



OBSERVATORY FOR
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
IN AFRICA

Killings and Abductions in Nigeria (2020–2025)

Publication date: June 2026

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Eye Witness

Excerpts from a biography of a Nigerian expert illustrate how the culture of violence in the country has developed over the past decades. ORFA data captures this development for the last 6 years.

“I am just a normal guy who grew up on a farm in Nigeria's Middle Belt. During the dry season, Fulani nomadic herders, who are predominantly Muslim civilians and live in the far north, migrated south to our predominantly Christian area with their cattle for grazing. The manure their cows produced was free natural fertilizer. If their cattle strayed onto a farm, they would approach the owner and offer compensation. In the rainy season, they moved back north. We also had Muslim families living among us, and some of my dearest friends growing up were Muslim civilians. It was largely peaceful coexistence.

So, what went wrong? Everything took a turn for the worse around 9/11, which accelerated violent extremism globally. In northern Nigeria, a movement of clerics indoctrinated in Saudi Arabia called Izala had been spreading an extremist interpretation of Islam and growing powerful. By 2000, twelve northern Nigerian states had imposed Sharia law, despite Nigeria's constitution prohibiting a state religion. The Izala movement, combined with Fulani ethnic supremacy, captured the political establishment in the north. It led to the formation of an ethno-religious terrorist group called the Fulani Ethnic Militia, which began to reign terror on non-Fulani Muslim civilians and Christian civilians alike.”

The expert then describes his inner struggle as he witnesses all the massacres and decides to risk his freedom, health, and life to make the horrors public.

“At the time, I was a banker. I soon realized that while I was counting money, no one was counting the victims of these massacres. It soon became clear that the government was covering up the attacks as “communal clashes” due to climate change. Ethnoreligious violence puts Nigeria in a bad light internationally, scaring off investors and limiting foreign aid. To be clear, the Nigerian federal government has no policy of persecuting Christian civilians but has allowed this violence to spread unchecked to the south.

Worse, powerful Fulani politicians fuel the violence because they want to seize land from indigenous farmers. The most notorious of them, Nasir El-Rufai, publicly expressed sympathy for the terrorists and gave them material aid. Since 2014, we have documented over 100 villages displaced and occupied in Southern Kaduna alone. These facts point to signs of ethnic cleansing in parts of the country.”

He became increasingly candid, which eventually landed him in prison.

“On May 8, 2019, El Rufai sent policemen to track me 800 kilometers away in Port Harcourt. I was abducted, driven back thirteen hours, held for two days without food or water, then dumped in a horrible, ancient prison for 162 days.

I witnessed four inmates die of disease while I was there. The unsanitary conditions made me ill. The inmates helped me recover. People from different communities and religions getting along. Some of my closest friends in prison were Muslim civilians. It reminded me of my childhood.

I did not find terrorists in the prison. Besides some criminals, it was full of ordinary people. I met twenty-three young people, including seven minors barely in secondary school, thrown in prison simply for patrolling on night watch to keep their communities safe.

After his imprisonment, he continued his work with full dedication, for a safe and dignified existence for all Nigerians, regardless of their religious background.

Keys to Understanding

To understand the data of the ORFA 6-year report, it is important to consider three key facts.

1. From religious to ethno-religious warfare

ORFA data show that the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM) has killed four times as many civilians as Boko Haram and ISWAP combined (44% vs 12%). If ORFA's 'Unidentified Terror Groups' are as much FEM related as the 'Fulani Terror Groups', this could mount to more than six times (76% vs 12%).

It is important to realize that much of the violence in Nigeria is committed in the context of ethno-religious warfare. While 'Boko Haram' is the most well-known terror group in the country, it is not the most deadly group over the last 6 years. The deadliest group is FEM.

Sometimes observers use the term 'Boko Haram' for all violence committed by terror groups in Nigeria, thus unintentionally masking this shift over the last 10 years from religious (or Islamist) warfare, committed by Boko Haram and like-minded groups, to ethno-religious warfare, committed by FEM.

It is important to understand this shift because FEM has not only targeted Christian civilians but also non-Fulani Muslim civilians. In particular, northern Hausa Muslim civilians. ORFA data even show a trend in which the gap between the numbers of Christian civilians killed or abducted and Muslim civilians killed or abducted is decreasing, to such a point that in 2024 and 2025 the numbers of Muslim civilians abducted were higher than the numbers of Christian civilians abducted.

It follows that Christian civilians were killed or abducted for being Christians, while Muslim civilians were killed or abducted for being non-Fulani.

2. About the likely identity of the 'Unidentified Terror Groups'

The two main Terror Groups are the 'Fulani Terror Groups' (responsible for 44% of civilians killed) and the 'Unidentified Terror Groups' (responsible for 32% of civilians killed). Both were active all over the country, but mostly in the North Central and North West.

Steven Kefas, Senior Research Analyst of ORFA, argues in his article ['Who is behind the violence in northern Nigeria'](#), that violence in northwest and Middle Belt Nigeria is not just generic banditry or farmer-herder conflict, but organized ethno-religious violence carried out largely by Fulani armed groups. It says these groups operate with structure, cross-state logistics, and in some cases, links to jihadist networks.

The writer's central claim is that the labels "bandits" and "farmer-herder clashes" hide the real nature of the violence. He frames the conflict as deliberate, organized, and more religiously and ethnically motivated than commonly acknowledged.

In practice, this means that not only the ORFA category 'Fulani Terror Groups' can be considered FEM-related, but also the 'Unidentified Terror Groups', at least to a large extent. That suggests that the Fulani Ethnic Militia (FEM) has likely caused more than six times as many civilian casualties as Boko Haram and ISWAP combined.

3. Different treatment of Christian and Muslim abductees

ORFA data show that over the 6-year reporting period, the actual ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted was exactly 1.0. In 3 years out of 6, it was higher than 1.0, but in 2024 and 2025, it was lower than 1.0 (0.6 resp. 0.7). The proportional ratios were always higher than 1.0, but in 2024 and 2025, they decreased to slightly above 1.0 (1.3 resp. 1.1). Quantitatively, there is no substantial difference in the risk of abduction for Christian civilians and Muslim civilians. Qualitatively, there is a serious difference.

Steven Kefas argues in his article ['Captivity by creed: The Religious sorting system nobody talks about'](#), that there is a differential treatment of hostages by Fulani Ethnic Militias in Northern Nigeria based on religion and ethnicity.

Drawing on field research across multiple states over several years, including survivor testimony from the February 2026 abduction of Sunday Cletus, the article documents a two-tier captivity system in which Muslim abductees receive comparatively lenient treatment, lower ransom demands, and shorter negotiations, while Christian captives endure systematic physical and sexual violence, higher ransoms, prolonged captivity, and significantly greater risk of execution.

The research reveals that faith functions as the dominant determinant at every stage of abduction - from initial targeting through treatment in captivity to ransom negotiations and survival outcomes - constituting what the author characterizes as "a religious hierarchy of human worth" embedded in militia operations across Kaduna, Plateau, Kogi, and Nigeria's Middle Belt region.

The article argues that this religious dimension of Nigeria's security crisis has been inadequately addressed in policy discussions despite consistent patterns documented across multiple armed groups and years of testimony.

Map of Nigeria with geopolitical zones



FACT SHEET KILLINGS & FACT SHEET ABDUCTIONS

Fact sheet Nigeria – Killings in the context of 'TERROR'

The data presented are based primarily on primary data from our local research partners and on secondary ACLED data for Nigeria. Both sources are essential, as neither is exhaustive. Furthermore, ACLED rarely mentions the religious affiliation of fatalities and relies primarily on selected media sources and official reports, which rarely provide such details. Therefore, additional research was needed to break down the ACLED totals by religious affiliation. When this was not possible, the data was marked as "Unknown religious identity."

Introduction

Nigeria is grappling with a complex security crisis characterized by widespread violence, especially targeting religious groups. From 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2025, research shows that the Muslim Fulani Ethnic Militia have been carrying out mass killings, abductions, and torture of Christian civilians with little resistance. Government forces largely failed to intervene, focusing their efforts elsewhere while these attacks continued unopposed.

Nigeria: Key Violence Statistics on Killings (Oct 2019–Sept 2025)

- Total people killed: 79,323 (civilians: 42,033; members of Security Forces or members of Terror Groups: 37,290)
- Attacks with killings: 15,434
- Average: 7 attacks per day involving killings

Religious Group Impact of Killings

- More Nigerian Christian civilians were killed than Nigerians holding other religious affiliations. Amongst the 42,033 civilians killed:
 - Number of Christian civilians killed: 22,835
 - Number of Muslim civilians killed was 10,519
 - Number of African Traditional Religionists killed: 184
 - Religious identity of 8,495 civilians killed remained unknown.
- Actual ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed: 2.2
- Proportional ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed (adjusted for religious population in the different states): 4.4

Distribution of Killings with Unknown Religious Identity over Other Categories

After distribution of the number of civilians killed with unknown religious identity over the other categories, the new numbers for the 42,003 civilians killed are:

- Distributed number of Christian civilians killed: 28,551
- Distributed number of Muslim civilians killed was 13,224
- Distributed number of African Traditional Religionists killed: 258

Patterns of Attack with Killings

- Most civilians were killed during attacks on their communities: 31,573 (75%).

Trends over Time for Killings

- Attacks with civilians killed, especially Christian farmers in the North Central, peaked between April and May, which is the heart of the farming season.
- During this peak, there was considerably less engagement by Security Forces.
- Security Forces concentrated operations in North West and North East, leaving North Central more vulnerable.

