDUCTED: Table 22 shows that many more people were abducted during attacks on their communities (16,798) than during other forms of attack (4,832). While for killings, the numbers of those killed belonging to the Security Forces and Terror Groups were substantial, this was not the case for abductions: 85 members of the Security Forces were abducted and 4 members of Terror Groups. For this reason, the analysis now concentrates fully on civilians abducted. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 6.

CIVILIANS ABDUCTED: Most civilians were abducted during attacks on their communities compared to other attacks. Attacks on communities aim to disrupt the life of the inhabitants and terrorize them or drive them away from their livelihoods. Other attacks were more individually focused or occurred outside the context of attacks on communities. Ransom payment added to the loss of livelihood, and often drove people deep into a debt trap.

- The number of civilians abducted during 1,905 attacks on communities was 16,761.
- The number of civilians abducted during 765 other attacks was 4,771.
- The ratio ‘Civilians abducted during community attacks’ to ‘Civilians abducted during other attacks’ was 3.5:1.
- The average number of civilian abductions per community attack was 8.8; for other attacks it was 6.2.

Table 22 also allows a breakdown of the overall data for Christians abducted per geopolitical zone.

GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – CIVILIANS ABDUCTED:

- ALL ATTACKS: Most civilians were abducted in the North West (12,042), followed by the North Central (6,325) and North East (1,579). Total abductions in the three southern geopolitical zones numbered 1,586 civilians.
- COMMUNITY ATTACKS: Most civilians were abducted in the North West (9,573), North Central (5,456) and North East (1,013). The total number of civilians abducted in the three southern geopolitical zones was 719.
- OTHER ATTACKS: Most civilians were abducted in the North West (2,469), with far lower numbers occurring in North Central (869), North East (566), South South (443), South East (216) and South West (208).

Table 23 compares the number of civilians abducted during community attacks with the number abducted during other forms of attack for each of the four individual reporting periods.

Table 23: REPORTING PERIODS - Abductions within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Geopolitical zone	Total abductions	# of incidents with civilian abductions	Total civilians abducted (community and other incidents)	Community incidents				
				Total community incidents	Total abducted	Civilians abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
2020	1,677	260	1,665	144	1,094	1,089	5	-
2021	5,907	747	5,907	614	5,246	5,246	-	-
2022	7,762	829	7,705	503	5,438	5,413	24	1
2023	6,275	834	6,255	644	5,020	5,013	5	2
2020-2023	21,621	2,670	21,532	1,905	16,798	16,761	34	3

Geopolitical zone	Total abductions	# of incidents with civilian abductions	Total civilians abducted (community and other incidents)	Other incidents				
				Total other incidents	Total abducted	Civilians abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
2020	1,677	260	1,665	116	583	576	7	-
2021	5,907	747	5,907	133	661	661	-	-
2022	7,762	829	7,705	326	2,324	2,292	31	1
2023	6,275	834	6,255	190	1,255	1,242	13	-
2020-2023	21,621	2,670	21,532	765	4,823	4,771	51	1

REPORTING PERIODS – CIVILIANS ABDUCTED:

- ALL ATTACKS: Most civilians were abducted in the 2022 reporting period (7,705), followed by 2023 (6,255) and 2021 (5,907); the lowest number was in 2020 (1,665).
- COMMUNITY ATTACKS: Most civilians were abducted in the 2022 reporting period (5,413), closely followed by 2021 (5,246) and 2023 (5,031); the lowest number was in 2020 (1,089).

- OTHER ATTACKS: Most civilians were abducted in the 2022 reporting period (2,292), followed by 2023 (1,242) and 2021 (661); the lowest number was in 2020 (576).

The abductions saw a sudden rise from the 2021 reporting period onwards.

3.2.2 Many attacks with limited number of civilians abducted

Table 24 shows the breakdown of data on attacks with abductions, specifying the numbers of people abducted per attack. Lower numbers per attack (“smaller scale”) might indicate small-scale attacks or high alertness of the population to flee the locations of the attacks.

Table 24. Civilians abducted during community attacks and other attacks

ABDUCTIONS with Civilians		
ALL incidents with CIVILIANS - 2670	Community 1905 incidents:	Other 765 incidents:
0 – 5 kidnapped = 1772 incidents 66%	0 – 5 kidnapped = 1193 incidents 63%	0 – 5 kidnapped = 579 incidents 75%
6 – 10 kidnapped = 400 incidents 15%	6 – 10 kidnapped = 306 incidents 16%	6 – 10 kidnapped = 94 incidents 12%
So 81% on “smaller scale”	So 79% on “smaller scale”	So 87% on smaller scale
11 – 25 kidnapped = 328 incidents	11 – 25 kidnapped = 270 incidents	11 – 25 kidnapped = 58 incidents
26 – 50 kidnapped = 119 incidents	26 – 50 kidnapped = 97 incidents	26 – 50 kidnapped = 22 incidents
51 – 100 kidnapped = 40 incidents	51 – 100 kidnapped = 32 incidents	51 – 100 kidnapped = 8 incidents
>100 (up to 300) kidnapped = 11 incidents	>100 (up to 300) kidnapped = 7 incidents	>100 (up to 300) kidnapped = 4 incidents

Large numbers of ‘small-scale’ attacks create massive fear. Paying ransoms depletes both family finances and the financial resources of religious communities (predominantly church communities).

3.2.3 Ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted during community attacks and other attacks

Tables 25 and 26 give the breakdown of civilian killings within the community context or otherwise. Table 25 does so for the geopolitical zones; table 26 for the individual reporting periods.

The ratio of ‘Christians abducted during community attacks’ (8,203) to ‘Christians abducted during other attacks’ (2,982) was 2.8:1. The ratio of ‘Muslims abducted during community attacks’ (6,661) to ‘Muslims abducted during other attacks’ (1,238) was 5.4:1. Both Christian and Muslim abductions were mostly carried out in the context of attacks on their communities. For Muslims, the proportion of abductions during community attacks was (much) higher than for Christians.

Table 25: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Civilian abductions within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Geopolitical zone	Community Abductions				
	Total civilian community abductions	Christian abductions	Muslim abductions	ATR abductions	Unknown religious identity abductions
North West	9,573	4,534	4,108	60	871
North Central	5,456	2,677	2,271	109	399
North East	1,013	448	247	-	318
South East	249	236	9	-	4
South South	258	186	13	4	55
South West	212	122	13	7	70
Grand Total	16,761	8,203	6,661	180	1,717

Geopolitical zone	Other Abductions				
	Total civilian community abductions	Christian abductions	Muslim abductions	ATR abductions	Unknown religious identity abductions
North West	2,469	1,397	868	-	204
North Central	869	600	198	4	67
North East	566	233	130	-	203
South East	216	201	2	-	13
South South	443	396	10	-	37
South West	208	155	30	-	23
Grand Total	4,771	2,982	1,238	4	547

COMMUNITY ATTACKS – CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS ABDUCTED:

- **CHRISTIANS ABDUCTED:** Over the 4-year reporting period and during community attacks, most Christians were abducted in the North West (4,534), followed by the North Central (2,677); considerably fewer were also abducted in the North East (448). The three southern geopolitical zones together accounted for 544 Christians abducted.
- **MUSLIMS ABDUCTED:** Over the 4-year reporting period and during community attacks, most Muslims were abducted in the North West (4,108), followed by the North Central (2,271); considerably fewer were also abducted in the North East (247). The three southern geopolitical zones together accounted for 35 Muslims abducted.

OTHER ATTACKS – CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS ABDUCTED:

- **CHRISTIANS ABDUCTED:** Over the 4-year reporting period and during other forms of attack, most Christians were abducted in the North West (1,397), followed by the North Central (600), South South (396), North East (233), South East (201) and South West (155).
- **MUSLIMS ABDUCTED:** Over the 4-year reporting period and during other forms of attack, most Muslims were abducted in the North West (868), followed by the North Central (198) and North East (130). The three southern geopolitical zones together accounted for 42 Muslims abducted.

Table 26: Civilian abductions per individual reporting period within the community context or otherwise (October 2019 until September 2023)

Year	Community incidents				
	Total civilian community abductions	Christian abductions	Muslim abductions	ATR abductions	Unknown religious identity abductions
2020	1,089	654	79	-	356
2021	5,246	2,001	2,140	6	1,099
2022	5,413	2,947	2,157	133	176
2023	5,013	2,601	2,285	41	86
2020-2023	16,761	8,203	6,661	180	1,717

Year	Other incidents				
	Total civilian abductions otherwise	Christian abductions	Muslim abductions	ATR abductions	Unknown religious identity abductions
2020	576	323	12	-	241
2021	661	345	103	-	213
2022	2,292	1,687	534	-	71
2023	1,242	627	589	4	22
2020-2023	4,771	2,982	1,238	4	547

COMMUNITY ATTACKS - CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS ABDUCTED:

- CHRISTIANS ABDUCTED: Most Christians were abducted in the 2022 reporting period (2,947), followed by 2023 (2,601) and 2021 (2,001); the lowest number was in 2020 (654).
- MUSLIMS ABDUCTED: Most Muslims were abducted in the 2023 reporting period (2,285), closely followed by 2022 (2,157) and 2021 (2,140); the lowest number was in 2020 (79).

OTHER ATTACKS – CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS ABDUCTED:

- CHRISTIANS ABDUCTED: Most Christians were abducted in the 2022 reporting period (1,687), followed at distance by 2023 (627) and 2021 (345); the lowest number was in 2020 (323).
- MUSLIMS ABDUCTED: Most Muslims were abducted in the 2023 reporting period (589), followed by 2022 (534) and 2021 (103); the lowest number was in 2020 (12).

4. The spread of attacks over the year

This section looks more closely at how the attacks with killings and/or abductions are spread over the course of a year.

4.1 Killings over the year

4.1.1 Killings over the year per geopolitical zone

Table 27 shows the spread of all killings over the months in the different geopolitical zones, for the 4-year reporting period. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 7.

Table 27: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – All killings over the months

Geopolitical zone	2020-2023												
	Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	18,635	1,252	1,198	1,411	1,613	1,528	2,183	1,646	1,709	1,745	1,863	1,236	1,251
North Central	11,974	533	359	372	1,063	809	1,536	1,701	1,986	995	794	998	828
North East	18,508	1,445	1,294	1,571	1,567	1,470	1,771	1,461	1,837	1,999	1,209	1,065	1,819
South East	3,251	187	232	181	229	279	297	350	363	630	151	152	200
South South	1,978	185	141	113	145	202	167	203	273	168	145	102	134
South West	1,564	112	97	132	200	171	144	84	143	209	86	104	82
Grand Total	55,910	3,714	3,321	3,780	4,817	4,459	6,098	5,445	6,311	5,746	4,248	3,657	4,314

Figure 1 visualizes the data of table 27

Figure 1. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – All killings over the months

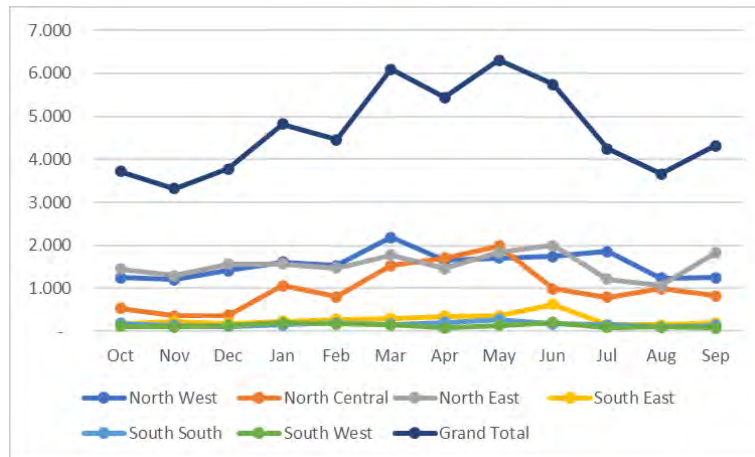


Figure 1 shows all people killed over the months for the 4-year period in the six geopolitical zones. There is a peak in killings between January and June. The North West, North Central and North East are by far the main contributors to that peak.

4.1.2 Civilian killings over the year for the geopolitical zones

Table 28 shows the spread of civilian killings per month in the different geopolitical zones, for the overall 4-year reporting period. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 7.

Table 28: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilians killed per month

Geopolitical zone	Civilians Killed	2020-2023											
		Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	11,626	658	700	615	1,054	1,060	1,461	1,053	1,109	1,363	1,139	871	543
North Central	8,789	340	222	303	794	635	724	1,251	1,838	796	655	662	569
North East	5,521	341	363	378	431	339	189	419	782	1,011	616	360	292
South East	2,273	113	163	119	170	157	240	278	260	477	77	94	125
South South	1,369	135	102	94	115	146	117	140	174	108	82	71	85
South West	1,302	93	85	115	175	155	120	64	116	182	70	69	58
Grand Total	30,880	1,680	1,635	1,624	2,739	2,492	2,851	3,205	4,279	3,937	2,639	2,127	1,672

Figure 2 visualizes the data of table 28.

Figure 2: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilian killed per month

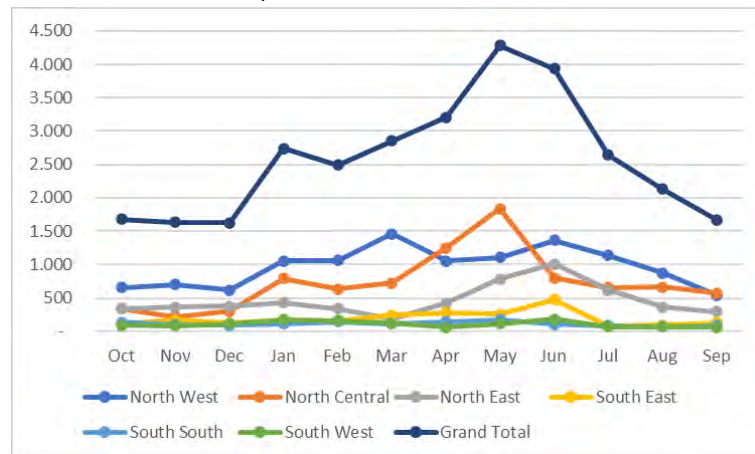


Figure 2 shows all civilians killed over the months in the 4-year period. Although the totals peak between January and July, the biggest peak is between April and June, which is the ‘heart’ of the farming season. The North Central contributes most to the April-June peak, followed by North West and North East.

4.1.3 Killings over the year in the individual reporting periods

Table 29 shows the spread of all killings per month in the four individual reporting periods. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 7.

Table 29: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – All killings over the months

Year	Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
2020	11,913	473	395	489	1,008	762	804	1,123	2,017	1,908	1,193	1,029	712
2021	16,274	1,045	937	778	1,100	1,393	1,694	1,623	2,217	1,590	1,300	1,538	1,059
2022	15,037	1,250	920	1,032	1,802	1,237	2,281	1,657	1,024	987	825	206	1,816
2023	12,686	946	1,069	1,481	907	1,067	1,319	1,042	1,053	1,261	930	884	727
2020-2023	55,910	3,714	3,321	3,780	4,817	4,459	6,098	5,445	6,311	5,746	4,248	3,657	4,314

Figure 3 visualizes the data of table 29.

Figure 3. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – All killings over the months

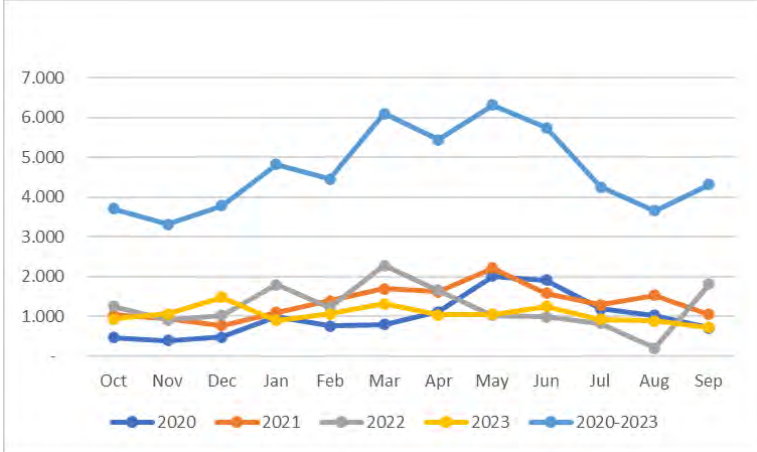


Figure 3 shows all people killed over the months in each of the four reporting periods. The peak in the killings, which runs from January to June, cannot be clearly attributed to one specific reporting period.

4.1.4 Civilian killings over the year for each of the four reporting periods

Table 30 looks at the spread of civilian killings over the months per individual reporting period. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 7.

Table 30: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – Civilian killings over the months

Year	Total Civilians Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
2020	7,434	201	206	263	634	570	537	723	1,067	1,404	786	708	335
2021	9,940	574	481	473	547	820	889	1,086	1,729	1,143	806	855	537
2022	7,651	497	491	461	1,235	686	952	788	740	690	519	157	435
2023	5,855	408	457	427	323	416	473	608	743	700	528	407	365
2020-2023	30,880	1,680	1,635	1,624	2,739	2,492	2,851	3,205	4,279	3,937	2,639	2,127	1,672

Figure 4 visualizes the data of table 30.

Figure 4. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – Civilian killings over the months

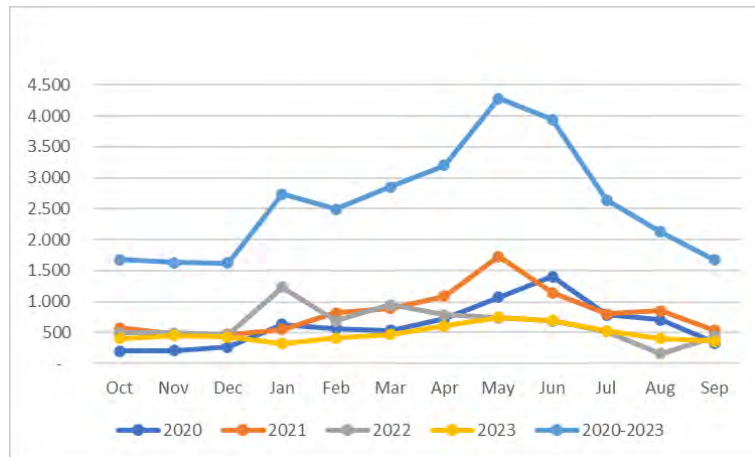


Figure 4 shows all civilians killed over the months per individual reporting period. There is a peak in killings between January and June. The 2022 reporting period contributed most to the January peak. The 2021 reporting period did so for the April and May peaks and the 2020 reporting period for the June peak.

4.1.5 Total Civilians killed over the year in comparison to total Security Forces and Terror Group members killed

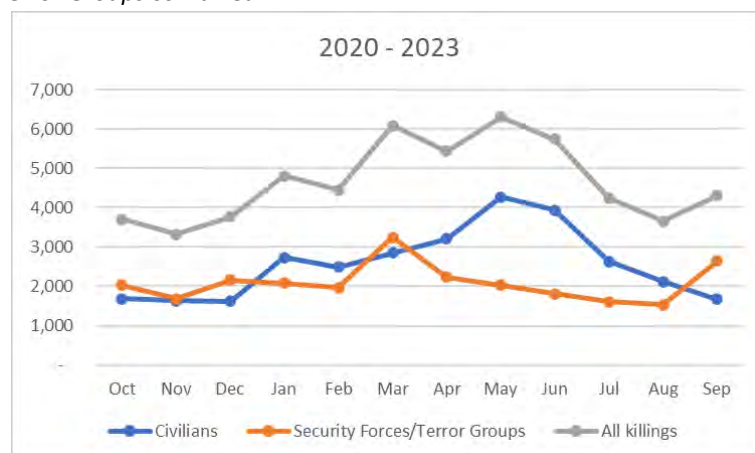
Table 31 takes the overall 4-year reporting period and compares the number of civilians killed per month with the combined number of members of the Security Forces and Terror Groups killed. When the number of civilians killed is at its highest, the number of Security Forces/Terror Group members killed is at its lowest.

Table 31: All killings over the months of the 4-year reporting period split in killings of civilians and killings of members of Security Forces and Terror Groups combined

2020 - 2023	Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
Civilian	30,880	1,680	1,635	1,624	2,739	2,492	2,851	3,205	4,279	3,937	2,639	2,127	1,672
Security Forces/Terror Groups	25,030	2,034	1,686	2,156	2,078	1,967	3,247	2,240	2,032	1,809	1,609	1,530	2,642
All killings	55,910	3,714	3,321	3,780	4,817	4,459	6,098	5,445	6,311	5,746	4,248	3,657	4,314

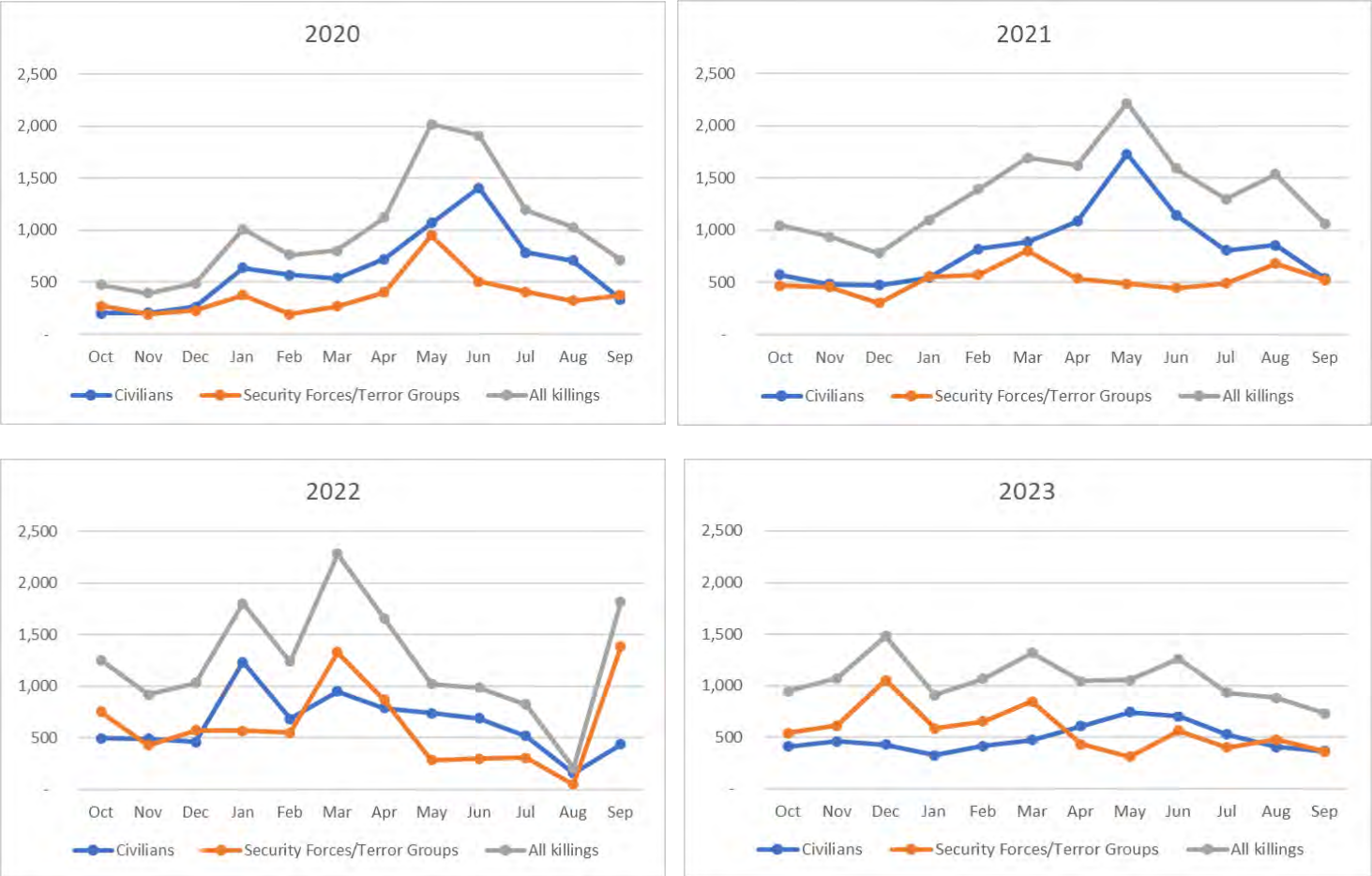
Figure 5 visualizes the data of table 31.

Figure 5: All killings over the months of the 4-year reporting period split in killings of civilians and killings of members of Security Forces and Terror Groups combined



Figures 6A-6D show the three categories of killings (i.e., all killings, civilians killed and Security Forces/Terror Group members killed) per month for each individual reporting period. Although the 2021 reporting period most clearly mirrors the overall critical April to June peak in figure 5, each reporting period has contributed to it.

Figure 6A – 6D: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – All killings per month, distinguishing killings of civilians and killings of members of Security Forces and Terror Groups combined



4.2 Abductions over the year

For this section no analysis has been carried out for all abductions but only for civilians. The reason for this was that the difference between all people abducted and civilians abducted was only 89 persons (i.e., members of Security Forces and Terror Groups combined).

4.2.1 The spread of civilian abductions over the year per geopolitical zone

Table 32 shows the spread of civilian abductions over the year in the different geopolitical zones, for the 4-year reporting period. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 8.

Table 32: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilian abductions per month

Geopolitical zone	2020-2023												
	Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	12,042	405	562	1,500	857	1,219	1,700	600	532	1,053	1,517	908	1,189
North Central	6,325	336	520	246	733	620	569	737	1,012	568	196	370	418
North East	1,579	115	76	285	335	66	32	73	37	169	140	125	126
South East	465	92	19	21	34	37	20	17	27	64	72	23	39
South South	701	149	69	33	101	24	81	18	61	32	59	20	54
South West	420	41	10	15	61	6	27	54	34	37	37	19	79
Grand Total	21,532	1,138	1,256	2,100	2,121	1,972	2,429	1,499	1,703	1,923	2,021	1,465	1,905

Figure 7 visualizes the data of table 32.

Figure 7: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilian abductions per month

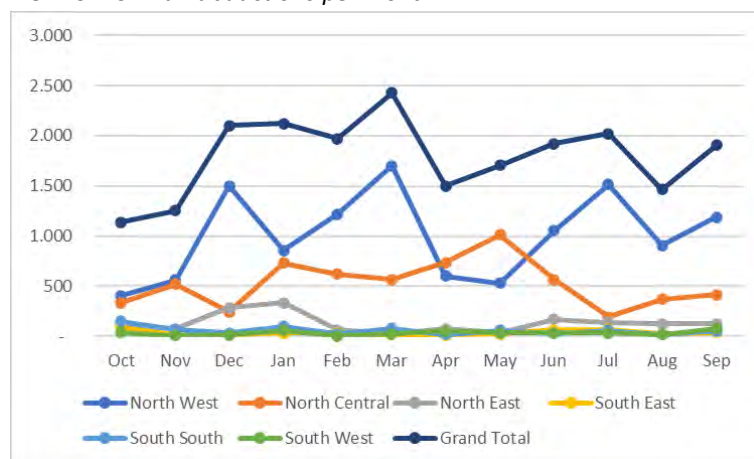


Figure 7 shows all civilians abducted over the months for the 4-year period in the six geopolitical zones. The highest peaks took place in the North West in December, March and July. In May the North Central saw more civilians abducted than the North West, although its highest value was still considerably less than several other monthly highest values in the North West.

The data shows that over the overall 4-year reporting period, the North West was the epicenter of abductions, followed by the North Central zone. The abduction phenomenon is more spread out over the year than is the case with killings, although most abductions also take place in the context of community attacks.

4.2.2 The spread of civilian abductions over the year per individual reporting period

Table 33 looks at the spread of civilian abductions over the separate reporting periods. For the reason stated above in the opening paragraph of Section 4.2, no analysis has been carried out for all abductions. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 8.

Table 33: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – Civilian abductions over the year

Year	Total civilians abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
2020	1,665	39	38	64	501	139	81	97	60	153	172	98	223
2021	5,907	209	148	691	272	806	648	363	811	448	801	400	310
2022	7,705	426	572	498	996	841	1,144	542	321	797	625	279	664
2023	6,255	464	498	847	352	186	556	497	511	525	423	688	708
2020-2023	21,532	1,138	1,256	2,100	2,121	1,972	2,429	1,499	1,703	1,923	2,021	1,465	1,905

Figure 8 visualizes the data of table 33.

Figure 8: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – Civilian abductions over the year

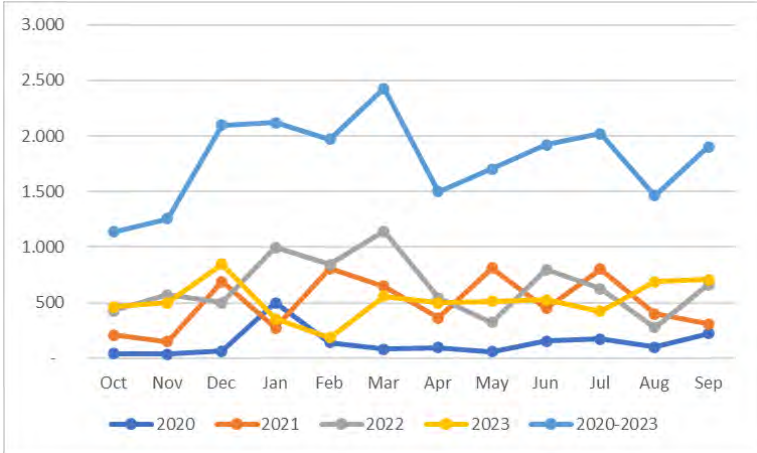


Figure 8 shows all civilians abducted per month for the four separate reporting periods. The highest monthly values were in January and March for the 2022 period.

The data shows that the abduction phenomenon began slowly in the 2020 reporting period, but then increased rapidly from 2021 onwards, despite a dip in 2023 in January and February. Although in 2023 abductions increased in March, the numbers stayed more or less stable until July, after which the number of abductions increased again.

5. Killing analysis per aggressor

This section looks more closely at who is behind the killings. The data shows that by far the majority of Muslims were killed by the same aggressors as those who killed Christians and adherents of ATR. This means, that most of the Muslims killed (as reported by ORFA) are not to be seen as victims of Christian aggression but as victims of their radicalized religious kin.

For this Section 5, the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the different Nigerian states ('proportionality') has not been taken into account in the religious analysis, which means that just the directly recorded numbers have been used. Taking proportionality into account would further emphasize the trends.

When the recorded data for the killing of Christians, Muslims and adherents of ATR are used for analysis, all people killed with 'Unknown Religious Identity' are unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages or ratios. It is a complication when the bare data is used.

In the text below, the Security Forces are also referred to as 'aggressors'. It could be argued that this is not correct since fighting Terror Groups is their calling to protect civilians.

5.1 All people killed, and civilians killed

Table 34 shows that 55,910 people were killed during 9,970 attacks by different aggressors. Of these, 30,880 were civilians. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 9.

ALL KILLINGS: The top 5 killers overall were Other Terrorist Groups (15,954), Security Forces (15,094), Armed Fulani Herdsmen (13,109), Boko Haram (4,359) and ISWAP (4,130). In total, these 5 categories killed 52,646 people, of whom only 28,408 were civilians. Security Forces killed many Terror Group members (13,480), while the top 4 of them killed a significant number belonging to the Security Forces (4,575). Terror Groups also turned against each other, with the four main groups totaling 5,911 mutual killings. The Security Forces also killed civilians (1,342).

Table 34: ALL KILLINGS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with percentages for civilians, Christians and Muslims killed by the different aggressors

Perpetrators	2020-2023											
	Total killings											
	Total # of incidents with killings	Total of killings	Total civilians killed	% total civilians killed	Christians killed	% Christians killed	Muslims killed	% Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	3,588	15,954	12,039	39	4,895	29	3,334	53	57	3,753	1,675	2,240
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	2,175	13,109	11,948	39	9,153	55	1,473	24	31	1,291	627	534
Boko Haram	400	4,359	2,200	7	971	6	548	9	-	681	590	1,569
Security Forces	1,934	15,094	1,342	4	506	3	317	5	12	507	272	13,480
Locals	543	1,060	917	3	273	2	123	2	5	516	30	113
Cultists	473	1,116	912	3	306	2	53	1	36	517	6	198
ISWAP	549	4,130	879	3	297	2	222	4	2	358	1,683	1,568
Assailants	139	282	263	1	141	1	68	1	3	51	10	9
Communal clash	44	221	197	1	138	1	36	1	7	16	-	24
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	80	207	117	0	69	0	16	0	-	32	57	33
Vigilantes	45	378	66	0	20	0	45	1	1	-	3	309
Total	9,970	55,910	30,880		16,769		6,235		154	7,722	4,953	20,077

The analysis will now focus on civilians.

CIVILIANS KILLED: Table 34 shows that most civilians were killed by Other Terrorist Groups (39.0%), very closely followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (38.7%). This category 'Other Terrorist Groups' actually consists of a variety of unidentified terrorist groups, although the characteristics of their attacks were often (very) comparable to the attacks of the Armed Fulani Herdsmen, Boko Haram and/or ISWAP. Remarkably the percentages for Boko Haram (7%) and ISWAP (3%) were much lower than expected, as compared to the Armed Fulani Herdsmen.

5.2 Civilians killed in community attacks and other attacks

This section compares the number of civilians killed in community attacks with those killed in other forms of attack.

Table 35: COMMUNITY KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with percentages for civilians, Christians and Muslims killed by the different aggressors

Perpetrators	2020-2023											
	Community killings											
	Total # of incidents with killings	Total of killings	Total civilians killed	% total civilians killed	Christians killed	% Christians killed	Muslims killed	% Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	2,344	11,707	10,274	41	3,804	28	2,919	56	48	3,503	515	918
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	1,722	11,112	10,617	42	7,980	59	1,340	26	30	1,267	323	172
Boko Haram	195	2,170	1,951	8	851	6	491	9	-	609	65	154
Security Forces	143	1,742	567	2	260	2	142	3	2	163	33	1,142
Locals	49	193	181	1	81	1	71	1	1	28	2	10
Cultists	277	676	656	3	124	1	29	1	8	495	-	20
ISWAP	107	1,063	688	3	265	2	127	2	-	296	77	298
Assailants	29	124	119	0	48	0	19	0	1	51	-	5
Communal clash	22	151	146	1	99	1	26	0	5	16	-	5
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	27	75	75	0	39	0	11	0	-	25	-	-
Vigilantes	9	91	38	0	12	0	26	0	-	-	-	53
Total	4,924	29,104	25,312		13,563		5,201		95	6,453	1,015	2,777

COMMUNITY KILLINGS: Table 35 shows that during attacks on communities, most civilians were killed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (42%), closely followed by Other Terrorist Groups (41.0%). The percentages for Boko Haram (8%) and ISWAP (3%) were much lower.

Table 36: OTHER KILLINGS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with percentages for civilians, Christians and Muslims killed by the different aggressors

Perpetrators	2020-2023											
	Other killings											
	Total # of incidents with killings	Total of killings	Total civilians killed	% total civilians killed	Christians killed	% Christians killed	Muslims killed	% Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	1,244	4,247	1,765	32	1,091	34	415	40	9	250	1,160	1,322
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	453	1,997	1,331	24	1,173	37	133	13	1	24	304	362
Boko Haram	205	2,189	249	4	120	4	57	6	-	72	525	1,415
Security Forces	1,791	13,352	775	14	246	8	175	17	10	344	239	12,338
Locals	494	867	736	13	192	6	52	5	4	488	28	103
Cultists	196	440	256	5	182	6	24	2	28	22	6	178
ISWAP	442	3,067	191	3	32	1	95	9	2	62	1,606	1,270
Assailants	110	158	144	3	93	3	49	5	2	-	10	4
Communal clash	22	70	51	1	39	1	10	1	2	-	-	19
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	53	132	42	1	30	1	5	0	-	7	57	33
Vigilantes	36	287	28	1	8	0	19	2	1	-	3	256
Total	5,046	26,806	5,568		3,206		1,034		59	1,269	3,938	17,300

OTHER KILLINGS: Table 36 shows that during other forms of attack, most civilians were killed by Other Terrorist Groups (32%), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (24%). The percentages for Boko Haram (4%) and ISWAP (3%) were again much lower.

5.3 Deadliest Terror Groups for Christians and Muslims

Tables 34, 35 and 36 show that Armed Fulani Herdsmen were the deadliest Terror Group for killing Christians (55%), followed by the 'Other Terrorist Groups' (29%). Boko Haram was responsible for 6% of Christians killed, and ISWAP for 2%. For Muslims the Other Terrorist Groups were the deadliest group (responsible for 53% of Muslims killed), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (24%), Boko Haram (9%) and ISWAP (4%).

The high percentage of Muslims killed by Other Terrorist Groups, is partially related to the area of operation of these groups which is largely (though not exclusively) in the North West. In the North West the Christian population is relatively small. If the size of the Christian and Muslim populations were taken into account in this section, the picture would be different. (See Section 1.3.)

5.4 Ratio of Christians to Muslims killed in community and other attacks by different aggressors

Table 37 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by the different aggressors. Community killings and other killings are taken together.