Groups Responsible for Killings

- Civilians: Most civilians were killed by Fulani Terror Groups (18,577; 44%) and Unidentified Terror Groups (13,346; 32%). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 4,941 (12%) civilians killed.
- Christian civilians: Fulani Terror Groups were responsible for 53% of all Christian civilians killed; Unidentified Terror Groups for 28%. Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 8% of all Christian civilians killed.
- Muslim civilians: Unidentified Terror Groups were responsible for 42% of all Muslim civilians killed; Fulani Terror Groups for 32%. Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 16% of all Muslim civilians killed.

Hotspots of Violence with Killings

Violent attacks with killings were concentrated in a limited number of states, and within states in a limited number of LGAs.

- People killed in the Top 5 states over all six years:
 - Civilians killed: Kaduna saw the most civilians killed. The Top 5 states had 53% of the total number of civilians killed in the country.
 - Christian civilians killed: Benue had most killings, followed closely by Kaduna. The Top 5 states had 62% of the total number of Christian civilians killed in the country.
 - Muslim civilians killed: Zamfara had most killings, followed by Borno and Katsina. The Top 5 states had 71% of the total number of Muslim civilians killed in the country.
 - Members of Security Forces killed: Borno had by far most killings. The Top 5 states had 68% of the total number of members of security forces killed in the country.
 - Members of Terror Groups killed: Borno had by far most killings. The Top 5 states had 83% of the total number of members of Terror Groups killed in the country.
- People killed in the Top 10 LGAs over all six years:
 - 21% of civilians were killed in 10 LGAs out of 722 with registered killings of civilians.
 - 31% of Christian civilians were killed in 10 LGAs out of 580 with registered killings of Christian civilians.
 - 26% of Muslim civilians were civilians killed in 10 LGAs out of 396 with registered killings of Muslim civilians.
 - 31% of members of Security Forces were killed in 10 LGAs out of 398 with registered killings of members of Security Forces.
 - 39% of members of Terror Groups were killed in 10 LGAs out of 474 with registered killings of members of Terror Groups.

Additional Findings

- ORFA's research showed that the Fulani Terror Groups are affiliated with FEM (Fulani Ethnic Militia). FEM is an ethno-religious terror group.
- Additional research showed that a significant part of the Unidentified Terror Groups consists of so-called bandit groups. Many of them have a Fulani background and can be considered as affiliated with FEM (see article: ['Who is behind the violence in northern Nigeria'](#)).
- It follows that the affiliates of FEM were a much larger factor in the violence in Nigeria than Boko Haram and ISWAP combined.

Final Notes

- The number of Muslim civilians killed or abducted has been substantial over the years. Many of them were Hausa Muslim civilians. Those who killed or abducted Muslim civilians were largely the same as those who killed or abducted Christian civilians. This underscores the ethno-religious nature of much of the violence in Nigeria. The religious terrorism of Boko Haram and the like have gradually been 'overtaken' by the ethno-religious terrorism of FEM.
- Behind the numbers are devastating realities for many Nigerians. Community attacks not only caused death and kidnapping but also led to severe trauma and economic devastation through the destruction of properties and the loss of land, incurring ransom debts and forced displacement.

- Many Nigerians live in fear, as this text fragment indicates (<https://middlebelttimes.com/2025/10/13/the-night-they-come-living-with-fear-in-northern-nigeria/>).

Fact sheet Nigeria – Abductions in the context of ‘TERROR’

The data presented are based primarily on primary data from our local research partners and on secondary ACLED data for Nigeria. Both sources are essential, as neither is exhaustive. Furthermore, ACLED rarely mentions the religious affiliation of fatalities and relies primarily on selected media sources and official reports, which rarely provide such details. Therefore, additional research was needed to break down the ACLED totals by religious affiliation. When this was not possible, the data was marked as "Unknown religious identity."

Introduction

Nigeria is grappling with a complex security crisis characterized by widespread violence, especially targeting religious groups. From 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2025, research shows that the Muslim Fulani Ethnic Militia have been carrying out mass killings, abductions, and torture of Christian civilians with little resistance. Government forces largely failed to intervene, focusing their efforts elsewhere while these attacks continued unopposed.

The analysis has been carried out only for civilian abductions. The difference between all people abducted and civilians abducted was small. In clashes between Security Forces and Terror Groups (and Terror Groups amongst each other), people are normally killed, not abducted.

Nigeria: Key Violence Statistics on Abductions (Oct 2019–Sept 2025)

- Total people abducted: 34,917 (civilians: 34,773; members of Security Forces or members of Terror Groups: 144)
- Attacks with abductions: 4,590
- Average: 2 attacks per day involving abductions

Religious Group Impact of Abductions

- More Nigerian Christian civilians were abducted than Nigerians holding other religious affiliations. Amongst the 34,773 civilians abducted:
 - Number of Christian civilians abducted: 15,932
 - Number of Muslim civilians abducted was 15,272
 - Number of African Traditional Religionists abducted: 252
 - Religious identity of 3,317 civilians abducted remained unknown.
- Actual ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted: 1.0
- Proportional ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted (adjusted for religious population in the different states): 3.2

Distribution of Abductions with Unknown Religious Identity over Other Categories

After distribution of the number of civilians abducted with unknown religious identity over the other categories, the new numbers for the 34,773 civilians abducted are:

- Distributed number of Christian civilians abducted: 17,642
- Distributed number of Muslim civilians abducted was 16,857

- Distributed number of African Traditional Religionists abducted: 274

Patterns of Attack with Abductions

- Most civilians were abducted during attacks on their communities: 25,246 (73%).

Trends over Time for Abductions

- Over the overall 6-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.

Groups Responsible for Abductions

- Civilians: Most civilians were abducted by Unidentified Terror Groups (17,197; 49%) and Fulani Terror Groups (15,107; 43%). Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 2,164 (6%) civilians abducted.
- Christian civilians: Unidentified Terror Groups were responsible for 54% of all Christian civilians abducted; Fulani Terror Groups for 41%. Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 3% of all Christian civilians abducted.
- Muslim civilians: Unidentified Terror Groups were responsible for 50% of all Muslim civilians abducted; Fulani Terror Groups for 43%. Boko Haram and ISWAP combined were responsible for 6% of all Muslim civilians abducted.

Hotspots of Violence with Abductions

Violent attacks with abductions were concentrated in a limited number of states, and within states in a limited number of LGAs. Hardly any members of Security Forces or Terror Groups were abducted so the following statements focus on civilians.

- Abductions in the Top 5 states over all six years:
 - Civilians abducted: Kaduna saw the most civilians abducted (26%). The Top 5 states had 76% of the total number of civilians abducted in the country.
 - Christian civilians abducted: Kaduna saw the most Christian civilians abducted (42%). The Top 5 states had 68% of the total number of Christian civilians abducted in the country.
 - Muslim civilians abducted: Zamfara saw the most Muslim civilians abducted (32%). The Top 5 states had 87% of the total number of Muslim civilians abducted in the country.
- Abductions in the Top 10 LGAs over all six years:
 - 38% of civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 524 with registered abductions of civilians.
 - 49% of Christian civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 434 with registered abductions of Christian civilians.
 - 39% of Muslim civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 250 with registered abductions of Muslim civilians.

Additional Findings

- ORFA's research showed that the Fulani Terror Groups are affiliated with FEM (Fulani Ethnic Militia). FEM is an ethno-religious terror group.
- Additional research showed that a significant part of the Unidentified Terror Groups consists of so-called bandit groups. Many of them have a Fulani background and can be considered as affiliated with FEM ((see article: ['Who is behind the violence in northern Nigeria'](#)).

- It follows that the affiliates of FEM were a much larger factor in the violence in Nigeria than Boko Haram and ISWAP combined.

Final notes

- The Fulani Ethnic Militias in Northern Nigeria run a structured captivity system in which religion, and to a lesser extent ethnicity, determine who is abducted, how they are treated. Muslim abductees are generally spared routine beatings and sexual violence, receive adequate food, and are sometimes allowed to observe religious practices, whereas Christian captives face systematic physical abuse, sexual violence, and psychological terror, including being forced to witness killings. This disparity extends to ransom practices: Muslim civilians are often released after shorter negotiations for lower sums, while Christian families face higher demands, broken agreements, and cases where relatives are killed even after full payment (see: ['Captivity by creed: The Religious sorting system nobody talks about'](#)).

Introduction

The violence data presented in this report is the result of a 6-year project of data-gathering by Nigerian partners within the country. It covers the period 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2025.

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 members of Security Forces, and of aggressors referred to as 'Terror Groups'.

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, Fulani Terror Groups, Bandits¹, and other, smaller groups. Many factors play a role, but violent Islamism, as a religious ideology, is an important part of it.

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 six 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

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 aggressors.

The report is organized into several key sections, each addressing a crucial aspect of the violence that has plagued Nigeria. It starts with an **Eye Witness** account. Then it presents three **Keys to Understanding** the dynamics presented in the report. The two **Fact Sheets** provide 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 Fact Sheets and this **Introduction**, the report provides the **Methodology** that was followed to collect the data. The section on **Policy Recommendations** consolidates the report's findings into actionable steps for civil society organizations, policymakers, and international partners. These recommendations are designed to address the root causes of the 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 three main parts: **Part A** on killings, **Part B** on abductions, and **Part C** on the combined impact of both. Part C is indicative and less detailed than Parts A and B.