Table 37: KILLINGS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by each category of aggressor

Perpetrators	2020-2023									
	Killings									
	Total of killings	Total civilians killed	Total # of incidents with killings	Christians killed	Muslims killed	Ratio Christians to Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	15,954	12,039	3,588	4,895	3,334	1.5	57	3,753	1,675	2,240
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	13,109	11,948	2,175	9,153	1,473	6.2	31	1,291	627	534
Boko Haram	4,359	2,200	400	971	548	1.8	-	681	590	1,569
Security Forces	15,094	1,342	1,934	506	317	1.6	12	507	272	13,480
Locals	1,060	917	543	273	123	2.2	5	516	30	113
Cultists	1,116	912	473	306	53	5.8	36	517	6	198
ISWAP	4,130	879	549	297	222	1.3	2	358	1,683	1,568
Assailants	282	263	139	141	68	2.1	3	51	10	9
Communal clash	221	197	44	138	36	3.8	7	16	-	24
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	207	117	80	69	16	4.3	-	32	57	33
Vigilantes	378	66	45	20	45	0.4	1	-	3	309
Total	55,910	30,880	9,970	16,769	6,235		154	7,722	4,953	20,077

Table 37 shows that the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by the different aggressors was remarkably high for the Armed Fulani Herdsmen (6.2:1). For Boko Haram it was 1.8:1, for Other Terrorist Groups 1.5:1 and for ISWAP 1.3:1.

Table 38 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by the different aggressors. The focus is on community killings.

Table 38: COMMUNITY KILLINGS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by each category of aggressor

Perpetrators	2020-2023									
	Community killings									
	Total of killings	Total civilians killed	Total # of incidents with killings	Christians killed	Muslims killed	Ratio of Christians to Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	11,707	10,274	2,344	3,804	2,919	1.3	48	3,503	515	918
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	11,112	10,617	1,722	7,980	1,340	6.0	30	1,267	323	172
Boko Haram	2,170	1,951	195	851	491	1.7	-	609	65	154
Security Forces	1,742	567	143	260	142	1.8	2	163	33	1,142
Locals	193	181	49	81	71	1.1	1	28	2	10
Cultists	676	656	277	124	29	4.3	8	495	-	20
ISWAP	1,063	688	107	265	127	2.1	-	296	77	298
Assailants	124	119	29	48	19	2.5	1	51	-	5
Communal clash	151	146	22	99	26	3.8	5	16	-	5
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	75	75	27	39	11	3.5	-	25	-	-
Vigilantes	91	38	9	12	26	0.5	-	-	-	53
Total	29,104	25,312	4,924	13,563	5,201		95	6,453	1,015	2,777

COMMUNITY KILLINGS OF CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: The ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by the different aggressors in the context of community attacks was remarkably high for the Armed Fulani

Herdsmen (6.0:1). For ISWAP it was 2.1:1, for Boko Haram it was 1.7:1 and for Other Terrorist Groups 1.3:1.

Table 39 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by the different aggressors. The focus is on other killings (i.e., on killings carried out in a non-community attack context).

Table 39: OTHER KILLINGS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with the ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by each category of aggressor

Perpetrators	2020-2023									
	Other killings									
	Total of killings	Total civilians killed	Total # of incidents with killings	Christians killed	Muslims killed	Ratio of Christians to Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	4,247	1,765	1,244	1,091	415	2.6	9	250	1,160	1,322
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	1,997	1,331	453	1,173	133	8.8	1	24	304	362
Boko Haram	2,189	249	205	120	57	2.1	-	72	525	1,415
Security Forces	13,352	775	1,791	246	175	1.4	10	344	239	12,338
Locals	867	736	494	192	52	3.7	4	488	28	103
Cultists	440	256	196	182	24	7.6	28	22	6	178
ISWAP	3,067	191	442	32	95	0.3	2	62	1,606	1,270
Assailants	158	144	110	93	49	1.9	2	-	10	4
Communal clash	70	51	22	39	10	3.9	2	-	-	19
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	132	42	53	30	5	6.0	-	7	57	33
Vigilantes	287	28	36	8	19	0.4	1	-	3	256
Total	26,806	5,568	5,046	3,206	1,034		59	1,269	3,938	17,300

OTHER KILLINGS OF CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: The ratio of Christians to Muslims killed by the different aggressors in the context of non-community attacks was even higher for the Armed Fulani Herdsmen (8.8:1). For Other Terrorist Groups it was 2.6:1, for Boko Haram it was 2.1:1 and for ISWAP it was 0.3:1 (32 Christians killed, 95 Muslims killed).

5.5 Christian killing analysis by aggressor

In this section the recorded data for the killing of Christians is used, with all people killed with 'Unknown Religious Identity' left out of the analysis. Because most killings with 'Unknown Religious Identity' took place in the 2020 and 2021 reporting periods, this analysis can only be done at the level of the total of all four reporting periods, with the goal of showing proportions between different aggressors, not absolute data.

Table 40 shows who killed Christians in the 4-year reporting period per category of aggressor. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 13A.

Table 40: Christians killed by different categories of aggressors

Year	Total Christians Killed	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces
2020-2023	16,769	16,263	9,153	971	297	4,895	141	306	-	69	20	138	273	506

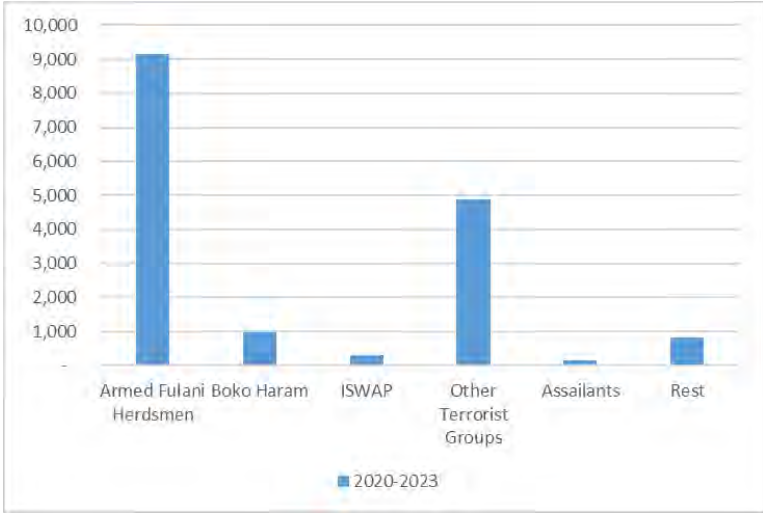
Table 40 shows that most Christians were killed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (9,153), followed by Other Terrorist Groups (4,895). The combination of Boko Haram and ISWAP accounted for 1,268 Christians killed. All the rest together adds up to 1,453 Christians killed (including 506 Christians killed by the Security Forces).

Table 41 then offers a closer look at the Terror Group categories and compresses several smaller categories into one 'Rest' category. This leads to the visualization presented in figure 9.

Table 41: Christians killed by different categories of Terror Groups

Year	Christians killed by Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Rest
2020-2023	16,263	9,153	971	297	4,895	141	806

Figure 9: Christians killed by different categories of Terror Groups



Armed Fulani Herdsmen were the deadliest Terror Group for Christians, followed by the 'Other Terrorist Groups'. Boko Haram and ISWAP were much less of a threat for killing Christians.

5.6 Muslim killing analysis by aggressor

In this section the recorded data for the killings of Muslims has been used. This means that all people killed with 'Unknown Religious Identity' have been left out of the analysis. Because most killings with 'Unknown Religious Identity' took place in the 2020 and 2021 reporting periods, this analysis can only be done at the level of the total of all four reporting periods, with the goal of showing proportions between different aggressors, not absolute data.

Tables 42 shows who killed Muslims in the 4-year reporting period per category of aggressor. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 13B.

Table 42: Muslims killed by different categories of aggressors

Year	Total Muslims Killed	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces
2020-2023	6,235	5,918	1,473	548	222	3,334	68	53	-	16	45	36	123	317

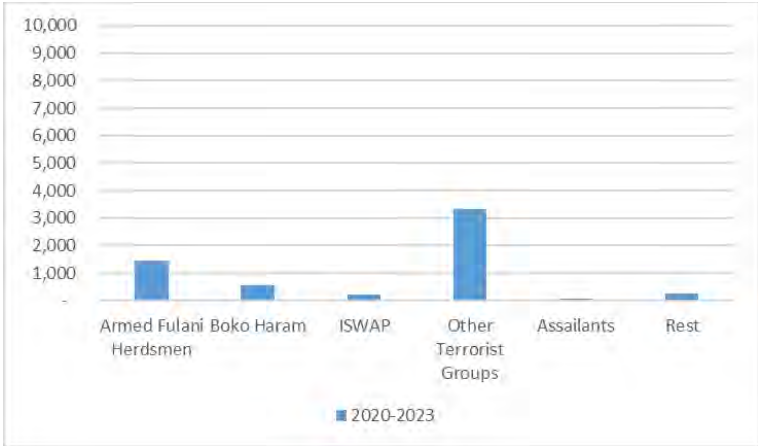
Table 42 shows that most Muslims were killed by Other Terrorist Groups (3,334), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (1,473). The combination of Boko Haram and ISWAP accounts for 770 Muslims killed. All the rest together adds up to 658 Muslims killed (including 317 Muslims killed by Security Forces).

Table 43. Muslims killed by different categories of Terror Groups

Year	Muslims killed by Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Rest
2020-2023	5,918	1,473	548	222	3,334	68	273

Table 43 offers a closer look at the Terror Group categories and compresses several of the smaller categories into one ‘Rest’ category. This leads to the visualization presented in figure 10.

Figure 10. Muslims killed by different categories of Terror Groups



For Muslims, the Other Terrorist Groups were the deadliest category, followed by the Armed Fulani Herdsmen. Boko Haram and ISWAP were much less of a threat for killing Muslims.

5.7 Main areas of operation of different Terror Groups involved in civilian killings

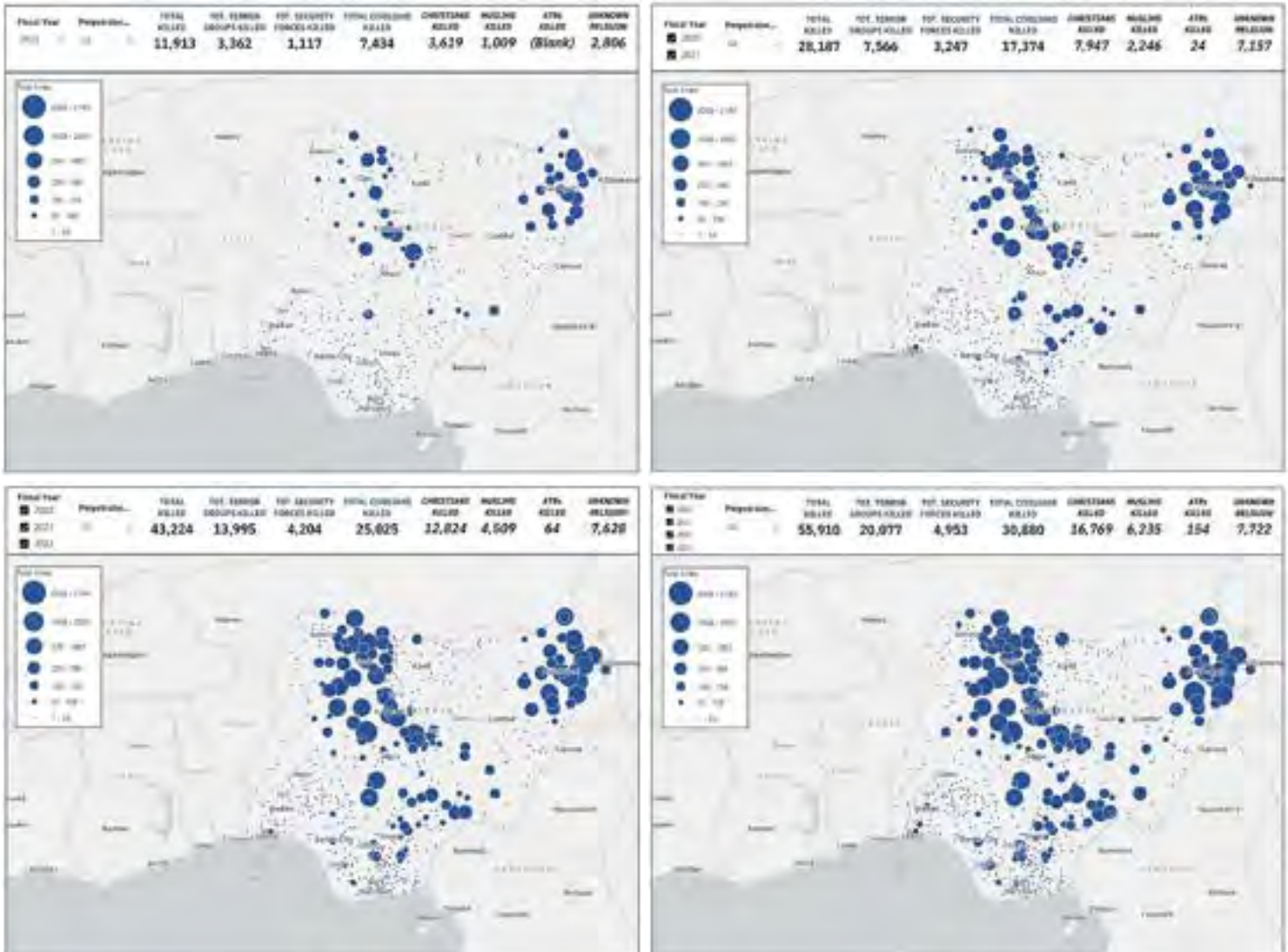
Over the 4-year reporting period, violence was concentrated in specific parts of the country, and connected with the areas of operation of specific groups of aggressors. The North West and the North Central were the epicenter of killings. Most civilian killings took place in the North West (11,626) and North Central (8,789), The North East followed with 5,521 civilians killed. For Christians these numbers were 5,250; 6,081 and 2,595; for Muslims they were 3,678; 1,106 and 1,262. Please note that 7,722 ‘Unknown Religious Identity’ killed have not been included in these numbers for Christians and Muslims.

The following maps suggest that there was a connection between “Armed Fulani Herdsmen” and “Other Terrorist Groups”.

Boko Haram and ISWAP turned out to be minor ‘players’ than the Armed Fulani Herdsmen and Other Terrorist Groups.

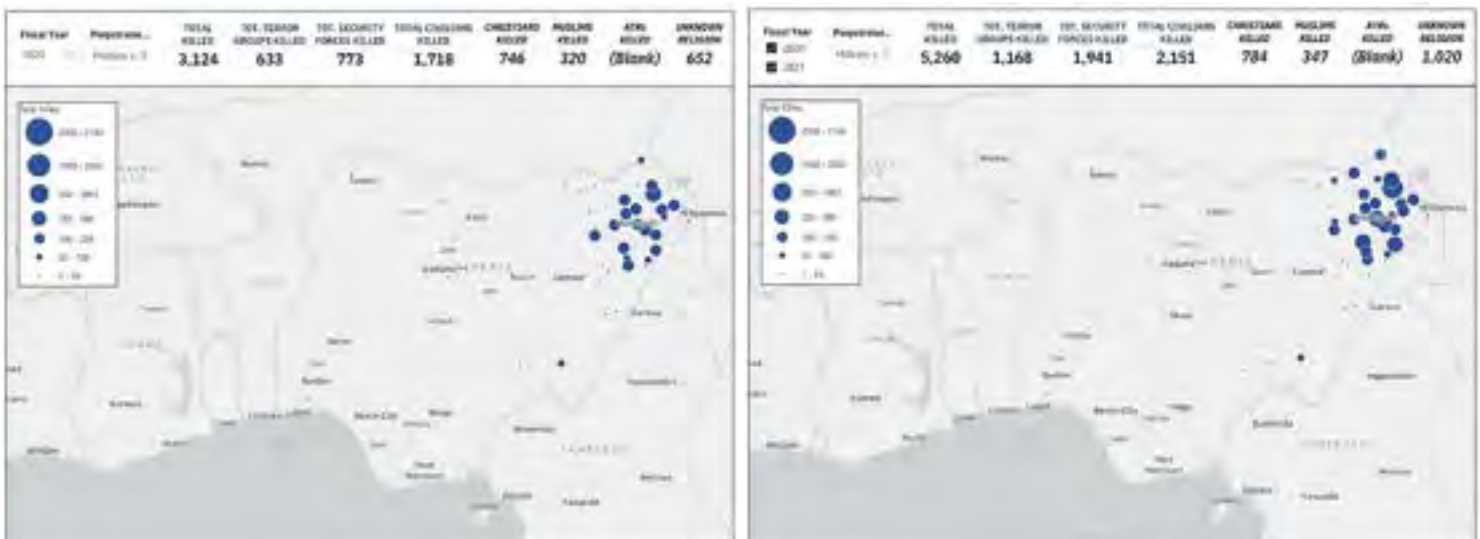
The Security Forces mostly killed members of Terror Groups (13,480). The areas of operation of the Security Forces were mainly in the North West and the North East. They left the population in the North Central relatively unprotected. In other words, they gave the Armed Fulani Herdsmen ample opportunity for their violent attacks, with Christians as their main victims.

MAPS 9A – 9D: 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE KILLINGS BY ALL AGGRESSORS – showing how over the four years reporting period, killings increased all over the country and particularly in North West, North Central and North East zones.



(Maps source: ORFA)

MAPS 10A – 10D 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE KILLINGS – ISWAP/ BOKO HARAM shows how killings by Boko Haram and/or ISWAP have developed over the years





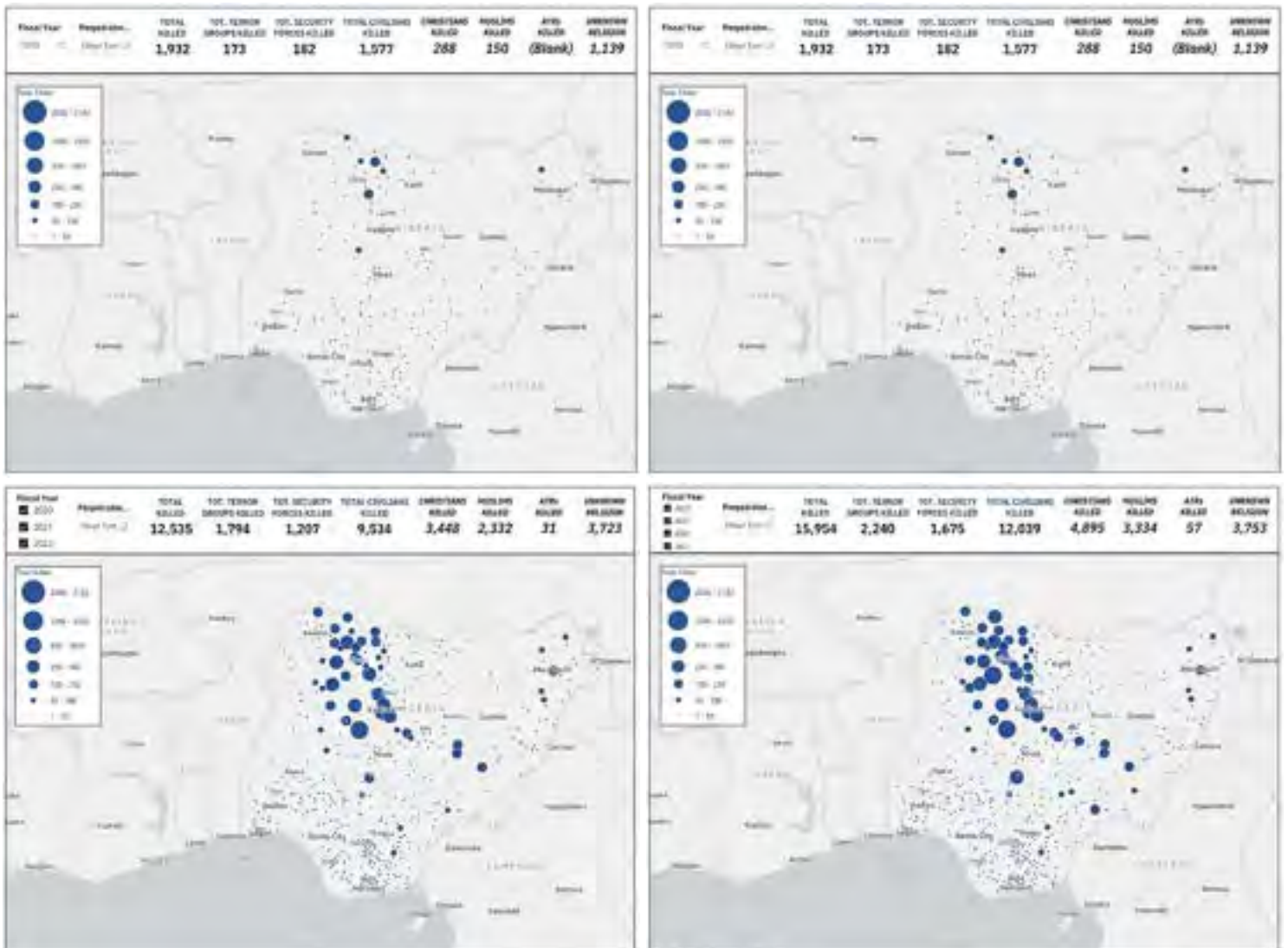
(Maps source: ORFA)

MAPS 11A – 11D 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE KILLINGS – ARMED FULANI HERDSMEN show how killings by Armed Fulani Herdsmen have developed over the years



(Maps source: ORFA)

MAPS 12A –12D 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE KILLINGS – OTHER TERRORIST GROUPS show how killings by Other Terrorist Groups have developed over the years.



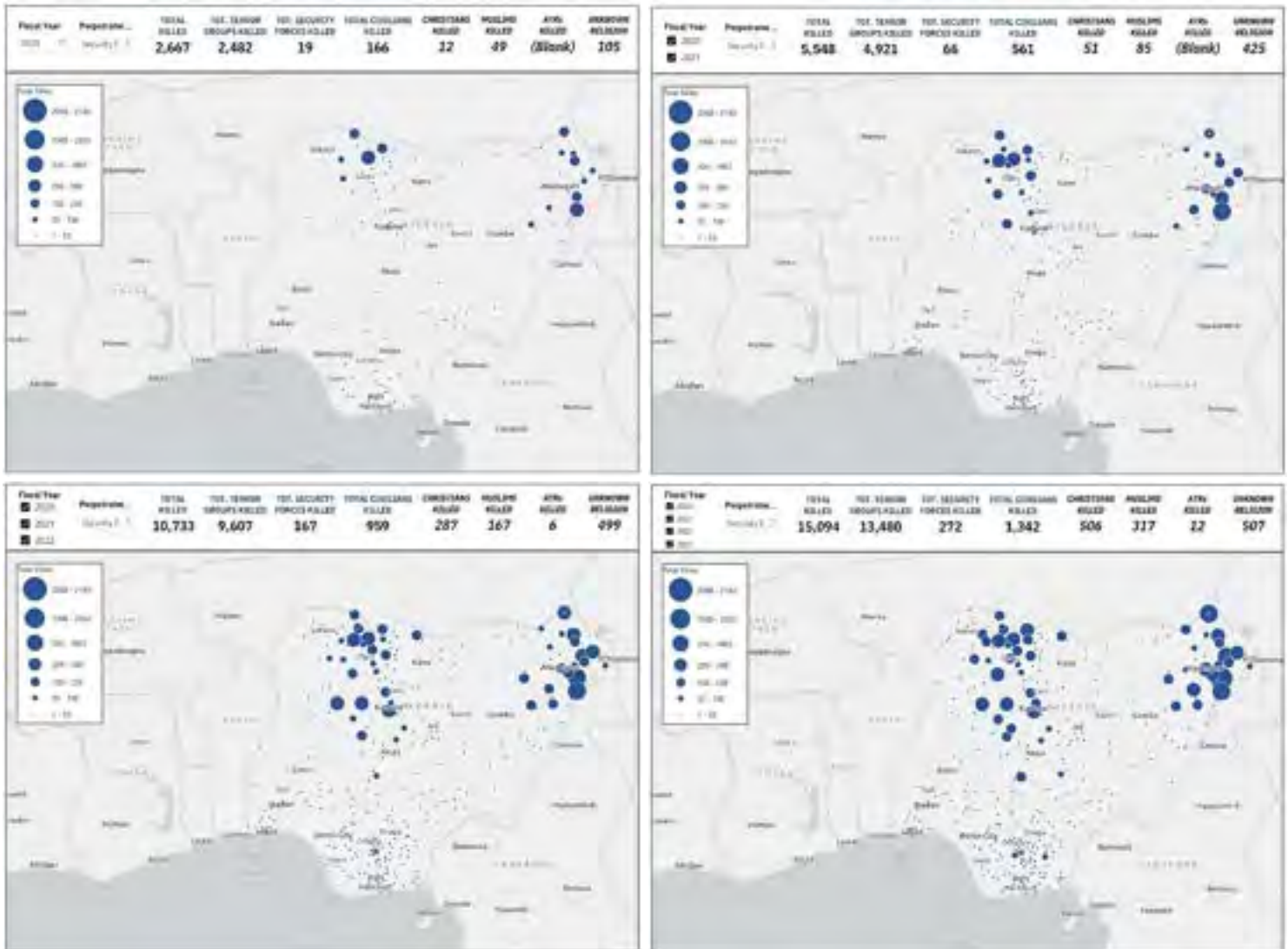
(Maps source: ORFA)

The number of killings by Boko Haram and ISWAP together, were far less than the killings by either the Armed Fulani Herdsmen or Other Terrorist Groups. The area of operation of Boko Haram and ISWAP was mainly in the North East. The areas of operation of the Armed Fulani Herdsmen and the Other Terrorist Groups were connected and partly overlapping, forming a wide strip from the North West to the North Central. The Armed Fulani Herdsmen were more prominent in the North Central (including Southern Kaduna) and the Other Terrorist Groups in the North West.

Selective killing of members of Terror Groups by the Security Forces

MAPS 13A – 13D: 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE KILLINGS BY SECURITY FORCES - showing the killings by Security Forces (15,094). Most people killed by the Security Forces were members of the Terror Groups (13,480). The maps show that the Security Forces killed most people in the North East and the North West. The North Central zone where many civilians were killed by the Armed Fulani Herdsmen, received little attention from the Security Forces.

MAPS 13A – 13D 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE KILLINGS - SECURITY FORCES show how killings by Security Forces have developed over the years



(Maps source: ORFA)

5.7 INSERT – About the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM)

About the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM)

For over a decade atrocities against civilians in Nigeria have been downplayed or minimized. This has proved a major obstacle for those seeking to understand the violence. Misleading euphemisms, such as 'armed herdsmen' and 'cattle grazers' are used to describe continual waves of invasion, torture and killing in rural communities. Descriptions of attacks as 'ethnic clashes', 'farmers-herders clashes' or retaliatory attacks are seriously misleading. The use of the phrase 'bandits' to refer to militias carrying out mass kidnaps, and enforcement of serfdom on communities, is another case in point. And a policy of concealing the religious identity of victims also serves to distort the true picture.

Security observers familiar with the structures and finance flows of Islamic extremism categorize the violence as ethno-religious warfare, sponsored by Islamist terror. The shared ethnicity, clan networks and linguistic identity of perpetrators, and evidence of inflows of weaponry and finance, point to this.

One observer - a Nigerian journalist who has spent fifteen years investigating the violence - describes why Islamist banditry networks and the Armed Fulani Herdsmen should be considered 'twin brothers of the same mother' which is the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM). His name has been withheld, to protect security.

The Fulani Ethnic Militia or FEM have come to be identified as a group of armed Fulani herdsmen who are responsible for launching several attacks on Middle Belt Communities, including Southern Kaduna. This group also engages in mass abductions for ransom in some parts of the Middle Belt. Evidence gathered from testimonies of victim communities, confession of political office holder, research and various [media reportage](#) confirmed the fact that these armed men are of the Fulani ethnic group. There have also been times when Fulani sociocultural groups such as Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN) [publicly claimed responsibility](#) for attacks. All these proved beyond doubt that the armed herdsmen perpetrating killing, abductions and destruction in the Middle Belt are Fulani militants.

Having said that, it is also important to point out that many of the so-called bandits carrying out kidnapping and attacks on communities in the Northwest are also of the Fulani ethnic group. This claim is backed by evidence already on public space such as this [admittance](#) by the immediate past governor of Katsina state that the bandits are Fulani like him. The [2022 BBC documentary](#) 'The bandit warlords of Zamfara' as well as several research works like that of [Professor Rufai Ahmed](#) 'I am a Bandit', all pointed to the facts that many 'bandits' are members of the Fulani ethnic group.

It is important to point out that not all Fulanis are bandits or armed terrorists. Yet, the fact remains that most bandits and armed herdsmen who engage in these terrible acts of deadly attacks and violence are of Fulani ethnic heritage. Some live in Nigeria while some are Fulanis from across West Africa who take advantage of the porous borders to transverse the West African sub-region and Sahel almost unchecked. There are also criminal elements who take advantage of this situation for their personal gain, and this introduces an element of criminality in the mix.

By our own understanding, the Nigerian media and the immediate past government deliberately chose to call the Fulani terrorists operating in the northwest 'bandits' to conceal the real intention of their nefarious activities in the region, thereby making it look like it is just criminality and not terrorism as it is. That is why when you look critically at all media reportage on the happenings in the Northwest, you will always hear the term 'bandits' but when you look at the Middle Belt, all you will see are mostly herdsmen. This is why I strongly believe that both the armed Fulani Herdsmen and the Bandits are 'identical twins' working to execute the same agenda in both the Northwest and the Middle Belt ... both to be considered branches of FEM.

Another critical question that has been asked over the years is: Why are bandits in the Northwest attacking and killing Muslims since the Fulani bandits are Muslims too?

To answer this question, it is helpful to revisit the history of the Danfodio jihad of 1804 in Northern Nigeria. It is recorded that even though the Hausa were mostly Muslim, Usman dan Fodio claimed that he brought a purer version of Islam which he forced them to embrace by the sword. This led to the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate, the killing of traditional Hausa kings and their subsequent replacement with Fulani emirs all over the core north. To date, all [emirs](#) in northern Nigeria are Fulani even though the Fulani are a minority in the region.

In addition to that, the Hausas are mostly farmers in Zamfara and Katsina states, but the Fulanis are not and the seizures of the farm produce of the Hausas by the bandits through their kidnappings and ransom impositions has led to violent clashes between the two. Hence Muslim Fulanis are killing Muslim Hausas.

The 2022 BBC documentary mentioned above also made it very clear that the Fulani bandits are in a war with the native Hausa communities in the northwest. This points to the fact that the attacks by Fulani bandits on Muslim Hausa communities in the northwest are simply to reassert Fulani dominance in the region just as is the case in the Middle Belt. The expected outcome of [attacks](#) whether in the northwest or Middle Belt by both bandits and armed Fulani herdsmen is to displace the original occupants of the land and farms and occupy them. That is why today, there are many communities that have been completely [occupied](#) by Bandits in the northwest and Armed Fulani Herdsmen in the Middle Belt.

In conclusion, this insightful piece by [Premium Times](#) (published on 17 July 2021) sheds much light on the activities of Fulani bandits in the northwest.”

Another observer - also a Nigerian journalist who has similarly spent many years investigating the violence - elaborates on the Field Commanders of Fulani Ethnic Militia in Nigeria. His name is also withheld, to protect his security.

There are many Fulani Ethnic Militias operating in North West, North Central and North Eastern Nigeria. These Militias are not acting as one single unit but individually and independently. However, they do collaborate if there is the need to, and at times they also fight each other. However, one thing is certain, the militias are led by powerful individuals such as Ado Aleru, Bello Turji, Bello Halliliu, Bello Khalifu, and Dogo Gide.

The Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM) has unleashed a reign of terror in regions like Benue and Plateau, Southern Kaduna, Kogi and Taraba states by employing a sinister strategy to wreak havoc on unsuspecting communities. Their modus operandi begins with reconnaissance, as they send agents to pose as harmless cattle herders, gathering vital information on their targets. Once they've gathered enough intel, they send a chilling warning to their fighters, using kolanuts to signal an impending attack.

Each leader of FEM contributes a significant force, with some estimates suggesting around 100 fighters per leader. This means that a coordinated attack could involve a staggering 400 fighters or more, descending upon a defenseless community with devastating consequences. The use of

advanced weaponry, including gun trucks and even airplanes, only adds to the terror they inflict. In Southern Kaduna, the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union reported that an unmarked aircraft attacked several communities in Southern Kaduna.

The people of the affected states have suffered greatly at the hands of FEM, and their cries for help must be heard. It's time for decisive action to be taken against this ruthless militia, to bring an end to their reign of terror and restore peace to these troubled regions.

The ORFA report distinguishes between 'Armed Fulani Herdsmen' and 'Other Terrorist Groups'. Both together are responsible for by far the most violent attacks in Nigeria with numerous killings and abductions. It may be concluded that the majority of the category Other Terrorist Groups consists of different groups of 'Fulani bandits' who are as much part of the Fulani Ethnic Militia (a decentralized armed group) as the Armed Fulani Herdsmen.

6. Abduction analysis per aggressor

This section looks more closely at those responsible for abducting people. The data shows that by far the majority of Muslims were abducted by the same aggressors as those who abducted Christians and adherents of ATR. This means, that most of the Muslims abducted (as reported by ORFA) are not to be seen as victims of Christian aggression but as victims of their radicalized religious kin.

For this section, the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the different Nigerian states ('proportionality') has not been taken into account in the religious analysis. Just the directly recorded numbers have been used. However, taking 'proportionality' into account in the analysis in this section would further emphasize the trends.

When using the recorded data for the abductions of Christians, Muslims and adherents of ATR for analysis, all people abducted with 'Unknown Religious Identity' have been unavoidably left out of the analysis. As stated before, that is not a problem when the goal is to present percentages or ratios. It is a complication when the bare data is used.

In the text below the Security Forces are also referred to as 'aggressors'. It could be argued that this is not correct, since fighting Terror Groups is their calling to protect civilians.

6.1 All people abducted, and civilians abducted

Table 44 shows that 21,612 people were abducted during 2,705 attacks by different aggressors. Of these, 21,532 were civilians. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 8 and 10.

The top 5 civilian abductors were Other Terrorist Groups (13,728), Armed Fulani Herdsmen (6,380), Boko Haram (702), ISWAP (321) and Security Forces (175). These five categories abducted 21,306 civilians out of the total of 21,532.

Table 44: ALL ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with percentages for civilians, Christians and Muslims abducted by the different aggressors

Aggressors	Abductions											
	Total # of incidents with abductions	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	% civilians abducted	Christians abducted	% Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	% Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Other Terrorist Groups	1,566	13,777	13,728	64%	6,657	60%	5,635	71%	177	1,259	47	2
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	884	6,403	6,380	30%	3,914	35%	1,903	24%	3	560	22	1
Boko Haram	91	705	702	3%	302	3%	173	2%	-	227	2	1
ISWAP	38	332	321	1%	120	1%	127	2%	-	74	11	-
Security Forces	58	176	175	1%	44	0%	15	0%	-	116	1	-
Assailants	40	151	151	1%	100	1%	38	0%	-	13	-	-
Locals	13	45	45	0%	26	0%	3	0%	4	12	-	-
Vigilantes	2	12	12	0%	7	0%	5	0%	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	2	6	6	0%	6	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Cultists	5	6	6	0%	3	0%	-	0%	-	3	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	5	5	3	0%	3	0%	-	0%	-	-	2	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	1	3	3	0%	3	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Total	2,705	21,621	21,532		11,185		7,899		184	2,264	85	4

CIVILIANS ABDUCTED: Table 44 shows that most civilians were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (64%), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (30%). The percentages for Boko Haram (3%) and ISWAP (1%) were very low compared to those for Other Terrorist Groups and Armed Fulani Herdsmen.

6.2 Civilians abducted in community attacks and other attacks

This section compares the number of civilians abducted during community attacks with the number abducted in other forms of attack.

Table 45: COMMUNITY ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with percentages for civilians, Christians and Muslims abducted by the different aggressors

Aggressors	Community Abductions											
	Total # of incidents with abductions	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	% civilians abducted	Christians abducted	% Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	% Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Other Terrorist Groups	1,109	10,870	10,847	65%	4,876	59%	4,669	70%	173	1,129	21	2
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	681	5,147	5,135	31%	3,005	37%	1,760	26%	3	367	11	1
Boko Haram	59	452	450	3%	175	2%	142	2%	-	133	2	-
ISWAP	17	145	145	1%	52	1%	51	1%	-	42	-	-
Assailants	24	78	78	0%	42	1%	31	0%	-	5	-	-
Security Forces	11	53	53	0%	15	0%	3	0%	-	35	-	-
Locals	3	30	30	0%	23	0%	-	0%	4	3	-	-
Vigilantes	2	12	12	0%	7	0%	5	0%	-	-	-	-
Cultists	1	5	5	0%	2	0%	-	0%	-	3	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	1	3	3	0%	3	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	4	2	2	0%	2	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	1	1	1	0%	1	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Total	1,913	16,798	16,761		8,203		6,661		180	1,717	34	3

COMMUNITY ABDUCTIONS: Table 45 shows that during attacks on communities, most civilians were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (65%), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (31%). The percentages for Boko Haram (3%) and ISWAP (1%) were very low.

Table 46: OTHER ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with percentages for civilians, Christians and Muslims abducted by the different aggressors

Aggressors	Other Abductions											
	Total # of incidents with abductions	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	% civilians abducted	Christians abducted	% Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	% Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Other Terrorist Groups	457	2,907	2,881	60%	1,781	60%	966	78%	4	130	26	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	203	1,256	1,245	26%	909	30%	143	12%	-	193	11	-
Boko Haram	32	253	252	5%	127	4%	31	3%	-	94	-	1
ISWAP	21	187	176	4%	68	2%	76	6%	-	32	11	-
Security Forces	34	123	122	3%	29	1%	12	1%	-	81	1	-
Assailants	29	73	73	2%	58	2%	7	1%	-	8	-	-
Locals	10	15	15	0%	3	0%	3	0%	-	9	-	-
Communal clash	-	4	4	0%	4	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	1	4	2	0%	2	0%	-	0%	-	-	2	-
Cultists	4	1	1	0%	1	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Vigilantes	1	-	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%	-	-	-	-
Total	792	4,823	4,771		2,982		1,238		4	547	51	1

OTHER ABDUCTIONS: Table 46 shows that during other forms of attack, most civilians were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (60%), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (26%). The percentages for Boko Haram (5%) and ISWAP (4%) were much lower.

6.3 Terror Groups with most abductions for Christians and Muslims

Tables 44, 45 and 46 show that Other Terrorist Groups were the strongest threat for abduction for Christians (60%), followed by the Armed Fulani Herdsmen (35%). Boko Haram was responsible for 3% of Christian abductions and ISWAP for 1%. For Muslims, the Other Terrorist Groups were the strongest threat for abduction too (71%), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (24%). Boko Haram was responsible for 2% and ISWAP for 2% of Muslim abductions.

The high percentage of Muslims abducted by the Other Terrorist Groups, is partially related to the area of operation of these groups which is largely (though not exclusively) in the North West. In the North West the Christian population is relatively small. If the size of the Christian and Muslim populations were taken into account in this section, the picture would be different. (See Section 2.3.)

6.4 Ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted in community and other attacks by different aggressors

Table 47 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by the different aggressors. Community abductions and other abductions are taken together.

Table 47: ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by each category of aggressor

Aggressors	Abductions										
	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	Total # of incidents with abductions	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	Ratio Christians to Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted	
Other Terrorist Groups	13,777	13,728	1,566	6,657	5,635	1.2	177	1,259	47	2	
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	6,403	6,380	884	3,914	1,903	2.1	3	560	22	1	
Boko Haram	705	702	91	302	173	1.7	-	227	2	1	
ISWAP	332	321	38	120	127	0.9	-	74	11	-	
Security Forces	176	175	40	44	15	2.9	-	116	1	-	
Assailants	151	151	58	100	38	2.6	-	13	-	-	
Locals	45	45	13	26	3	8.7	4	12	-	-	
Vigilantes	12	12	2	7	5	1.4	-	-	-	-	
Communal clash	6	6	2	6	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-	
Cultists	6	6	5	3	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	3	-	-	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	5	3	5	3	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	2	-	
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	3	3	1	3	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-	
Total	21,621	21,532	2,705	11,185	7,899		184	2,264	85	4	

Table 47 shows that the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by the different aggressors was comparable for the top 4 aggressors: Armed Fulani Herdsmen, 2.1:1; Boko Haram 1.7:1; Other Terrorist Groups 1.2:1; ISWAP 0.9:1 (120 Christians abducted, 127 Muslims abducted).

Table 48 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by the different aggressors. The focus is on community abductions.

Table 48: COMMUNITY ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by each category of aggressor

Aggressors	Community Abductions									
	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	Total # of incidents with abductions	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	Ratio Christians to Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Other Terrorist Groups	10,870	10,847	1,109	4,876	4,669	1.0	173	1,129	21	2
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	5,147	5,135	681	3,005	1,760	1.7	3	367	11	1
Boko Haram	452	450	59	175	142	1.2	-	133	2	-
ISWAP	145	145	17	52	51	1.0	-	42	-	-
Assailants	78	78	24	42	31	1.4	-	5	-	-
Security Forces	53	53	11	15	3	5.0	-	35	-	-
Locals	30	30	3	23	-	(No Muslims abd.)	4	3	-	-
Vigilantes	12	12	2	7	5	1.4	-	-	-	-
Cultists	5	5	4	2	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	3	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	3	3	1	3	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	2	2	1	2	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	1	1	1	1	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-
Total	16,798	16,761	1,913	8,203	6,661		180	1,717	34	3

COMMUNITY ABDUCTIONS OF CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: Table 48 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by the different aggressors in the context of community attacks: Armed Fulani Herdsmen 1.7:1; Boko Haram 1.2:1; Other Terrorist Groups 1.0:1; ISWAP 1.0:1.

Table 49 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by the different aggressors. The focus is on other (i.e., non-community attack) abductions.

Table 49: OTHER ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories from October 2019 until September 2023 with the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by each category of aggressor

Aggressors	Other Abductions									
	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	Total # of incidents with abductions	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	Ratio Christians to Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Other Terrorist Groups	2,907	2,881	457	1,781	966	1.8	4	130	26	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	1,256	1,245	203	909	143	6.4	-	193	11	-
Boko Haram	253	252	32	127	31	4.1	-	94	-	1
ISWAP	187	176	21	68	76	0.9	-	32	11	-
Security Forces	123	122	29	29	12	2.4	-	81	1	-
Assailants	73	73	34	58	7	8.3	-	8	-	-
Locals	15	15	10	3	3	1.0	-	9	-	-
Communal clash	4	4	1	4	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	4	2	4	2	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	2	-
Cultists	1	1	1	1	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-
Vigilantes	-	-	-	-	-	(None abducted)	-	-	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	(No Muslims abd.)	-	-	-	-
Total	4,823	4,771	792	2,982	1,238		4	547	51	1

OTHER ABDUCTIONS OF CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: Table 49 shows the ratio of Christians to Muslims abducted by the different aggressors in the context of other forms of attack. The ratio was highest for Armed Fulani Herdsmen (6.4:1). For Boko Haram it was 4.1:1, for Other Terrorist Groups it was 1.8:1 and for ISWAP it was 0.9:1 (68 Christians abducted, 76 Muslims abducted).

6.5 Christian abduction analysis per aggressor

In this section the recorded data for the abduction of Christians is used, with all people abducted with ‘Unknown Religious Identity’ left out of the analysis. As mentioned earlier, because most abductions with ‘Unknown Religious Identity’ took place in the 2020 and 2021 reporting periods, this analysis can only be done at the level of the total of all four reporting periods, with the goal of showing proportions between different aggressors, not absolute data.

Table 50 shows who abducted Christians in the 4-year reporting period, for all categories of aggressors. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 14A.

Table 50: Christians abducted by different categories of aggressors

Year	Total Christians Abducted	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces
2020-2023	11,185	11,141	3,914	302	120	6,657	100	3	3	3	7	6	26	44

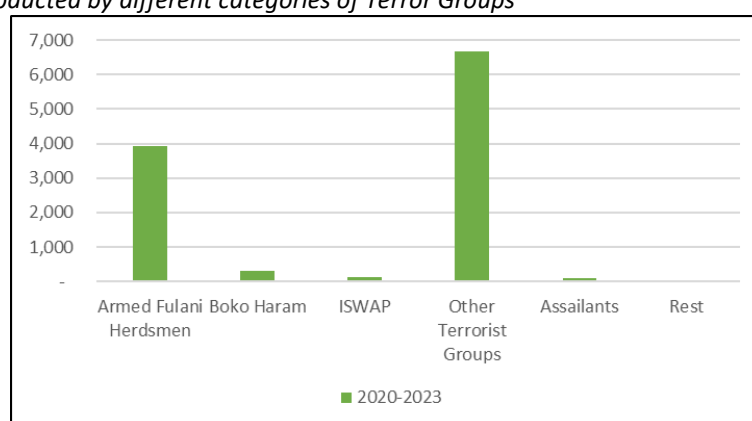
Table 50 shows that most Christians were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (6,657), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (3,914). The combination of Boko Haram and ISWAP accounts for 422 Christians abducted. All the rest together adds up to 192 Christians abducted (including 44 Christians abducted by the Security Forces).

Table 51 offers a closer look at the Terror Group categories and compresses several of the smaller categories into one ‘Rest’ category. This leads to the visualization presented in figure 11.

Table 51: Christians abducted by different categories of Terror Groups

Year	Total Christians abducted by Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Rest
2020-2023	11,141	3,914	302	120	6,657	100	48

Figure 11: Christians abducted by different categories of Terror Groups



For Christians, the Other Terrorist Groups were the strongest threat for abduction, followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen. Boko Haram and ISWAP were much less of a threat for abducting Christians.

6.6 Muslim abduction analysis per aggressor

In this section the recorded data for the abduction of Muslims is used, with all people abducted with ‘Unknown Religious Identity’ left out of the analysis. For the reason explained in Section 6.5 and earlier sections, analysis can only be carried out at the level of the total of all four reporting periods, with the goal of showing proportions between different aggressors, not absolute data.

Table 52 shows which categories of aggressors abducted Muslims in the 4-year reporting period. A full overview at state level is available in Appendix 14B.

Table 52: Muslims abducted by different categories of aggressors

Year	Total Muslims Abducted	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces
2020-2023	7,899	7,876	1,903	173	127	5,635	38	-	-	-	5	-	3	15

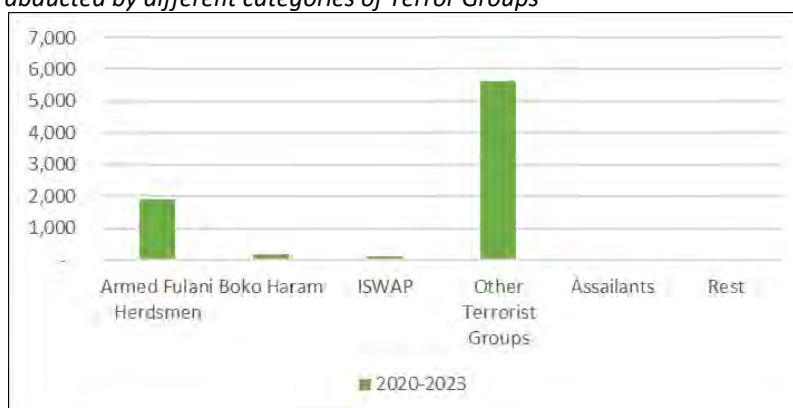
Table 52 shows that most Muslims were abducted by Other Terrorist Groups (5,635), followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen (1,903). The combination of Boko Haram and ISWAP accounts for 300 Muslims abducted. All the rest together adds up to 61 Muslims abducted (including 15 Muslims abducted by the Security Forces).

Table 53 offers a closer look at the Terror Group categories and compresses several of the smaller categories into one ‘Rest’ category. This leads to the visualization presented in figure 12.

Table 53: Muslims abducted by different categories of Terror Groups

Year	Muslims abducted by Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Rest
2020-2023	7,884	1,903	173	127	5,635	38	8

Figure 12: Muslims abducted by different categories of Terror Groups



For Muslims, the Other Terrorist Groups were the strongest threat for abduction, followed by Armed Fulani Herdsmen. Boko Haram and ISWAP were much less of a threat for the abduction of Muslims.

6.7 Main areas of operation of different Terror Groups involved in abductions

Over the 4-year reporting period, Terror Group violence was concentrated in specific parts of the country and connected with the areas of operation of specific groups of aggressors. The North West and the North

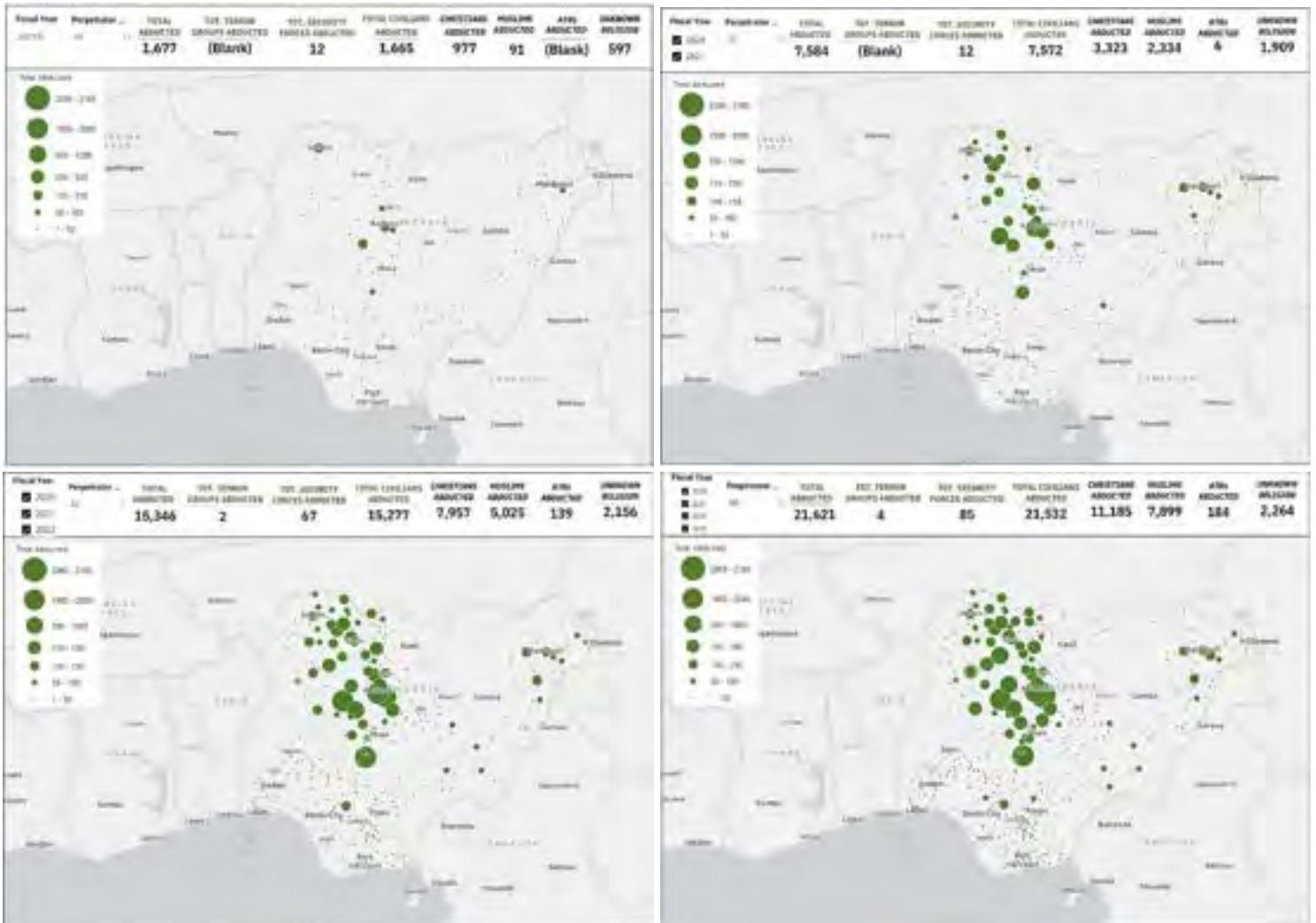
Central were the epicenter for abductions. Most civilian abductions were in the North West (12,042) and North Central (6,325). For Christians these numbers were 5,931 and 3,277; for Muslims they were 4,976 and 2,469. Please note that 2,264 abductions in the category ‘Unknown Religious Identity’ have not been included in these numbers for Christians and Muslims.

The data suggests that there was a connection between Armed Fulani Herdsmen and Other Terrorist Groups.

Once again, Boko Haram and ISWAP turned out to be minor ‘players’ compared to the Armed Fulani Herdsmen category and Other Terrorist Groups.

The number of members of the Security Forces and Terror Groups abducted were very low and not considered in the abduction analysis.

MAPS 14A – 14D: 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE ABDUCTIONS – ALL AGGRESSORS – showing how over the course of the four years covered by this report, abductions have increased all over the country, but with a particular emphasis in the North West, North Central and North East zones.



(Maps source: ORFA)

MAPS 15A – 15D: 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE ABDUCTIONS – ISWAP/BOKO HARAM – showing how abductions by Boko Haram and/or ISWAP have developed over the years



(Maps source: ORFA)

MAPS 16A – 16D: 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE ABDUCTIONS – ARMED FULANI HERDSMEN – showing how abductions by Armed Fulani Herdsmen have developed over the years.





(Maps source: ORFA)

MAPS 17A – 17D: 2020-2023 CUMULATIVE ABDUCTIONS – OTHER TERRORIST GROUPS – showing how abductions by Other Terrorist Groups have developed over the years.



(Maps source: ORFA)

The number of abductions by Boko Haram and ISWAP together, were far less than the abductions by either Other Terrorist Groups or Armed Fulani Herdsmen. The area of operation of Boko Haram and ISWAP was

mainly in the North East. The areas of operation of the Armed Fulani Herdsmen and the Other Terrorist Groups were connected and partly overlapping, forming a wide strip from the North West to the North Central. Armed Fulani Herdsmen were more prominent in the North Central zone (including South Kaduna), and the Other Terrorist Groups were more prominent in the North West.

6.7 INSERT - Bandits, Armed Fulani Herdsmen and the Religious Agenda Connection

Bandits, Armed Fulani Herdsmen and the Religious Agenda Connection

A Nigerian pastor shares these testimonies of victims that provide valuable insights which shed light on the connections between what the Bandits and the Armed Fulani Herdsmen are doing and their hidden religious agenda.

There follow two testimonies:

First testimony – the Bandit Hidden Religious Agenda

A missionary was kidnapped in Jos while heading to a funeral reception. He found a taxi but unknown to him the taxi driver, a lady and another occupant were actually Bandits who came in from Zamfara state to purposefully kidnap Christians in Plateau state and Southern Kaduna. Their goal was clear, targeting Christians in Southern Kaduna and Plateau. When he was kidnapped, he was drugged through a spray they made him inhale and he immediately became only partially conscious. He later awoke at night to find himself in a forest in Southern Kaduna in the company of other Christian men and women they had picked up from Southern Kaduna. From there, they were taken to a forest then driven in the night to another forest in Adara land in Kajuru Local Government Area and kept there until it was early in the morning. Before daybreak they were driven to a house in Kaduna metropolis.

In Kaduna, some phone calls were made and negotiations for some of the victims were carried out. One was a Christian woman, and her people paid for her ransom, but they chose not to release her. So when they set out to drive the kidnapped victims out of Kaduna by night, she protested and they warned her to stay calm and quiet or they would teach her a lesson and a warning to any would-be protesters. She reminded them that her ransom had been paid and that she would not go anywhere. She was shot in the presence of the other kidnap victims and her dead body was shoved out of the vehicle onto the ground and they drove off.

From Kaduna at night, they were driven to Katsina state to another forest where there was a Bandits camp. Later, the missionary was asked to provide a contact for negotiations to start and he gave them the name of his friend but warned his friend never to disclose his true identity. They tried to extract money from the person they were negotiating with. They later discovered that this missionary had an ATM card with money in his account so they chose to use him as a cash machine and any time they needed money they would take him to an ATM Machine blind-folded at night to withdraw money from his account.

After some days in Jibiya, Katsina state, some of them were left there but some, along with the missionary, were driven to another camp in Zamfara state. While at Zamfara state, they started questioning him and told him that it would only be a matter of days before Christianity became history in Nigeria. They said in Hausa: 'Lokaci kadan, adini Krista zata zamma tarihi a kassan Nijeriya.' Meaning: It is only a matter of time; Christianity will become history in Nigeria. As he remained in captivity in Zamfara they kept trying to entice him to convert to Islam, but he refused. So, they just took him to draw money from his account for their use. He was quite bold and tough, but they kept him because of the immediate cash they could access through him. His hands and legs were usually tied and he was moved in shackles.

Once, at night, he was driven out again to the state capital Gusau to take money from his account at the ATM. This was done, but on the way back to the forest, something happened which I won't disclose here for obvious reasons. God in a most miraculous way provided a way for him to escape at the dead of night; he unshackled himself and ran, walked for hours upon hours in the dead of the night until day break. Covered in dust, people took him for a mad person. Finally, he found a village with a church and he was identified by someone in the church and later helped him to return to Jos. I had the privilege of debriefing him as a member of our church. For security reasons, we worked to relocate him out of Nigeria where he is continuing with his missionary service.

This testimony points to the fact that beyond kidnap for ransom, the religious factor is there. It will certainly surface to the top with time. The ORFA report points to the danger of the religious factor which other researchers either intentionally ignore by downplaying it or denying its potency. Looking at the number of Christians killed shows disproportionality in comparison with Muslims and even the kidnapping figures, the disproportionality is also there. Denying the role of religion makes mockery of the many lives of Christians wasted in targeted persecution and killings.

Second testimony – The Armed Fulani Herdsmen Hidden Religious Agenda

The following occurred in Zangon Kataf, Southern Kaduna. It concerns Armed Fulani Herdsmen who attacked a village and kidnapped some women. While in their custody, they mocked them saying that the Allah of the Koran is stronger than the God of the Bible. They asked these women, victims of the attack in a Southern Kaduna community to convert to Islam or they will regret choosing to remain Christians. They urged these women to renounce Christianity and embrace Islam because Muslims would soon overrun Christians in Nigeria. As days went by, they decided to rape them and the women protested and cried, asking them not to rape them. They accompanied their protest with prayer asking God to spare them the agony of sexual abuse. The attackers ignored their pleas and cries and proceeded not only to rape them but taunted them. They asked them to renounce Christianity, since the God of the Bible could not answer their prayer against being raped as He had done nothing to spare them. They proceeded to portray Allah and Islam as the only religion where prayers are answered.

The above testimonies provide a religious connection between Bandits and Armed Fulani Herdsmen terrorist activities in Nigeria.

Appendix

Appendix 1A: All registered killings in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2020

Geopolitical zone	State	2020						
		Total Killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown Religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	Jigawa	23	6	-	-	14	-	3
North West	Kaduna	2,017	1,237	169	-	413	53	145
North West	Kano	5	-	-	-	5	-	-
North West	Katsina	1,018	123	160	-	293	65	377
North West	Kebbi	75	42	9	-	24	-	-
North West	Sokoto	254	26	94	-	22	-	112
North West	Zamfara	835	32	86	-	136	15	566
North West Total		4,227	1,466	518	-	907	133	1,203
North Central	Abuja FCT	17	-	-	-	14	1	2
North Central	Benue	377	199	4	-	154	1	19
North Central	Kogi	112	58	3	-	38	3	10
North Central	Kwara	4	1	-	-	3	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	74	11	-	-	56	1	6
North Central	Niger	654	385	54	-	128	43	44
North Central	Plateau	300	208	-	-	79	9	4
North Central Total		1,538	862	61	-	472	58	85
North East	Adamawa	288	115	-	-	138	10	25
North East	Bauchi	13	-	-	-	13	-	-
North East	Borno	4,400	848	427	-	605	748	1,772
North East	Gombe	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
North East	Taraba	323	194	-	-	107	-	22
North East	Yobe	333	17	-	-	41	95	180
North East Total		5,360	1,174	427	-	907	853	1,999
South East	Abia	26	2	-	-	17	5	2
South East	Anambra	34	-	-	-	32	2	-
South East	Ebonyi	32	-	-	-	31	1	-
South East	Enugu	3	-	-	-	1	-	2
South East	Imo	30	-	-	-	25	1	4
South East Total		125	2	-	-	106	9	8
South South	Akwa Ibom	21	-	-	-	19	-	2
South South	Bayelsa	68	14	-	-	38	10	6
South South	Cross River	70	7	-	-	55	3	5
South South	Delta	119	34	-	-	57	23	5
South South	Edo	97	11	-	-	56	10	20
South South	Rivers	68	9	-	-	45	1	13
South South Total		443	75	-	-	270	47	51
South West	Ekiti	18	12	-	-	6	-	-
South West	Lagos	85	7	1	-	65	2	10
South West	Ogun	39	8	-	-	20	8	3
South West	Ondo	27	7	-	-	13	7	-
South West	Osun	16	3	-	-	11	-	2
South West	Oyo	35	3	2	-	29	-	1
South West Total		220	40	3	-	144	17	16
Grand Total		11,913	3,619	1,009	-	2,806	1,117	3,362

Appendix 1B: All registered killings in Nigeria Oct 2020 – Sep 2021

Geopolitical zone	State	2021						
		Total Killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown Religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	Jigawa	26	12	1	-	6	4	3
North West	Kaduna	2,051	1,003	65	-	471	101	411
North West	Kano	16	4	2	-	7	-	3
North West	Katsina	857	104	110	11	262	14	356
North West	Kebbi	585	368	113	13	26	35	30
North West	Sokoto	395	28	112	-	173	61	21
North West	Zamfara	1,890	46	372	-	602	65	805
North West Total		5,820	1,565	775	24	1,547	280	1,629
North Central	Abuja FCT	65	18	1	-	34	8	4
North Central	Benue	1,320	939	-	-	285	25	71
North Central	Kogi	91	5	1	-	52	6	27
North Central	Kwara	42	-	8	-	34	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	89	36	12	-	27	9	5
North Central	Niger	1,336	291	188	-	330	116	411
North Central	Plateau	691	408	46	-	217	2	18
North Central Total		3,634	1,697	256	-	979	166	536
North East	Adamawa	147	38	-	-	92	2	15
North East	Bauchi	12	-	5	-	6	1	-
North East	Borno	3,628	113	140	-	449	1,212	1,714
North East	Gombe	29	20	-	-	9	-	-
North East	Taraba	170	111	8	-	42	7	2
North East	Yobe	283	-	1	-	61	95	126
North East Total		4,269	282	154	-	659	1,317	1,857
South East	Abia	44	1	-	-	20	17	6
South East	Anambra	255	75	19	-	96	57	8
South East	Ebonyi	445	290	-	-	124	21	10
South East	Enugu	112	67	-	-	18	19	8
South East	Imo	584	267	29	-	89	123	76
South East Total		1,440	700	48	-	347	237	108
South South	Akwa Ibom	65	-	-	-	42	20	3
South South	Bayelsa	22	1	-	-	18	1	2
South South	Cross River	46	-	-	-	35	11	-
South South	Delta	183	5	-	-	134	28	16
South South	Edo	80	8	-	-	68	-	4
South South	Rivers	162	10	-	-	95	43	14
South South Total		558	24	-	-	392	103	39
South West	Ekiti	35	3	-	-	30	-	2
South West	Lagos	136	2	-	-	127	1	6
South West	Ogun	96	20	1	-	60	5	10
South West	Ondo	59	7	-	-	44	2	6
South West	Osun	77	1	1	-	59	9	7
South West	Oyo	150	27	2	-	107	10	4
South West Total		553	60	4	-	427	27	35
Grand Total		16,274	4,328	1,237	24	4,351	2,130	4,204

Appendix 1C: All registered killings in Nigeria Oct 2021 – Sept 2022

Geopolitical zone	State	2022						
		Total Killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown Religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	Jigawa	33	9	11	-	1	3	9
North West	Kaduna	1,801	862	280	2	37	33	587
North West	Kano	89	18	22	-	-	5	44
North West	Katsina	629	71	182	-	43	28	305
North West	Kebbi	541	182	106	21	9	143	80
North West	Sokoto	543	123	189	-	62	1	168
North West	Zamfara	1,594	233	668	-	33	52	608
North West Total		5,230	1,498	1,458	23	185	265	1,801
North Central	Abuja FCT	56	16	22	-	11	4	3
North Central	Benue	574	495	-	1	20	10	48
North Central	Kogi	88	41	8	2	7	12	18
North Central	Kwara	47	15	4	-	7	-	21
North Central	Nasarawa	94	73	16	-	-	3	2
North Central	Niger	2,110	549	357	2	32	163	1,007
North Central	Plateau	619	334	56	-	8	10	211
North Central Total		3,588	1,523	463	5	85	202	1,310
North East	Adamawa	142	94	6	-	4	11	27
North East	Bauchi	48	18	23	1	1	-	5
North East	Borno	3,372	184	192	-	24	242	2,730
North East	Gombe	37	28	6	-	1	1	1
North East	Taraba	707	524	44	3	40	28	68
North East	Yobe	97	18	7	-	-	12	60
North East Total		4,403	866	278	4	70	294	2,891
South East	Abia	92	26	8	-	42	4	12
South East	Anambra	304	135	9	-	7	48	105
South East	Ebonyi	146	102	1	-	4	18	21
South East	Enugu	131	94	1	-	2	31	3
South East	Imo	220	136	3	-	5	42	34
South East Total		893	493	22	-	60	143	175
South South	Akwa Ibom	42	35	2	-	-	1	4
South South	Bayelsa	44	22	1	-	4	4	13
South South	Cross River	94	65	-	-	5	5	19
South South	Delta	146	57	3	-	8	5	73
South South	Edo	90	31	-	-	2	5	52
South South	Rivers	61	26	-	3	10	9	13
South South Total		477	236	6	3	29	29	174
South West	Ekiti	9	5	-	-	-	3	1
South West	Lagos	107	41	10	1	18	4	33
South West	Ogun	87	35	12	4	6	8	22
South West	Ondo	116	101	1	-	9	1	4
South West	Osun	68	41	9	-	8	2	8
South West	Oyo	59	38	4	-	1	6	10
South West Total		446	261	36	5	42	24	78
Grand Total		15,037	4,877	2,263	40	471	957	6,429

Appendix 1D: All registered killings in Nigeria Oct 2022 – Sept 2023

		2023						
Geopolitical zone	State	Total Killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown Religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	Jigawa	18	-	14	-	-	1	3
North West	Kaduna	946	446	107	-	2	24	367
North West	Kano	61	11	46	-	-	-	4
North West	Katsina	469	88	157	4	-	59	161
North West	Kebbi	180	64	72	-	-	9	35
North West	Sokoto	305	32	137	1	3	16	116
North West	Zamfara	1,379	80	394	-	2	125	778
North West Total		3,358	721	927	5	7	234	1,464
North Central	Abuja FCT	44	22	14	1	3	3	1
North Central	Benue	1,135	1,040	8	9	31	20	27
North Central	Kogi	85	42	25	2	4	4	8
North Central	Kwara	43	18	10	1	1	1	12
North Central	Nasarawa	278	160	92	-	-	5	21
North Central	Niger	987	167	126	2	5	124	563
North Central	Plateau	642	550	51	2	-	1	38
North Central Total		3,214	1,999	326	17	44	158	670
North East	Adamawa	66	32	9	-	-	1	24
North East	Bauchi	156	24	59	-	-	1	72
North East	Borno	3,902	58	241	-	7	143	3,453
North East	Gombe	14	6	5	-	-	-	3
North East	Taraba	283	152	75	17	-	3	36
North East	Yobe	55	1	14	-	-	-	40
North East Total		4,476	273	403	17	7	148	3,628
South East	Abia	57	30	-	-	-	8	19
South East	Anambra	229	95	1	2	-	51	80
South East	Ebonyi	101	65	-	-	2	15	19
South East	Enugu	217	162	2	-	1	27	25
South East	Imo	189	130	5	-	-	36	18
South East Total		793	482	8	2	3	137	161
South South	Akwa Ibom	52	34	-	-	9	3	6
South South	Bayelsa	24	19	1	-	-	1	3
South South	Cross River	35	27	-	1	-	1	6
South South	Delta	162	79	14	3	2	29	35
South South	Edo	81	51	1	3	7	11	8
South South	Rivers	146	77	1	5	-	12	51
South South Total		500	287	17	12	18	57	109
South West	Ekiti	11	7	3	-	1	-	-
South West	Lagos	94	60	8	10	2	7	7
South West	Ogun	82	34	5	16	-	1	26
South West	Ondo	60	36	4	6	7	3	4
South West	Osun	43	21	8	3	4	-	7
South West	Oyo	55	25	17	2	1	4	6
South West Total		345	183	45	37	15	15	50
Grand Total		12,686	3,945	1,726	90	94	749	6,082

Appendix 1E: All registered killings in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	State	2020	2021	2022	2023	2020-2023						
		Total Killed	Total Killed	Total Killed	Total Killed	Total Killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown Religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups
North West	Jigawa	23	26	33	18	100	27	26	-	21	8	18
North West	Kaduna	2,017	2,051	1,801	946	6,815	3,548	621	2	923	211	1,510
North West	Kano	5	16	89	61	171	33	70	-	12	5	51
North West	Katsina	1,018	857	629	469	2,973	386	609	15	598	166	1,199
North West	Kebbi	75	585	541	180	1,381	656	300	34	59	187	145
North West	Sokoto	254	395	543	305	1,497	209	532	1	260	78	417
North West	Zamfara	835	1,890	1,594	1,379	5,698	391	1,520	-	773	257	2,757
North West Total		4,227	5,820	5,230	3,358	18,635	5,250	3,678	52	2,646	912	6,097
North Central	Abuja FCT	17	65	56	44	182	56	37	1	62	16	10
North Central	Benue	377	1,320	574	1,135	3,406	2,673	12	10	490	56	165
North Central	Kogi	112	91	88	85	376	146	37	4	101	25	63
North Central	Kwara	4	42	47	43	136	34	22	1	45	1	33
North Central	Nasarawa	74	89	94	278	535	280	120	-	83	18	34
North Central	Niger	654	1,336	2,110	987	5,087	1,392	725	4	495	446	2,025
North Central	Plateau	300	691	619	642	2,252	1,500	153	2	304	22	271
North Central Total		1,538	3,634	3,588	3,214	11,974	6,081	1,106	22	1,580	584	2,601
North East	Adamawa	288	147	142	66	643	279	15	-	234	24	91
North East	Bauchi	13	12	48	156	229	42	87	1	20	2	77
North East	Borno	4,400	3,628	3,372	3,902	15,302	1,203	1,000	-	1,085	2,345	9,669
North East	Gombe	3	29	37	14	83	54	11	-	13	1	4
North East	Taraba	323	170	707	283	1,483	981	127	20	189	38	128
North East	Yobe	333	283	97	55	768	36	22	-	102	202	406
North East Total		5,360	4,269	4,403	4,476	18,508	2,595	1,262	21	1,643	2,612	10,375
South East	Abia	26	44	92	57	219	59	8	-	79	34	39
South East	Anambra	34	255	304	229	822	305	29	2	135	158	193
South East	Ebonyi	32	445	146	101	724	457	1	-	161	55	50
South East	Enugu	3	112	131	217	463	323	3	-	22	77	38
South East	Imo	30	584	220	189	1,023	533	37	-	119	202	132
South East Total		125	1,440	893	793	3,251	1,677	78	2	516	526	452
South South	Akwa Ibom	21	65	42	52	180	69	2	-	70	24	15
South South	Bayelsa	68	22	44	24	158	56	2	-	60	16	24
South South	Cross River	70	46	94	35	245	99	-	1	95	20	30
South South	Delta	119	183	146	162	610	175	17	3	201	85	129
South South	Edo	97	80	90	81	348	101	1	3	133	26	84
South South	Rivers	68	162	61	146	437	122	1	8	150	65	91
South South Total		443	558	477	500	1,978	622	23	15	709	236	373
South West	Ekiti	18	35	9	11	73	27	3	-	37	3	3
South West	Lagos	85	136	107	94	422	110	19	11	212	14	56
South West	Ogun	39	96	87	82	304	97	18	20	86	22	61
South West	Ondo	27	59	116	60	262	151	5	6	73	13	14
South West	Osun	16	77	68	43	204	66	18	3	82	11	24
South West	Oyo	35	150	59	55	299	93	25	2	138	20	21
South West Total		220	553	446	345	1,564	544	88	42	628	83	179
Grand Total		11,913	16,274	15,037	12,686	55,910	16,769	6,235	154	7,722	4,953	20,077

Appendix 2A: Religious killings in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2020

Geopolitical zone	State	2020						
		Total Killed	Christians Killed	% Christians in the State	Muslims Killed	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	23	6	10	-	88	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North West	Kaduna	2,017	1,237	35	169	50	7.3	10.5
North West	Kano	5	-	9	-	91	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
North West	Katsina	1,018	123	7	160	91	0.8	10.0
North West	Kebbi	75	42	10	9	88	4.7	41.1
North West	Sokoto	254	26	5	94	94	0.3	5.2
North West	Zamfara	835	32	5	86	94	0.4	7.0
North West Total		4,227	1,466		518		2.8	9.4
North Central	Abuja FCT	17	-	50	-	30	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
North Central	Benue	377	199	75	4	10	49.8	6.6
North Central	Kogi	112	58	50	3	41	19.3	15.9
North Central	Kwara	4	1	45	-	50	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North Central	Nasarawa	74	11	45	-	40	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North Central	Niger	654	385	25	54	70	7.1	20.0
North Central	Plateau	300	208	60	-	17	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North Central Total		1,538	862		61		14.1	20.0
North East	Adamawa	288	115	30	-	65	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North East	Bauchi	13	-	15	-	80	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
North East	Borno	4,400	848	20	427	60	2.0	6.0
North East	Gombe	3	-	30	-	55	only Chr. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
North East	Taraba	323	194	30	-	55	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North East	Yobe	333	17	10	-	87	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North East Total		5,360	1,174		427		2.7	7.7
South East	Abia	26	2	80	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South East	Anambra	34	-	80	-	15	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
South East	Ebonyi	32	-	67	-	23	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
South East	Enugu	3	-	75	-	15	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
South East	Imo	30	-	80	-	18	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
South East Total		125	2		-		#DIV/0!	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Akwa Ibom	21	-	75	-	20	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
South South	Bayelsa	68	14	75	-	20	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Cross River	70	7	72	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Delta	119	34	76	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Edo	97	11	79	-	5	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Rivers	68	9	60	-	19	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South Total		443	75		-		only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Ekiti	18	12	60	-	25	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Lagos	85	7	83	1	12	7.0	1.0
South West	Ogun	39	8	60	-	29	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Ondo	27	7	55	-	30	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Osun	16	3	59	-	39	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Oyo	35	3	55	2	43	1.5	1.2
South West Total		220	40		3		13.3	6.0
Grand Total		11,913	3,619		1,009		3.6	9.3