Two appendices have been added. that contain many details. **Appendix 1** has many detailed data tables from which the data in the main report is compiled. **Appendix 2** has a vast number of maps (266) and is designed as a visual reference tool to support deeper analysis of the findings presented in the main report. While the core report focuses on trends, patterns, and interpretation, this appendix provides a comprehensive set of maps that allow readers to “slice and dice” the underlying data across time, victim and aggressor categories **All maps are sourced by ORFA.**

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

During the 6-year approximately 42% of the attacks were reported by ORFA's primary partner organization in Nigeria. The remaining 58% 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.

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

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 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 exist 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 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 the other of these narratives.

Data gathering and organization process

The data on killings and abductions were registered for six 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.
5. October 2023 to September 2024 - indicated in the column headings as 2024.

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.

6. October 2024 to September 2025 - indicated in the column headings as 2025.

The term ‘6-year reporting period’ refers to all six periods taken together: October 2019 to September 2025.

In the report, data is presented in two ways:

- a. Per geopolitical zone: Overall data covering the 6 reporting periods is presented per geopolitical zone. There are 6 geopolitical zones in Nigeria.
- b. Per individual reporting period: Overall data covering the 6 geopolitical zones is presented per individual reporting period. There are 6 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 Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians 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.

To give an idea of the meaning of victims of killings or abductions with Unknown religious identity, the report presents ‘actual’ numbers for Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians killed or abducted, but also ‘distributed’ numbers for these civilian categories. (Section 1.2.2)

Actual versus proportional ratio for Christian victims compared to Muslim victims

To explore whether religious background plays a role in a person becoming a victim of violence, we report on the number of Christian and Muslim civilians killed or abducted as a proportion of the population, disaggregated by states. While the absolute number of Christian civilians impacted in a particular state might be small, if the Christian population is also small, then it might be that the violence is disproportionately impacting the Christian population.

This is why the report presents ‘actual’ and ‘proportional’ ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed.

Changes from Previous Reports: Aggressor Classification (revised)

In preparing this six-year report, a targeted review was conducted of incidents previously classified under “Other Terrorist Groups”, a category that had grown substantially in earlier editions and increasingly reflected attribution uncertainty rather than a distinct set of actors. Each incident in this category was re-examined at the individual level to assess whether the aggressor could now be more precisely identified or reasonably attributed based on improved sourcing, contextual information, and pattern analysis. This review paid particular attention to incidents described in general terms as “militias,” as well as cases where narrative descriptions, local reporting, or contextual indicators pointed to Fulani-affiliated actors but had not been reflected in earlier coding. As a result, a significant number of incidents were reclassified, most notably to Fulani Terror Groups, where there was a clear or consistent link to Fulani-related armed violence. Smaller numbers of incidents were also reassigned to Boko Haram, ISWAP, or other specific categories where attribution could be made with confidence. Incidents for which no reliable identification was possible remain grouped under a renamed category, “Unidentified Terror Groups,” to more accurately reflect ongoing uncertainty. In addition, the category previously labeled “Armed Fulani Herdsmen” has been renamed “Fulani Terror Groups” to better capture the broader and more organized nature of the violence observed. These refinements improve analytical clarity and accountability but mean that direct comparison of aggressor distributions with earlier reports should be undertaken with caution.

Policy Recommendations

1. **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. Policymakers, religious leaders, and Civil Society Organizations should shift away from short-term, dialogue-only initiatives and instead fund locally led, long-term programs that bring Muslim and Christian communities together around shared economic interests, resource management, education, and community security. Evidence shows that repeated cooperation and tangible benefits—not rhetoric—reduce violence, particularly when religious leaders are embedded in grassroots mediation systems and interventions directly address underlying drivers like poverty, exclusion, resource competition, and ethnic and religious tensions.
2. For years, militant groups have committed violence with impunity in Nigeria and across Sub-Saharan Africa. We call on **the international community** to work with the **Nigerian government** to:
 - develop a national policy to end impunity, paying specific attention to implementing the recommendations of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Killings;
 - provide training and technical support to members of the police, security forces, and judiciary to counter militants and prosecute extremists.
3. The Federal government and State governments in Nigeria need to **work together with unity of purpose**, across political party lines, to address the factors that triggered the violence, killings, and abductions. 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.
4. The violent community attacks in the North Central zone are often tagged “farmer-herder conflicts” and attributed to climate change. There is a need to acknowledge that there are

different dynamics and nuances at play in different locations where violent attacks occur in Nigeria and redefine the narrative accordingly. Insisting on one generic narrative, often overly simplistic, and denying any religious dimension will result in proposed solutions that are not tailored to all of the root causes. For example, when villagers report that they have been attacked by Armed Fulani Herdsmen or Fulani militia, it is important to document and report the first-hand testimony instead of rewriting their reality and stating the violence was carried out by “Bandits” or “Unknown Gunmen.”

5. There is a need to ensure security presence at all times by **increasing and improving policing at the 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 a 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 to securing communities.

To protect against misuse, the following guardrails have to be put in place:

- Federal oversight and accountability
 - Transparent, strict recruitment and vetting standards
 - Clear separation from Shariah enforcement (explicitly restricted from enforcing religious laws)
 - Minority protection guarantees with independent mechanisms for monitoring, complaint, and accountability for abuse or selective enforcement
 - Phased and context-specific implementation prioritizing rollout in states with ongoing insurgency.
6. Federal and State governments should adopt **policies to support 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 support for reintegration
 7. abductees. Additionally, establishing early warning systems in communities prone to attacks can help reduce the number of casualties and abductions.

A. KILLINGS

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

This section looks in detail at how the killings of different victim categories were spread over the country’s geopolitical zones, states, and LGAs. It does so for the individual reporting periods as well as for

the overall 6-year reporting period. It starts with all people killed, then looks at civilians killed, and subsequently zooms in on Christian civilians and Muslim civilians; finally, it compares civilians killed with the sum of members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups killed.

1.1 Attacks with killings over the 6-year reporting period

Over the 6-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’.

The data show that many people were killed (79,323). Many others were abducted (34,917). The total number of attacks with killings was 15,434, and the total number of attacks with abductions was 4,590. There was some overlap. ORFA registered 18,331 attacks in which people were killed and/or abducted. Out of these, 13,741 have recorded killings, no abductions; 1,693 have recorded both killings and abductions; 2,897 have recorded abductions, no killings. This is an average of 8.4 attacks per day with killings and/or abductions over a 6-year period. Part A of this report further elaborates on the data on killings, while Part B delves deeper into the data on abductions.

Tables 1 and 2 give an overview of all attacks with killings. Table 1 focuses on the geopolitical zones for the 6-year reporting period; Table 2 focuses on the six separate reporting periods. Out of the 79,332 people killed in 15,434 violent incidents, 42,033 were civilians who were killed in 10,394 violent incidents.

Table 1: All attacks with killings in the geopolitical zones, for the 6-year reporting period, with emphasis on attacks with civilians killed

Geopolitical zone	# of all incidents with people killed	Total all people killed	# of incidents with civilians killed	Total civilians killed
North West	4,797	27,246	3,370	15,365
North Central	3,596	17,690	2,981	12,877
North East	3,046	24,880	1,241	7,294
South East	1,429	4,528	922	2,976
South South	1,384	2,887	940	1,863
South West	1,182	2,092	940	1,658
Grand Total	15,434	79,323	10,394	42,033

According to Table 1, most attacks with killings took place in North West (4,797), followed by North Central (3,596) and North East (3,046). South East (1,429), South South (1,384) and South West (1,182) had their share of attacks too. Looking at civilians alone, North West (3,370) and North Central (2,981) had the most attacks. North East had far less (1,241), as did South South (940), South West (940) and South East (922). The average of civilians killed per attack in the southern zones (2.3) was lower than in the northern zones (4.7).

The difference between attacks with people killed (15,434) and with civilians killed (10,394) was considerable, because there were many clashes recorded between Security Forces and Terror Groups.

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

Year	# of all incidents with people killed	Total all people killed	# of incidents with civilians killed	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
2024	2,531	10,746	1,613	5,176
2025	2,933	12,667	1,839	5,977
2020-2025	15,434	79,323	10,394	42,033

Table 2 shows that most attacks with people killed were in the 2025 reporting period (2,933), followed by 2021 (2,859), 2022 (2,576), 2024 (2,531), 2023 (2,424) and 2020 (2,111). For civilians killed, the order was different: Most attacks with civilians killed were in 2021 (2,034), followed by 2025 (1,839), 2022 (1,740), 2023 (1,649), 2024 (1,613) and 2020 (1,519).

1.2 People killed over the 6-year reporting period

This section presents the details of people killed over the 6-year reporting period in the context of violence created by Terror Groups.

It is interesting to see if the 2024 and 2025 reporting periods show a different trend in killings than the 2020 to 2023 reporting periods. The 2024 and 2025 reporting periods represent the period during which a potential positive impact of the Tinubu presidency could have become visible compared to the Buhari presidency, which defined the 2020 to 2023 reporting periods.

Civilians 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 ('Unknown religious identity'). 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.

1.2.1 All people killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

Tables 3 and 4 present the total number of people killed over the 6-year period. Table 3 gives the breakdown for the geopolitical zones over the full 6-year period. Table 4 gives the breakdown for the different reporting periods for all geopolitical zones together.

Table 3: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - People killed in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Geopolitical zone	2020-2025							
	Total killed	Total civilians killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
North West	27,246	15,365	5,944	6,370	54	2,997	1,558	10,323
North Central	17,690	12,877	9,546	1,668	26	1,637	935	3,878
North East	24,880	7,294	3,170	2,194	33	1,897	3,217	14,369
South East	4,528	2,976	2,327	100	5	544	658	894
South South	2,887	1,863	1,039	54	18	752	347	677
South West	2,092	1,658	809	133	48	668	96	338
Grand Total	79,323	42,033	22,835	10,519	184	8,495	6,811	30,479

Table 3 shows that the total number of people killed over the 6-year reporting period was 79,323. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 8. Most killings were in North West (27,246), closely followed by North East (24,880). North Central also witnessed a high number of people killed.

Table 4: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - People killed in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Year	Total killed	Total civilians killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians 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
2024	10,746	5,176	2,727	2,041	18	390	777	4,793
2025	12,667	5,977	3,339	2,243	12	383	1,081	5,609
2020-2025	79,323	42,033	22,835	10,519	184	8,495	6,811	30,479

Table 4 shows the number of people killed over the six separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (11,913) to 2021 (16,274) and then decreased in 2022 (15,037), 2023 (12,686) and 2024 (10,746). In the 2025 reporting period, the number of people killed increased again (12,667).

Table 5 splits the 6-year reporting period into two parts. First, the 2020 to 2023 reporting period is mainly defined by the Buhari presidency. Second, the 2024 to 2025 reporting period is mainly defined by the Tinubu presidency.

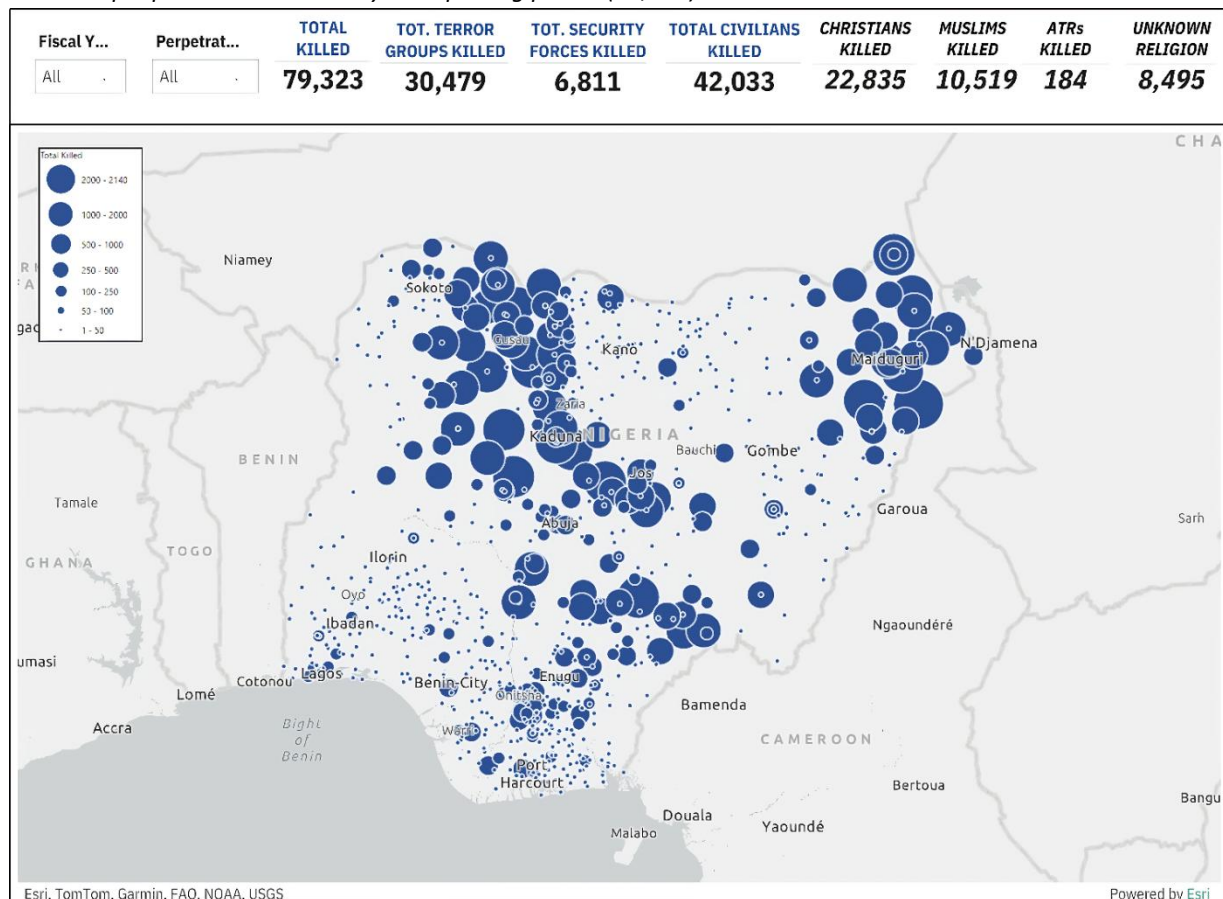
Table 5: People killed in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' from Oct 2019 to Sep 2023, compared to Oct 2023 to Sep 2025

Year	Total killed	Total civilians killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians 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
TOTAL	55,910	30,880	16,769	6,235	154	7,722	4,953	20,077
ANNUAL AV.	13,978	7,720	4,192	1,559	39	1,931	1,238	5,019
2024	10,746	5,176	2,727	2,041	18	390	777	4,793
2025	12,667	5,977	3,339	2,243	12	383	1,081	5,609
TOTAL	23,413	11,153	6,066	4,284	30	773	1,858	10,402
ANNUAL AV.	11,707	5,577	3,033	2,142	15	387	929	5,201
2020-2025	79,323	42,033	22,835	10,519	184	8,495	6,811	30,479
Difference	(2,271)	(2,144)	(1,159)	583	(24)	(1,544)	(309)	182
%	-16	-28	-28	37	-61	-80	-25	4

Table 5 shows that the annual average number of people killed in the first 4 years (13,978) was higher than in the last 2 years (11,707). Or: a decrease of 16%. The relevance of this difference in terms of the violence landscape in Nigeria is limited, especially because the number of people killed in 2025 (12,667) was higher than in 2024 (10,746) and came close to the number of 2023 (12,686).

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

MAP 1: All people killed over the 6-year reporting period (79,323)



(Map source: ORFA – all other maps provided in this report and Appendix 2 – Maps are also sourced by ORFA)

More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 2 People killed in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 3 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Additional maps that illustrate specify who killed these people:

A2 – 14 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors

A2 – 15 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 19 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 23 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 27 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Security Forces

1.2.2 Civilians killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

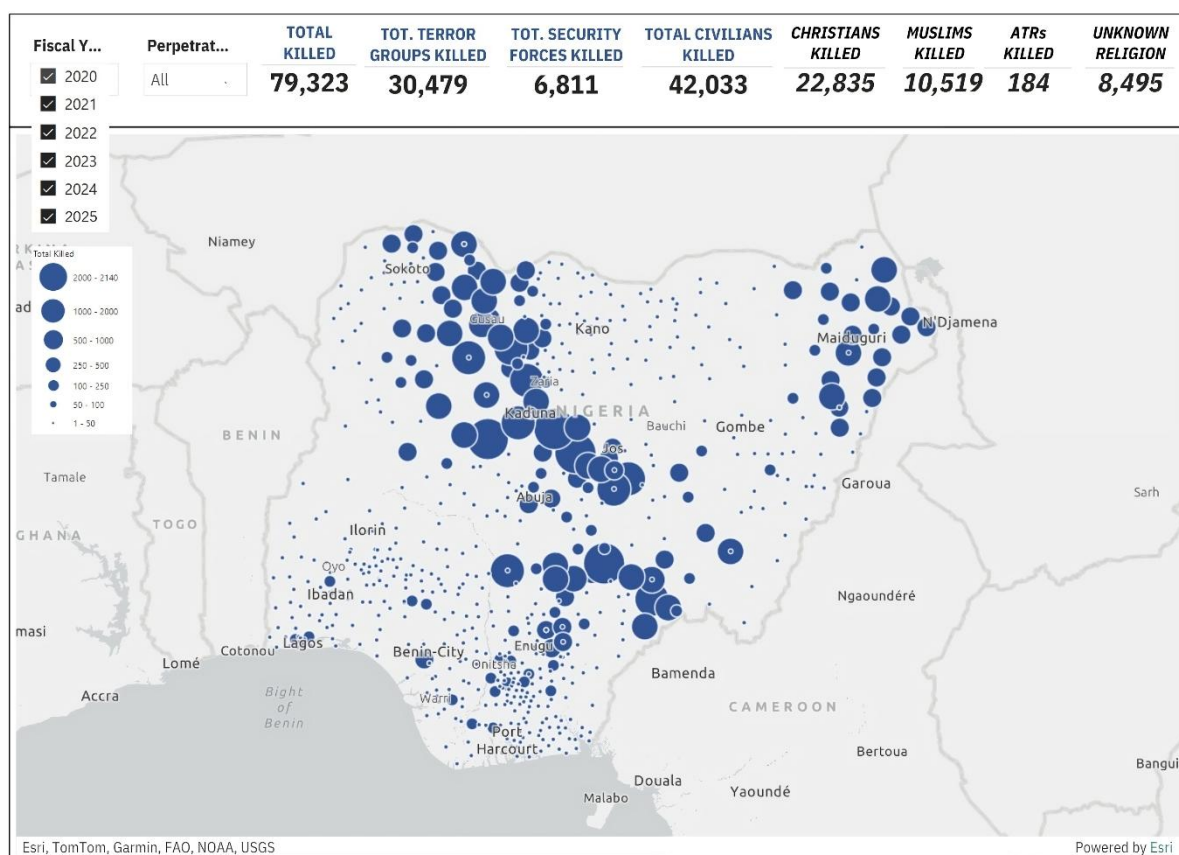
Table 3 shows that the total number of civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period was 42,033. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 1. Most killings were in North West (15,365), closely followed by North Central (12,877).