Appendix 2B: Religious killings in Nigeria Oct 2020 – Sept 2021

Geopolitical zone	State	2021						
		Total Killed	Christians Killed	% Christians in the State	Muslims Killed	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	26	12	10	1	88	12.0	105.6
North West	Kaduna	2,051	1,003	35	65	50	15.4	22.0
North West	Kano	16	4	9	2	91	2.0	20.2
North West	Katsina	857	104	7	110	91	0.9	12.3
North West	Kebbi	585	368	10	113	88	3.3	28.7
North West	Sokoto	395	28	5	112	94	0.3	4.7
North West	Zamfara	1,890	46	5	372	94	0.1	2.3
North West Total		5,820	1,565		775		2.0	9.8
North Central	Abuja FCT	65	18	50	1	30	18.0	10.8
North Central	Benue	1,320	939	75	-	10	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North Central	Kogi	91	5	50	1	41	5.0	4.1
North Central	Kwara	42	-	45	8	50	0.0	0.0
North Central	Nasarawa	89	36	45	12	40	3.0	2.7
North Central	Niger	1,336	291	25	188	70	1.5	4.3
North Central	Plateau	691	408	60	46	17	8.9	2.5
North Central Total		3,634	1,697		256		6.6	4.3
North East	Adamawa	147	38	30	-	65	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North East	Bauchi	12	-	15	5	80	0.0	0.0
North East	Borno	3,628	113	20	140	60	0.8	2.4
North East	Gombe	29	20	30	-	55	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North East	Taraba	170	111	30	8	55	13.9	25.4
North East	Yobe	283	-	10	1	87	0.0	0.0
North East Total		4,269	282		154		1.8	4.3
South East	Abia	44	1	80	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South East	Anambra	255	75	80	19	15	3.9	0.7
South East	Ebonyi	445	290	67	-	23	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South East	Enugu	112	67	75	-	15	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South East	Imo	584	267	80	29	18	9.2	2.1
South East Total		1,440	700		48		14.6	3.9
South South	Akwa Ibom	65	-	75	-	20	#DIV/0!	no rel. killings reported
South South	Bayelsa	22	1	75	-	20	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Cross River	46	-	72	-	18	no rel. killings reported	no rel. killings reported
South South	Delta	183	5	76	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Edo	80	8	79	-	5	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Rivers	162	10	60	-	19	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South Total		558	24		-		#DIV/0!	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Ekiti	35	3	60	-	25	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Lagos	136	2	83	-	12	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Ogun	96	20	60	1	29	20.0	9.7
South West	Ondo	59	7	55	-	30	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Osun	77	1	59	1	39	1.0	0.7
South West	Oyo	150	27	55	2	43	13.5	10.6
South West Total		553	60		4		15.0	9.2
Grand Total		16,274	4,328		1,237		3.5	7.7

Appendix 2C: Religious killings in Nigeria Oct 2021 – Sept 2022

Geopolitical zone	State	2022						
		Total Killed	Christians Killed	% Christians in the State	Muslims Killed	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	33	9	10	11	88	0.8	7.2
North West	Kaduna	1,801	862	35	280	50	3.1	4.4
North West	Kano	89	18	9	22	91	0.8	8.3
North West	Katsina	629	71	7	182	91	0.4	5.1
North West	Kebbi	541	182	10	106	88	1.7	15.1
North West	Sokoto	543	123	5	189	94	0.7	12.2
North West	Zamfara	1,594	233	5	668	94	0.3	6.6
North West Total		5,230	1,498		1,458		1.0	7.3
North Central	Abuja FCT	56	16	50	22	30	0.7	0.4
North Central	Benue	574	495	75	-	10	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
North Central	Kogi	88	41	50	8	41	5.1	4.2
North Central	Kwara	47	15	45	4	50	3.8	4.2
North Central	Nasarawa	94	73	45	16	40	4.6	4.1
North Central	Niger	2,110	549	25	357	70	1.5	4.3
North Central	Plateau	619	334	60	56	17	6.0	1.7
North Central Total		3,588	1,523		463		3.3	3.9
North East	Adamawa	142	94	30	6	65	15.7	33.9
North East	Bauchi	48	18	15	23	80	0.8	4.2
North East	Borno	3,372	184	20	192	60	1.0	2.9
North East	Gombe	37	28	30	6	55	4.7	8.6
North East	Taraba	707	524	30	44	55	11.9	21.8
North East	Yobe	97	18	10	7	87	2.6	22.4
North East Total		4,403	866		278		3.1	7.3
South East	Abia	92	26	80	8	18	3.3	0.7
South East	Anambra	304	135	80	9	15	15.0	2.8
South East	Ebonyi	146	102	67	1	23	102.0	35.0
South East	Enugu	131	94	75	1	15	94.0	18.8
South East	Imo	220	136	80	3	18	45.3	10.2
South East Total		893	493		22		22.4	5.3
South South	Akwa Ibom	42	35	75	2	20	17.5	4.7
South South	Bayelsa	44	22	75	1	20	22.0	5.9
South South	Cross River	94	65	72	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Delta	146	57	76	3	18	19.0	4.5
South South	Edo	90	31	79	-	5	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Rivers	61	26	60	-	19	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South Total		477	236		6		39.3	9.2
South West	Ekiti	9	5	60	-	25	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South West	Lagos	107	41	83	10	12	4.1	0.6
South West	Ogun	87	35	60	12	29	2.9	1.4
South West	Ondo	116	101	55	1	30	101.0	55.1
South West	Osun	68	41	59	9	39	4.6	3.0
South West	Oyo	59	38	55	4	43	9.5	7.4
South West Total		446	261		36		7.3	3.8
Grand Total		15,037	4,877		2,263		2.2	6.6

Appendix 2D: Religious killings in Nigeria Oct 2022 – Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	State	2023						
		Total Killed	Christians Killed	% Christians in the State	Muslims Killed	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	18	-	10	14	88	0.0	0.0
North West	Kaduna	946	446	35	107	50	4.2	6.0
North West	Kano	61	11	9	46	91	0.2	2.4
North West	Katsina	469	88	7	157	91	0.6	7.3
North West	Kebbi	180	64	10	72	88	0.9	7.8
North West	Sokoto	305	32	5	137	94	0.2	4.4
North West	Zamfara	1,379	80	5	394	94	0.2	3.8
North West Total		3,358	721		927		0.8	4.9
North Central	Abuja FCT	44	22	50	14	30	1.6	0.9
North Central	Benue	1,135	1,040	75	8	10	130.0	17.3
North Central	Kogi	85	42	50	25	41	1.7	1.4
North Central	Kwara	43	18	45	10	50	1.8	2.0
North Central	Nasarawa	278	160	45	92	40	1.7	1.5
North Central	Niger	987	167	25	126	70	1.3	3.7
North Central	Plateau	642	550	60	51	17	10.8	3.1
North Central Total		3,214	1,999		326		6.1	3.0
North East	Adamawa	66	32	30	9	65	3.6	7.7
North East	Bauchi	156	24	15	59	80	0.4	2.2
North East	Borno	3,902	58	20	241	60	0.2	0.7
North East	Gombe	14	6	30	5	55	1.2	2.2
North East	Taraba	283	152	30	75	55	2.0	3.7
North East	Yobe	55	1	10	14	87	0.1	0.6
North East Total		4,476	273		403		0.7	1.7
South East	Abia	57	30	80	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South East	Anambra	229	95	80	1	15	95.0	17.8
South East	Ebonyi	101	65	67	-	23	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South East	Enugu	217	162	75	2	15	81.0	16.2
South East	Imo	189	130	80	5	18	26.0	5.9
South East Total		793	482		8		60.3	13.6
South South	Akwa Ibom	52	34	75	-	20	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Bayelsa	24	19	75	1	20	19.0	5.1
South South	Cross River	35	27	72	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Delta	162	79	76	14	18	5.6	1.3
South South	Edo	81	51	79	1	5	51.0	3.2
South South	Rivers	146	77	60	1	19	77.0	24.4
South South Total		500	287		17		16.9	4.0
South West	Ekiti	11	7	60	3	25	2.3	1.0
South West	Lagos	94	60	83	8	12	7.5	1.1
South West	Ogun	82	34	60	5	29	6.8	3.3
South West	Ondo	60	36	55	4	30	9.0	4.9
South West	Osun	43	21	59	8	39	2.6	1.7
South West	Oyo	55	25	55	17	43	1.5	1.1
South West Total		345	183		45		4.1	1.8
Grand Total		12,686	3,945		1,726		2.3	3.7

Appendix 2E: Religious killings in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	State	2020-2023						
		Total Killed	Christians Killed	% Christians in the State	Muslims Killed	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	100	27	10	26	88	1.0	9.1
North West	Kaduna	6,815	3,548	35	621	50	5.7	8.2
North West	Kano	171	33	9	70	91	0.5	4.8
North West	Katsina	2,973	386	7	609	91	0.6	8.2
North West	Kebbi	1,381	656	10	300	88	2.2	19.2
North West	Sokoto	1,497	209	5	532	94	0.4	7.4
North West	Zamfara	5,698	391	5	1,520	94	0.3	4.8
North West Total		18,635	5,250		3,678		1.4	7.5
North Central	Abuja FCT	182	56	50	37	30	1.5	0.9
North Central	Benue	3,406	2,673	75	12	10	222.8	29.7
North Central	Kogi	376	146	50	37	41	3.9	3.2
North Central	Kwara	136	34	45	22	50	1.5	1.7
North Central	Nasarawa	535	280	45	120	40	2.3	2.1
North Central	Niger	5,087	1,392	25	725	70	1.9	5.4
North Central	Plateau	2,252	1,500	60	153	17	9.8	2.8
North Central Total		11,974	6,081		1,106		5.5	4.6
North East	Adamawa	643	279	30	15	65	18.6	40.3
North East	Bauchi	229	42	15	87	80	0.5	2.6
North East	Borno	15,302	1,203	20	1,000	60	1.2	3.6
North East	Gombe	83	54	30	11	55	4.9	9.0
North East	Taraba	1,483	981	30	127	55	7.7	14.2
North East	Yobe	768	36	10	22	87	1.6	14.2
North East Total		18,508	2,595		1,262		2.1	5.3
South East	Abia	219	59	80	8	18	7.4	1.7
South East	Anambra	822	305	80	29	15	10.5	2.0
South East	Ebonyi	724	457	67	1	23	457.0	156.9
South East	Enugu	463	323	75	3	15	107.7	21.5
South East	Imo	1,023	533	80	37	18	14.4	3.2
South East Total		3,251	1,677		78		21.5	5.3
South South	Akwa Ibom	180	69	75	2	20	34.5	9.2
South South	Bayelsa	158	56	75	2	20	28.0	7.5
South South	Cross River	245	99	72	-	18	only Chr. killings reported	only Chr. killings reported
South South	Delta	610	175	76	17	18	10.3	2.4
South South	Edo	348	101	79	1	5	101.0	6.4
South South	Rivers	437	122	60	1	19	122.0	38.6
South South Total		1,978	622		23		27.0	6.3
South West	Ekiti	73	27	60	3	25	9.0	3.8
South West	Lagos	422	110	83	19	12	5.8	0.8
South West	Ogun	304	97	60	18	29	5.4	2.6
South West	Ondo	262	151	55	5	30	30.2	16.5
South West	Osun	204	66	59	18	39	3.7	2.4
South West	Oyo	299	93	55	25	43	3.7	2.9
South West Total		1,564	544		88		6.2	3.1
Grand Total		55,910	16,769		6,235		2.7	6.5

Appendix 3A: All registered abductions in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2020

		2020						
Geopolitical zone	State	Total Abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious indentity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	Jigawa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	458	312	-	-	145	1	-
North West	Kano	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	50	23	2	-	25	-	-
North West	Kebbi	30	28	2	-	-	-	-
North West	Sokoto	158	150	6	-	2	-	-
North West	Zamfara	11	7	-	-	4	-	-
North West Total		707	520	10	-	176	1	-
North Central	Abuja FCT	38	36	-	-	2	-	-
North Central	Benue	34	13	-	-	21	-	-
North Central	Kogi	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
North Central	Kwara	19	6	-	-	13	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	14	14	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Niger	240	151	47	-	42	-	-
North Central	Plateau	5	1	-	-	4	-	-
North Central Total		351	221	47	-	83	-	-
North East	Adamawa	35	17	-	-	18	-	-
North East	Bauchi	10	-	1	-	9	-	-
North East	Borno	349	130	33	-	184	2	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	79	30	-	-	47	2	-
North East	Yobe	17	12	-	-	5	-	-
North East Total		490	189	34	-	263	4	-
South East	Abia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		6	4	-	-	2	-	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Delta	41	15	-	-	26	-	-
South South	Edo	6	1	-	-	5	-	-
South South	Rivers	17	7	-	-	4	6	-
South South Total		68	26	-	-	36	6	-
South West	Ekiti	6	5	-	-	1	-	-
South West	Lagos	5	-	-	-	5	-	-
South West	Ogun	24	-	-	-	23	1	-
South West	Ondo	10	7	-	-	3	-	-
South West	Osun	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
South West	Oyo	8	5	-	-	3	-	-
South West Total		55	17	-	-	37	1	-
Grand Total		1,677	977	91	-	597	12	-

Appendix 3B: All registered abductions in Nigeria Oct 2020 – Sept 2021

Geopolitical zone	State	2021						
		Total Abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	Jigawa	3	1	2	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	1,430	1,093	253	-	84	-	-
North West	Kano	3	-	1	-	2	-	-
North West	Katsina	639	110	392	-	137	-	-
North West	Kebbi	225	115	83	-	27	-	-
North West	Sokoto	318	20	53	-	245	-	-
North West	Zamfara	1,198	198	800	-	200	-	-
North West Total		3,816	1,537	1,584	-	695	-	-
North Central	Abuja FCT	67	31	7	-	29	-	-
North Central	Benue	21	18	-	-	3	-	-
North Central	Kogi	27	17	7	-	3	-	-
North Central	Kwara	29	8	4	-	17	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	42	1	18	-	23	-	-
North Central	Niger	1,278	430	593	4	251	-	-
North Central	Plateau	44	39	4	-	1	-	-
North Central Total		1,508	544	633	4	327	-	-
North East	Adamawa	55	51	2	-	2	-	-
North East	Bauchi	4	3	1	-	-	-	-
North East	Borno	298	86	22	-	190	-	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	17	12	1	-	4	-	-
North East	Yobe	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
North East Total		375	152	26	-	197	-	-
South East	Abia	20	20	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		25	24	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	17	2	-	-	15	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	11	2	-	-	9	-	-
South South	Edo	40	16	-	-	24	-	-
South South	Rivers	25	25	-	-	-	-	-
South South Total		97	49	-	-	48	-	-
South West	Ekiti	4	2	-	-	2	-	-
South West	Lagos	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	21	13	-	-	8	-	-
South West	Ondo	3	1	-	-	2	-	-
South West	Osun	11	5	-	-	6	-	-
South West	Oyo	46	18	-	2	26	-	-
South West Total		86	40	-	2	44	-	-
Grand Total		5,907	2,346	2,243	6	1,312	-	-

Appendix 3C: All registered abductions in Nigeria Oct 2021 – Sept 2022

Geopolitical zone	State	2022						
		Total Abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	Jigawa	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
North West	Kaduna	2,563	2,049	437	21	49	6	1
North West	Kano	11	3	8	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	415	134	198	-	76	7	-
North West	Kebbi	240	80	123	21	16	-	-
North West	Sokoto	340	115	216	-	9	-	-
North West	Zamfara	765	233	509	5	17	1	-
North West Total		4,336	2,615	1,491	47	167	15	1
North Central	Abuja FCT	124	51	34	1	24	14	-
North Central	Benue	17	14	-	-	3	-	-
North Central	Kogi	57	52	5	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	30	19	10	-	1	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	15	6	9	-	-	-	-
North Central	Niger	2,106	1,066	931	80	26	3	-
North Central	Plateau	169	137	32	-	-	-	-
North Central Total		2,518	1,345	1,021	81	54	17	-
North East	Adamawa	23	19	3	-	-	1	-
North East	Bauchi	5	1	4	-	-	-	-
North East	Borno	237	118	107	-	-	11	1
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	153	111	40	-	2	-	-
North East	Yobe	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		422	253	154	-	2	12	1
South East	Abia	41	41	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	11	8	-	-	2	1	-
South East	Ebonyi	4	-	-	-	-	4	-
South East	Enugu	40	40	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	45	39	-	-	5	1	-
South East Total		141	128	-	-	7	6	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	14	13	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Cross River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	24	24	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Edo	139	138	-	-	-	1	-
South South	Rivers	28	21	-	-	7	-	-
South South Total		207	198	-	-	8	1	-
South West	Ekiti	24	22	2	-	-	-	-
South West	Lagos	8	5	2	-	1	-	-
South West	Ogun	29	18	3	-	4	4	-
South West	Ondo	72	45	18	5	4	-	-
South West	Osun	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Oyo	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
South West Total		138	95	25	5	9	4	-
Grand Total		7,762	4,634	2,691	133	247	55	2

Appendix 3D: All registered abductions in Nigeria Oct 2022 – Sept 2023

		2023						
Geopolitical zone	State	Total Abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	Jigawa	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	1,340	883	427	4	25	1	-
North West	Kano	6	-	6	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	476	126	349	1	-	-	-
North West	Kebbi	96	59	34	-	3	-	-
North West	Sokoto	210	50	160	-	-	-	-
North West	Zamfara	1,073	141	913	8	9	2	-
North West Total		3,203	1,259	1,891	13	37	3	-
North Central	Abuja FCT	238	162	74	-	1	1	-
North Central	Benue	59	54	3	-	1	1	-
North Central	Kogi	133	107	25	1	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	76	54	20	1	-	1	-
North Central	Nasarawa	48	38	8	1	-	1	-
North Central	Niger	1,347	693	627	25	-	2	-
North Central	Plateau	73	59	11	-	-	3	-
North Central Total		1,974	1,167	768	28	2	9	-
North East	Adamawa	8	7	1	-	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	34	8	23	-	-	1	2
North East	Borno	189	17	116	-	56	-	-
North East	Gombe	6	6	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	75	49	23	-	3	-	-
North East	Yobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		312	87	163	-	59	1	2
South East	Abia	13	11	-	-	-	2	-
South East	Anambra	49	43	3	-	1	2	-
South East	Ebonyi	17	17	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	146	132	8	-	6	-	-
South East	Imo	79	78	-	-	-	1	-
South East Total		304	281	11	-	7	5	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	18	18	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	50	50	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	65	64	1	-	-	-	-
South South	Edo	135	109	22	4	-	-	-
South South	Rivers	64	64	-	-	-	-	-
South South Total		336	309	23	4	-	-	-
South West	Ekiti	22	16	6	-	-	-	-
South West	Lagos	12	11	1	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	25	22	3	-	-	-	-
South West	Ondo	58	52	6	-	-	-	-
South West	Osun	20	15	2	-	3	-	-
South West	Oyo	9	9	-	-	-	-	-
South West Total		146	125	18	-	3	-	-
Grand Total		6,275	3,228	2,874	45	108	18	2

Appendix 3E: All registered abductions in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	State	2020	2021	2022	2023	2020-2023						
		Total Abducted	Total Abducted	Total Abducted	Total Abducted	Total Abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	Jigawa	-	3	2	2	7	2	4	-	-	1	-
North West	Kaduna	458	1,430	2,563	1,340	5,791	4,337	1,117	25	303	8	1
North West	Kano	-	3	11	6	20	3	15	-	2	-	-
North West	Katsina	50	639	415	476	1,580	393	941	1	238	7	-
North West	Kebbi	30	225	240	96	591	282	242	21	46	-	-
North West	Sokoto	158	318	340	210	1,026	335	435	-	256	-	-
North West	Zamfara	11	1,198	765	1,073	3,047	579	2,222	13	230	3	-
North West Total		707	3,816	4,336	3,203	12,062	5,931	4,976	60	1,075	19	1
North Central	Abuja FCT	38	67	124	238	467	280	115	1	56	15	-
North Central	Benue	34	21	17	59	131	99	3	-	28	1	-
North Central	Kogi	1	27	57	133	218	176	37	1	4	-	-
North Central	Kwara	19	29	30	76	154	87	34	1	31	1	-
North Central	Nasarawa	14	42	15	48	119	59	35	1	23	1	-
North Central	Niger	240	1,278	2,106	1,347	4,971	2,340	2,198	109	319	5	-
North Central	Plateau	5	44	169	73	291	236	47	-	5	3	-
North Central Total		351	1,508	2,518	1,974	6,351	3,277	2,469	113	466	26	-
North East	Adamawa	35	55	23	8	121	94	6	-	20	1	-
North East	Bauchi	10	4	5	34	53	12	29	-	9	1	2
North East	Borno	349	298	237	189	1,073	351	278	-	430	13	1
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	6	6	6	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	79	17	153	75	324	202	64	-	56	2	-
North East	Yobe	17	1	4	-	22	16	-	-	6	-	-
North East Total		490	375	422	312	1,599	681	377	-	521	17	3
South East	Abia	-	20	41	13	74	72	-	-	-	2	-
South East	Anambra	2	1	11	49	63	51	3	-	6	3	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	4	17	21	17	-	-	-	4	-
South East	Enugu	4	1	40	146	191	177	8	-	6	-	-
South East	Imo	-	3	45	79	127	120	-	-	5	2	-
South East Total		6	25	141	304	476	437	11	-	17	11	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	17	2	18	37	22	-	-	15	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	3	2	14	4	23	22	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Cross River	1	2	-	50	53	52	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Delta	41	11	24	65	141	105	1	-	35	-	-
South South	Edo	6	40	139	135	320	264	22	4	29	1	-
South South	Rivers	17	25	28	64	134	117	-	-	11	6	-
South South Total		68	97	207	336	708	582	23	4	92	7	-
South West	Ekiti	6	4	24	22	56	45	8	-	3	-	-
South West	Lagos	5	1	8	12	26	17	3	-	6	-	-
South West	Ogun	24	21	29	25	99	53	6	-	35	5	-
South West	Ondo	10	3	72	58	143	105	24	5	9	-	-
South West	Osun	2	11	3	20	36	23	2	-	11	-	-
South West	Oyo	8	46	2	9	65	34	-	2	29	-	-
South West Total		55	86	138	146	425	277	43	7	93	5	-
Grand Total		1,677	5,907	7,762	6,275	21,621	11,185	7,899	184	2,264	85	4

Appendix 4A: Religious abductions in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2020

Geopolitical zone	State	2020						
		Total Abducted	Christians Abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslims Abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	-	-	10	-	88	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North West	Kaduna	458	312	35	-	50	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North West	Kano	-	-	9	-	91	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North West	Katsina	50	23	7	2	91	11.5	149.5
North West	Kebbi	30	28	10	2	88	14.0	123.2
North West	Sokoto	158	150	5	6	94	25.0	470.0
North West	Zamfara	11	7	5	-	94	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North West Total		707	520		10		52.0	394.3
North Central	Abuja FCT	38	36	50	-	30	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North Central	Benue	34	13	75	-	10	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North Central	Kogi	1	-	50	-	41	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North Central	Kwara	19	6	45	-	50	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North Central	Nasarawa	14	14	45	-	40	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North Central	Niger	240	151	25	47	70	3.2	9.0
North Central	Plateau	5	1	60	-	17	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North Central Total		351	221		47		4.7	9.9
North East	Adamawa	35	17	30	-	65	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North East	Bauchi	10	-	15	1	80	0.0	0.0
North East	Borno	349	130	20	33	60	3.9	11.8
North East	Gombe	-	-	30	-	55	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North East	Taraba	79	30	30	-	55	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North East	Yobe	17	12	10	-	87	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North East Total		490	189		34		5.6	17.2
South East	Abia	-	-	80	-	18	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South East	Anambra	2	-	80	-	15	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	67	-	23	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South East	Enugu	4	4	75	-	15	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Imo	-	-	80	-	18	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South East Total		6	4		-		only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	75	-	20	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South South	Bayelsa	3	3	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Cross River	1	-	72	-	18	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South South	Delta	41	15	76	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Edo	6	1	79	-	5	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Rivers	17	7	60	-	19	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South Total		68	26		-		only Chr. abductions	abductions reported
South West	Ekiti	6	5	60	-	25	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Lagos	5	-	83	-	12	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South West	Ogun	24	-	60	-	29	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South West	Ondo	10	7	55	-	30	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Osun	2	-	59	-	39	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South West	Oyo	8	5	55	-	43	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West Total		55	17		-		only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
Grand Total		1,677	977		91		10.7	55.1

Appendix 4B: Religious abductions Nigeria Oct 2020 – Sept 2021

Geopolitical zone	State	2021						
		Total Abducted	Christians Abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslims Abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	3	1	10	2	88	0.5	4.4
North West	Kaduna	1,430	1,093	35	253	50	4.3	6.2
North West	Kano	3	-	9	1	91	0.0	0.0
North West	Katsina	639	110	7	392	91	0.3	3.6
North West	Kebbi	225	115	10	83	88	1.4	12.2
North West	Sokoto	318	20	5	53	94	0.4	7.1
North West	Zamfara	1,198	198	5	800	94	0.2	4.7
North West Total		3,816	1,537		1,584		1.0	5.1
North Central	Abuja FCT	67	31	50	7	30	4.4	2.7
North Central	Benue	21	18	75	-	10	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North Central	Kogi	27	17	50	7	41	2.4	2.0
North Central	Kwara	29	8	45	4	50	2.0	2.2
North Central	Nasarawa	42	1	45	18	40	0.1	0.0
North Central	Niger	1,278	430	25	593	70	0.7	2.0
North Central	Plateau	44	39	60	4	17	9.8	2.8
North Central Total		1,508	544		633		0.9	2.0
North East	Adamawa	55	51	30	2	65	25.5	55.3
North East	Bauchi	4	3	15	1	80	3.0	16.0
North East	Borno	298	86	20	22	60	3.9	11.7
North East	Gombe	-	-	30	-	55	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North East	Taraba	17	12	30	1	55	12.0	22.0
North East	Yobe	1	-	10	-	87	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North East Total		375	152		26		5.8	15.6
South East	Abia	20	20	80	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Anambra	1	-	80	-	15	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	67	-	23	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South East	Enugu	1	1	75	-	15	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Imo	3	3	80	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East Total		25	24		-		only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South	Akwa Ibom	17	2	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Bayelsa	2	2	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Cross River	2	2	72	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Delta	11	2	76	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Edo	40	16	79	-	5	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Rivers	25	25	60	-	19	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South Total		97	49		-		only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South West	Ekiti	4	2	60	-	25	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Lagos	1	1	83	-	12	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Ogun	21	13	60	-	29	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Ondo	3	1	55	-	30	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Osun	11	5	59	-	39	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West	Oyo	46	18	55	-	43	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West Total		86	40		-		only Chr. abductions	only Chr. Abductions
Grand Total		5,907	2,346		2,243		1.0	4.4

Appendix 4C: Religious abductions in Nigeria Oct 2021 – Sept 2022

Geopolitical zone	State	2022						
		Total Abducted	Christians Abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslims Abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	2	1	10	-	88	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
North West	Kaduna	2,563	2,049	35	437	50	4.7	6.7
North West	Kano	11	3	9	8	91	0.4	3.8
North West	Katsina	415	134	7	198	91	0.7	8.8
North West	Kebbi	240	80	10	123	88	0.7	5.7
North West	Sokoto	340	115	5	216	94	0.5	10.0
North West	Zamfara	765	233	5	509	94	0.5	8.6
North West Total		4,336	2,615		1,491		1.8	8.0
North Central	Abuja FCT	124	51	50	34	30	1.5	0.9
North Central	Benue	17	14	75	-	10	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
North Central	Kogi	57	52	50	5	41	10.4	8.5
North Central	Kwara	30	19	45	10	50	1.9	2.1
North Central	Nasarawa	15	6	45	9	40	0.7	0.6
North Central	Niger	2,106	1,066	25	931	70	1.1	3.2
North Central	Plateau	169	137	60	32	17	4.3	1.2
North Central Total		2,518	1,345		1,021		1.3	3.1
North East	Adamawa	23	19	30	3	65	6.3	13.7
North East	Bauchi	5	1	15	4	80	0.3	1.3
North East	Borno	237	118	20	107	60	1.1	3.3
North East	Gombe	-	-	30	-	55	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
North East	Taraba	153	111	30	40	55	2.8	5.1
North East	Yobe	4	4	10	-	87	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
North East Total		422	253		154		1.6	4.1
South East	Abia	41	41	80	-	18	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South East	Anambra	11	8	80	-	15	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South East	Ebonyi	4	-	67	-	23	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South East	Enugu	40	40	75	-	15	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South East	Imo	45	39	80	-	18	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South East Total		141	128		-		only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South	Akwa Ibom	2	2	75	-	20	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South	Bayelsa	14	13	75	-	20	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South	Cross River	-	-	72	-	18	no rel. abductions	no rel. abductions
South South	Delta	24	24	76	-	18	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South	Edo	139	138	79	-	5	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South	Rivers	28	21	60	-	19	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South South Total		207	198		-		only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South West	Ekiti	24	22	60	2	25	11.0	4.6
South West	Lagos	8	5	83	2	12	2.5	0.4
South West	Ogun	29	18	60	3	29	6.0	2.9
South West	Ondo	72	45	55	18	30	2.5	1.4
South West	Osun	3	3	59	-	39	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South West	Oyo	2	2	55	-	43	only Chr. Abductions	only Chr. Abductions
South West Total		138	95		25		3.8	1.9
Grand Total		7,762	4,634		2,691		1.7	5.9

Appendix 4D: Religious abductions in Nigeria Oct 2022 – Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	State	2023						
		Total Abducted	Christians Abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslims Abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	2	-	10	2	88	0.0	0.0
North West	Kaduna	1,340	883	35	427	50	2.1	3.0
North West	Kano	6	-	9	6	91	0.0	0.0
North West	Katsina	476	126	7	349	91	0.4	4.7
North West	Kebbi	96	59	10	34	88	1.7	15.3
North West	Sokoto	210	50	5	160	94	0.3	5.9
North West	Zamfara	1,073	141	5	913	94	0.2	2.9
North West Total		3,203	1,259		1,891		0.7	3.7
North Central	Abuja FCT	238	162	50	74	30	2.2	1.3
North Central	Benue	59	54	75	3	10	18.0	2.4
North Central	Kogi	133	107	50	25	41	4.3	3.5
North Central	Kwara	76	54	45	20	50	2.7	3.0
North Central	Nasarawa	48	38	45	8	40	4.8	4.2
North Central	Niger	1,347	693	25	627	70	1.1	3.1
North Central	Plateau	73	59	60	11	17	5.4	1.5
North Central Total		1,974	1,167		768		1.5	2.9
North East	Adamawa	8	7	30	1	65	7.0	15.2
North East	Bauchi	34	8	15	23	80	0.3	1.9
North East	Borno	189	17	20	116	60	0.1	0.4
North East	Gombe	6	6	30	-	55	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North East	Taraba	75	49	30	23	55	2.1	3.9
North East	Yobe	-	-	10	-	87	only Chr. abductions	no rel. abductions
North East Total		312	87		163		0.5	1.3
South East	Abia	13	11	80	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Anambra	49	43	80	3	15	14.3	2.7
South East	Ebonyi	17	17	67	-	23	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Enugu	146	132	75	8	15	16.5	3.3
South East	Imo	79	78	80	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East Total		304	281		11		25.5	5.5
South South	Akwa Ibom	18	18	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Bayelsa	4	4	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Cross River	50	50	72	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Delta	65	64	76	1	18	64.0	15.2
South South	Edo	135	109	79	22	5	5.0	0.3
South South	Rivers	64	64	60	-	19	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South Total		336	309		23		13.4	2.6
South West	Ekiti	22	16	60	6	25	2.7	1.1
South West	Lagos	12	11	83	1	12	11.0	1.6
South West	Ogun	25	22	60	3	29	7.3	3.5
South West	Ondo	58	52	55	6	30	8.7	4.7
South West	Osun	20	15	59	2	39	7.5	5.0
South West	Oyo	9	9	55	-	43	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West Total		146	125		18		6.9	3.6
Grand Total		6,275	3,228		2,874		1.1	3.4

Appendix 4E: Religious abductions in Nigeria Oct 2019 – Sept 2023

Geopolitical zone	State	2020-2023						
		Total Abducted	Christians Abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslims Abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual ratio Christians to Muslims killed	Proportionate ratio Christians to Muslims killed
North West	Jigawa	7	2	10	4	88	0.5	4.4
North West	Kaduna	5,791	4,337	35	1,117	50	3.9	5.5
North West	Kano	20	3	9	15	91	0.2	2.0
North West	Katsina	1,580	393	7	941	91	0.4	5.4
North West	Kebbi	591	282	10	242	88	1.2	10.3
North West	Sokoto	1,026	335	5	435	94	0.8	14.5
North West	Zamfara	3,047	579	5	2,222	94	0.3	4.9
North West Total		12,062	5,931		4,976		1.2	6.2
North Central	Abuja FCT	467	280	50	115	30	2.4	1.5
North Central	Benue	131	99	75	3	10	33.0	4.4
North Central	Kogi	218	176	50	37	41	4.8	3.9
North Central	Kwara	154	87	45	34	50	2.6	2.8
North Central	Nasarawa	119	59	45	35	40	1.7	1.5
North Central	Niger	4,971	2,340	25	2,198	70	1.1	3.0
North Central	Plateau	291	236	60	47	17	5.0	1.4
North Central Total		6,351	3,277		2,469		1.3	2.9
North East	Adamawa	121	94	30	6	65	15.7	33.9
North East	Bauchi	53	12	15	29	80	0.4	2.2
North East	Borno	1,073	351	20	278	60	1.3	3.8
North East	Gombe	6	6	30	-	55	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North East	Taraba	324	202	30	64	55	3.2	5.8
North East	Yobe	22	16	10	-	87	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
North East Total		1,599	681		377		1.8	4.9
South East	Abia	74	72	80	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Anambra	63	51	80	3	15	17.0	3.2
South East	Ebonyi	21	17	67	-	23	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East	Enugu	191	177	75	8	15	22.1	4.4
South East	Imo	127	120	80	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South East Total		476	437		11		39.7	8.5
South South	Akwa Ibom	37	22	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Bayelsa	23	22	75	-	20	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Cross River	53	52	72	-	18	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South	Delta	141	105	76	1	18	105.0	24.9
South South	Edo	320	264	79	22	5	12.0	0.8
South South	Rivers	134	117	60	-	19	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South South Total		708	582		23		25.3	4.5
South West	Ekiti	56	45	60	8	25	5.6	2.3
South West	Lagos	26	17	83	3	12	5.7	0.8
South West	Ogun	99	53	60	6	29	8.8	4.3
South West	Ondo	143	105	55	24	30	4.4	2.4
South West	Osun	36	23	59	2	39	11.5	7.6
South West	Oyo	65	34	55	-	43	only Chr. abductions	only Chr. abductions
South West Total		425	277		43		6.4	3.4
Grand Total		21,621	11,185		7,899		1.4	5.1

Appendix 5A: Killing analysis: Community killings - Other killings (Oct 2019 - Sept 2020)

		2020																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total civilian victims	# of incidents with civilians killed	Community Killings								Other Killings								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	
North West	Jigawa	20	12	15	8	6	-	-	9	-	1	5	4	-	-	-	5	-	2	
North West	Kaduna	1,819	289	1,652	240	1,128	148	-	376	1	-	167	49	109	21	-	37	52	145	
North West	Kano	5	2	5	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North West	Katsina	576	97	550	85	122	155	-	273	23	12	26	12	1	5	-	20	42	365	
North West	Kebbi	75	17	75	17	42	9	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North West	Sokoto	142	17	117	14	4	94	-	19	-	1	25	3	22	-	-	3	-	111	
North West	Zamfara	254	40	244	35	32	82	-	130	-	106	10	5	-	4	-	6	15	460	
North West Total		2,891	474	2,658	401	1,334	488	-	836	24	120	233	73	132	30	-	71	109	1,083	
North Central	Abuja FCT	14	11	11	8	-	-	-	11	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	1	2	
North Central	Benue	357	104	313	87	167	4	-	142	-	-	44	17	32	-	-	12	1	19	
North Central	Kogi	99	31	83	24	57	-	-	26	-	-	16	7	1	3	-	12	3	10	
North Central	Kwara	4	4	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	
North Central	Nasarawa	67	22	55	15	8	-	-	47	-	-	12	7	3	-	-	9	1	6	
North Central	Niger	567	135	556	127	378	51	-	127	8	-	11	8	7	3	-	1	35	44	
North Central	Plateau	287	80	225	54	151	-	-	74	3	-	62	26	57	-	-	5	6	4	
North Central Total		1,395	387	1,245	317	761	55	-	429	11	-	150	70	101	6	-	43	47	85	
North East	Adamawa	253	37	229	29	113	-	-	116	6	-	24	8	2	-	-	22	4	25	
North East	Bauchi	13	5	11	3	-	-	-	11	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	
North East	Borno	1,880	195	1,681	158	764	365	-	552	73	39	199	37	84	62	-	53	675	1,733	
North East	Gombe	3	1	3	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North East	Taraba	301	67	256	54	163	-	-	93	-	2	45	13	31	-	-	14	-	20	
North East	Yobe	58	14	35	6	4	-	-	31	50	3	23	8	13	-	-	10	45	177	
North East Total		2,508	319	2,215	251	1,044	365	-	806	129	44	293	68	130	62	-	101	724	1,955	
South East	Abia	19	15	7	3	-	-	-	7	-	-	12	12	2	-	-	10	5	2	
South East	Anambra	32	16	25	11	-	-	-	25	-	-	7	5	-	-	-	7	2	-	
South East	Ebonyi	31	15	25	11	-	-	-	25	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	6	1	-	
South East	Enugu	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	
South East	Imo	25	17	18	12	-	-	-	18	-	-	7	5	-	-	-	7	1	4	
South East Total		108	64	75	37	-	-	-	75	-	-	33	27	2	-	-	31	9	8	
South South	Akwa Ibom	19	10	9	5	-	-	-	9	-	-	10	5	-	-	-	10	-	2	
South South	Bayelsa	52	21	31	12	9	-	-	22	4	-	21	9	5	-	-	16	6	6	
South South	Cross River	62	17	46	10	-	-	-	46	-	-	16	7	7	-	-	9	3	5	
South South	Delta	91	54	70	38	20	-	-	50	6	4	21	16	14	-	-	7	17	1	
South South	Edo	67	34	42	23	1	-	-	41	1	8	25	11	10	-	-	15	9	12	
South South	Rivers	54	30	48	26	6	-	-	42	-	-	6	4	3	-	-	3	1	13	
South South Total		345	166	246	114	36	-	-	210	11	12	99	52	39	-	-	60	36	39	
South West	Ekiti	18	8	12	3	10	-	-	2	-	-	6	5	2	-	-	4	-	-	
South West	Lagos	73	37	55	25	-	-	-	55	-	1	18	12	7	1	-	10	2	9	
South West	Ogun	28	18	19	11	6	-	-	13	1	1	9	7	2	-	-	7	7	2	
South West	Ondo	20	13	9	5	4	-	-	5	-	-	11	8	3	-	-	8	7	-	
South West	Osun	14	8	9	6	-	-	-	9	-	-	5	2	3	-	-	2	-	2	
South West	Oyo	34	25	22	17	1	1	-	20	-	-	12	8	2	1	-	9	-	1	
South West Total		187	109	126	67	21	1	-	104	1	2	61	42	19	2	-	40	16	14	
Grand Total		7,434	1,519	6,565	1,187	3,196	909	-	2,460	176	178	869	332	423	100	-	346	941	3,184	