Table 4 shows the number of civilians killed over the six separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (7,434) to 2021 (9,940) and then decreased in 2022 (7,651), 2023 (5,855) and 2024 (5,176). In the 2025 reporting period, the number of civilians killed increased again (5,977).

Table 5 shows that the annual average number of civilians killed in the first 4 years (7,720) was higher than in the last 2 years (5,577). Or: a decrease of 28%. So, for civilian killings, the situation got better in the last two years. However, the increase in the number of civilians killed in 2025 (5,977) to a level above the number in 2023 (5,855) seems to indicate there was no real trend break during Tinubu's presidency.

Map 2 visualizes the overall data for civilians killed. It shows the spread of these killings throughout the country.

Map 2: Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (42,033)



More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 4 Civilians killed in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 5 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Section 3 introduces additional maps that specify who killed these civilians:

A2 – 16 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 20 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 24 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 28 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Security Forces

Table 6 recalculates part of Table 3 by distributing the number of civilians killed with unknown religious identity over the other categories. The calculation is done at the level of each geopolitical zone over the complete 6-year period at once. It proved to be the most cautious approach, so as not to create a positive bias towards the distributed number of Christian civilians killed.

Table 6. Actual number of civilians killed with Unknown religious identity distributed over the remaining categories

Killings of civilians	Total civilians killed	Christian civilians (actual)	Christian civilians (distributed)	Muslim civilians (actual)	Muslim civilians (distributed)	ATR civilians(actual)	ATR civilians (distributed)	Unknown Religious Identity (actual)
North West	15,369	5,948	7,389	6,370	7,913	54	67	2,997
North Central	12,877	9,539	10,928	1,675	1,919	26	30	1,637
North East	7,287	3,168	4,283	2,189	2,959	33	45	1,897
South East	2,980	2,331	2,852	100	122	5	6	544
South South	1,863	1,039	1,742	54	91	18	30	752
South West	1,657	810	1,357	131	219	48	80	668
ALL	42,033	22,835	28,551	10,519	13,224	184	258	8,495

The distributed numbers, though based on calculations, give a better impression of the numbers of Christian civilians killed and Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period than the actual numbers:

- Christian civilians killed – distributed: 28,551.
- Muslim civilians killed – distributed: 13,224.

1.2.2.1 Christian civilians killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians killed.

Table 3 shows that the total number of Christian civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period was 22,835. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 1. Most killings were in North Central (9,546), followed by North West (5,944) and North East (3,170). Considerable numbers of Christian civilians were killed in South East (2,327), South South (1,039) and South West (809).

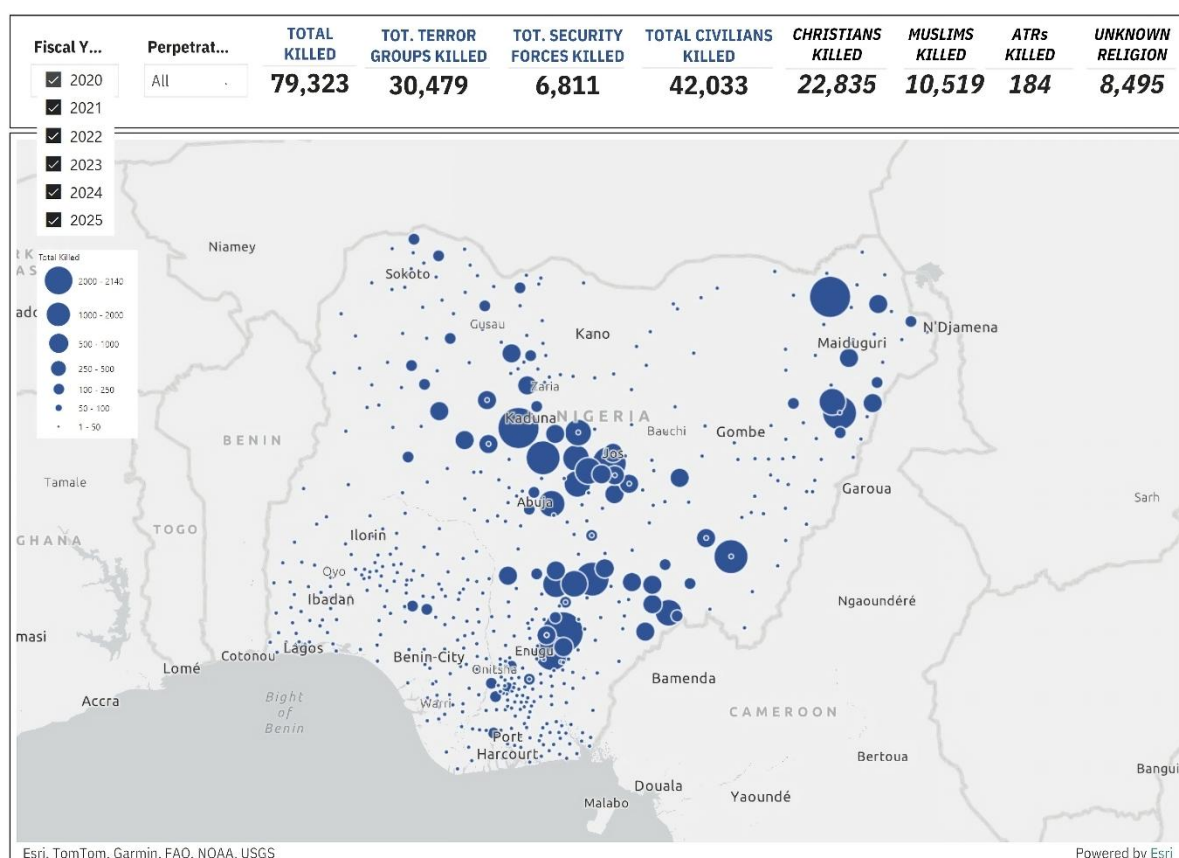
Table 6 shows that when the civilians killed with unknown religious identity, in the six geopolitical zones, are considered, the numbers for Christian civilian killings increase, but the pattern remains the same.

Table 4 shows the number of Christian civilians killed over the six separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (3,619) to 2021 (4,328) and 2022 (4,877); they then decreased in 2023 (3,945) and 2024 (2,727). In the 2025 reporting period, the number of Christian civilians killed increased again (3,339), but not to the level of 2023.

Table 5 shows that the annual average number of Christian civilians killed in the first 4 years (4,192) was higher than in the last 2 years (3,033); this is a decrease of 28%. So, for Christian civilians, the situation got better in the last two years, though not convincingly, because the number of Christian civilians killed in 2025 (3,339) rose again, from 2,727 in 2024.

Map 3 visualizes the overall data for Christian civilians killed. It shows the spread of these killings throughout the country.

Map 3: Christian civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (22,835)



Available maps in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 6 Christian civilians killed in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 7 Christian civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

1.2.2.2 Muslim civilians killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians killed.

Table 3 shows that the total number of Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period was 10,519. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 1. By far most killings were in North West (6,370), followed by North East (2,194) and North Central (1,668). Very few Muslim civilians were killed in South West (133), South East (100) and South South (54).

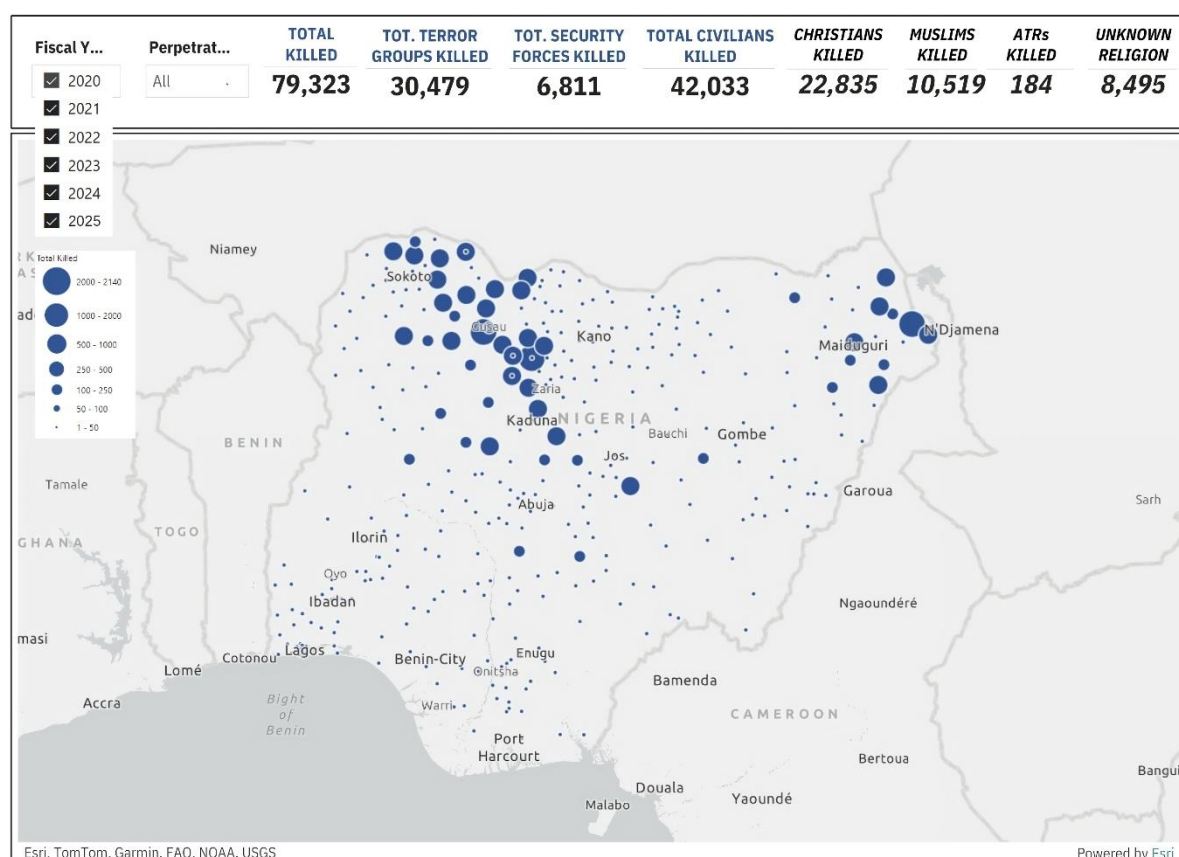
Table 6 shows that when the civilians killed with unknown religious identity, in the six geopolitical zones, are considered, the numbers for Muslim civilian killings increase, but the pattern remains the same.