Appendix 5B: Killing analysis: Community killings - Other killings (Oct 2020 - Sept 2021)

		2021																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total civilian victims	# of incidents with civilians killed	Community Killings								Other Killings								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	
North West	Jigawa	19	8	16	5	12	-	-	4	1	-	3	3	-	1	-	2	3	3	
North West	Kaduna	1,539	332	1,438	285	937	55	-	446	16	9	101	47	66	10	-	25	85	402	
North West	Kano	13	10	10	8	4	1	-	5	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	2	-	3	
North West	Katsina	487	101	415	91	84	101	11	219	5	6	72	10	20	9	-	43	9	350	
North West	Kebbi	520	35	487	31	339	110	13	25	24	23	33	4	29	3	-	1	11	7	
North West	Sokoto	313	46	288	38	23	107	-	158	21	3	25	8	5	5	-	15	40	18	
North West	Zamfara	1,020	103	1,000	94	46	368	-	586	39	72	20	9	-	4	-	16	26	733	
North West Total		3,911	635	3,654	552	1,445	742	24	1,443	106	113	257	83	120	33	-	104	174	1,516	
North Central	Abuja FCT	53	21	30	11	16	-	-	14	3	4	23	10	2	1	-	20	5	-	
North Central	Benue	1,224	182	1,126	150	893	-	-	233	14	5	98	32	46	-	-	52	11	66	
North Central	Kogi	58	25	48	18	3	-	-	45	4	-	10	7	2	1	-	7	2	27	
North Central	Kwara	42	24	23	11	-	-	-	23	-	-	19	13	-	8	-	11	-	-	
North Central	Nasarawa	75	22	66	18	32	10	-	24	9	1	9	4	4	2	-	3	-	4	
North Central	Niger	809	153	745	145	281	182	-	282	26	25	64	8	10	6	-	48	90	386	
North Central	Plateau	671	168	549	122	355	8	-	186	-	6	122	46	53	38	-	31	2	12	
North Central Total		2,932	595	2,587	475	1,580	200	-	807	56	41	345	120	117	56	-	172	110	495	
North East	Adamawa	130	25	113	20	38	-	-	75	1	3	17	5	-	-	-	17	1	12	
North East	Bauchi	11	9	8	6	-	3	-	5	1	-	3	3	-	2	-	1	-	-	
North East	Borno	702	92	600	69	100	137	-	363	119	241	102	23	13	3	-	86	1,093	1,473	
North East	Gombe	29	3	25	2	20	-	-	5	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	
North East	Taraba	161	40	144	30	108	-	-	36	2	1	17	10	3	8	-	6	5	1	
North East	Yobe	62	15	41	10	-	1	-	40	4	-	21	5	-	-	-	21	91	126	
North East Total		1,095	184	931	137	266	141	-	524	127	245	164	47	16	13	-	135	1,190	1,612	
South East	Abia	21	12	14	6	-	-	-	14	6	-	7	6	1	-	-	6	11	6	
South East	Anambra	190	51	141	31	66	-	-	75	21	-	49	20	9	19	-	21	36	8	
South East	Ebonyi	414	37	403	33	289	-	-	114	7	2	11	4	1	-	-	10	14	8	
South East	Enugu	85	22	71	17	57	-	-	14	4	-	14	5	10	-	-	4	15	8	
South East	Imo	385	52	60	26	-	-	-	60	6	4	325	26	267	29	-	29	117	72	
South East Total		1,095	174	689	113	412	-	-	277	44	6	406	61	288	48	-	70	193	102	
South South	Akwa Ibom	42	17	29	12	-	-	-	29	8	-	13	5	-	-	-	13	12	3	
South South	Bayelsa	19	12	16	9	-	-	-	16	-	-	3	3	1	-	-	2	1	2	
South South	Cross River	35	11	23	6	-	-	-	23	6	-	12	5	-	-	-	12	5	-	
South South	Delta	139	79	102	54	2	-	-	100	7	2	37	25	3	-	-	34	21	14	
South South	Edo	76	40	54	28	6	-	-	48	-	-	22	12	2	-	-	20	-	4	
South South	Rivers	105	41	70	28	3	-	-	67	19	-	35	13	7	-	-	28	24	14	
South South Total		416	200	294	137	11	-	-	283	40	2	122	63	13	-	-	109	63	37	
South West	Ekiti	33	19	27	13	2	-	-	25	-	-	6	6	1	-	-	5	-	2	
South West	Lagos	129	64	70	36	1	-	-	69	-	4	59	28	1	-	-	58	1	2	
South West	Ogun	81	35	54	23	16	-	-	38	3	-	27	12	4	1	-	22	2	10	
South West	Ondo	51	28	42	21	6	-	-	36	2	-	9	7	1	-	-	8	-	6	
South West	Osun	61	33	44	27	1	-	-	43	1	-	17	6	-	1	-	16	8	7	
South West	Oyo	136	67	92	43	21	-	-	71	3	2	44	24	6	2	-	36	7	2	
South West Total		491	246	329	163	47	-	-	282	9	6	162	83	13	4	-	145	18	29	
Grand Total		9,940	2,034	8,484	1,577	3,761	1,083	24	3,616	382	413	1,456	457	567	154	-	735	1,748	3,791	

Appendix 5C: Killing analysis: Community killings - Other killings (Oct 2021 - Sept 2022)

		2022																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total civilian victims	# of incidents with civilians killed	Community Killings								Other Killings								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	
North West	Jigawa	21	13	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	19	12	7	11	-	1	1	9	
North West	Kaduna	1,181	307	932	189	677	229	1	25	10	95	249	118	185	51	1	12	23	492	
North West	Kano	40	8	12	2	-	12	-	-	-	-	28	6	18	10	-	-	5	44	
North West	Katsina	296	86	236	58	60	148	-	28	5	83	60	28	11	34	-	15	23	222	
North West	Kebbi	318	36	244	25	118	96	21	9	9	18	74	11	64	10	-	-	134	62	
North West	Sokoto	374	42	310	29	107	172	-	31	1	19	64	13	16	17	-	31	-	149	
North West	Zamfara	934	90	832	68	210	614	-	8	5	152	102	22	23	54	-	25	47	456	
North West Total		3,164	582	2,568	372	1,174	1,271	22	101	32	367	596	210	324	187	1	84	233	1,434	
North Central	Abuja FCT	49	31	17	12	3	5	-	9	1	-	32	19	13	17	-	2	3	3	
North Central	Benue	516	110	412	73	391	-	1	20	4	3	104	37	104	-	-	-	6	45	
North Central	Kogi	58	31	15	7	10	-	-	5	-	-	43	24	31	8	2	2	12	18	
North Central	Kwara	26	21	4	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	22	17	14	4	-	4	-	21	
North Central	Nasarawa	89	10	50	3	39	11	-	-	-	-	39	7	34	5	-	-	3	2	
North Central	Niger	940	157	824	124	460	332	2	30	95	184	116	33	89	25	-	2	68	823	
North Central	Plateau	398	102	204	51	163	34	-	7	3	191	194	51	171	22	-	1	7	20	
North Central Total		2,076	462	1,526	274	1,067	382	3	74	103	378	550	188	456	81	2	11	99	932	
North East	Adamawa	104	23	90	13	83	4	-	3	-	-	14	10	11	2	-	1	11	27	
North East	Bauchi	43	17	20	8	4	15	-	1	-	-	23	9	14	8	1	-	-	5	
North East	Borno	400	58	300	31	141	150	-	9	37	575	100	27	43	42	-	15	205	2,155	
North East	Gombe	35	10	24	5	24	-	-	-	1	1	11	5	4	6	-	1	-	-	
North East	Taraba	611	59	472	41	407	23	2	40	16	53	139	18	117	21	1	-	12	15	
North East	Yobe	25	8	20	3	16	4	-	-	5	7	5	5	2	3	-	-	7	53	
North East Total		1,218	175	926	101	675	196	2	53	59	636	292	74	191	82	2	17	235	2,255	
South East	Abia	76	16	57	5	7	8	-	42	-	-	19	11	19	-	-	-	4	12	
South East	Anambra	151	57	53	7	47	4	-	2	1	20	98	50	88	5	-	5	47	85	
South East	Ebonyi	107	30	46	6	42	1	-	3	2	4	61	24	60	-	-	1	16	17	
South East	Enugu	97	47	52	16	51	-	-	1	2	-	45	31	43	1	-	1	29	3	
South East	Imo	144	56	84	17	80	-	-	4	16	-	60	39	56	3	-	1	26	34	
South East Total		575	206	292	51	227	13	-	52	21	24	283	155	266	9	-	8	122	151	
South South	Akwa Ibom	37	19	6	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	31	17	29	2	-	-	1	4	
South South	Bayelsa	27	19	3	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	24	17	22	1	-	1	3	13	
South South	Cross River	70	14	52	8	49	-	-	3	1	-	18	6	16	-	-	2	4	19	
South South	Delta	68	50	13	8	5	-	-	8	-	3	55	42	52	3	-	-	5	70	
South South	Edo	33	16	18	5	16	-	-	2	1	1	15	11	15	-	-	-	4	51	
South South	Rivers	39	22	19	8	10	-	-	9	-	-	20	14	16	-	3	1	9	13	
South South Total		274	140	111	33	86	-	-	25	3	4	163	107	150	6	3	4	26	170	
South West	Ekiti	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5	5	5	-	-	-	1	1	
South West	Lagos	70	44	12	9	1	1	1	9	-	3	58	35	40	9	-	9	4	30	
South West	Ogun	57	33	5	3	3	2	-	-	1	-	52	30	32	10	4	6	7	22	
South West	Ondo	111	32	64	6	63	-	-	1	-	-	47	26	38	1	-	8	1	4	
South West	Osun	58	36	7	6	2	-	-	5	1	1	51	30	39	9	-	3	1	7	
South West	Oyo	43	25	10	4	10	-	-	-	-	-	33	21	28	4	-	1	6	10	
South West Total		344	175	98	28	79	3	1	15	4	4	246	147	182	33	4	27	20	74	
Grand Total		7,651	1,740	5,521	859	3,308	1,865	28	320	222	1,413	2,130	881	1,569	398	12	151	735	5,016	

Appendix 5D: Killing analysis: Community killings - Other killings (Oct 2022 - Sept 2023)

		2023																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total civilian victims	# of incidents with civilians killed	Community Killings								Other Killings								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	
North West	Jigawa	14	9	8	3	-	8	-	-	-	2	6	6	-	6	-	-	-	1	1
North West	Kaduna	555	193	481	151	397	83	-	1	1	13	74	42	49	24	-	-	1	23	354
North West	Kano	57	16	33	8	7	26	-	-	-	1	24	8	4	20	-	-	-	-	3
North West	Katsina	249	70	236	61	86	146	4	-	50	9	13	9	2	11	-	-	9	152	
North West	Kebbi	136	15	131	11	64	67	-	-	6	2	5	4	-	5	-	-	3	33	
North West	Sokoto	173	39	145	28	32	109	1	3	9	2	28	11	-	28	-	-	7	114	
North West	Zamfara	476	95	391	70	67	324	-	-	70	238	85	25	13	70	-	2	55	540	
North West Total		1,660	437	1,425	332	653	763	5	4	136	267	235	105	68	164	-	3	98	1,197	
North Central	Abuja FCT	40	33	18	14	12	6	-	-	-	-	22	19	10	8	1	3	3	1	
North Central	Benue	1,088	153	1,037	135	995	4	7	31	8	9	51	18	45	4	2	-	12	18	
North Central	Kogi	73	30	47	18	29	17	1	-	-	6	26	12	13	8	1	4	4	2	
North Central	Kwara	30	24	12	11	8	4	-	-	-	1	18	13	10	6	1	1	1	11	
North Central	Nasarawa	252	31	238	20	149	89	-	-	-	1	14	11	11	3	-	-	5	20	
North Central	Niger	300	97	239	75	145	92	1	1	37	80	61	22	22	34	1	4	87	483	
North Central	Plateau	603	166	566	136	525	41	-	-	-	5	37	30	25	10	2	-	1	33	
North Central Total		2,386	534	2,157	409	1,863	253	9	32	45	102	229	125	136	73	8	12	113	568	
North East	Adamawa	41	23	27	11	25	2	-	-	-	-	14	12	7	7	-	-	1	24	
North East	Bauchi	83	27	70	17	23	47	-	-	1	3	13	10	1	12	-	-	-	69	
North East	Borno	306	49	225	29	55	170	-	-	20	368	81	20	3	71	-	7	123	3,085	
North East	Gombe	11	8	8	5	5	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	1	2	-	-	-	3	
North East	Taraba	244	33	217	24	142	58	17	-	3	5	27	9	10	17	-	-	-	31	
North East	Yobe	15	5	13	3	-	13	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	40	
North East Total		700	145	560	89	250	293	17	-	24	376	140	56	23	110	-	7	124	3,252	
South East	Abia	30	11	12	3	12	-	-	-	1	-	18	8	18	-	-	-	7	19	
South East	Anambra	98	50	37	17	37	-	-	-	5	13	61	33	58	1	2	-	46	67	
South East	Ebonyi	67	33	48	20	48	-	-	-	2	-	19	13	17	-	-	2	13	19	
South East	Enugu	165	52	134	33	131	2	-	1	-	2	31	19	31	-	-	-	27	23	
South East	Imo	135	46	90	18	87	3	-	-	6	-	45	28	43	2	-	-	30	18	
South East Total		495	192	321	91	315	5	-	1	14	15	174	101	167	3	2	2	123	146	
South South	Akwa Ibom	43	12	30	5	27	-	-	3	-	-	13	7	7	-	-	6	3	6	
South South	Bayelsa	20	14	12	9	12	-	-	-	-	-	8	5	7	1	-	-	1	3	
South South	Cross River	28	14	7	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	21	13	20	-	1	-	1	6	
South South	Delta	98	55	40	18	29	11	-	-	6	-	58	37	50	3	3	2	23	35	
South South	Edo	62	29	35	13	29	-	-	6	4	1	27	16	22	1	3	1	7	7	
South South	Rivers	83	41	46	16	44	-	2	-	4	-	37	25	33	1	3	-	8	51	
South South Total		334	165	170	62	148	11	2	9	14	1	164	103	139	6	10	9	43	108	
South West	Ekiti	11	9	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	9	7	6	3	-	-	-	-	
South West	Lagos	80	57	16	11	13	-	2	1	1	2	64	46	47	8	8	1	6	5	
South West	Ogun	55	34	28	17	20	3	5	-	-	10	27	17	14	2	11	-	1	16	
South West	Ondo	53	33	27	14	17	2	2	6	-	-	26	19	19	2	4	1	3	4	
South West	Osun	36	22	15	9	10	2	-	3	-	-	21	13	11	6	3	1	-	7	
South West	Oyo	45	21	21	7	8	12	1	-	1	-	24	14	17	5	1	1	3	6	
South West Total		280	176	109	60	69	19	10	11	2	12	171	116	114	26	27	4	13	38	
Grand Total		5,855	1,649	4,742	1,043	3,298	1,344	43	57	235	773	1,113	606	647	382	47	37	514	5,309	

Appendix 5E: Killing analysis: Community killings - Other killings (Oct 2019 - Sept 2023)

		2020-2023																	
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total civilian victims	# of incidents with civilians killed	Community Killings								Other Killings							
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	Jigawa	74	42	41	17	20	8	-	13	3	3	33	25	7	18	-	8	5	15
North West	Kaduna	5,094	1,121	4,503	865	3,139	515	1	848	28	117	591	256	409	106	1	75	183	1,393
North West	Kano	115	36	60	20	11	39	-	10	-	1	55	16	22	31	-	2	5	50
North West	Katsina	1,608	354	1,437	295	352	550	15	520	83	110	171	59	34	59	-	78	83	1,089
North West	Kebbi	1,049	103	937	84	563	282	34	58	39	43	112	19	93	18	-	1	148	102
North West	Sokoto	1,002	144	860	109	166	482	1	211	31	25	142	35	43	50	-	49	47	392
North West	Zamfara	2,684	328	2,467	267	355	1,388	-	724	114	568	217	61	36	132	-	49	143	2,189
North West Total		11,626	2,128	10,305	1,657	4,606	3,264	51	2,384	298	867	1,321	471	644	414	1	262	614	5,230
North Central	Abuja FCT	156	96	76	45	31	11	-	34	4	4	80	51	25	26	1	28	12	6
North Central	Benue	3,185	549	2,888	445	2,446	8	8	426	26	17	297	104	227	4	2	64	30	148
North Central	Kogi	288	117	193	67	99	17	1	76	4	6	95	50	47	20	3	25	21	57
North Central	Kwara	102	73	41	28	9	4	-	28	-	1	61	45	25	18	1	17	1	32
North Central	Nasarawa	483	85	409	56	228	110	-	71	9	2	74	29	52	10	-	12	9	32
North Central	Niger	2,616	542	2,364	471	1,264	657	3	440	166	289	252	71	128	68	1	55	280	1,736
North Central	Plateau	1,959	516	1,544	363	1,194	83	-	267	6	202	415	153	306	70	2	37	16	69
North Central Total		8,789	1,978	7,515	1,475	5,271	890	12	1,342	215	521	1,274	503	810	216	10	238	369	2,080
North East	Adamawa	528	108	459	73	259	6	-	194	7	3	69	35	20	9	-	40	17	88
North East	Bauchi	150	58	109	34	27	65	-	17	2	3	41	24	15	22	1	3	-	74
North East	Borno	3,288	394	2,806	287	1,060	822	-	924	249	1,223	482	107	143	178	-	161	2,096	8,446
North East	Gombe	78	22	60	13	49	3	-	8	1	1	18	9	5	8	-	5	-	3
North East	Taraba	1,317	199	1,089	149	820	81	19	169	21	61	228	50	161	46	1	20	17	67
North East	Yobe	160	42	109	22	20	18	-	71	59	10	51	20	16	4	-	31	143	396
North East Total		5,521	823	4,632	578	2,235	995	19	1,383	339	1,301	889	245	360	267	2	260	2,273	9,074
South East	Abia	146	54	90	17	19	8	-	63	7	-	56	37	40	-	-	16	27	39
South East	Anambra	471	174	256	66	150	4	-	102	27	33	215	108	155	25	2	33	131	160
South East	Ebonyi	619	115	522	70	379	1	-	142	11	6	97	45	78	-	-	19	44	44
South East	Enugu	348	122	257	66	239	2	-	16	6	2	91	56	84	1	-	6	71	36
South East	Imo	689	171	252	73	167	3	-	82	28	4	437	98	366	34	-	37	174	128
South East Total		2,273	636	1,377	292	954	18	-	405	79	45	896	344	723	60	2	111	447	407
South South	Akwa Ibom	141	58	74	24	33	-	-	41	8	-	67	34	36	2	-	29	16	15
South South	Bayelsa	118	66	62	32	21	-	-	41	5	-	56	34	35	2	-	19	11	24
South South	Cross River	195	56	128	25	56	-	-	72	7	-	67	31	43	-	1	23	13	30
South South	Delta	396	238	225	118	56	11	-	158	19	9	171	120	119	6	3	43	66	120
South South	Edo	238	119	149	69	52	-	-	97	6	10	89	50	49	1	3	36	20	74
South South	Rivers	281	134	183	78	63	-	2	118	23	-	98	56	59	1	6	32	42	91
South South Total		1,369	671	821	346	281	11	2	527	68	19	548	325	341	12	13	182	168	354
South West	Ekiti	67	41	41	18	13	-	-	28	2	-	26	23	14	3	-	9	1	3
South West	Lagos	352	202	153	81	15	1	3	134	1	10	199	121	95	18	8	78	13	46
South West	Ogun	221	120	106	54	45	5	5	51	5	11	115	66	52	13	15	35	17	50
South West	Ondo	235	106	142	46	90	2	2	48	2	-	93	60	61	3	4	25	11	14
South West	Osun	169	99	75	48	13	2	-	60	2	1	94	51	53	16	3	22	9	23
South West	Oyo	258	138	145	71	40	13	1	91	4	2	113	67	53	12	1	47	16	19
South West Total		1,302	706	662	318	216	23	11	412	16	24	640	388	328	65	31	216	67	155
Grand Total		30,880	6,942	25,312	4,666	13,563	5,201	95	6,453	1,015	2,777	5,568	2,276	3,206	1,034	59	1,269	3,938	17,300

Appendix 6A: Abduction analysis: Community abductions - Other abductions (Oct 2019 - Sept 2020)

		2020																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total of civilian abductions	Grand total # of incidents with civilian abductions	Community Abductions								Other Abductions								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	
North West	Jigawa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	457	49	419	34	286	-	-	133	1	-	38	15	26	-	-	12	-	-	-
North West	Kano	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	50	10	41	6	18	-	-	23	-	-	9	4	5	2	-	2	-	-	-
North West	Kebbi	30	5	28	3	28	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Sokoto	158	3	8	2	-	6	-	2	-	-	150	1	150	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Zamfara	11	2	7	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
North West Total		706	69	503	46	339	6	-	158	1	-	203	23	181	4	-	18	-	-	-
North Central	Abuja FCT	38	3	38	3	36	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Benue	34	9	22	4	4	-	-	18	-	-	12	5	9	-	-	3	-	-	-
North Central	Kogi	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	19	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	3	6	-	-	13	-	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	14	1	14	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Niger	240	44	216	36	134	40	-	42	-	-	24	8	17	7	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Plateau	5	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	3	-	-	-
North Central Total		351	64	292	46	188	40	-	64	-	-	59	18	33	7	-	19	-	-	-
North East	Adamawa	35	7	29	5	13	-	-	16	-	-	6	2	4	-	-	2	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	10	2	9	1	-	-	-	9	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Borno	347	63	140	28	84	33	-	23	2	-	207	35	46	-	-	161	-	-	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	77	12	57	5	24	-	-	33	2	-	20	7	6	-	-	14	-	-	-
North East	Yobe	17	7	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	15	6	12	-	-	3	-	-	-
North East Total		486	91	237	40	121	33	-	83	4	-	249	51	68	1	-	180	-	-	-
South East	Abia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	4	-	-	2	-	-	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South South	Delta	41	10	22	4	-	-	-	22	-	-	19	6	15	-	-	4	-	-	-
South South	Edo	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	1	-	-	5	-	-	-
South South	Rivers	11	3	4	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	7	1	7	-	-	-	-	6	-
South South Total		62	17	26	6	-	-	-	26	-	-	36	11	26	-	-	10	6	-	-
South West	Ekiti	6	3	4	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Lagos	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	23	2	19	1	-	-	-	19	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	4	1	-	-
South West	Ondo	10	5	3	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	7	4	4	-	-	3	-	-	-
South West	Osun	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Oyo	8	4	3	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West Total		54	17	31	6	6	-	-	25	-	-	23	11	11	-	-	12	1	-	-
Grand Total		1,665	260	1,089	144	654	79	-	356	5	-	576	116	323	12	-	241	7	-	-

Appendix 6B: Abduction analysis: Community abductions - Other abductions (Oct 2020 - Sept 2021)

		2021																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total of civilian abductions	Grand total # of incidents with civilian abductions	Community Abductions								Other Abductions								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	
North West	Jigawa	3	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	
North West	Kaduna	1,430	127	1,173	99	888	217	-	68	-	-	257	28	205	36	-	16	-	-	
North West	Kano	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	
North West	Katsina	639	49	621	41	108	380	-	133	-	-	18	8	2	12	-	4	-	-	
North West	Kebbi	225	21	189	19	85	77	-	27	-	-	36	2	30	6	-	-	-	-	
North West	Sokoto	318	15	207	12	20	53	-	134	-	-	111	3	-	-	-	111	-	-	
North West	Zamfara	1,198	34	1,180	29	198	786	-	196	-	-	18	5	-	14	-	4	-	-	
North West Total		3,816	251	3,373	202	1,299	1,514	-	560	-	-	443	49	238	70	-	135	-	-	
North Central	Abuja FCT	67	15	37	7	12	1	-	24	-	-	30	8	19	6	-	5	-	-	
North Central	Benue	21	14	17	11	14	-	-	3	-	-	4	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Kogi	27	10	15	6	12	-	-	3	-	-	12	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Kwara	29	9	10	3	3	-	-	7	-	-	19	6	5	4	-	10	-	-	
North Central	Nasarawa	42	7	39	5	1	17	-	21	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	
North Central	Niger	1,278	303	1,234	288	420	584	4	226	-	-	44	15	10	9	-	25	-	-	
North Central	Plateau	44	22	39	17	36	2	-	1	-	-	5	5	3	2	-	-	-	-	
North Central Total		1,508	380	1,391	337	498	604	4	285	-	-	117	43	46	29	-	42	-	-	
North East	Adamawa	55	4	53	3	51	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	
North East	Bauchi	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	
North East	Borno	298	35	287	33	86	22	-	179	-	-	11	2	-	-	-	11	-	-	
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North East	Taraba	17	14	10	8	8	-	-	2	-	-	7	6	4	1	-	2	-	-	
North East	Yobe	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North East Total		375	56	351	45	145	22	-	184	-	-	24	11	7	4	-	13	-	-	
South East	Abia	20	6	16	3	16	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	
South East	Anambra	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
South East	Enugu	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
South East	Imo	3	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	
South East Total		25	10	17	4	17	-	-	-	-	-	8	6	7	-	-	1	-	-	
South South	Akwa Ibom	17	3	15	1	-	-	-	15	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	
South South	Bayelsa	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	
South South	Cross River	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
South South	Delta	11	4	4	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	7	2	2	-	-	5	-	-	
South South	Edo	40	7	21	3	11	-	-	10	-	-	19	4	5	-	-	14	-	-	
South South	Rivers	25	6	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	24	5	24	-	-	-	-	-	
South South Total		97	24	42	8	13	-	-	29	-	-	55	16	36	-	-	19	-	-	
South West	Ekiti	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	2	-	-	2	-	-	
South West	Lagos	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Ogun	21	7	18	5	10	-	-	8	-	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Ondo	3	2	3	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Osun	11	3	6	2	-	-	-	6	-	-	5	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Oyo	46	10	45	9	18	-	2	25	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	
South West Total		86	26	72	18	29	-	2	41	-	-	14	8	11	-	-	3	-	-	
Grand Total		5,907	747	5,246	614	2,001	2,140	6	1,099	-	-	661	133	345	103	-	213	-	-	

Appendix 6C: Abduction analysis: Community abductions - Other abductions (Oct 2021 - Sept 2022)

		2022																		
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total of civilian abductions	Grand total # of incidents with civilian abductions	Community Abductions								Other Abductions								
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	
North West	Jigawa	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North West	Kaduna	2,556	228	1,817	172	1,434	327	21	35	3	1	739	56	615	110	-	14	3	-	
North West	Kano	11	6	6	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	5	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	
North West	Katsina	408	61	341	42	107	182	-	52	6	-	67	19	27	16	-	24	1	-	
North West	Kebbi	240	16	121	10	42	42	21	16	-	-	119	6	38	81	-	-	-	-	
North West	Sokoto	340	26	231	17	83	147	-	1	-	-	109	9	32	69	-	8	-	-	
North West	Zamfara	764	53	608	35	121	465	5	17	-	-	156	18	112	44	-	-	1	-	
North West Total		4,320	391	3,125	279	1,788	1,169	47	121	10	1	1,195	112	827	322	-	46	5	-	
North Central	Abuja FCT	110	22	77	10	24	28	1	24	14	-	33	12	27	6	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Benue	17	13	14	10	11	-	-	3	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Kogi	57	15	8	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	49	13	44	5	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Kwara	30	9	16	4	6	9	-	1	-	-	14	5	13	1	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Nasarawa	15	7	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	13	6	6	7	-	-	-	-	
North Central	Niger	2,103	189	1,901	148	919	881	80	21	-	-	202	41	147	50	-	5	3	-	
North Central	Plateau	169	40	42	11	30	12	-	-	-	-	127	29	107	20	-	-	-	-	
North Central Total		2,501	295	2,060	186	998	932	81	49	14	-	441	109	347	89	-	5	3	-	
North East	Adamawa	22	15	3	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	19	12	18	1	-	-	1	-	
North East	Bauchi	5	2	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	
North East	Borno	225	16	49	4	34	15	-	-	-	-	176	12	84	92	-	-	11	1	
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
North East	Taraba	153	18	109	14	77	30	-	2	-	-	44	4	34	10	-	-	-	-	
North East	Yobe	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	
North East Total		409	52	164	22	113	49	-	2	-	-	245	30	140	105	-	-	12	1	
South East	Abia	41	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	7	41	-	-	-	-	-	
South East	Anambra	10	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	7	8	-	-	2	1	-	
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	
South East	Enugu	40	10	11	3	11	-	-	-	-	-	29	7	29	-	-	-	-	-	
South East	Imo	44	12	31	5	28	-	-	3	-	-	13	7	11	-	-	2	1	-	
South East Total		135	36	42	8	39	-	-	3	-	-	93	28	89	-	-	4	6	-	
South South	Akwa Ibom	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	
South South	Bayelsa	14	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	5	13	-	-	1	-	-	
South South	Cross River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
South South	Delta	24	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	5	24	-	-	-	-	-	
South South	Edo	138	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	138	7	138	-	-	-	1	-	
South South	Rivers	28	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	6	21	-	-	7	-	-	
South South Total		206	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	206	25	198	-	-	8	1	-	
South West	Ekiti	24	6	5	2	3	2	-	-	-	-	19	4	19	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Lagos	8	3	3	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	5	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Ogun	25	9	9	3	6	3	-	-	-	-	16	6	12	-	-	4	4	-	
South West	Ondo	72	9	5	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	67	8	45	18	-	4	-	-	
South West	Osun	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	
South West	Oyo	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	
South West Total		134	30	22	8	9	7	5	1	-	-	112	22	86	18	-	8	4	-	
Grand Total		7,705	829	5,413	503	2,947	2,157	133	176	24	1	2,292	326	1,687	534	-	71	31	1	

Appendix 6D: Abduction analysis: Community abductions - Other abductions (Oct 2022 - Sept 2023)

		2023																	
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total of civilian abductions	Grand total # of incidents with civilian abductions	Community Abductions								Other Abductions							
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims
North West	Jigawa	2	1	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	1,339	162	1,153	133	770	354	4	25	-	-	186	29	113	73	-	-	1	-
North West	Kano	6	5	6	5	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	476	68	435	62	118	316	1	-	-	41	6	8	33	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kebbi	96	16	96	16	59	34	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Sokoto	210	21	174	17	42	132	-	-	-	-	36	4	8	28	-	-	-	-
North West	Zamfara	1,071	63	706	48	119	575	8	4	-	-	365	15	22	338	-	5	2	-
North West Total		3,200	336	2,572	282	1,108	1,419	13	32	-	-	628	54	151	472	-	5	3	-
North Central	Abuja FCT	237	37	225	29	153	72	-	-	1	-	12	8	9	2	-	1	-	-
North Central	Benue	58	18	29	10	28	-	-	1	-	-	29	8	26	3	-	-	1	-
North Central	Kogi	133	19	45	10	38	7	-	-	-	-	88	9	69	18	1	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	75	19	67	16	47	19	1	-	-	-	8	3	7	1	-	-	1	-
North Central	Nasarawa	47	13	21	6	16	5	-	-	-	-	26	7	22	3	1	-	1	-
North Central	Niger	1,345	116	1,270	108	663	584	23	-	2	-	75	8	30	43	2	-	-	-
North Central	Plateau	70	32	56	24	48	8	-	-	-	-	14	8	11	3	-	-	3	-
North Central Total		1,965	254	1,713	203	993	695	24	1	3	-	252	51	174	73	4	1	6	-
North East	Adamawa	8	5	8	5	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	31	16	26	13	7	19	-	-	-	2	5	3	1	4	-	-	1	-
North East	Borno	189	26	170	23	17	104	-	49	-	-	19	3	-	12	-	7	-	-
North East	Gombe	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	6	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	75	13	57	10	38	19	-	-	-	-	18	3	11	4	-	3	-	-
North East	Yobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		309	62	261	51	69	143	-	49	-	2	48	11	18	20	-	10	1	-
South East	Abia	11	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	2	10	-	-	-	2	-
South East	Anambra	47	19	24	14	22	1	-	1	1	-	23	5	21	2	-	-	1	-
South East	Ebonyi	17	4	17	4	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	146	20	118	14	110	8	-	-	-	-	28	6	22	-	-	6	-	-
South East	Imo	78	21	30	12	30	-	-	-	1	-	48	9	48	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		299	67	190	45	180	9	-	1	2	-	109	22	101	2	-	6	3	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	18	7	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	16	5	16	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	4	2	4	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	50	12	22	6	22	-	-	-	-	-	28	6	28	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	65	11	60	7	60	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	4	1	-	-	-	-
South South	Edo	135	16	66	8	49	13	4	-	-	-	69	8	60	9	-	-	-	-
South South	Rivers	64	18	36	8	36	-	-	-	-	-	28	10	28	-	-	-	-	-
South South Total		336	66	190	33	173	13	4	-	-	-	146	33	136	10	-	-	-	-
South West	Ekiti	22	7	10	4	10	-	-	-	-	-	12	3	6	6	-	-	-	-
South West	Lagos	12	3	3	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	9	2	8	1	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	25	9	23	8	20	3	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ondo	58	13	34	7	33	1	-	-	-	-	24	6	19	5	-	-	-	-
South West	Osun	20	13	12	8	7	2	-	3	-	-	8	5	8	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Oyo	9	4	5	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	4	-	-	-	-	-
South West Total		146	49	87	30	78	6	-	3	-	-	59	19	47	12	-	-	-	-
Grand Total		6,255	834	5,013	644	2,601	2,285	41	86	5	2	1,242	190	627	589	4	22	13	-

Appendix 6E: Abduction analysis: Community abductions - Other abductions (Oct 2019 - Sept 2023)

		2020-2023																	
Geopolitical zone	State	Grand total of civilian abductions	Grand total # of incidents with civilian abductions	Community Abductions								Other Abductions							
				Total community victims	Total community incidents	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims	Total victims otherwise	Total incidents otherwise	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATRs abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces victims	Terror Groups victims
North West	Jigawa	6	5	4	3	1	3	-	-	1	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	5,782	566	4,562	438	3,378	898	25	261	4	1	1,220	128	959	219	-	42	4	-
North West	Kano	20	13	14	8	-	12	-	2	-	-	6	5	3	3	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	1,573	188	1,438	151	351	878	1	208	6	-	135	37	42	63	-	30	1	-
North West	Kebbi	591	58	434	48	214	153	21	46	-	-	157	10	68	89	-	-	-	-
North West	Sokoto	1,026	65	620	48	145	338	-	137	-	-	406	17	190	97	-	119	-	-
North West	Zamfara	3,044	152	2,501	113	445	1,826	13	217	-	-	543	39	134	396	-	13	3	-
North West Total		12,042	1,047	9,573	809	4,534	4,108	60	871	11	1	2,469	238	1,397	868	-	204	8	-
North Central	Abuja FCT	452	77	377	49	225	101	1	50	15	-	75	28	55	14	-	6	-	-
North Central	Benue	130	54	82	35	57	-	-	25	-	-	48	19	42	3	-	3	1	-
North Central	Kogi	218	45	69	19	58	7	-	4	-	-	149	26	118	30	1	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	153	40	93	23	56	28	1	8	-	-	60	17	31	6	-	23	1	-
North Central	Nasarawa	118	28	76	13	31	24	-	21	-	-	42	15	28	11	1	2	1	-
North Central	Niger	4,966	652	4,621	580	2,136	2,089	107	289	2	-	345	72	204	109	2	30	3	-
North Central	Plateau	288	97	138	53	114	22	-	2	-	-	150	44	122	25	-	3	3	-
North Central Total		6,325	993	5,456	772	2,677	2,271	109	399	17	-	869	221	600	198	4	67	9	-
North East	Adamawa	120	31	93	16	72	3	-	18	-	-	27	15	22	3	-	2	1	-
North East	Bauchi	50	22	38	15	8	21	-	9	-	2	12	7	4	8	-	-	1	-
North East	Borno	1,059	140	646	88	221	174	-	251	2	-	413	52	130	104	-	179	11	1
North East	Gombe	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	6	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	322	57	233	37	147	49	-	37	2	-	89	20	55	15	-	19	-	-
North East	Yobe	22	9	3	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	19	7	16	-	-	3	-	-
North East Total		1,579	261	1,013	158	448	247	-	318	4	2	566	103	233	130	-	203	13	1
South East	Abia	72	16	17	4	17	-	-	-	-	-	55	12	55	-	-	-	2	-
South East	Anambra	60	28	24	14	22	1	-	1	1	-	36	14	29	2	-	5	2	-
South East	Ebonyi	17	4	17	4	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
South East	Enugu	191	32	129	17	121	8	-	-	-	-	62	15	56	-	-	6	-	-
South East	Imo	125	35	62	18	59	-	-	3	1	-	63	17	61	-	-	2	1	-
South East Total		465	115	249	57	236	9	-	4	2	-	216	58	201	2	-	13	9	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	37	12	17	3	2	-	-	15	-	-	20	9	20	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	23	10	4	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	19	8	18	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Cross River	53	15	23	7	23	-	-	-	-	-	30	8	29	-	-	1	-	-
South South	Delta	141	30	86	13	60	-	-	26	-	-	55	17	45	1	-	9	-	-
South South	Edo	319	32	87	11	60	13	4	10	-	-	232	21	204	9	-	19	1	-
South South	Rivers	128	33	41	11	37	-	-	4	-	-	87	22	80	-	-	7	6	-
South South Total		701	132	258	47	186	13	4	55	-	-	443	85	396	10	-	37	7	-
South West	Ekiti	56	19	19	8	16	2	-	1	-	-	37	11	29	6	-	2	-	-
South West	Lagos	26	9	6	3	3	2	-	1	-	-	20	6	14	1	-	5	-	-
South West	Ogun	94	27	69	17	36	6	-	27	-	-	25	10	17	-	-	8	5	-
South West	Ondo	143	29	45	11	37	1	5	2	-	-	98	18	68	23	-	7	-	-
South West	Osun	36	19	20	11	7	2	-	11	-	-	16	8	16	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Oyo	65	19	53	12	23	-	2	28	-	-	12	7	11	-	-	1	-	-
South West Total		420	122	212	62	122	13	7	70	-	-	208	60	155	30	-	23	5	-
Grand Total		21,532	2,670	16,761	1,905	8,203	6,661	180	1,717	34	3	4,771	765	2,982	1,238	4	547	51	1

Appendix 7A: Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2020)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020												
		Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	23	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	3	8	2	-	3
North West	Kaduna	2,017	30	26	17	91	240	217	196	196	119	401	413	71
North West	Kano	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	1,018	-	2	2	27	37	26	180	287	230	116	41	70
North West	Kebbi	75	1	-	4	21	5	40	1	-	1	-	1	1
North West	Sokoto	254	5	-	1	22	-	4	24	79	100	15	1	3
North West	Zamfara	835	89	51	1	47	26	77	128	215	117	63	7	14
North West Total		4,227	128	79	27	208	309	369	530	780	575	598	462	162
North Central	Abuja FCT	17	3	1	-	3	1	1	6	-	2	-	-	-
North Central	Benue	377	-	3	-	7	7	69	49	80	105	21	28	8
North Central	Kogi	112	-	6	6	24	4	3	6	4	15	25	16	3
North Central	Kwara	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	74	-	-	-	8	-	-	4	25	2	20	8	7
North Central	Niger	654	15	18	34	27	29	57	60	168	31	37	72	106
North Central	Plateau	300	4	1	2	71	19	41	56	16	42	21	10	17
North Central Total		1,538	22	29	42	141	60	172	181	294	198	124	134	141
North East	Adamawa	288	7	28	4	65	10	5	39	78	41	11	-	-
North East	Bauchi	13	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	10	-	1	-
North East	Borno	4,400	256	168	317	426	269	167	143	628	902	400	372	352
North East	Gombe	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
North East	Taraba	323	-	12	2	18	4	6	33	124	102	12	6	4
North East	Yobe	333	4	22	32	74	3	20	119	34	6	1	6	12
North East Total		5,360	267	230	355	584	286	198	334	865	1,061	427	385	368
South East	Abia	26	-	-	-	2	2	-	6	-	4	1	1	10
South East	Anambra	34	5	3	2	3	-	-	7	6	2	-	1	5
South East	Ebonyi	32	-	1	-	-	2	14	3	6	2	2	-	2
South East	Enugu	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
South East	Imo	30	1	3	3	1	1	11	1	4	4	1	-	-
South East Total		125	6	7	5	6	5	25	18	16	12	4	4	17
South South	Akwa Ibom	21	2	3	-	2	-	-	3	1	2	7	1	-
South South	Bayelsa	68	-	8	7	11	7	4	6	-	9	5	11	-
South South	Cross River	70	14	1	2	-	-	2	11	19	10	4	5	2
South South	Delta	119	13	6	-	7	28	19	17	11	10	2	6	-
South South	Edo	97	7	17	7	6	40	2	4	2	1	6	2	3
South South	Rivers	68	10	4	8	6	7	1	1	6	5	2	7	11
South South Total		443	46	39	24	32	82	28	42	39	37	26	32	16
South West	Ekiti	18	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	11	-	2	2
South West	Lagos	85	4	3	20	21	9	3	6	9	5	-	4	1
South West	Ogun	39	-	-	2	3	6	4	4	10	-	7	-	3
South West	Ondo	27	-	-	7	5	2	5	5	1	-	1	-	1
South West	Osun	16	-	3	6	2	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	1
South West	Oyo	35	-	5	-	6	3	-	-	3	7	6	5	-
South West Total		220	4	11	36	37	20	12	18	23	25	14	12	8
Grand Total		11,913	473	395	489	1,008	762	804	1,123	2,017	1,908	1,193	1,029	712

Appendix 7B: Civilian Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2020)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020												
		Total Civilians Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	20	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	3	7	2	-	1
North West	Kaduna	1,819	29	20	17	82	191	200	194	175	96	400	363	52
North West	Kano	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	576	-	2	2	4	37	2	155	86	210	31	21	26
North West	Kebbi	75	1	-	4	21	5	40	1	-	1	1	-	1
North West	Sokoto	142	5	-	1	22	-	4	22	77	-	7	1	3
North West	Zamfara	254	1	51	-	47	9	37	-	17	74	13	2	3
North West Total		2,891	39	73	26	176	243	288	373	358	388	454	387	86
North Central	Abuja FCT	14	3	1	-	1	1	1	6	-	1	-	-	-
North Central	Benue	357	-	3	-	7	7	69	45	75	98	20	28	5
North Central	Kogi	99	-	6	2	24	4	3	6	4	13	18	16	3
North Central	Kwara	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	67	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	25	2	19	8	5
North Central	Niger	567	15	18	34	23	22	34	41	159	22	37	62	100
North Central	Plateau	287	4	1	2	71	15	37	56	15	39	20	10	17
North Central Total		1,395	22	29	38	135	49	145	154	279	176	114	124	130
North East	Adamawa	253	6	26	4	48	2	-	37	78	41	11	-	-
North East	Bauchi	13	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	10	-	1	-
North East	Borno	1,880	92	17	139	176	185	35	49	163	627	164	152	81
North East	Gombe	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
North East	Taraba	301	-	12	2	14	4	6	33	116	98	10	6	-
North East	Yobe	58	4	8	-	20	3	2	6	-	6	1	3	5
North East Total		2,508	102	63	145	259	194	43	125	358	782	189	162	86
South East	Abia	19	-	-	-	2	2	-	5	-	4	1	1	4
South East	Anambra	32	5	3	-	3	-	-	7	6	2	-	1	5
South East	Ebonyi	31	-	1	-	-	2	14	2	6	2	2	-	2
South East	Enugu	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	25	1	3	3	1	1	11	-	2	2	1	-	-
South East Total		108	6	7	3	6	5	25	15	14	10	4	2	11
South South	Akwa Ibom	19	2	3	-	2	-	-	3	1	-	7	1	-
South South	Bayelsa	52	-	6	7	6	3	4	6	-	9	5	6	-
South South	Cross River	62	14	1	2	-	-	1	11	19	9	-	5	-
South South	Delta	91	4	2	-	7	23	17	16	11	3	2	6	-
South South	Edo	67	2	9	6	4	31	2	4	1	1	2	2	3
South South	Rivers	54	6	4	8	6	7	1	-	4	1	2	4	11
South South Total		345	28	25	23	25	64	25	40	36	23	18	24	14
South West	Ekiti	18	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	11	-	2	2
South West	Lagos	73	4	1	13	21	9	3	6	8	5	-	2	1
South West	Ogun	28	-	-	2	3	3	3	3	10	-	1	-	3
South West	Ondo	20	-	-	6	1	-	5	5	1	-	1	-	1
South West	Osun	14	-	3	6	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1
South West	Oyo	34	-	5	-	6	3	-	-	3	7	5	5	-
South West Total		187	4	9	28	33	15	11	16	22	25	7	9	8
Grand Total		7,434	201	206	263	634	570	537	723	1,067	1,404	786	708	335

Appendix 7C: Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2020 - Sept 2021)

Geopolitical zone	State	2021												
		Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	26	3	1	3	-	13	2	-	-	-	2	1	1
North West	Kaduna	2,051	112	56	132	173	298	258	110	203	55	237	201	216
North West	Kano	16	2	5	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	2
North West	Katsina	857	109	259	78	61	41	21	80	29	24	32	67	56
North West	Kebbi	585	1	3	6	52	37	169	65	103	137	7	-	5
North West	Sokoto	395	19	2	2	8	26	59	26	72	15	23	48	95
North West	Zamfara	1,890	62	55	47	182	117	102	196	52	377	385	262	53
North West Total		5,820	308	381	269	477	532	612	477	460	608	686	582	428
North Central	Abuja FCT	65	13	3	5	1	11	8	8	2	-	2	2	10
North Central	Benue	1,320	6	10	32	3	26	49	223	645	117	111	83	15
North Central	Kogi	91	5	1	6	1	12	-	-	12	10	5	11	28
North Central	Kwara	42	2	-	-	5	-	7	4	2	5	6	8	3
North Central	Nasarawa	89	3	3	2	13	-	17	24	5	7	15	-	-
North Central	Niger	1,336	53	10	104	27	128	128	125	248	69	21	225	198
North Central	Plateau	691	33	2	6	13	58	14	37	84	42	125	251	26
North Central Total		3,634	115	29	155	63	235	223	421	998	250	285	580	280
North East	Adamawa	147	2	2	17	-	1	-	40	6	2	57	2	18
North East	Bauchi	12	3	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	2
North East	Borno	3,628	429	425	241	323	390	582	236	268	170	132	199	233
North East	Gombe	29	-	-	-	-	4	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	170	7	7	2	5	2	3	40	75	8	15	4	2
North East	Yobe	283	19	6	10	82	48	17	60	15	4	5	3	14
North East Total		4,269	460	440	272	410	445	605	401	364	184	211	208	269
South East	Abia	44	5	-	-	1	7	8	2	8	9	-	2	2
South East	Anambra	255	5	3	-	-	20	23	104	31	15	9	22	23
South East	Ebonyi	445	2	9	1	28	25	102	76	164	22	7	6	3
South East	Enugu	112	6	-	1	-	1	49	6	18	2	19	8	2
South East	Imo	584	3	2	2	14	14	-	41	23	411	17	45	12
South East Total		1,440	21	14	4	43	67	182	229	244	459	52	83	42
South South	Akwa Ibom	65	1	3	1	8	1	10	11	17	6	5	2	-
South South	Bayelsa	22	1	2	6	-	5	-	2	3	1	2	-	-
South South	Cross River	46	6	-	1	11	3	6	-	15	-	-	4	-
South South	Delta	183	31	13	22	19	17	7	21	13	2	16	4	18
South South	Edo	80	9	9	6	13	10	7	2	9	4	8	1	2
South South	Rivers	162	30	9	1	-	10	4	37	42	1	2	17	9
South South Total		558	78	36	37	51	46	34	73	99	14	33	28	29
South West	Ekiti	35	3	6	-	2	-	6	12	2	-	2	2	-
South West	Lagos	136	32	17	3	12	5	4	6	10	17	9	16	5
South West	Ogun	96	4	1	7	5	37	5	-	2	8	4	19	4
South West	Ondo	59	4	2	4	7	11	1	1	23	3	2	-	1
South West	Osun	77	6	-	11	5	4	11	-	11	9	1	18	1
South West	Oyo	150	14	11	16	25	11	11	3	4	38	15	2	-
South West Total		553	63	37	41	56	68	38	22	52	75	33	57	11
Grand Total		16,274	1,045	937	778	1,100	1,393	1,694	1,623	2,217	1,590	1,300	1,538	1,059

Appendix 7D: Civilian Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2020 - Sept 2021)

Geopolitical zone	State	2021												
		Total Civilians Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	19	2	1	-	-	13	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
North West	Kaduna	1,539	55	43	86	99	202	205	85	188	52	234	179	111
North West	Kano	13	2	5	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
North West	Katsina	487	57	138	25	39	29	20	27	24	17	28	53	30
North West	Kebbi	520	1	3	6	52	37	146	32	103	135	-	-	5
North West	Sokoto	313	19	1	-	7	23	59	26	51	12	20	45	50
North West	Zamfara	1,020	59	25	37	126	65	46	140	35	313	98	59	17
North West Total		3,911	195	216	155	324	369	478	310	402	529	380	337	216
North Central	Abuja FCT	53	13	3	5	1	11	4	7	1	-	1	2	5
North Central	Benue	1,224	3	4	19	3	26	48	171	643	103	111	78	15
North Central	Kogi	58	5	1	4	1	12	-	-	10	8	5	9	3
North Central	Kwara	42	2	-	-	5	-	7	4	2	5	6	8	3
North Central	Nasarawa	75	3	3	-	2	-	17	24	5	7	14	-	-
North Central	Niger	809	21	5	101	26	127	81	107	186	27	5	27	96
North Central	Plateau	671	33	2	6	13	58	13	37	84	40	117	242	26
North Central Total		2,932	80	18	135	51	234	170	350	931	190	259	366	148
North East	Adamawa	130	2	1	16	-	1	-	39	3	1	57	2	8
North East	Bauchi	11	3	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	2
North East	Borno	702	153	154	80	37	56	18	43	24	7	3	28	99
North East	Gombe	29	-	-	-	-	4	-	25	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	161	7	7	1	3	1	3	36	75	8	15	3	2
North East	Yobe	62	1	-	7	2	13	1	22	2	1	-	3	10
North East Total		1,095	166	162	106	42	75	24	165	104	17	77	36	121
South East	Abia	21	5	-	-	-	-	1	2	6	3	-	2	2
South East	Anambra	190	2	3	-	-	9	13	103	15	14	6	12	13
South East	Ebonyi	414	-	9	1	25	25	102	62	153	22	7	5	3
South East	Enugu	85	4	-	1	-	1	43	4	14	2	8	8	-
South East	Imo	385	1	2	2	10	8	-	18	7	291	8	29	9
South East Total		1,095	12	14	4	35	43	159	189	195	332	29	56	27
South South	Akwa Ibom	42	1	3	1	6	1	4	6	8	5	5	2	-
South South	Bayelsa	19	-	1	6	-	4	-	2	3	1	2	-	-
South South	Cross River	35	6	-	-	11	-	-	-	15	-	-	3	-
South South	Delta	139	29	13	20	14	10	5	17	3	2	14	3	9
South South	Edo	76	9	9	6	13	10	7	2	6	3	8	1	2
South South	Rivers	105	21	9	1	-	10	4	24	13	1	2	14	6
South South Total		416	66	35	34	44	35	20	51	48	12	31	23	17
South West	Ekiti	33	3	5	-	2	-	6	12	2	-	2	1	-
South West	Lagos	129	32	17	3	12	5	4	6	10	13	9	16	2
South West	Ogun	81	4	1	7	5	37	5	-	-	4	4	10	4
South West	Ondo	51	4	2	4	3	7	1	1	23	3	2	-	1
South West	Osun	61	6	-	11	5	4	11	-	10	5	-	8	1
South West	Oyo	136	6	11	14	24	11	11	2	4	38	13	2	-
South West Total		491	55	36	39	51	64	38	21	49	63	30	37	8
Grand Total		9,940	574	481	473	547	820	889	1,086	1,729	1,143	806	855	537

Appendix 7E: Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2021 - Sept 2022)

Geopolitical zone	State	2022												
		Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	33	-	2	5	3	1	12	4	-	1	3	-	2
North West	Kaduna	1,801	150	108	162	164	112	453	192	21	118	78	14	229
North West	Kano	89	-	-	43	-	-	4	6	33	-	-	-	3
North West	Katsina	629	28	31	16	49	137	103	28	34	12	107	15	69
North West	Kebbi	541	-	-	-	130	25	191	71	4	106	-	2	12
North West	Sokoto	543	99	174	113	23	38	11	12	20	12	30	-	11
North West	Zamfara	1,594	138	56	83	348	125	213	138	195	26	101	7	164
North West Total		5,230	415	371	422	717	438	987	451	307	275	319	38	490
North Central	Abuja FCT	56	-	-	2	1	4	4	7	6	6	11	1	14
North Central	Benue	574	22	32	15	23	43	73	133	68	91	10	6	58
North Central	Kogi	88	16	1	9	3	4	7	5	4	7	8	7	17
North Central	Kwara	47	2	2	2	4	5	1	7	7	2	3	1	11
North Central	Nasarawa	94	1	5	46	32	-	-	-	4	2	-	1	3
North Central	Niger	2,110	150	86	32	476	304	699	130	52	88	14	14	65
North Central	Plateau	619	13	17	21	45	12	26	283	16	50	93	8	35
North Central Total		3,588	204	143	127	584	372	810	565	157	246	139	38	203
North East	Adamawa	142	36	-	29	16	2	22	-	6	13	10	3	5
North East	Bauchi	48	7	1	3	-	-	4	8	9	9	3	-	4
North East	Borno	3,372	415	199	306	240	212	252	413	219	197	70	6	843
North East	Gombe	37	-	6	8	12	2	-	-	4	2	-	3	-
North East	Taraba	707	3	68	9	53	1	32	55	164	10	187	59	66
North East	Yobe	97	3	23	17	4	20	-	16	-	-	2	-	12
North East Total		4,403	464	297	372	325	237	310	492	402	231	272	71	930
South East	Abia	92	10	1	5	7	8	7	-	1	6	5	-	42
South East	Anambra	304	35	14	34	11	60	9	19	35	37	23	1	26
South East	Ebonyi	146	39	20	1	12	7	8	30	10	6	2	1	10
South East	Enugu	131	8	2	2	17	19	22	8	2	31	4	-	16
South East	Imo	220	24	15	22	39	16	15	23	13	3	4	32	14
South East Total		893	116	52	64	86	110	61	80	61	83	38	34	108
South South	Akwa Ibom	42	8	2	4	10	1	1	5	9	-	-	-	2
South South	Bayelsa	44	3	2	-	1	11	5	2	5	9	2	-	4
South South	Cross River	94	-	1	-	2	-	8	4	24	36	14	-	5
South South	Delta	146	10	2	16	6	13	33	10	14	16	10	4	12
South South	Edo	90	-	5	1	5	7	9	22	7	9	9	1	15
South South	Rivers	61	1	13	1	3	1	4	9	5	4	3	-	17
South South Total		477	22	25	22	27	33	60	52	64	74	38	5	55
South West	Ekiti	9	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	1
South West	Lagos	107	10	13	4	12	8	10	2	22	4	4	8	10
South West	Ogun	87	11	-	2	19	7	26	-	5	5	7	1	4
South West	Ondo	116	1	13	14	14	4	4	1	1	61	1	-	2
South West	Osun	68	3	1	4	16	16	1	6	-	2	4	8	7
South West	Oyo	59	4	2	1	2	11	11	8	5	4	3	2	6
South West Total		446	29	32	25	63	47	53	17	33	78	19	20	30
Grand Total		15,037	1,250	920	1,032	1,802	1,237	2,281	1,657	1,024	987	825	206	1,816

Appendix 7F: Civilian Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2021 - Sept 2022)

Geopolitical zone	State	2022												
		Total Civilians Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	21	-	2	5	1	1	3	4	-	1	2	-	2
North West	Kaduna	1,181	21	48	111	128	89	400	149	16	110	57	12	40
North West	Kano	40	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	33	-	-	-	3
North West	Katsina	296	28	29	16	32	43	23	16	27	8	51	7	16
North West	Kebbi	318	-	-	-	105	25	20	71	2	83	-	2	10
North West	Sokoto	374	99	145	30	-	8	11	12	16	12	30	-	11
North West	Zamfara	934	99	42	43	242	122	126	12	146	12	56	5	29
North West Total		3,164	247	266	205	508	288	587	264	240	226	196	26	111
North Central	Abuja FCT	49	-	-	2	1	3	4	7	6	6	7	-	13
North Central	Benue	516	22	27	15	19	38	62	123	62	77	10	6	55
North Central	Kogi	58	15	1	6	3	1	1	-	4	2	5	5	15
North Central	Kwara	26	2	1	1	-	3	1	1	4	2	3	1	7
North Central	Nasarawa	89	1	2	46	32	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	3
North Central	Niger	940	35	13	13	374	169	109	84	38	46	13	14	32
North Central	Plateau	398	13	16	21	42	12	22	139	16	43	42	8	24
North Central Total		2,076	88	60	104	471	226	199	354	132	178	80	35	149
North East	Adamawa	104	36	-	4	14	-	22	-	-	13	7	3	5
North East	Bauchi	43	7	1	3	-	-	4	8	9	8	2	-	1
North East	Borno	400	4	13	48	36	56	13	9	104	74	20	6	17
North East	Gombe	35	-	6	8	12	1	-	-	4	2	-	2	-
North East	Taraba	611	3	67	9	53	1	23	41	156	3	180	59	16
North East	Yobe	25	-	-	5	2	-	-	16	-	-	2	-	-
North East Total		1,218	50	87	77	117	58	62	74	273	100	211	70	39
South East	Abia	76	3	1	3	5	8	7	-	1	6	-	-	42
South East	Anambra	151	18	6	10	6	32	4	7	28	25	1	1	13
South East	Ebonyi	107	30	20	-	11	1	4	28	1	5	2	-	5
South East	Enugu	97	6	2	2	17	5	22	8	2	26	2	-	5
South East	Imo	144	16	8	18	35	11	4	21	3	3	3	12	10
South East Total		575	73	37	33	74	57	41	64	35	65	8	13	75
South South	Akwa Ibom	37	8	2	4	9	1	-	5	8	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	27	1	1	-	1	6	4	-	5	4	1	-	4
South South	Cross River	70	-	1	-	2	-	8	1	21	34	-	-	3
South South	Delta	68	10	2	13	4	5	11	1	3	6	4	1	8
South South	Edo	33	-	5	1	2	2	7	11	1	1	1	-	2
South South	Rivers	39	-	3	1	-	1	3	4	4	4	2	-	17
South South Total		274	19	14	19	18	15	33	22	42	49	8	1	34
South West	Ekiti	5	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	-
South West	Lagos	70	10	11	4	6	6	4	1	10	3	4	1	10
South West	Ogun	57	7	-	2	13	7	11	-	2	4	7	-	4
South West	Ondo	111	-	13	14	12	4	2	1	1	61	1	-	2
South West	Osun	58	3	1	2	14	16	1	3	-	2	1	8	7
South West	Oyo	43	-	2	1	2	8	11	5	5	-	3	2	4
South West Total		344	20	27	23	47	42	30	10	18	72	16	12	27
Grand Total		7,651	497	491	461	1,235	686	952	788	740	690	519	157	435

Appendix 7G: Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2022 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2023												
		Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	18	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	12	-
North West	Kaduna	946	55	137	260	50	34	85	93	53	43	18	48	70
North West	Kano	61	1	2	-	-	32	3	12	3	8	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	469	109	8	11	19	159	36	5	5	31	57	18	11
North West	Kebbi	180	72	49	7	7	5	-	1	5	-	-	2	32
North West	Sokoto	305	14	11	35	104	-	11	11	7	72	12	1	27
North West	Zamfara	1,379	149	158	380	30	18	80	66	89	132	173	73	31
North West Total		3,358	401	367	693	211	249	215	188	162	287	260	154	171
North Central	Abuja FCT	44	5	-	3	5	4	2	7	3	3	3	3	6
North Central	Benue	1,135	92	63	3	47	112	119	268	176	75	78	42	60
North Central	Kogi	85	15	2	12	1	7	-	16	3	3	18	5	3
North Central	Kwara	43	5	3	-	6	1	1	4	5	3	4	2	9
North Central	Nasarawa	278	26	1	-	62	-	6	34	134	5	4	-	6
North Central	Niger	987	16	63	26	145	8	180	151	33	131	26	136	72
North Central	Plateau	642	33	26	4	9	10	23	54	183	81	113	58	48
North Central Total		3,214	192	158	48	275	142	331	534	537	301	246	246	204
North East	Adamawa	66	3	2	7	3	11	-	4	9	8	4	11	4
North East	Bauchi	156	3	3	65	13	1	8	3	-	3	23	2	32
North East	Borno	3,902	215	306	486	231	459	629	187	143	452	207	381	206
North East	Gombe	14	-	2	3	1	3	2	-	-	1	-	2	-
North East	Taraba	283	33	13	11	-	8	17	26	44	58	64	5	4
North East	Yobe	55	-	1	-	-	20	2	14	10	1	1	-	6
North East Total		4,476	254	327	572	248	502	658	234	206	523	299	401	252
South East	Abia	57	2	16	4	3	9	6	-	10	-	2	-	5
South East	Anambra	229	13	46	10	34	64	8	2	15	9	21	3	4
South East	Ebonyi	101	8	5	21	16	7	6	5	7	4	13	8	1
South East	Enugu	217	17	86	39	7	14	6	4	1	4	10	14	15
South East	Imo	189	4	6	34	34	3	3	12	9	59	11	6	8
South East Total		793	44	159	108	94	97	29	23	42	76	57	31	33
South South	Akwa Ibom	52	4	7	6	-	2	4	5	20	1	1	2	-
South South	Bayelsa	24	3	-	1	-	3	7	3	1	1	1	4	-
South South	Cross River	35	13	1	-	-	6	1	1	-	1	-	1	11
South South	Delta	162	6	6	19	22	12	12	6	22	7	30	9	11
South South	Edo	81	10	11	-	6	4	8	8	8	1	8	12	5
South South	Rivers	146	3	16	4	7	14	13	13	20	32	8	9	7
South South Total		500	39	41	30	35	41	45	36	71	43	48	37	34
South West	Ekiti	11	-	-	2	1	-	1	4	1	1	-	1	-
South West	Lagos	94	7	5	10	9	8	21	11	3	4	8	5	3
South West	Ogun	82	2	5	1	4	5	7	6	7	16	7	1	21
South West	Ondo	60	2	2	10	16	8	4	3	5	7	1	2	-
South West	Osun	43	2	1	1	6	11	3	2	3	-	-	5	9
South West	Oyo	55	3	4	6	8	4	5	1	16	3	4	1	-
South West Total		345	16	17	30	44	36	41	27	35	31	20	15	33
Grand Total		12,686	946	1,069	1,481	907	1,067	1,319	1,042	1,053	1,261	930	884	727

Appendix 7H: Civilian Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2022 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2023												
		Total Civilians Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	14	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	11	-
North West	Kaduna	555	6	45	124	26	15	71	67	49	27	18	41	66
North West	Kano	57	1	2	-	-	32	1	11	2	8	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	249	26	8	8	13	107	23	-	3	9	27	14	11
North West	Kebbi	136	71	43	6	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	10
North West	Sokoto	173	14	10	32	4	-	1	11	7	70	1	-	23
North West	Zamfara	476	59	37	59	2	-	12	16	48	105	63	55	20
North West Total		1,660	177	145	229	46	160	108	106	109	220	109	121	130
North Central	Abuja FCT	40	3	-	3	4	4	2	7	3	2	3	3	6
North Central	Benue	1,088	79	63	3	44	101	119	263	164	75	78	39	60
North Central	Kogi	73	9	2	10	1	7	-	16	3	2	15	5	3
North Central	Kwara	30	3	3	-	3	1	1	2	5	2	4	1	5
North Central	Nasarawa	252	24	1	-	57	-	6	21	132	2	3	-	6
North Central	Niger	300	9	20	6	20	3	59	30	6	88	9	31	19
North Central	Plateau	603	23	26	4	8	10	23	54	183	81	90	58	43
North Central Total		2,386	150	115	26	137	126	210	393	496	252	202	137	142
North East	Adamawa	41	1	1	1	2	1	-	4	8	8	4	10	1
North East	Bauchi	83	-	3	38	9	1	6	3	-	3	16	2	2
North East	Borno	306	9	31	2	1	1	36	11	1	47	54	73	40
North East	Gombe	11	-	2	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-
North East	Taraba	244	13	13	6	-	8	15	26	38	53	64	5	3
North East	Yobe	15	-	1	-	-	-	1	11	-	1	1	-	-
North East Total		700	23	51	50	13	12	60	55	47	112	139	92	46
South East	Abia	30	-	11	-	-	8	6	-	3	-	-	-	2
South East	Anambra	98	8	10	10	25	21	2	-	4	5	8	3	2
South East	Ebonyi	67	4	5	12	11	7	3	1	1	4	12	7	-
South East	Enugu	165	9	76	30	1	14	4	3	1	4	5	10	8
South East	Imo	135	1	3	27	18	2	-	6	7	57	11	3	-
South East Total		495	22	105	79	55	52	15	10	16	70	36	23	12
South South	Akwa Ibom	43	4	6	1	-	2	2	4	20	1	1	2	-
South South	Bayelsa	20	3	-	-	-	3	7	3	1	1	1	1	-
South South	Cross River	28	6	1	-	-	6	1	1	-	1	-	1	11
South South	Delta	98	3	6	16	16	5	11	4	10	2	18	5	2
South South	Edo	62	4	11	-	5	4	8	4	4	1	5	11	5
South South	Rivers	83	2	4	1	7	12	10	11	13	18	-	3	2
South South Total		334	22	28	18	28	32	39	27	48	24	25	23	20
South West	Ekiti	11	-	-	2	1	-	1	4	1	1	-	1	-
South West	Lagos	80	7	5	7	9	7	21	5	3	3	7	3	3
South West	Ogun	55	2	2	1	4	5	7	4	7	10	5	1	7
South West	Ondo	53	2	2	8	16	8	4	3	1	6	1	2	-
South West	Osun	36	2	1	1	6	11	3	1	3	-	-	3	5
South West	Oyo	45	1	3	6	8	3	5	-	12	2	4	1	-
South West Total		280	14	13	25	44	34	41	17	27	22	17	11	15
Grand Total		5,855	408	457	427	323	416	473	608	743	700	528	407	365

Appendix 7I: Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020-2023												
		Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	100	7	5	10	4	16	14	5	3	10	7	13	6
North West	Kaduna	6,815	347	327	571	478	684	1,013	591	473	335	734	676	586
North West	Kano	171	3	7	44	1	32	13	18	37	8	-	3	5
North West	Katsina	2,973	246	300	107	156	374	186	293	355	297	312	141	206
North West	Kebbi	1,381	74	52	17	210	72	400	138	112	244	8	4	50
North West	Sokoto	1,497	137	187	151	157	64	85	73	178	199	80	50	136
North West	Zamfara	5,698	438	320	511	607	286	472	528	551	652	722	349	262
North West Total		18,635	1,252	1,198	1,411	1,613	1,528	2,183	1,646	1,709	1,745	1,863	1,236	1,251
North Central	Abuja FCT	182	21	4	10	10	20	15	28	11	11	16	6	30
North Central	Benue	3,406	120	108	50	80	188	310	673	969	388	220	159	141
North Central	Kogi	376	36	10	33	29	27	10	27	23	35	56	39	51
North Central	Kwara	136	9	5	2	16	6	10	15	15	11	13	11	23
North Central	Nasarawa	535	30	9	48	115	-	23	62	168	16	39	9	16
North Central	Niger	5,087	234	177	196	675	469	1,064	466	501	319	98	447	441
North Central	Plateau	2,252	83	46	33	138	99	104	430	299	215	352	327	126
North Central Total		11,974	533	359	372	1,063	809	1,536	1,701	1,986	995	794	998	828
North East	Adamawa	643	48	32	57	84	24	27	83	99	64	82	16	27
North East	Bauchi	229	13	4	70	14	1	15	11	10	22	28	3	38
North East	Borno	15,302	1,315	1,098	1,350	1,220	1,330	1,630	979	1,258	1,721	809	958	1,634
North East	Gombe	83	-	8	11	13	9	2	25	4	3	3	5	-
North East	Taraba	1,483	43	100	24	76	15	58	154	407	178	278	74	76
North East	Yobe	768	26	52	59	160	91	39	209	59	11	9	9	44
North East Total		18,508	1,445	1,294	1,571	1,567	1,470	1,771	1,461	1,837	1,999	1,209	1,065	1,819
South East	Abia	219	17	17	9	13	26	21	8	19	19	8	3	59
South East	Anambra	822	58	66	46	48	144	40	132	87	63	53	27	58
South East	Ebonyi	724	49	35	23	56	41	130	114	187	34	24	15	16
South East	Enugu	463	31	88	42	24	34	77	19	21	37	33	24	33
South East	Imo	1,023	32	26	61	88	34	29	77	49	477	33	83	34
South East Total		3,251	187	232	181	229	279	297	350	363	630	151	152	200
South South	Akwa Ibom	180	15	15	11	20	4	15	24	47	9	13	5	2
South South	Bayelsa	158	7	12	14	12	26	16	13	9	20	10	15	4
South South	Cross River	245	33	3	3	13	9	17	16	58	47	18	10	18
South South	Delta	610	60	27	57	54	70	71	54	60	35	58	23	41
South South	Edo	348	26	42	14	30	61	26	36	26	15	31	16	25
South South	Rivers	437	44	42	14	16	32	22	60	73	42	15	33	44
South South Total		1,978	185	141	113	145	202	167	203	273	168	145	102	134
South West	Ekiti	73	3	9	3	3	1	8	18	3	14	2	6	3
South West	Lagos	422	53	38	37	54	30	38	25	44	30	21	33	19
South West	Ogun	304	17	6	12	31	55	42	10	24	29	25	21	32
South West	Ondo	262	7	17	35	42	25	14	10	30	71	5	2	4
South West	Osun	204	11	5	22	29	31	15	9	14	13	5	32	18
South West	Oyo	299	21	22	23	41	29	27	12	28	52	28	10	6
South West Total		1,564	112	97	132	200	171	144	84	143	209	86	104	82
Grand Total		55,910	3,714	3,321	3,780	4,817	4,459	6,098	5,445	6,311	5,746	4,248	3,657	4,314

Appendix 7J: Civilian Killing analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020-2023												
		Total Civilians Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	74	5	3	7	2	16	4	5	3	9	4	12	4
North West	Kaduna	5,094	111	156	338	335	497	876	495	428	285	709	595	269
North West	Kano	115	3	7	1	1	32	11	11	36	8	-	-	5
North West	Katsina	1,608	111	177	51	88	216	68	198	140	244	137	95	83
North West	Kebbi	1,049	73	46	16	178	72	206	105	105	219	1	2	26
North West	Sokoto	1,002	137	156	63	33	31	75	71	151	94	58	46	87
North West	Zamfara	2,684	218	155	139	417	196	221	168	246	504	230	121	69
North West Total		11,626	658	700	615	1,054	1,060	1,461	1,053	1,109	1,363	1,139	871	543
North Central	Abuja FCT	156	19	4	10	7	19	11	27	10	9	11	5	24
North Central	Benue	3,185	104	97	37	73	172	298	602	944	353	219	151	135
North Central	Kogi	288	29	10	22	29	24	4	22	21	25	43	35	24
North Central	Kwara	102	7	4	1	9	4	10	7	12	10	13	10	15
North Central	Nasarawa	483	28	6	46	99	-	23	45	164	13	36	9	14
North Central	Niger	2,616	80	56	154	443	321	283	262	389	183	64	134	247
North Central	Plateau	1,959	73	45	33	134	95	95	286	298	203	269	318	110
North Central Total		8,789	340	222	303	794	635	724	1,251	1,838	796	655	662	569
North East	Adamawa	528	45	28	25	64	4	22	80	89	63	79	15	14
North East	Bauchi	150	10	4	43	10	1	12	11	10	21	20	3	5
North East	Borno	3,288	258	215	269	250	298	102	112	292	755	241	259	237
North East	Gombe	78	-	8	11	13	6	2	25	4	2	3	4	-
North East	Taraba	1,317	23	99	18	70	14	47	136	385	162	269	73	21
North East	Yobe	160	5	9	12	24	16	4	55	2	8	4	6	15
North East Total		5,521	341	363	378	431	339	189	419	782	1,011	616	360	292
South East	Abia	146	8	12	3	7	18	14	7	10	13	1	3	50
South East	Anambra	471	33	22	20	34	62	19	117	53	46	15	17	33
South East	Ebonyi	619	34	35	13	47	35	123	93	161	33	23	12	10
South East	Enugu	348	19	78	33	18	20	69	16	17	32	15	18	13
South East	Imo	689	19	16	50	64	22	15	45	19	353	23	44	19
South East Total		2,273	113	163	119	170	157	240	278	260	477	77	94	125
South South	Akwa Ibom	141	15	14	6	17	4	6	18	37	6	13	5	-
South South	Bayelsa	118	4	8	13	7	16	15	11	9	15	9	7	4
South South	Cross River	195	26	3	2	13	6	10	13	55	44	-	9	14
South South	Delta	396	46	23	49	41	43	44	38	27	13	38	15	19
South South	Edo	238	15	34	13	24	47	24	21	12	6	16	14	12
South South	Rivers	281	29	20	11	13	30	18	39	34	24	6	21	36
South South Total		1,369	135	102	94	115	146	117	140	174	108	82	71	85
South West	Ekiti	67	3	5	3	3	1	8	18	3	14	2	5	2
South West	Lagos	352	53	34	27	48	27	32	18	31	24	20	22	16
South West	Ogun	221	13	3	12	25	52	26	7	19	18	17	11	18
South West	Ondo	235	6	17	32	32	19	12	10	26	70	5	2	4
South West	Osun	169	11	5	20	27	31	15	4	13	9	1	19	14
South West	Oyo	258	7	21	21	40	25	27	7	24	47	25	10	4
South West Total		1,302	93	85	115	175	155	120	64	116	182	70	69	58
Grand Total		30,880	1,680	1,635	1,624	2,739	2,492	2,851	3,205	4,279	3,937	2,639	2,127	1,672