Table 4 shows the number of Muslim civilians killed over the six separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (1,009) to 2021 (1,237) and 2022 (2,263); they then decreased in 2023 (1,726) but increased again in 2024 (2,041). In the 2025 reporting period, the number of Muslim civilians killed increased again (2,243), nearly to the same level as in 2022 (2,263), which was the highest level in the foregoing 5-year period.

Table 5 shows that the annual average number of Muslim civilians killed in the first 4 years (1,559) was lower than in the last 2 years (2,142); this is an increase of 37%. So, for Muslim civilians, the situation got considerably worse in the last two years. Still, more Christian civilians (6,066) than Muslim civilians (4,284) were killed in those last two years.

Map 4 visualizes the overall data for Muslim civilians killed. It shows the spread of these killings throughout the country.

Map 4: Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (10,519)



Available maps in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 8 Muslim civilians killed in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 9 Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

1.2.2.3 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed.

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 Christian civilians and Muslim civilians 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 7 and 8 indicate that over the 6-year reporting period, the actual ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed was **2.2:1**. When taking into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the individual states where attacks occurred, the proportional ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed rises to **4.4:1**. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 2.

Table 7: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Comparison of the ratios of the number of Christian civilians killed to the number of Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

Geopolitical zone	2020-2025				
	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed
North West	12,318	5,944	6,370	0.9	4.7
North Central	11,214	9,546	1,668	5.7	3.8
North East	5,357	3,170	2,194	1.4	3.7
South East	2,431	2,327	100	23.3	5.7
South South	1,093	1,039	54	19.2	4.4
South West	941	809	133	6.1	3.0
Grand Total	33,354	22,835	10,519	2.2	4.4

Table 7 shows that the actual ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed was by far the highest in South East (23.3:1) and South South (19.2:1). The ratios in North West (0.9:1) and in North East (1.4:1) were the lowest. However, when taking into account the population sizes of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians in the different states, the highest ratio was in South East (5.7:1), followed by North West (4.7:1) and South South (with a ratio of 4.4:1). It is remarkable that the proportional ratios for the Christian-majority South East and South South were still so high.

Table 8: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

Year	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians 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
2024	4,768	2,727	2,041	1.3	1.2
2025	5,582	3,339	2,243	1.5	1.4
2020-2025	33,354	22,835	10,519	2.2	4.4

Table 8 shows that the ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed decreased over the 6 reporting periods from 3.6:1 (2020) to 1.3:1 (2024) and then slightly increased to 1.5:1 (2025). This indicates that in the course of the years, Muslim civilians were increasingly targeted by Terror Groups compared to Christian civilians, though still fewer in number than Christian civilians. When taking into account the population sizes of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians in the different states, the ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed decreased from 9.3:1 to 1.2:1, and then slightly increased to 1.4:1 (2025).

Although 1.4:1 still shows a clear difference between Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed in relation to their population sizes in the Nigerian states, it is remarkable that over the last 2 reporting periods, the proportional ratios were slightly lower than over the first 4 reporting periods. It indicates that over the six reporting periods, there was a relative shift of the stage of the violence to states with higher proportions of Christian populations.

1.2.2.4 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed in northern geopolitical zones in the different reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed.

Tables 9, 10, and 11 show the breakdown of the actual and proportional ratios of the number of Christian civilians killed to the number of Muslim civilians killed, over the 6-year reporting period, for the three northern geopolitical zones.

Table 9: NORTH WEST - INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

NORTH WEST	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed
2020	1,984	1,466	518	2.8	9.4
2021	2,340	1,565	775	2.0	9.8
2022	2,956	1,498	1,458	1.0	7.3
2023	1,648	721	927	0.8	4.9
2024	1,686	359	1,327	0.3	0.7
2025	1,700	335	1,365	0.2	1.2
2020-2025	12,314	5,944	6,370	0.9	4.7

Table 9 shows that in North West, there was a big shift in both the actual ratio as the proportional ratio of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed in North West over the last 2 reporting periods, compared to the foregoing 4 reporting periods. The proportional ratio in 2024 dropped even below 1.0, although in 2025 it increased again to 1.2. It shows how ethno-religious warfare by aggressors with a predominantly Fulani background, increasingly not only singled out Christian civilians but also Muslim civilians, mainly Hausa Muslim civilians.

Table 10: NORTH CENTRAL - INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

NORTH CENTRAL	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed
2020	924	863	61	14.1	20.0
2021	1,953	1,697	256	6.6	4.3
2022	1,986	1,523	463	3.3	3.9
2023	2,325	1,999	326	6.1	3.0
2024	1,684	1,405	279	5.0	2.0
2025	2,342	2,059	283	7.3	2.2
2020-2025	11,214	9,546	1,668	5.7	3.8

Table 10 shows that the actual ratio of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed in 2025 rose to the highest but one level in six years. The number of Christian civilians killed in North Central was the highest in six years. The proportional ratios being lower than the actual ratios in the last three years show there was a shift in fatal attacks on Christian-majority states. Nasarawa state has, in recent years, become the launchpad from which attacks have been launched into Christian-majority neighboring states.

Table 11: NORTH EAST - INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), taking into account the Christian/Muslim population levels

NORTH EAST	Total Christians and Muslims killed	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed
2020	1,600	1,173	427	2.7	7.7
2021	436	282	154	1.8	4.3
2022	1,144	866	278	3.1	7.3
2023	676	273	403	0.7	1.7
2024	707	306	401	0.8	2.2
2025	801	270	531	0.5	1.3
2020-2025	5,364	3,170	2,194	1.4	3.8

Table 11 shows that in North East over the 2024 to 2025 reporting periods, the actual ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed were lower than 1.0. That trend had already started in the 2023 reporting period. The same holds true for the proportional ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed, which dropped sharply in comparison to the 2020 to 2022 reporting periods, though still higher than 1.0. It corresponds with a decrease of Christian civilians killed from a 649 yearly average over the first 4 years, to 288 over the last 2 years. Compared to Muslim civilians killed from a 316 yearly average over the first 4 years, to 466 over the last 2 years. The increase in Muslim civilians killed is not necessarily in the context of ‘ethno-religious warfare’, because most civilians in the North East were killed by Boko Haram, which professes ‘religious warfare’, attacking people who aren’t with them.

1.2.2.5 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed in northern states in the different reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed.

Tables 12 and 13 present the actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed for the 20 northern states. Table 12 puts the highest actual ratio first, Table 13 the highest proportional ratio.

Table 12: 20 NORTHERN STATES: Comparison of the actual ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

2020-2025							
State	Geopolitical zone	Christian civilians Killed	% Christians in the state	Muslim civilians Killed	% Muslims in the state	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed
Benue	North Central	4,579	75	40	10	114.5	15.3
Plateau	North Central	2,602	60	257	17	10.1	2.9
Taraba	North East	1,202	30	170	55	7.1	13.0
Adamawa	North East	374	30	60	65	6.2	13.5
Kaduna	North West	4,134	35	971	50	4.3	6.1
Kogi	North Central	231	50	61	41	3.8	3.1
Gombe	North East	70	30	19	55	3.7	6.8
Nasarawa	North Central	374	45	188	40	2.0	1.8
Kwara	North Central	103	45	56	50	1.8	2.0
Abuja FCT	North Central	146	50	88	30	1.7	1.0
Kebbi	North West	666	10	407	88	1.6	14.4
Niger	North Central	1,511	25	978	70	1.5	4.3
Borno	North East	1,407	20	1,623	60	0.9	2.6
Bauchi	North East	56	15	135	80	0.4	2.2
Jigawa	North West	29	9	92	91	0.3	2.8
Kano	North East	36	10	107	87	0.3	3.4
Yobe	North West	61	10	187	88	0.3	2.8
Katsina	North West	428	7	1,522	91	0.3	3.7
Sokoto	North West	219	5	905	94	0.2	4.5
Zamfara	North West	432	5	2,366	94	0.2	3.4

Source for Christian and Muslim percentages: Gina A. Zurlo, ed., World Christian Database (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed June 2025).