Appendix 8A: Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2020)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020												
		Total Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	458	7	-	12	177	56	1	41	-	39	48	33	44
North West	Kano	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	2	-	5	16	11
North West	Kebbi	30	1	1	-	1	1	26	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Sokoto	158	-	-	-	150	-	6	-	-	-	2	-	-
North West	Zamfara	11	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West Total		707	12	8	12	328	57	33	57	2	39	55	49	55
North Central	Abuja FCT	38	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
North Central	Benue	34	-	-	-	-	-	7	15	-	12	-	-	-
North Central	Kogi	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	19	-	-	3	3	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-
North Central	Niger	240	6	4	6	21	9	15	13	33	13	24	21	75
North Central	Plateau	5	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1
North Central Total		351	8	5	9	24	23	25	28	33	25	38	21	112
North East	Adamawa	35	-	11	-	14	7	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	9	-
North East	Borno	349	13	10	38	64	42	-	7	8	53	60	11	43
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	79	-	-	-	32	-	3	2	3	32	-	-	7
North East	Yobe	17	2	1	-	-	1	3	-	3	-	-	7	-
North East Total		490	15	22	38	110	50	7	9	14	88	60	27	50
South East	Abia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South East	Imo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South South	Delta	41	2	-	-	11	9	7	-	8	-	4	-	-
South South	Edo	6	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Rivers	17	2	4	-	7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
South South Total		68	4	4	3	18	9	12	1	9	1	4	-	3
South West	Ekiti	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-	1
South West	Lagos	5	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	24	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-
South West	Ondo	10	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	3	-
South West	Osun	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
South West	Oyo	8	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	-
South West Total		55	2	3	2	21	-	4	2	3	-	12	3	3
Grand Total		1,677	41	42	64	501	139	81	99	61	153	173	100	223

Appendix 8B: Civilian Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2020)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020												
		Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	457	7	-	12	177	56	1	41	-	39	47	33	44
North West	Kano	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	2	-	5	16	11
North West	Kebbi	30	1	1	-	1	1	26	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Sokoto	158	-	-	-	150	-	6	-	-	-	2	-	-
North West	Zamfara	11	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West Total		706	12	8	12	328	57	33	57	2	39	54	49	55
North Central	Abuja FCT	38	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
North Central	Benue	34	-	-	-	-	-	7	15	-	12	-	-	-
North Central	Kogi	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	19	-	-	3	3	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-
North Central	Niger	240	6	4	6	21	9	15	13	33	13	24	21	75
North Central	Plateau	5	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1
North Central Total		351	8	5	9	24	23	25	28	33	25	38	21	112
North East	Adamawa	35	-	11	-	14	7	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	9	-
North East	Borno	347	13	10	38	64	42	-	7	8	53	60	9	43
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	77	-	-	-	32	-	3	-	3	32	-	-	7
North East	Yobe	17	2	1	-	-	1	3	-	3	-	-	7	-
North East Total		486	15	22	38	110	50	7	7	14	88	60	25	50
South East	Abia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South East	Imo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South South	Delta	41	2	-	-	11	9	7	-	8	-	4	-	-
South South	Edo	6	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Rivers	11	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
South South Total		62	2	-	3	18	9	12	1	9	1	4	-	3
South West	Ekiti	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-	1
South West	Lagos	5	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	23	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South West	Ondo	10	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	3	-
South West	Osun	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
South West	Oyo	8	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	-
South West Total		54	2	3	2	21	-	4	2	2	-	12	3	3
Grand Total		1,665	39	38	64	501	139	81	97	60	153	172	98	223

Appendix 8C: Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2020 - Sept 2021)

Geopolitical zone	State	2021												
		Total Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
North West	Kaduna	1,430	20	43	33	71	76	221	170	58	125	546	11	56
North West	Kano	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	639	58	8	322	16	66	27	4	92	20	-	3	23
North West	Kebbi	225	8	-	27	49	3	39	3	-	90	6	-	-
North West	Sokoto	318	-	-	-	-	39	103	8	5	-	110	23	30
North West	Zamfara	1,198	31	42	-	7	311	150	9	-	112	78	308	150
North West Total		3,816	118	93	384	143	495	541	194	155	347	741	345	260
North Central	Abuja FCT	67	1	-	-	-	29	4	2	2	9	6	3	11
North Central	Benue	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	4	4	2	1
North Central	Kogi	27	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	9	3	5
North Central	Kwara	29	5	-	-	-	-	6	1	-	1	-	13	3
North Central	Nasarawa	42	22	2	-	1	-	-	-	13	2	1	1	-
North Central	Niger	1,278	33	18	83	66	274	61	63	601	54	1	9	15
North Central	Plateau	44	7	-	3	1	5	10	1	3	6	-	7	1
North Central Total		1,508	72	20	86	68	308	81	73	624	81	21	38	36
North East	Adamawa	55	2	2	-	-	-	-	50	1	-	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
North East	Borno	298	9	18	201	58	-	1	1	-	4	6	-	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	17	2	1	-	-	1	4	1	1	4	1	1	1
North East	Yobe	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		375	17	21	201	58	1	5	52	2	8	7	1	2
South East	Abia	20	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	11	-	-	2	1
South East	Anambra	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South East	Imo	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
South East Total		25	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	11	3	-	2	2
South South	Akwa Ibom	17	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	2
South South	Bayelsa	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
South South	Cross River	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	11	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	2
South South	Edo	40	-	14	20	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
South South	Rivers	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	19	5	-
South South Total		97	1	14	20	2	1	16	-	2	-	27	5	9
South West	Ekiti	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-
South West	Lagos	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West	Ogun	21	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	12	4	-	3	-
South West	Ondo	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
South West	Osun	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	3	-
South West	Oyo	46	-	-	-	1	1	3	35	4	2	-	-	-
South West Total		86	-	-	-	1	1	5	38	17	9	5	9	1
Grand Total		5,907	209	148	691	272	806	648	363	811	448	801	400	310

Appendix 8D: Civilian Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2020 - Sept 2021)

Geopolitical zone	State	2021												
		Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
North West	Kaduna	1,430	20	43	33	71	76	221	170	58	125	546	11	56
North West	Kano	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	639	58	8	322	16	66	27	4	92	20	-	3	23
North West	Kebbi	225	8	-	27	49	3	39	3	-	90	6	-	-
North West	Sokoto	318	-	-	-	-	39	103	8	5	-	110	23	30
North West	Zamfara	1,198	31	42	-	7	311	150	9	-	112	78	308	150
North West Total		3,816	118	93	384	143	495	541	194	155	347	741	345	260
North Central	Abuja FCT	67	1	-	-	-	29	4	2	2	9	6	3	11
North Central	Benue	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	4	4	2	1
North Central	Kogi	27	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	9	3	5
North Central	Kwara	29	5	-	-	-	-	6	1	-	1	-	13	3
North Central	Nasarawa	42	22	2	-	1	-	-	-	13	2	1	1	-
North Central	Niger	1,278	33	18	83	66	274	61	63	601	54	1	9	15
North Central	Plateau	44	7	-	3	1	5	10	1	3	6	-	7	1
North Central Total		1,508	72	20	86	68	308	81	73	624	81	21	38	36
North East	Adamawa	55	2	2	-	-	-	-	50	1	-	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
North East	Borno	298	9	18	201	58	-	1	1	-	4	6	-	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	17	2	1	-	-	1	4	1	1	4	1	1	1
North East	Yobe	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		375	17	21	201	58	1	5	52	2	8	7	1	2
South East	Abia	20	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	11	-	-	2	1
South East	Anambra	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South East	Imo	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
South East Total		25	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	11	3	-	2	2
South South	Akwa Ibom	17	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	2
South South	Bayelsa	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
South South	Cross River	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	11	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	2
South South	Edo	40	-	14	20	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
South South	Rivers	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	19	5	-
South South Total		97	1	14	20	2	1	16	-	2	-	27	5	9
South West	Ekiti	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-
South West	Lagos	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West	Ogun	21	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	12	4	-	3	-
South West	Ondo	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
South West	Osun	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	3	-
South West	Oyo	46	-	-	-	1	1	3	35	4	2	-	-	-
South West Total		86	-	-	-	1	1	5	38	17	9	5	9	1
Grand Total		5,907	209	148	691	272	806	648	363	811	448	801	400	310

Appendix 8E: Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2021 - Sept 2022)

Geopolitical zone	State	2022												
		Total Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
North West	Kaduna	2,563	74	21	264	131	355	534	183	145	273	283	40	260
North West	Kano	11	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	415	7	2	11	81	23	84	26	17	10	46	34	74
North West	Kebbi	240	-	-	-	51	11	30	1	2	20	1	27	97
North West	Sokoto	340	1	14	43	7	45	10	-	18	136	65	-	1
North West	Zamfara	765	5	65	106	2	116	237	5	32	54	69	3	71
North West Total		4,336	88	103	425	273	550	895	217	220	493	465	104	503
North Central	Abuja FCT	124	10	7	9	-	2	5	10	-	45	18	5	13
North Central	Benue	17	1	3	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	5	-	3
North Central	Kogi	57	4	11	1	4	10	7	-	1	11	1	7	-
North Central	Kwara	30	10	10	1	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1
North Central	Nasarawa	15	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	7	-	-	2	-
North Central	Niger	2,106	75	377	4	515	254	193	208	82	151	82	106	59
North Central	Plateau	169	-	9	7	10	1	9	96	-	3	5	20	9
North Central Total		2,518	102	417	23	539	268	214	314	92	212	111	141	85
North East	Adamawa	23	3	2	3	3	-	1	5	-	1	3	-	2
North East	Bauchi	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
North East	Borno	237	76	2	32	50	5	3	-	-	54	-	7	8
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	153	2	28	11	85	-	7	-	-	-	6	12	2
North East	Yobe	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		422	81	32	46	142	7	11	5	-	55	12	19	12
South East	Abia	41	1	10	-	-	1	-	-	6	1	20	2	-
South East	Anambra	11	-	1	1	-	5	-	-	3	-	1	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	4	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	40	-	-	-	6	1	-	2	-	13	18	-	-
South East	Imo	45	4	-	5	11	-	-	-	-	15	-	7	3
South East Total		141	5	13	6	17	9	-	2	9	29	39	9	3
South South	Akwa Ibom	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South South	Bayelsa	14	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	24	-	-	1	-	-	21	-	-	-	1	-	1
South South	Edo	139	123	7	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
South South	Rivers	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	-	22
South South Total		207	123	8	1	1	10	21	4	-	9	6	-	24
South West	Ekiti	24	16	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3
South West	Lagos	8	-	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West	Ogun	29	6	-	-	8	3	5	3	-	-	-	1	3
South West	Ondo	72	6	4	-	13	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	42
South West	Osun	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
South West	Oyo	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
South West Total		138	28	4	3	26	5	7	3	-	-	6	7	49
Grand Total		7,762	427	577	504	998	849	1,148	545	321	798	639	280	676

Appendix 8F: Civilian Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2021 - Sept 2022)

Geopolitical zone	State	2022												
		Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
North West	Kaduna	2,556	74	21	264	130	353	533	181	145	273	283	40	259
North West	Kano	11	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	408	7	2	5	81	23	84	26	17	10	46	33	74
North West	Kebbi	240	-	-	-	51	11	30	1	2	20	1	27	97
North West	Sokoto	340	1	14	43	7	45	10	-	18	136	65	-	1
North West	Zamfara	764	5	65	106	2	115	237	5	32	54	69	3	71
North West Total		4,320	88	103	419	271	547	894	215	220	493	465	103	502
North Central	Abuja FCT	110	10	7	9	-	2	5	10	-	45	4	5	13
North Central	Benue	17	1	3	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	5	-	3
North Central	Kogi	57	4	11	1	4	10	7	-	1	11	1	7	-
North Central	Kwara	30	10	10	1	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1
North Central	Nasarawa	15	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	7	-	-	2	-
North Central	Niger	2,103	75	377	4	515	251	193	208	82	151	82	106	59
North Central	Plateau	169	-	9	7	10	1	9	96	-	3	5	20	9
North Central Total		2,501	102	417	23	539	265	214	314	92	212	97	141	85
North East	Adamawa	22	3	2	3	3	-	1	5	-	-	3	-	2
North East	Bauchi	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
North East	Borno	225	76	1	32	50	5	-	-	-	54	-	7	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	153	2	28	11	85	-	7	-	-	-	6	12	2
North East	Yobe	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		409	81	31	46	142	7	8	5	-	54	12	19	4
South East	Abia	41	1	10	-	-	1	-	-	6	1	20	2	-
South East	Anambra	10	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	3	-	1	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	40	-	-	-	6	1	-	2	-	13	18	-	-
South East	Imo	44	3	-	5	11	-	-	-	-	15	-	7	3
South East Total		135	4	10	6	17	7	-	2	9	29	39	9	3
South South	Akwa Ibom	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South South	Bayelsa	14	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	24	-	-	1	-	-	21	-	-	-	1	-	1
South South	Edo	138	123	6	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
South South	Rivers	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	-	22
South South Total		206	123	7	1	1	10	21	4	-	9	6	-	24
South West	Ekiti	24	16	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3
South West	Lagos	8	-	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West	Ogun	25	6	-	-	8	3	5	2	-	-	-	1	-
South West	Ondo	72	6	4	-	13	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	42
South West	Osun	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
South West	Oyo	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
South West Total		134	28	4	3	26	5	7	2	-	-	6	7	46
Grand Total		7,705	426	572	498	996	841	1,144	542	321	797	625	279	664

Appendix 8G: Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2022 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2023												
		Total Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	1,340	68	118	223	40	70	113	35	129	80	80	166	218
North West	Kano	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-
North West	Katsina	476	53	10	81	43	45	65	7	4	5	68	72	23
North West	Kebbi	96	15	15	29	-	-	16	3	-	-	-	-	18
North West	Sokoto	210	24	5	73	2	-	11	-	18	8	13	21	35
North West	Zamfara	1,073	27	210	277	29	5	27	87	3	80	98	152	78
North West Total		3,203	187	358	685	115	120	232	134	155	174	259	412	372
North Central	Abuja FCT	238	2	1	32	6	16	15	64	28	38	2	4	30
North Central	Benue	59	11	1	2	-	-	-	16	2	7	4	-	16
North Central	Kogi	133	-	37	8	9	5	19	3	-	5	3	5	39
North Central	Kwara	76	6	3	-	19	-	3	1	24	12	2	1	5
North Central	Nasarawa	48	-	13	-	10	-	-	14	3	4	-	2	2
North Central	Niger	1,347	101	20	85	57	1	211	224	201	175	28	157	87
North Central	Plateau	73	35	3	2	2	2	1	3	5	10	3	1	6
North Central Total		1,974	155	78	129	103	24	249	325	263	251	42	170	185
North East	Adamawa	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	3
North East	Bauchi	34	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	-	13	5	7	2
North East	Borno	189	-	-	-	12	4	7	9	-	7	56	71	23
North East	Gombe	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	75	2	-	-	8	3	5	-	14	-	-	-	43
North East	Yobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		312	2	2	-	25	8	12	9	21	21	61	80	71
South East	Abia	13	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	49	2	1	11	3	19	1	1	-	3	3	1	4
South East	Ebonyi	17	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South East	Enugu	146	71	7	-	6	-	-	-	1	18	3	11	29
South East	Imo	79	1	1	4	9	12	19	6	6	1	19	-	1
South East Total		304	87	11	16	18	31	20	7	7	32	29	12	34
South South	Akwa Ibom	18	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	12
South South	Bayelsa	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	50	-	17	5	2	3	4	-	-	15	1	-	3
South South	Delta	65	-	-	-	36	1	12	10	3	1	1	-	1
South South	Edo	135	-	20	-	42	-	13	-	36	-	19	5	-
South South	Rivers	64	18	10	4	-	-	3	3	9	4	1	10	2
South South Total		336	23	48	9	80	4	32	13	50	22	22	15	18
South West	Ekiti	22	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	11	-	1	-	4
South West	Lagos	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	8	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	25	-	1	-	2	-	3	2	-	5	12	-	-
South West	Ondo	58	-	2	10	-	-	3	3	-	15	-	-	25
South West	Osun	20	-	-	-	9	-	4	3	3	-	1	-	-
South West	Oyo	9	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
South West Total		146	11	3	10	13	-	11	12	15	28	14	-	29
Grand Total		6,275	465	500	849	354	187	556	500	511	528	427	689	709

Appendix 8H: Civilian Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2022 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2023												
		Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	1,339	68	118	223	40	70	113	35	129	80	80	165	218
North West	Kano	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-
North West	Katsina	476	53	10	81	43	45	65	7	4	5	68	72	23
North West	Kebbi	96	15	15	29	-	-	16	3	-	-	-	-	18
North West	Sokoto	210	24	5	73	2	-	11	-	18	8	13	21	35
North West	Zamfara	1,071	27	210	277	29	5	27	87	3	80	96	152	78
North West Total		3,200	187	358	685	115	120	232	134	155	174	257	411	372
North Central	Abuja FCT	237	2	1	31	6	16	15	64	28	38	2	4	30
North Central	Benue	58	11	1	2	-	-	-	16	2	6	4	-	16
North Central	Kogi	133	-	37	8	9	5	19	3	-	5	3	5	39
North Central	Kwara	75	5	3	-	19	-	3	1	24	12	2	1	5
North Central	Nasarawa	47	-	13	-	10	-	-	13	3	4	-	2	2
North Central	Niger	1,345	101	20	85	57	1	211	222	201	175	28	157	87
North Central	Plateau	70	35	3	2	1	2	1	3	5	10	1	1	6
North Central Total		1,965	154	78	128	102	24	249	322	263	250	40	170	185
North East	Adamawa	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	3
North East	Bauchi	31	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	-	11	5	7	1
North East	Borno	189	-	-	-	12	4	7	9	-	7	56	71	23
North East	Gombe	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	75	2	-	-	8	3	5	-	14	-	-	-	43
North East	Yobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		309	2	2	-	25	8	12	9	21	19	61	80	70
South East	Abia	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	47	2	1	11	2	18	1	1	-	3	3	1	4
South East	Ebonyi	17	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South East	Enugu	146	71	7	-	6	-	-	-	1	18	3	11	29
South East	Imo	78	1	1	3	9	12	19	6	6	1	19	-	1
South East Total		299	87	9	15	17	30	20	7	7	32	29	12	34
South South	Akwa Ibom	18	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	12
South South	Bayelsa	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	50	-	17	5	2	3	4	-	-	15	1	-	3
South South	Delta	65	-	-	-	36	1	12	10	3	1	1	-	1
South South	Edo	135	-	20	-	42	-	13	-	36	-	19	5	-
South South	Rivers	64	18	10	4	-	-	3	3	9	4	1	10	2
South South Total		336	23	48	9	80	4	32	13	50	22	22	15	18
South West	Ekiti	22	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	11	-	1	-	4
South West	Lagos	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	8	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	25	-	1	-	2	-	3	2	-	5	12	-	-
South West	Ondo	58	-	2	10	-	-	3	3	-	15	-	-	25
South West	Osun	20	-	-	-	9	-	4	3	3	-	1	-	-
South West	Oyo	9	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
South West Total		146	11	3	10	13	-	11	12	15	28	14	-	29
Grand Total		6,255	464	498	847	352	186	556	497	511	525	423	688	708

Appendix 8I: Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020-2023												
		Total Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	7	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1
North West	Kaduna	5,791	169	182	532	419	557	869	429	332	517	957	250	578
North West	Kano	20	2	1	3	1	-	-	4	7	1	-	1	-
North West	Katsina	1,580	118	20	414	140	134	176	53	115	35	119	125	131
North West	Kebbi	591	24	16	56	101	15	111	7	2	110	7	27	115
North West	Sokoto	1,026	25	19	116	159	84	130	8	41	144	190	44	66
North West	Zamfara	3,047	67	324	383	38	432	414	101	35	246	245	463	299
North West Total		12,062	405	562	1,506	859	1,222	1,701	602	532	1,053	1,520	910	1,190
North Central	Abuja FCT	467	15	8	41	6	47	24	76	30	92	26	12	90
North Central	Benue	131	12	4	3	1	1	7	37	8	23	13	2	20
North Central	Kogi	218	8	49	9	13	15	26	3	2	21	13	15	44
North Central	Kwara	154	21	13	4	27	13	9	2	24	15	2	15	9
North Central	Nasarawa	119	24	15	-	15	-	-	14	23	6	15	5	2
North Central	Niger	4,971	215	419	178	659	538	480	508	917	393	135	293	236
North Central	Plateau	291	42	12	12	13	9	23	100	8	19	8	28	17
North Central Total		6,351	337	520	247	734	623	569	740	1,012	569	212	370	418
North East	Adamawa	121	5	15	3	17	7	1	55	3	5	3	2	5
North East	Bauchi	53	3	2	-	5	2	1	-	-	13	8	16	3
North East	Borno	1,073	98	30	271	184	51	11	17	8	118	122	89	74
North East	Gombe	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	324	6	29	11	125	4	19	3	18	36	7	13	53
North East	Yobe	22	3	1	-	4	1	3	-	3	-	-	7	-
North East Total		1,599	115	77	285	335	66	35	75	37	172	140	127	135
South East	Abia	74	2	12	1	-	1	-	5	17	11	20	4	1
South East	Anambra	63	2	2	12	3	24	1	3	3	3	4	1	5
South East	Ebonyi	21	13	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South East	Enugu	191	71	7	-	12	1	-	2	1	32	25	11	29
South East	Imo	127	5	1	9	20	12	19	7	6	18	19	7	4
South East Total		476	93	24	22	35	40	20	17	27	64	72	23	39
South South	Akwa Ibom	37	2	1	-	-	1	15	-	2	1	-	-	15
South South	Bayelsa	23	3	1	3	1	3	-	-	-	10	1	-	1
South South	Cross River	53	1	17	5	2	3	4	-	1	16	1	-	3
South South	Delta	141	2	-	1	49	10	40	10	11	1	13	-	4
South South	Edo	320	123	41	20	42	7	19	1	36	-	22	5	4
South South	Rivers	134	20	14	4	7	-	3	7	11	4	22	15	27
South South Total		708	151	74	33	101	24	81	18	61	32	59	20	54
South West	Ekiti	56	20	-	1	1	-	1	2	11	1	8	3	8
South West	Lagos	26	2	3	-	5	-	2	4	-	8	-	-	2
South West	Ogun	99	6	1	-	29	3	10	5	13	9	16	4	3
South West	Ondo	143	6	6	12	14	2	5	3	1	17	2	8	67
South West	Osun	36	-	-	2	9	-	4	6	3	-	6	4	2
South West	Oyo	65	7	-	-	3	1	5	35	7	2	5	-	-
South West Total		425	41	10	15	61	6	27	55	35	37	37	19	82
Grand Total		21,621	1,142	1,267	2,108	2,125	1,981	2,433	1,507	1,704	1,927	2,040	1,469	1,918

Appendix 8J: Civilian Abduction analysis: The spread over months (Oct 2019 - Sept 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020-2023												
		Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	Jigawa	6	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1
North West	Kaduna	5,782	169	182	532	418	555	868	427	332	517	956	249	577
North West	Kano	20	2	1	3	1	-	-	4	7	1	-	1	-
North West	Katsina	1,573	118	20	408	140	134	176	53	115	35	119	124	131
North West	Kebbi	591	24	16	56	101	15	111	7	2	110	7	27	115
North West	Sokoto	1,026	25	19	116	159	84	130	8	41	144	190	44	66
North West	Zamfara	3,044	67	324	383	38	431	414	101	35	246	243	463	299
North West Total		12,042	405	562	1,500	857	1,219	1,700	600	532	1,053	1,517	908	1,189
North Central	Abuja FCT	452	15	8	40	6	47	24	76	30	92	12	12	90
North Central	Benue	130	12	4	3	1	1	7	37	8	22	13	2	20
North Central	Kogi	218	8	49	9	13	15	26	3	2	21	13	15	44
North Central	Kwara	153	20	13	4	27	13	9	2	24	15	2	15	9
North Central	Nasarawa	118	24	15	-	15	-	-	13	23	6	15	5	2
North Central	Niger	4,966	215	419	178	659	535	480	506	917	393	135	293	236
North Central	Plateau	288	42	12	12	12	9	23	100	8	19	6	28	17
North Central Total		6,325	336	520	246	733	620	569	737	1,012	568	196	370	418
North East	Adamawa	120	5	15	3	17	7	1	55	3	4	3	2	5
North East	Bauchi	50	3	2	-	5	2	1	-	-	11	8	16	2
North East	Borno	1,059	98	29	271	184	51	8	17	8	118	122	87	66
North East	Gombe	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	322	6	29	11	125	4	19	1	18	36	7	13	53
North East	Yobe	22	3	1	-	4	1	3	-	3	-	-	7	-
North East Total		1,579	115	76	285	335	66	32	73	37	169	140	125	126
South East	Abia	72	2	10	1	-	1	-	5	17	11	20	4	1
South East	Anambra	60	2	1	12	2	23	1	3	3	3	4	1	5
South East	Ebonyi	17	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
South East	Enugu	191	71	7	-	12	1	-	2	1	32	25	11	29
South East	Imo	125	4	1	8	20	12	19	7	6	18	19	7	4
South East Total		465	92	19	21	34	37	20	17	27	64	72	23	39
South South	Akwa Ibom	37	2	1	-	-	1	15	-	2	1	-	-	15
South South	Bayelsa	23	3	1	3	1	3	-	-	-	10	1	-	1
South South	Cross River	53	1	17	5	2	3	4	-	1	16	1	-	3
South South	Delta	141	2	-	1	49	10	40	10	11	1	13	-	4
South South	Edo	319	123	40	20	42	7	19	1	36	-	22	5	4
South South	Rivers	128	18	10	4	7	-	3	7	11	4	22	15	27
South South Total		701	149	69	33	101	24	81	18	61	32	59	20	54
South West	Ekiti	56	20	-	1	1	-	1	2	11	1	8	3	8
South West	Lagos	26	2	3	-	5	-	2	4	-	8	-	-	2
South West	Ogun	94	6	1	-	29	3	10	4	12	9	16	4	-
South West	Ondo	143	6	6	12	14	2	5	3	1	17	2	8	67
South West	Osun	36	-	-	2	9	-	4	6	3	-	6	4	2
South West	Oyo	65	7	-	-	3	1	5	35	7	2	5	-	-
South West Total		420	41	10	15	61	6	27	54	34	37	37	19	79
Grand Total		21,532	1,138	1,256	2,100	2,121	1,972	2,429	1,499	1,703	1,923	2,021	1,465	1,905

Appendix 9A: Killing analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2019 – Sep 2020)

Aggressors	2020																										
	Killings									Community Killings									Other Killings								
	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	3,780	678	3,602	2,525	465	-	612	138	40	3,404	539	3,284	2,230	453	-	601	113	7	376	139	318	295	12	-	11	25	33
Other Terrorist Groups	1,932	522	1,577	288	150	-	1,139	182	173	1,529	418	1,487	267	144	-	1,076	12	30	403	104	90	21	6	-	63	170	143
Boko Haram	1,969	228	1,382	612	279	-	491	342	245	1,308	121	1,240	526	249	-	465	39	29	661	107	142	86	30	-	26	303	216
ISWAP	1,155	152	336	134	41	-	161	431	388	327	41	315	133	30	-	152	12	-	828	111	21	1	11	-	9	419	388
Cultists	223	77	201	22	25	-	154	-	22	196	69	188	10	25	-	153	-	8	27	8	13	12	-	-	1	-	14
Security Forces	2,667	372	166	12	49	-	105	19	2,482	128	12	24	8	8	-	8	-	104	2,539	360	142	4	41	-	97	19	2,378
Locals	149	80	144	3	-	-	141	5	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	147	79	142	3	-	-	139	5	-
Assailants	17	3	16	16	-	-	-	-	1	15	1	15	15	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Vigilantes	18	6	7	7	-	-	-	-	11	7	3	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	11	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	3	2	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	11,913	2,120	7,434	3,619	1,009	-	2,806	1,117	3,362	6,919	1,207	6,565	3,196	909	-	2,460	176	178	4,994	913	869	423	100	-	346	941	3,184

Appendix 9B: Killing analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2021)

Aggressors	2021																										
	Killings									Community Killings									Other Killings								
	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	5,529	745	4,711	3,350	735	13	613	408	410	4,475	587	4,153	2,892	644	13	604	177	145	1,054	158	558	458	91	-	9	231	265
Other Terrorist Groups	4,689	1,007	3,460	785	366	11	2,298	455	774	3,578	790	3,274	697	337	11	2,229	160	144	1,111	217	186	88	29	-	69	295	630
Locals	493	183	455	59	52	-	344	17	21	119	13	117	57	50	-	10	2	-	374	170	338	2	2	-	334	15	21
Security Forces	2,881	424	395	39	36	-	320	47	2,439	247	37	139	31	6	-	102	1	107	2,634	387	256	8	30	-	218	46	2,332
Cultists	354	163	349	23	-	-	326	1	4	344	158	340	23	-	-	317	-	4	10	5	9	-	-	-	9	1	-
Boko Haram	613	58	237	29	22	-	186	166	210	194	22	183	18	22	-	143	1	10	419	36	54	11	-	-	43	165	200
ISWAP	1,523	245	196	9	5	-	182	1,002	325	194	30	150	9	5	-	136	41	3	1,329	215	46	-	-	-	46	961	322
Assailants	81	10	80	16	13	-	51	1	-	80	9	80	16	13	-	51	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	73	24	30	2	-	-	28	33	10	23	10	23	2	-	-	21	-	-	50	14	7	-	-	-	7	33	10
Communal clash	14	3	14	11	-	-	3	-	-	14	3	14	11	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vigilantes	24	3	13	5	8	-	-	-	11	11	1	11	5	6	-	-	-	-	13	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	11
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	16,274	2,865	9,940	4,328	1,237	24	4,351	2,130	4,204	9,279	1,660	8,484	3,761	1,083	24	3,616	382	413	6,995	1,205	1,456	567	154	-	735	1,748	3,791

Appendix 9C: Killing analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2021 – Sep 2022)

2022																												
Aggressors	Killings									Community Killings									Other Killings									
	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	
Other Terrorist Groups	5,914	1,185	4,497	2,375	1,816	20	286	570	847	3,947	565	3,388	1,620	1,574	15	179	149	410	1,967	620	1,109	755	242	5	107	421	437	
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	1,691	334	1,661	1,537	74	11	39	16	14	1,257	211	1,241	1,142	54	10	35	11	5	434	123	420	395	20	1	4	5	9	
Security Forces	5,185	546	398	236	82	6	74	101	4,686	1,135	73	244	142	47	2	53	32	859	4,050	473	154	94	35	4	21	69	3,827	
Boko Haram	688	57	362	265	96	-	1	57	269	407	26	337	244	92	-	1	20	50	281	31	25	21	4	-	-	37	219	
ISWAP	745	90	266	146	107	2	11	181	298	242	25	194	115	71	-	8	10	38	503	65	72	31	36	2	3	171	260	
Cultists	245	104	150	115	14	-	21	1	94	35	12	35	20	-	-	15	-	-	210	92	115	95	14	-	-	6	1	94
Locals	192	124	130	85	18	1	26	6	56	27	15	26	9	-	1	16	-	1	165	109	104	76	18	-	10	6	55	
Communal clash	91	22	75	47	16	-	12	-	16	32	4	32	13	7	-	12	-	-	59	18	43	34	9	-	-	-	16	
Assailants	70	52	65	51	14	-	-	4	1	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	67	49	62	48	14	-	-	4	1	
Vigilantes	161	21	26	5	21	-	-	3	132	70	3	20	-	20	-	-	-	50	91	18	6	5	1	-	-	3	82	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	55	26	21	15	5	-	1	18	16	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	54	25	20	15	5	-	-	18	16	
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15,037	2,561	7,651	4,877	2,263	40	471	957	6,429	7,156	938	5,521	3,308	1,865	28	320	222	1,413	7,881	1,623	2,130	1,569	398	12	151	735	5,016	

Appendix 9D: Killing analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2022 – Sep 2023)

2023																											
Aggressors	Killings									Community Killings									Other Killings								
	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	3,419	874	2,505	1,447	1,002	26	30	468	446	2,653	571	2,125	1,220	864	22	19	194	334	766	303	380	227	138	4	11	274	112
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	2,109	418	1,974	1,741	199	7	27	65	70	1,976	385	1,939	1,716	189	7	27	22	15	133	33	35	25	10	-	-	43	55
Security Forces	4,361	592	383	219	150	6	8	105	3,873	232	21	160	79	81	-	-	72	4,129	571	223	140	69	6	8	105	3,801	
Boko Haram	1,089	57	219	65	151	-	3	25	845	261	26	191	63	128	-	-	5	65	828	31	28	2	23	-	3	20	780
Cultists	294	129	212	146	14	36	16	4	78	101	38	93	71	4	8	10	-	8	193	91	119	75	10	28	6	4	70
Locals	226	156	188	126	53	4	5	2	36	45	20	36	15	21	-	-	9	181	136	152	111	32	4	5	2	27	
Communal clash	116	19	108	80	20	7	1	-	8	105	15	100	75	19	5	1	-	5	11	4	8	5	1	2	-	3	
Assailants	114	74	102	58	41	3	-	5	7	26	16	21	14	6	1	-	-	5	88	58	81	44	35	2	-	5	2
ISWAP	707	62	81	8	69	-	4	69	557	300	11	29	8	21	-	-	14	257	407	51	52	-	48	-	4	55	300
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	76	28	63	52	11	-	-	6	7	48	14	48	37	11	-	-	-	-	28	14	15	15	-	-	-	6	7
Vigilantes	175	15	20	3	16	1	-	-	155	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	172	13	20	3	16	1	-	-	152
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	12,686	2,424	5,855	3,945	1,726	90	94	749	6,082	5,750	1,119	4,742	3,298	1,344	43	57	235	773	6,936	1,305	1,113	647	382	47	37	514	5,309

Appendix 9E: Killing analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2019 – Sep 2023)

Aggressors	2020-2023																										
	Killings									Community Killings									Other Killings								
	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Grand total of killings	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Other Terrorist Groups	15,954	3,588	12,039	4,895	3,334	57	3,753	1,675	2,240	11,707	2,344	10,274	3,804	2,919	48	3,503	515	918	4,247	1,244	1,765	1,091	415	9	250	1,160	1,322
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	13,109	2,175	11,948	9,153	1,473	31	1,291	627	534	11,112	1,722	10,617	7,980	1,340	30	1,267	323	172	1,997	453	1,331	1,173	133	1	24	304	362
Boko Haram	4,359	400	2,200	971	548	-	681	590	1,569	2,170	195	1,951	851	491	-	609	65	154	2,189	205	249	120	57	-	72	525	1,415
Security Forces	15,094	1,934	1,342	506	317	12	507	272	13,480	1,742	143	567	260	142	2	163	33	1,142	13,352	1,791	775	246	175	10	344	239	12,338
Locals	1,060	543	917	273	123	5	516	30	113	193	49	181	81	71	1	28	2	10	867	494	736	192	52	4	488	28	103
Cultists	1,116	473	912	306	53	36	517	6	198	676	277	656	124	29	8	495	-	20	440	196	256	182	24	28	22	6	178
ISWAP	4,130	549	879	297	222	2	358	1,683	1,568	1,063	107	688	265	127	-	296	77	298	3,067	442	191	32	95	2	62	1,606	1,270
Assailants	282	139	263	141	68	3	51	10	9	124	29	119	48	19	1	51	-	5	158	110	144	93	49	2	-	10	4
Communal clash	221	44	197	138	36	7	16	-	24	151	22	146	99	26	5	16	-	5	70	22	51	39	10	2	-	-	19
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	207	80	117	69	16	-	32	57	33	75	27	75	39	11	-	25	-	-	132	53	42	30	5	-	7	57	33
Vigilantes	378	45	66	20	45	1	-	3	309	91	9	38	12	26	-	-	-	53	287	36	28	8	19	1	-	3	256
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	55,910	9,970	30,880	16,769	6,235	154	7,722	4,953	20,077	29,104	4,924	25,312	13,563	5,201	95	6,453	1,015	2,777	26,806	5,046	5,568	3,206	1,034	59	1,269	3,938	17,300