Four states have actual ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period that are higher than 5.0: These are Benue, Plateau, Taraba, and Adamawa. Three out of them (Benue, Taraba, Adamawa) have proportional ratios that are higher than 10.0. This indicates that the number of Christian civilians killed in those states is not simply caused by substantial Christian populations but is really disproportional. Eight states have an actual ratio between 1.0 and 5.0, while another eight states have an actual ratio lower than 1.0.

Table 13: 20 NORTHERN STATES: Comparison of the proportional ratios of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

2020-2025							
KILLINGS	State	Christian civilians Killed	% Christians in the state	Muslim civilians Killed	% Muslims in the state	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed
Benue	North Central	4,579	75	40	10	114.5	15.3
Kebbi	North West	666	10	407	88	1.6	14.4
Adamawa	North East	374	30	60	65	6.2	13.5
Taraba	North East	1,202	30	170	55	7.1	13.0
Gombe	North East	70	30	19	55	3.7	6.8
Kaduna	North West	4,134	35	971	50	4.3	6.1
Sokoto	North West	219	5	905	94	0.2	4.5
Niger	North Central	1,511	25	978	70	1.5	4.3
Katsina	North West	428	7	1,522	91	0.3	3.7
Zamfara	North West	432	5	2,366	94	0.2	3.4
Kano	North West	36	9	107	91	0.3	3.4
Kogi	North Central	231	50	61	41	3.8	3.1
Plateau	North Central	2,602	60	257	17	10.1	2.9
Yobe	North East	61	10	187	87	0.3	2.8
Jigawa	North West	29	10	92	88	0.3	2.8
Borno	North East	1,407	20	1,623	60	0.9	2.6
Bauchi	North East	56	15	135	80	0.4	2.2
Kwara	North Central	103	45	56	50	1.8	2.0
Nasarawa	North Central	374	45	188	40	2.0	1.8
Abuja FCT	North Central	146	50	88	30	1.7	1.0

Source for Christian and Muslim percentages: Gina A. Zurlo, ed., *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed June 2025).

Four states have proportional ratios higher than 10 (Benue, Kebbi, Adamawa, Taraba); two states have ratios between 5.0 and 10.0 (Gombe, Kaduna). Thirteen states have a proportional ratio that is higher than 1.0. Abuja FCT is the only ‘state’ with 1.0. This clearly indicates that Christian civilians have been disproportionately affected by the violence in the northern states.

1.2.3 Members of Security Forces killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

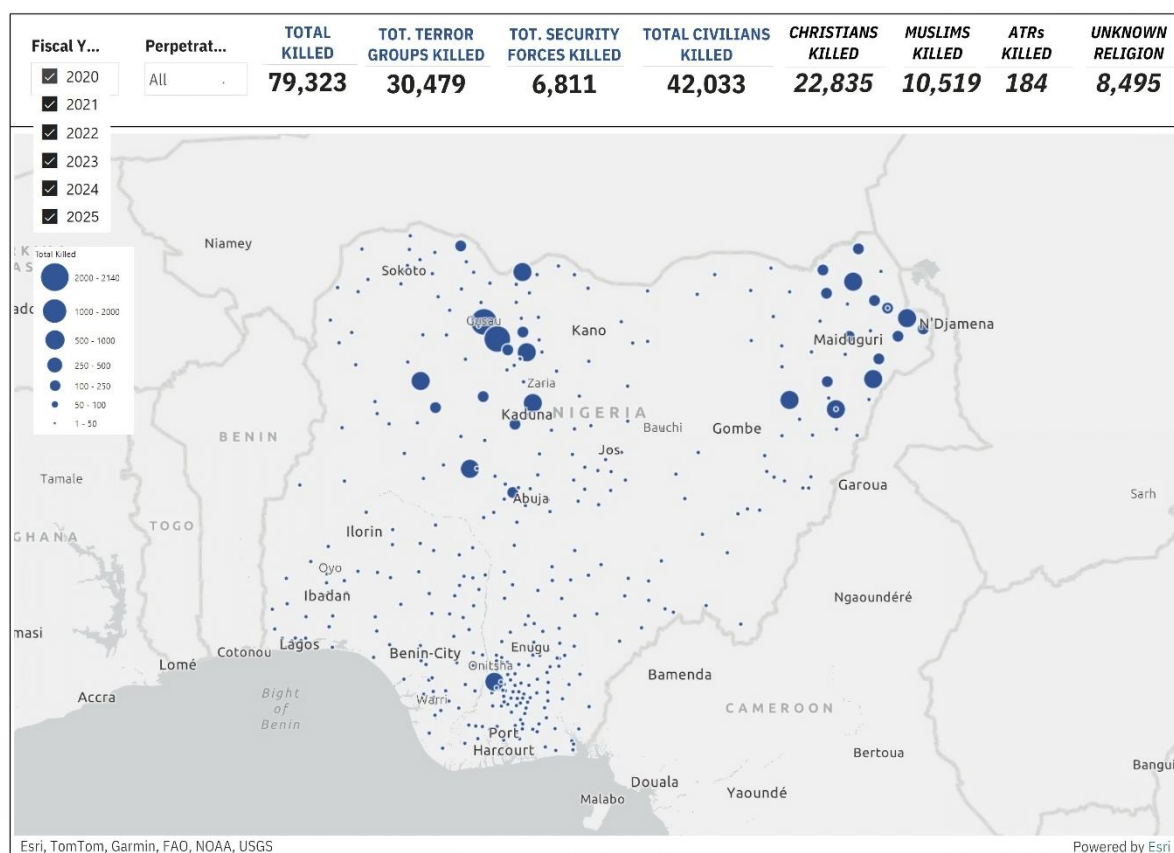
Table 3 shows that the total number of members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period was 6,811. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 1. Most killings were in North East (3,217), followed at a distance by North West (1,558) and North Central (935).

Table 4 shows the number of members of Security Forces killed over the six separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (1,117) to 2021 (2,130), then decreased in 2022 (957) and 2023 (749), to increase again in 2024 (777) and 2025 (1,081).

Table 5 shows that the annual average number of members of Security Forces killed in the first 4 years (1,238) was higher than in the last 2 years (929). Or: a decrease of 25%. This does not necessarily seem to be a new trend, because the number of members of Security Forces killed in 2025 (1,081) was higher than the number in 2023 (749) and even in 2022 (957).

Map 5 visualizes the overall data for members of Security Forces killed. It shows the spread of these killings throughout the country.

Map 5: Members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (6,811)



More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 10 Security Forces killed in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 11 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Section 3 introduces additional maps that specify who killed these members of the Security Forces:

A2 – 17 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 21 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 25 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 29 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by other Security Forces

Section 29 does not say that members of Security Forces killed each other. When Security Forces started the attack, and in battle, some of their members were killed; these were counted as killed by the Security Forces. So basically, it is about their own victims in attacks.

1.2.4 Members of Terror Groups killed in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

Table 3 shows that the total number of members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period was 30,479. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 1. Most killings were in North East (14,369), followed by North West (10,323) and a great distance by North Central (3,878).

Table 4 shows the number of members of Terror Groups killed over the six separate reporting periods. Killings increased from 2020 (3,362) to 2021 (4,204) and strongly in 2022 (6,429); it then somewhat decreased in 2023 (6,082) and further decreased in 2024 (4,793), to increase again in 2025 (5,609).

The data for members of Security Forces killed and members of Terror Groups killed, show that most clashes between Security forces and Terror Groups took place in North East and North West. The ratio of killings of members of the Terror Groups to the members of the Security Forces was 6.7 for North West, 4.4 for North East, and 4.1 for North Central.

Table 14 combines the data for members of Security Forces killed and members of Terror Groups killed per reporting period.

Table 14. Ratios and totals of members of Security Forces killed and members of Terror Groups killed