Appendix 10A: Abduction analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2019 – Sep 2020)

Aggressors	2020																										
	Total Abductions									Community Abductions									Other Abductions								
	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups
Other Terrorist Groups	293	52	293	170	5	-	118	-	-	261	40	261	155	3	-	103	-	-	32	12	32	15	2	-	15	-	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	988	134	978	695	73	-	210	10	-	680	76	677	431	63	-	183	3	-	308	58	301	264	10	-	27	7	-
Boko Haram	217	45	215	87	13	-	115	2	-	112	25	110	62	13	-	35	2	-	105	20	105	25	-	-	80	-	-
ISWAP	52	10	52	20	-	-	32	-	-	6	2	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	46	8	46	14	-	-	32	-	-
Security Forces	117	19	117	5	-	-	112	-	-	33	2	33	-	-	-	33	-	-	84	17	84	5	-	-	79	-	-
Assailants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Locals	8	4	8	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	4	8	-	-	-	8	-	-
Vigilantes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cultists	2	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1,677	266	1,665	977	91	-	597	12	-	1,094	147	1,089	654	79	-	356	5	-	583	119	576	323	12	-	241	7	-

Appendix 10B: Abduction analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2021)

2021																											
Aggressors	Total Abductions									Community Abductions									Other Abductions								
	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups
Other Terrorist Groups	2,754	247	2,754	1,006	864	2	882	-	-	2,556	193	2,556	909	806	2	839	-	-	198	54	198	97	58	-	43	-	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	2,887	446	2,887	1,237	1,338	-	312	-	-	2,454	378	2,454	1,000	1,295	-	159	-	-	433	68	433	237	43	-	153	-	-
Boko Haram	88	12	88	24	8	-	56	-	-	76	10	76	19	8	-	49	-	-	12	2	12	5	-	-	7	-	-
ISWAP	55	7	55	13	-	-	42	-	-	54	6	54	12	-	-	42	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Security Forces	25	11	25	17	4	-	4	-	-	18	7	18	13	3	-	2	-	-	7	4	7	4	1	-	2	-	-
Assailants	71	16	71	36	23	-	12	-	-	64	15	64	36	23	-	5	-	-	7	1	7	-	-	-	7	-	-
Locals	13	5	13	4	1	4	4	-	-	10	2	10	3	-	4	3	-	-	3	3	3	1	1	-	1	-	-
Vigilantes	12	2	12	7	5	-	-	-	-	12	2	12	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	2	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cultists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	5,907	747	5,907	2,346	2,243	6	1,312	-	-	5,246	614	5,246	2,001	2,140	6	1,099	-	-	661	133	661	345	103	-	213	-	-

Appendix 10C: Abduction analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2021 – Sep 2022)

2022																											
Aggressors	Total Abductions									Community Abductions									Other Abductions								
	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups
Other Terrorist Groups	5,984	651	5,948	3,289	2,312	132	215	36	-	4,331	400	4,313	2,093	1,935	132	153	18	-	1,653	251	1,635	1,196	377	-	62	18	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	1,275	144	1,266	1,027	208	1	30	8	1	902	94	895	724	148	1	22	6	1	373	50	371	303	60	-	8	2	-
Boko Haram	250	12	249	173	76	-	-	-	1	131	4	131	76	55	-	-	-	-	119	8	118	97	21	-	-	-	1
ISWAP	186	15	175	86	89	-	-	11	-	48	4	48	33	15	-	-	-	-	138	11	127	53	74	-	-	11	-
Security Forces	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assailants	41	20	41	34	6	-	1	-	-	4	1	4	4	4	-	-	-	-	37	19	37	34	2	-	1	-	-
Locals	20	1	20	20	-	-	-	-	-	20	1	20	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vigilantes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	4	1	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
Cultists	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	7,762	846	7,705	4,634	2,691	133	247	55	2	5,438	506	5,413	2,947	2,157	133	176	24	1	2,324	340	2,292	1,687	534	-	71	31	1

Appendix 10D: Abduction analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2022 – Sep 2023)

2023																												
Aggressors	Total Abductions									Community Abductions									Other Abductions									
	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	
	Other Terrorist Groups	4,746	616	4,733	2,192	2,454	43	44	11	2	3,722	476	3,717	1,719	1,925	39	34	3	2	1,024	140	1,016	473	529	4	10	8	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	1,253	160	1,249	955	284	2	8	4	-	1,111	133	1,109	850	254	2	3	2	-	142	27	140	105	30	-	5	2	-	
Boko Haram	150	22	150	18	76	-	56	-	-	133	20	133	18	66	-	49	-	-	17	2	17	-	10	-	7	-	-	
ISWAP	39	6	39	1	38	-	-	-	-	37	5	37	1	36	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	
Security Forces	33	9	32	21	11	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	32	8	31	20	11	-	-	1	-	
Assailants	39	22	39	30	9	-	-	-	-	10	8	10	6	4	-	-	-	-	29	14	29	24	5	-	-	-	-	
Locals	4	3	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	
Vigilantes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cultists	3	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	5	5	3	3	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	3	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6,275	846	6,255	3,228	2,874	45	108	18	2	5,020	646	5,013	2,601	2,285	41	86	5	2	1,255	200	1,242	627	589	4	22	13	-	

Appendix 10E: Abduction analysis: by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

2020-2023																												
Aggressors	Total Abductions									Community Abductions									Other Abductions									
	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	Grand total of abductions	Grand total # of incidents with abductions	Total civilians abducted	Christians	Muslims	ATRs	Unknown	Security Forces	Terror Groups	
	Other Terrorist Groups	13,777	1,566	13,728	6,657	5,635	177	1,259	47	2	10,870	1,109	10,847	4,876	4,669	173	1,129	21	2	2,907	457	2,881	1,781	966	4	130	26	-
Armed Fulani Herdsmen	6,403	884	6,380	3,914	1,903	3	560	22	1	5,147	681	5,135	3,005	1,760	3	367	11	1	1,256	203	1,245	909	143	-	193	11	-	
Boko Haram	705	91	702	302	173	-	227	2	1	452	59	450	175	142	-	133	2	-	253	32	252	127	31	-	94	-	1	
ISWAP	332	38	321	120	127	-	74	11	-	145	17	145	52	51	-	42	-	-	187	21	176	68	76	-	32	11	-	
Security Forces	176	40	175	44	15	-	116	1	-	53	11	53	15	3	-	35	-	-	123	29	122	29	12	-	81	1	-	
Assailants	151	58	151	100	38	-	13	-	-	78	24	78	42	31	-	5	-	-	73	34	73	58	7	-	8	-	-	
Locals	45	13	45	26	3	4	12	-	-	30	3	30	23	-	4	3	-	-	15	10	15	3	3	-	9	-	-	
Vigilantes	12	2	12	7	5	-	-	-	-	12	2	12	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communal clash	6	2	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	
Cultists	6	5	6	3	-	-	3	-	-	5	4	5	2	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	5	5	3	3	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	
Hoodlums, Gangsters, Gangs	3	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	21,621	2,705	21,532	11,185	7,899	184	2,264	85	4	16,798	1,913	16,761	8,203	6,661	180	1,717	34	3	4,823	792	4,771	2,982	1,238	4	547	51	1	

Appendix 11: Top 100 Local Gov't areas (LGAs) with most civilian killings (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	2020-2023								
			Total killed	# of incidents with killing	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	1,246	225	1,232	1,013	35	1	183	1	13
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	1,498	171	986	571	291	-	124	180	332
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	870	254	858	699	50	1	108	1	11
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	1,064	253	718	535	34	-	149	21	325
Guma	Benue	North Central	742	150	707	657	4	-	46	16	19
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	809	58	641	397	197	29	18	64	104
Bassa	Plateau	North Central	615	157	607	442	14	-	151	7	1
Munya	Niger	North Central	748	126	509	299	92	1	117	42	197
Katsina-Ala	Benue	North Central	553	52	506	423	-	-	83	2	45
Giwa	Kaduna	North West	732	88	504	228	201	-	75	1	227
Faskari	Katsina	North West	602	79	465	160	142	-	163	4	133
Takum	Taraba	North East	462	40	420	407	8	3	2	13	29
Monguno	Borno	North East	907	77	388	244	99	-	45	208	311
Kaura	Kaduna	North West	366	57	362	330	10	-	22	4	-
Maru	Zamfara	North West	1,067	81	360	18	137	-	205	103	604
Sabon Birni	Sokoto	North West	558	56	359	29	177	-	153	44	155
Mangu	Plateau	North Central	384	65	349	305	33	-	11	2	33
Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	North West	949	156	337	177	74	-	86	63	549
Anka	Zamfara	North West	443	28	334	79	221	-	34	10	99
Gwer West	Benue	North Central	306	55	303	258	-	1	44	3	-
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	790	48	286	48	145	-	93	13	491
Maiduguri Metro	Borno	North East	830	98	285	81	45	-	159	158	387
	Imo	South East	364	4	284	256	28	-	-	80	-
Igabi	Kaduna	North West	463	109	278	93	102	-	83	60	125
Bali	Taraba	North East	254	28	246	169	22	12	43	-	8
Rafi	Niger	North Central	605	96	240	98	65	1	76	59	306
Bungudu	Zamfara	North West	322	48	237	22	99	-	116	27	58
Jere	Borno	North East	307	26	237	3	178	-	56	40	30
Konduga	Borno	North East	987	80	231	77	75	-	79	169	587
Apa	Benue	North Central	233	26	229	210	-	-	19	1	3
Gusau	Zamfara	North West	412	75	219	23	158	-	38	46	147
Chibok	Borno	North East	322	47	213	158	11	-	44	5	104
Gubio	Borno	North East	346	30	211	126	39	-	46	38	97
Jos North	Plateau	North Central	218	62	209	119	43	1	46	1	8
Mariga	Niger	North Central	659	45	208	107	52	-	49	23	428
Sakaba	Kebbi	North West	329	15	208	155	50	-	3	83	38
Bukkuyum	Zamfara	North West	378	35	206	37	134	-	35	4	168
Goronyo	Sokoto	North West	216	25	202	70	107	1	24	-	14
Askira/Uba	Borno	North East	451	47	199	150	19	-	30	36	216
Isi Uzo	Enugu	South East	197	34	189	189	-	-	-	4	4
Ngala	Borno	North East	676	67	188	66	106	-	16	90	398
Batsari	Katsina	North West	382	56	184	52	73	-	59	16	182
Madagali	Adamawa	North East	211	18	182	131	-	-	51	10	19
Ado	Benue	North Central	184	20	180	170	-	-	10	1	3
Kauru	Kaduna	North West	184	32	177	114	1	-	62	1	6
Zurmi	Zamfara	North West	616	57	177	33	84	-	60	8	431
Gassol	Taraba	North East	221	31	168	107	22	-	39	-	53
Bakura	Zamfara	North West	294	30	166	45	107	-	14	13	115
Kukawa	Borno	North East	994	70	165	12	38	-	115	177	652
Agatu	Benue	North Central	163	35	163	126	-	-	37	-	-
Mashegu	Niger	North Central	240	33	158	55	84	2	17	1	81

Continued Killing analysis: totals by LGA

			2020-2023								
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total killed	# of incidents with killing	Total civilians killed	Christians killed	Muslims killed	ATRs killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Ukum	Benue	North Central	193	29	158	117	2	-	39	5	30
Makurdi	Benue	North Central	172	65	153	102	2	-	49	2	17
Riyom	Plateau	North Central	158	75	153	132	9	-	12	2	3
Kachia	Kaduna	North West	201	43	151	113	32	-	6	2	48
Kaura Namoda	Zamfara	North West	242	28	151	28	99	-	24	5	86
Kwande	Benue	North Central	149	23	149	130	-	7	12	-	-
Talata Mafara	Zamfara	North West	191	27	148	8	100	-	40	-	43
Bama	Borno	North East	2,140	164	146	5	57	-	84	131	1,863
Illela	Sokoto	North West	180	19	146	51	59	-	36	2	32
Jos South	Plateau	North Central	156	52	144	109	8	-	27	-	12
Tsafe	Zamfara	North West	277	37	143	7	102	-	34	8	126
Barkin Ladi	Plateau	North Central	154	52	141	124	1	1	15	4	9
Logo	Benue	North Central	152	50	137	103	2	1	31	2	13
Otukpo	Benue	North Central	128	12	127	122	-	-	5	-	1
Ohaukwu	Ebonyi	South East	126	13	125	125	-	-	-	1	-
Bakori	Katsina	North West	170	8	120	66	48	4	2	50	-
Danmusa	Katsina	North West	321	47	120	5	41	-	74	12	189
Dambo	Borno	North East	1,002	121	119	30	28	-	61	265	618
Jema'a	Kaduna	North West	122	30	118	97	6	-	15	4	-
Jibia	Katsina	North West	417	67	116	18	55	-	43	31	270
Gwoza	Borno	North East	1,196	142	114	28	8	-	78	38	1,044
Afikpo South	Ebonyi	South East	114	7	113	113	-	-	-	1	-
Bokkos	Plateau	North Central	109	32	109	90	8	-	11	-	-
Kankara	Katsina	North West	165	34	107	10	48	11	38	7	51
Hong	Adamawa	North East	106	12	106	55	-	-	51	-	-
Gummi	Zamfara	North West	141	17	105	30	60	-	15	-	36
Kanam	Plateau	North Central	246	5	104	100	-	-	4	-	142
Dikwa	Borno	North East	564	65	98	22	33	-	43	106	360
Doma	Nasarawa	North Central	108	10	96	23	65	-	8	10	2
Karu	Nasarawa	North Central	96	9	94	83	8	-	3	-	2
Karim Lamido	Taraba	North East	111	9	92	48	24	5	15	9	10
Ohaukwu	Ebonyi	South East	96	8	92	30	-	-	62	-	4
	Niger	North Central	141	14	91	30	10	-	51	11	39
Nganzai	Borno	North East	247	30	90	30	45	-	15	88	69
Shinkafi	Zamfara	North West	279	33	90	7	21	-	62	20	169
Orlu	Imo	South East	114	31	89	56	-	-	33	10	15
Wukari	Taraba	North East	101	41	88	58	-	-	30	-	13
Kala/Balge	Borno	North East	179	16	85	11	50	-	24	29	65
Oredo	Edo	South South	117	57	80	18	1	3	58	4	33
Rabah	Sokoto	North West	220	16	80	13	67	-	-	24	116
Sabuwa	Katsina	North West	86	19	80	16	24	-	40	-	6
Biu	Borno	North East	292	38	79	49	20	-	10	43	170
Kaduna North	Kaduna	North West	193	41	78	15	12	-	51	39	76
Zuru	Kebbi	North West	79	11	78	53	12	5	8	1	-
Okpokwu	Benue	North Central	77	10	76	76	-	-	-	-	1
Dutsin-Ma	Katsina	North West	132	33	75	3	26	-	46	8	49
Ughelli North	Delta	South South	109	57	75	32	1	-	42	14	20
Magumeri	Borno	North East	224	35	74	2	28	-	44	63	87
Owo	Ondo	South West	78	14	73	53	1	-	19	-	5
Totals killed top 100 LGAs			40,140	5,463	22,846	13,019	4,929	90	4,808	3,004	14,290
Totals killed all LGAs			55,910	9,970	30,880	16,769	6,235	154	7,722	4,953	20,077

Appendix 12: Top 100 Local Gov't Areas (LGAs) with most civilian abductions (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

			2020-2023									
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total abducted	Total abduction incidents	Total civilians abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATR abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted	
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	2,185	238	2,184	2,001	175	-	8	1	-	
Rafi	Niger	North Central	1,275	69	1,275	356	725	53	141	-	-	
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	1,160	90	1,158	899	123	1	135	2	-	
Munya	Niger	North Central	1,151	200	1,151	648	424	4	75	-	-	
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	845	179	845	479	338	-	28	-	-	
Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	North West	628	47	627	259	263	24	81	1	-	
Maru	Zamfara	North West	546	16	546	63	402	5	76	-	-	
Talata Mafara	Zamfara	North West	443	14	443	21	422	-	-	-	-	
Giwa	Kaduna	North West	425	16	425	279	133	-	13	-	-	
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	423	12	423	61	347	-	15	-	-	
Kachia	Kaduna	North West	420	25	420	340	79	-	1	-	-	
Kankara	Katsina	North West	403	10	403	52	335	-	16	-	-	
Bungudu	Zamfara	North West	390	18	390	147	239	-	4	-	-	
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	377	32	377	190	159	1	27	-	-	
Paikoro	Niger	North Central	337	41	334	201	110	2	21	3	-	
Rijau	Niger	North Central	288	21	288	210	43	35	-	-	-	
Mashegu	Niger	North Central	289	25	287	94	181	4	8	2	-	
Igabi	Kaduna	North West	281	18	280	195	84	-	1	1	-	
Kagarko	Kaduna	North West	259	27	259	93	143	-	23	-	-	
Gusau	Zamfara	North West	248	41	246	61	185	-	-	2	-	
Jibia	Katsina	North West	219	25	219	29	147	-	43	-	-	
Sabon Birni	Sokoto	North West	216	14	216	36	71	-	109	-	-	
Bakura	Zamfara	North West	206	6	206	66	136	-	4	-	-	
Lapai	Niger	North Central	202	35	202	94	96	-	12	-	-	
Sokoto South	Sokoto	North West	200	2	200	150	-	-	50	-	-	
Maiduguri Metro	Borno	North East	197	15	197	45	28	-	124	-	-	
Zaria	Kaduna	North West	175	25	174	57	93	-	24	1	-	
Sabuwa	Katsina	North West	167	8	167	53	61	-	53	-	-	
Zurmi	Zamfara	North West	157	10	157	43	105	8	1	-	-	
Faskari	Katsina	North West	160	22	154	70	64	-	20	6	-	
Tsafe	Zamfara	North West	142	12	141	32	106	-	3	1	-	
Goronyo	Sokoto	North West	134	13	134	20	91	-	23	-	-	
Esan South-East	Edo	South South	127	3	127	127	-	-	-	-	-	
Gummi	Zamfara	North West	124	3	124	35	72	-	17	-	-	
Mariga	Niger	North Central	123	13	123	49	68	-	6	-	-	
Kaga	Borno	North East	122	9	121	72	26	-	23	-	1	
Chibok	Borno	North East	121	18	121	93	15	-	13	-	-	
Anka	Zamfara	North West	113	3	113	4	4	-	105	-	-	
Konduga	Borno	North East	110	17	109	21	41	-	47	1	-	
Batsari	Katsina	North West	109	11	109	1	85	-	23	-	-	
Kuje	Abuja FCT	North Central	101	20	101	58	33	-	10	-	-	
Riyau	Niger	North Central	101	12	101	71	19	11	-	-	-	
Kwali	Abuja FCT	North Central	98	17	98	48	49	1	-	-	-	
Bukkuyum	Zamfara	North West	95	5	95	12	83	-	-	-	-	
Ngala	Borno	North East	92	4	92	35	48	-	9	-	-	
Bosso	Niger	North Central	91	12	91	38	47	-	6	-	-	
Abaji	Abuja FCT	North Central	90	10	90	49	18	-	23	-	-	
Isa	Sokoto	North West	86	6	86	25	59	-	2	-	-	
Wushishi	Niger	North Central	83	12	83	15	68	-	-	-	-	
Shinkafi	Zamfara	North West	80	3	80	25	50	-	5	-	-	
Wurno	Sokoto	North West	80	2	80	-	20	-	60	-	-	

Continued Abduction analysis: totals per LGA

			2020-2023								
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total abducted	Total abduction incidents	Total civilians abducted	Christians abducted	Muslims abducted	ATR abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Yauri	Kebbi	North West	80	1	80	17	63	-	-	-	-
Ose	Ondo	South West	77	9	77	59	16	-	2	-	-
Bali	Taraba	North East	75	6	75	43	32	-	-	-	-
Tureta	Sokoto	North West	74	3	74	19	55	-	-	-	-
Illela	Sokoto	North West	73	8	73	24	48	-	1	-	-
Nsukka	Enugu	South East	72	6	72	59	8	-	5	-	-
Funtua	Katsina	North West	71	9	71	17	41	-	13	-	-
Gwagwalada	Abuja FCT	North Central	71	7	71	46	3	-	22	-	-
Kanam	Plateau	North Central	71	2	71	70	1	-	-	-	-
Kaura Namoda	Zamfara	North West	70	9	70	5	65	-	-	-	-
Bama	Borno	North East	72	10	69	2	3	-	64	3	-
Bwari	Abuja FCT	North Central	83	14	68	57	11	-	-	15	-
Batagarawa	Katsina	North West	68	7	68	6	18	-	44	-	-
Jere	Borno	North East	67	5	66	-	17	-	49	1	-
	Kaduna	North West	66	4	66	66	-	-	-	-	-
Gassol	Taraba	North East	57	9	57	49	6	-	2	-	-
Matazuu	Katsina	North West	53	12	53	20	33	-	-	-	-
Jema'a	Kaduna	North West	52	11	52	49	3	-	-	-	-
Takum	Taraba	North East	52	7	52	40	4	-	8	-	-
Hong	Adamawa	North East	51	2	51	51	-	-	-	-	-
Wukari	Taraba	North East	52	6	50	11	-	-	39	2	-
Gada	Sokoto	North West	50	1	50	27	23	-	-	-	-
Bakori	Katsina	North West	49	13	49	17	25	1	6	-	-
Toto	Nasarawa	North Central	48	6	48	24	7	1	16	-	-
Patani, Delta	Delta	South South	47	2	47	47	-	-	-	-	-
Etsako West	Edo	South South	46	5	46	23	9	-	14	-	-
Malumfashi	Katsina	North West	44	10	44	25	19	-	-	-	-
Kafur	Katsina	North West	43	13	42	31	11	-	-	1	-
Augie	Kebbi	North West	42	2	42	27	-	-	15	-	-
Gwoza	Borno	North East	42	11	42	6	2	-	34	-	-
Kogi	Kogi	North Central	41	6	41	30	11	-	-	-	-
Emohua	Rivers	South South	40	7	40	33	-	-	7	-	-
Ughelli North	Delta	South South	38	6	38	24	-	-	14	-	-
Isin	Kwara	North Central	37	6	37	27	-	-	10	-	-
Tambuwal	Sokoto	North West	37	4	37	12	25	-	-	-	-
Wase	Plateau	North Central	37	4	37	21	16	-	-	-	-
Isuikwuato	Abia	South East	36	8	36	36	-	-	-	-	-
Isi Uzo	Enugu	South East	35	7	35	35	-	-	-	-	-
Kontagora	Niger	North Central	35	2	35	-	35	-	-	-	-
Ofu	Kogi	North Central	35	6	35	34	-	-	1	-	-
Suleja	Niger	North Central	35	4	35	16	7	-	12	-	-
Asa	Kwara	North Central	34	11	34	12	18	-	4	-	-
Dange Shuni	Sokoto	North West	34	3	34	9	16	-	9	-	-
Okene	Kogi	North Central	33	6	33	27	6	-	-	-	-
Ajaokuta	Kogi	North Central	32	5	32	29	3	-	-	-	-
Danmusa	Katsina	North West	32	5	32	7	25	-	-	-	-
Mangu	Plateau	North Central	32	11	32	10	21	-	1	-	-
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	32	22	31	21	10	-	-	-	1
Zuru	Kebbi	North West	31	3	31	11	-	20	-	-	-
Totals abducted top 100 LGAs			18,978	1,842	18,933	9,453	7,429	171	1,880	43	2
Totals abducted all LGAs			21,621	2,705	21,532	11,185	7,899	184	2,264	85	4

Appendix 13A: Killing analysis: Christian killings by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

Geopolitical zone	State	2020	2021	2022	2023	2020-2023													
		Total Christians Killed	Total Christians Killed	Total Christians Killed	Total Christians Killed	Total Christians Killed	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces
North West	Jigawa	6	12	9	-	27	26	16	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
North West	Kaduna	1,237	1,003	862	446	3,548	3,519	2,498	14	1	934	17	3	-	2	-	8	42	29
North West	Kano	-	4	18	11	33	33	4	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	123	104	71	88	386	386	56	3	-	325	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
North West	Kebbi	42	368	182	64	656	653	429	-	-	224	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
North West	Sokoto	26	28	123	32	209	205	37	-	-	168	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
North West	Zamfara	32	46	233	80	391	375	50	-	-	306	-	-	-	-	5	-	14	16
North West Total		1,466	1,565	1,498	721	5,250	5,197	3,090	17	1	1,995	17	3	-	2	5	8	59	53
North Central	Abuja FCT	-	18	16	22	56	52	7	-	2	35	2	4	-	-	-	-	2	4
North Central	Benue	199	939	495	1,040	2,673	2,653	2,247	1	-	366	5	11	-	-	-	17	6	20
North Central	Kogi	58	5	41	42	146	141	75	-	1	62	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	5
North Central	Kwara	1	-	15	18	34	34	1	-	-	21	3	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	11	36	73	160	280	279	206	-	-	64	1	-	-	-	-	3	5	1
North Central	Niger	385	291	549	167	1,392	1,357	711	14	5	601	16	-	-	-	2	-	8	35
North Central	Plateau	208	408	334	550	1,500	1,497	978	9	-	469	4	1	-	-	-	26	10	3
North Central Total		862	1,697	1,523	1,999	6,081	6,013	4,225	24	8	1,618	32	26	-	-	2	46	32	68
North East	Adamawa	115	38	94	32	279	275	83	109	1	74	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	4
North East	Bauchi	-	-	18	24	42	42	2	-	-	31	3	-	-	-	-	4	2	-
North East	Borno	848	113	184	58	1,203	1,179	161	644	207	165	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	24
North East	Gombe	-	20	28	6	54	54	42	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	1	4	-
North East	Taraba	194	111	524	152	981	965	514	155	77	168	-	1	-	-	7	42	1	16
North East	Yobe	17	-	18	1	36	33	7	22	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
North East Total		1,174	282	866	273	2,595	2,548	809	930	288	444	5	1	-	1	7	47	16	47
South East	Abia	2	1	26	30	59	35	3	-	-	12	5	7	-	1	-	-	7	24
South East	Anambra	-	75	135	95	305	264	70	-	-	116	4	41	-	17	1	-	15	41
South East	Ebonyi	-	290	102	65	457	437	222	-	-	159	2	22	-	15	-	9	8	20
South East	Enugu	-	67	94	162	323	305	199	-	-	84	4	4	-	8	1	1	4	18
South East	Imo	-	267	136	130	533	409	265	-	-	104	5	1	-	23	1	-	10	124
South East Total		2	700	493	482	1,677	1,450	759	-	-	475	20	75	-	64	3	10	44	227
South South	Akwia Ibom	-	-	35	34	69	65	2	-	-	16	2	31	-	-	-	5	9	4
South South	Bayelsa	14	1	22	19	56	50	16	-	-	20	3	8	-	-	-	-	3	6
South South	Cross River	7	-	65	27	99	81	-	-	-	52	1	9	-	-	-	9	10	18
South South	Delta	34	5	57	79	175	158	44	-	-	50	13	25	-	1	1	2	22	17
South South	Edo	11	8	31	51	101	90	41	-	-	27	5	10	-	-	-	5	2	11
South South	Rivers	9	10	26	77	122	115	8	-	-	52	6	44	-	-	1	1	3	7
South South Total		75	24	236	287	622	559	111	-	-	217	30	127	-	1	2	22	49	63
South West	Ekiti	12	3	5	7	27	25	14	-	-	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
South West	Lagos	7	2	41	60	110	87	2	-	-	28	13	15	-	-	1	-	28	23
South West	Ogun	8	20	35	34	97	88	24	-	-	22	-	31	-	-	-	-	11	9
South West	Ondo	7	7	101	36	151	147	82	-	-	40	2	6	-	-	-	2	15	4
South West	Osun	3	1	41	21	66	63	7	-	-	14	14	21	-	1	-	1	5	3
South West	Oyo	3	27	38	25	93	86	30	-	-	37	4	-	-	-	-	2	13	7
South West Total		40	60	261	183	544	496	159	-	-	146	37	74	-	1	1	5	73	48
Grand Total		3,619	4,328	4,877	3,945	16,769	16,263	9,153	971	297	4,895	141	306	-	69	20	138	273	506

Appendix 13B: Killing analysis: Muslim killings by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

		2020	2021	2022	2023	2020-2023													
Geopolitical zone	State	Total Muslims Killed	Total Muslims Killed	Total Muslims Killed	Total Muslims Killed	Total Muslims Killed	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces
North West	Jigawa	-	1	11	14	26	26	8	-	-	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
North West	Kaduna	169	65	280	107	621	571	209	-	-	348	10	-	-	-	-	1	3	50
North West	Kano	-	2	22	46	70	70	5	-	-	45	9	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
North West	Katsina	160	110	182	157	609	599	127	4	-	463	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10
North West	Kebbi	9	113	106	72	300	288	121	-	-	166	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12
North West	Sokoto	94	112	189	137	532	515	107	-	-	387	6	-	-	-	11	-	4	17
North West	Zamfara	86	372	668	394	1,520	1,498	252	22	-	1,143	9	25	-	-	6	-	41	22
North West Total		518	775	1,458	927	3,678	3,567	829	26	-	2,562	36	25	-	-	17	1	71	111
North Central	Abuja FCT	-	1	22	14	37	36	4	-	2	23	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
North Central	Benue	4	-	-	8	12	10	4	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2
North Central	Kogi	3	1	8	25	37	35	20	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
North Central	Kwara	-	8	4	10	22	22	5	-	-	8	2	3	-	-	-	-	4	-
North Central	Nasarawa	-	12	16	92	120	63	47	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	57
North Central	Niger	54	188	357	126	725	701	234	5	-	432	-	-	-	-	22	1	7	24
North Central	Plateau	-	46	56	51	153	115	15	-	5	73	6	1	-	-	3	9	3	38
North Central Total		61	256	463	326	1,106	982	329	5	7	565	11	4	-	-	25	10	26	124
North East	Adamawa	-	-	6	9	15	13	-	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2
North East	Bauchi	-	5	23	59	87	83	9	-	-	57	7	-	-	-	-	4	6	4
North East	Borno	427	140	192	241	1,000	967	218	500	212	35	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	33
North East	Gombe	-	-	6	5	11	11	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	6	-
North East	Taraba	-	8	44	75	127	108	19	4	-	65	-	-	-	-	2	18	-	19
North East	Yobe	-	1	7	14	22	18	2	12	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
North East Total		427	154	278	403	1,262	1,200	248	517	215	166	10	1	-	1	2	22	18	62
South East	Abia	-	-	8	-	8	8	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	-	19	9	1	29	29	19	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	-	-	1	2	3	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	-	29	3	5	37	36	29	-	-	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
South East Total		-	48	22	8	78	77	49	-	-	24	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	-	-	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
South South	Cross River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	-	-	3	14	17	15	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	11	-	-	-	2
South South	Edo	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South South	Rivers	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
South South Total		-	-	6	17	23	20	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	11	-	2	2	3
South West	Ekiti	-	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Lagos	1	-	10	8	19	12	-	-	-	2	2	6	-	-	-	-	2	7
South West	Ogun	-	1	12	5	18	13	-	-	-	5	1	4	-	-	1	-	2	5
South West	Ondo	-	-	1	4	5	4	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West	Osun	-	1	9	8	18	17	1	-	-	-	4	10	-	-	-	1	1	1
South West	Oyo	2	2	4	17	25	23	15	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
South West Total		3	4	36	45	88	72	18	-	-	14	9	23	-	-	1	1	6	16
Grand Total		1,009	1,237	2,263	1,726	6,235	5,918	1,473	548	222	3,334	68	53	-	16	45	36	123	317

Appendix 14A: Abduction analysis: Christian abductions by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

		2020	2021	2022	2023	2020-2023														
Geopolitical zone	State	Total Christians Abducted	Total Christians Abducted	Total Christians Abducted	Total Christians Abducted	Total Christians Abducted	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces	
North West	Jigawa	-	1	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	312	1,093	2,049	883	4,337	4,321	1,757	85	1	2,433	17	-	-	-	7	-	21	16	
North West	Kano	-	-	3	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	23	110	134	126	393	389	93	-	-	296	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
North West	Kebbi	28	115	80	59	282	279	143	-	-	136	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
North West	Sokoto	150	20	115	50	335	335	150	-	-	171	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Zamfara	7	198	233	141	579	579	119	-	-	460	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West Total		520	1,537	2,615	1,259	5,931	5,908	2,262	85	1	3,501	31	-	-	-	7	-	21	23	
North Central	Abuja FCT	36	31	51	162	280	280	97	-	-	179	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Benue	13	18	14	54	99	98	45	1	-	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
North Central	Kogi	-	17	52	107	176	176	23	-	-	152	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	6	8	19	54	87	87	11	-	-	72	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
North Central	Nasarawa	14	1	6	38	59	59	9	-	-	40	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Niger	151	430	1,066	693	2,340	2,333	807	70	-	1,435	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
North Central	Plateau	1	39	137	59	236	236	49	1	-	171	12	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
North Central Total		221	544	1,345	1,167	3,277	3,269	1,041	72	-	2,101	49	-	-	-	-	2	4	8	
North East	Adamawa	17	51	19	7	94	93	15	8	5	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
North East	Bauchi	-	3	1	8	12	12	3	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Borno	130	86	118	17	351	351	45	127	112	67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	6	6	6	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	30	12	111	49	202	202	49	4	2	146	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
North East	Yobe	12	-	4	-	16	16	7	5	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		189	152	253	87	681	680	119	144	119	297	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	
South East	Abia	-	20	41	11	72	72	51	-	-	20	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	-	-	8	43	51	51	-	-	-	50	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	17	17	17	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	4	1	40	132	177	177	113	-	-	61	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	-	3	39	78	120	119	4	-	-	108	2	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	1
South East Total		4	24	128	281	437	436	168	-	-	256	6	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	1
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	2	2	18	22	22	2	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	3	2	13	4	22	22	5	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	-	2	-	50	52	47	9	-	-	36	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
South South	Delta	15	2	24	64	105	104	71	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South South	Edo	1	16	138	109	264	261	183	-	-	68	6	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	3
South South	Rivers	7	25	21	64	117	117	11	-	-	101	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South Total		26	49	198	309	582	573	281	-	-	275	11	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	9
South West	Ekiti	5	2	22	16	45	44	3	-	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West	Lagos	-	1	5	11	17	17	6	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	-	13	18	22	53	53	3	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ondo	7	1	45	52	105	105	4	1	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Osun	-	5	3	15	23	23	11	-	-	10	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Oyo	5	18	2	9	34	33	16	-	-	15	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
South West Total		17	40	95	125	277	275	43	1	-	227	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Grand Total		977	2,346	4,634	3,228	11,185	11,141	3,914	302	120	6,657	100	3	3	3	7	6	26	44	

Appendix 14B: Abduction analysis: Muslim abductions by aggressor (Oct 2020 – Sep 2023)

		2020	2021	2022	2023	2020-2023														
Geopolitical zone	State	Total Muslims Abducted	Total Muslims Abducted	Total Muslims Abducted	Total Muslims Abducted	Total Muslims Abducted	Terror Groups	Armed Fulani Herdsmen	Boko Haram	ISWAP	Other Terrorist Groups	Assailants	Cultists	Hoodlums	IPOB	Vigilantes	Community Clash	Locals	Security Forces	
North West	Jigawa	-	2	-	2	4	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kaduna	-	253	437	427	1,117	1,117	195	8	-	901	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kano	-	1	8	6	15	15	2	-	-	11	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Katsina	2	392	198	349	941	941	76	-	-	864	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Kebbi	2	83	123	34	242	239	124	-	-	115	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
North West	Sokoto	6	53	216	160	435	435	9	-	-	426	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West	Zamfara	-	800	509	913	2,222	2,213	585	-	-	1,623	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	9
North West Total		10	1,584	1,491	1,891	4,976	4,964	992	8	-	3,943	16	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	12
North Central	Abuja FCT	-	7	34	74	115	115	47	3	-	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
North Central	Benue	-	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kogi	-	7	5	25	37	37	2	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Kwara	-	4	10	20	34	34	1	-	-	29	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
North Central	Nasarawa	-	18	9	8	35	35	17	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central	Niger	47	593	931	627	2,198	2,195	791	53	-	1,334	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
North Central	Plateau	-	4	32	11	47	47	5	-	-	41	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Central Total		47	633	1,021	768	2,469	2,466	863	56	-	1,523	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
North East	Adamawa	-	2	3	1	6	6	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Bauchi	1	1	4	23	29	29	5	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Borno	33	22	107	116	278	278	22	107	127	21	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Gombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Taraba	-	1	40	23	64	64	9	2	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East	Yobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North East Total		34	26	154	163	377	377	38	109	127	102	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
South East	Abia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Anambra	-	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Ebonyi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Enugu	-	-	-	8	8	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East	Imo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South East Total		-	-	-	11	11	11	8	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Akwa Ibom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Bayelsa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Cross River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Delta	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Edo	-	-	-	22	22	22	2	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South	Rivers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South South Total		-	-	-	23	23	23	2	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ekiti	-	-	2	6	8	8	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Lagos	-	-	2	1	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ogun	-	-	3	3	6	6	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Ondo	-	-	18	6	24	24	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Osun	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West	Oyo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South West Total		-	-	25	18	43	43	-	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total		91	2,243	2,691	2,874	7,899	7,884	1,903	173	127	5,635	38	-	-	-	5	-	-	3	15