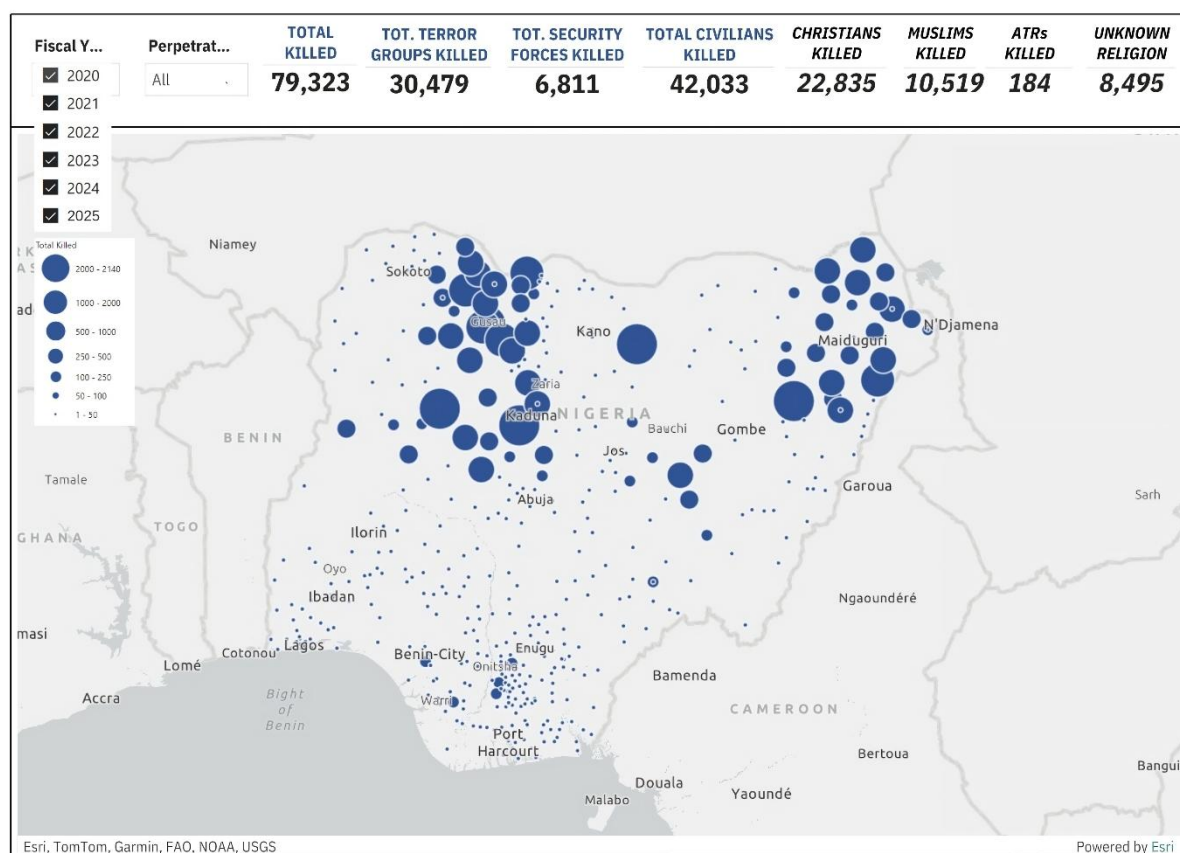
Year	Total Security Forces and Terror Groups killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed	Ratio Terror Groups to Security Forces killed
2020	4,479	1,117	3,362	3.0
2021	6,334	2,130	4,204	2.0
2022	7,386	957	6,429	6.7
2023	6,831	749	6,082	8.1
2024	5,570	777	4,793	6.2
2025	6,690	1,081	5,609	5.2
2020-2025	37,290	6,811	30,479	4.5

In the 2020 and 2021 reporting periods, the clashes were most intense, with the ratio of killings amongst the members of the Terror Groups to the members of the Security Forces being 3.0 (2020) and 2.0 (2021). Remarkably, the ratios strongly increased in the following 4 years: 6.7 in 2022, 8.1 in 2023, 6.2 in 2024, and 5.2 in 2025. The combination of the ratios and totals suggests that fighting between security forces and terrorist groups remained intense throughout the six reporting periods, but that security forces became more effective over the years.

Table 5 shows that the annual average number of members of Terror Groups killed in the first 4 years (5,019) was slightly lower than in the last 2 years (5,201). Or an increase of 4%.

Map 6 visualizes the overall data for members of Terror Groups killed. It shows the spread of these killings throughout the country.

Map 6: Members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (30,479)



More maps are available in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 12 Combined Terror Groups killed in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 13 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Section 3 introduces additional maps that specify who killed members of the combined Terror Groups:

A2 – 18 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 22 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 26 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 30 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Security Forces

When members of the combined Terror Groups started the violence, and some of them were killed, these were counted as killed by themselves. So, it is about their own victims in attacks. Of course, there were also inter-group clashes between the different Terror Groups.

1.3 Hotspots of killings for the different victim categories

Tables 15 -35 below present the states as well as the LGAs with most killings for the different victim categories of killings for the overall 6 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2025), for the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) and the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sep 2025). The rationale is that if the Tinubu government

had meant a change in the violence panorama after the Buhari government, it would have shown in the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sep 2025).

1.3.1 Hot spots of killings for the different victim categories at state level over 6 years

The tables below specify data for civilians in general; Christian civilians and Muslim civilians (not including the distributed numbers for ‘Unknown religious identity’); members of ‘Security Forces’ and of ‘Terror Groups’. An indication is also given for the Top 5 killings at the state level based on the ‘proportional’ number of Christian civilians killed.

1.3.1.1 Hot spots of killings for civilians at state level over 6 years

Map 1 in section 1.2.1 shows the distribution of civilians killed across the country.

Table 15 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period. It indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country’s total.

Table 15: Top 5 states with civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 civilians killed over all six years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kaduna	North West	6,072	1,012	14
Benue	North Central	5,140	857	12
Borno	North East	4,342	724	10
Zamfara	North West	3,677	613	9
Plateau	North Central	3,176	529	8
<i>Total Top 5 (%)</i>				53
Country total		42,033	7,006	

Civilians killed in the Top 5 states over all six years: Kaduna had the most civilians killed. The Top 5 states had 53% of the total number of civilians killed in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 47% of the killings, with most of them in the northern states (35,536) compared to the southern states (6,497). The successive numbers for the Top 5 states do not differ dramatically, but only gradually.

1.3.1.1.1 Hot spots of killings for Christian civilians at state level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians killed.

Map 3 in section 1.2.2.1 shows the distribution of Christian civilians killed across the country.

Table 16 gives the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of Christian civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period. It indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country’s total.

The numbers in Table 16 do not include the proportionally distributed numbers of the killings with unknown religious identity (8,495). See section 1.2.2 for the distributed numbers over Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians.

Table 16: Top 5 states with Christian civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Christian civilians killed over all six years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Benue	North Central	4,579	763	20
Kaduna	North West	4,134	689	18
Plateau	North Central	2,602	434	11
Niger	North Central	1,511	252	7
Borno	North East	1,407	235	6
<i>Total Top 5 (%)</i>				62
Country total		22,835	3,806	

Christian civilians killed in the Top 5 states over all six years: Benue had most killings, followed closely by Kaduna. The Top 5 states had 62% of the total number of Christian civilians killed in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 38% of the killings, with most of them in the northern states (18,660) compared to the southern states (4,175). The successive numbers for the Top 5 states differ greatly.

Table 16 is based on registered ‘actual’ numbers of Christian civilians killed. It is also possible to speak about calculated ‘proportioned numbers’. These are related to proportional ratios, which are derived from the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in each state. See 1.2.2.3, 1.2.2.4, and 1.2.2.5 for more information.

The Top 5 changes when considering the proportional numbers of Christian civilians killed in the states for all 6 years.

Table 17. Comparison of the Top 5 Christian civilians killed actually and proportionally over all 6 years

TOP 5 Christian civilians killed over all 6 years	
Actually	Proportionally
Benue	Zamfara
Kaduna	Kaduna
Plateau	Kebbi
Niger	Katsina
Borno	Niger

While in the actual Top 5 there were 3 northcentral states, 1 northwestern, and 1 northeastern; in the proportional Top 5, there were 4 northwestern states, and 1 northcentral state. This suggests that Christian civilians in North West were also specifically targeted for violence.

1.3.1.1.2 Hot spots of killings for Muslim civilians at state level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians killed.

Map 4 in section 1.2.2.2 shows the distribution of Muslim civilians killed across the country.

Table 18 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period. It indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

The numbers in Table 18 do not include the proportionally distributed numbers of the killings with unknown religious identity (8,495). See section 1.2.2 for the distributed numbers over Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians.

Table 18: Top 5 states with Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Muslim civilians killed over all six years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Zamfara	North West	2,366	394	22
Borno	North East	1,623	271	15
Katsina	North West	1,522	254	14
Niger	North Central	978	163	9
Kaduna	North West	971	162	9
<i>Total Top 5 (%)</i>				71
Country total		10,519	1,753	

Muslim civilians killed in the Top 5 states over all six years: Zamfara had most killings, followed by Borno and Katsina. The Top 5 states had 71% of the total number of Muslim civilians killed in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 29% of the killings, with most of them in the northern states (10,232) compared to the southern states (287). The successive numbers for the Top 5 states differ greatly.

1.3.1.2 Hot spots of killings for members of Security Forces at state level over 6 years

Map 5 in section 1.2.3 shows the distribution of members of Security Forces killed across the country.

Table 19 gives the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period. It indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

In case vigilantes were killed trying to defend their communities against attacks by Terror Groups, they were counted under 'Security Forces'. These could be Christian or Muslim vigilantes.

Table 19: Top 5 states with members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Security Forces killed over all six years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Borno	North East	2,832	472	42
Niger	North Central	595	99	9
Zamfara	North West	525	88	8
Kaduna	North West	331	55	5
Katsina	North West	317	53	5
<i>Total Top 5 (%)</i>				68
Country total		6,811	1,135	

Members of Security Forces killed over all six years: Borno had by far most killings. The Top 5 states had 68% of the total number of members of Security Forces killed in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 33% of the killings, with most of them in the northern states (5,710) compared to the southern states (1,101). The difference between Borno and the other states in the Top 5 is very big, indicating a high concentration of military activity in just one Nigerian state.

1.3.1.3 Hot spots of killings for members of Terror Groups at state level over 6 years

Map 6 in section 1.2.4 shows the distribution of members of Terror Groups killed across the country.

Table 20 gives the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period. It indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

Table 20: Top 5 states with members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Terror Groups killed over all six years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Borno	North East	13,234	2,206	43
Zamfara	North West	4,660	777	15
Niger	North Central	2,771	462	9
Katsina	North West	2,418	403	8
Kaduna	North West	2,128	355	7
<i>Total Top 5 (%)</i>				83
Country total		30,479	5,080	

Members of Terror Groups killed over all six years: Borno had by far most killings. The Top 5 states had 83% of the total number of members of Terror Groups killed in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 17% of the killings, with by far most of them in the northern states (28,570) compared to the southern states (1,909). The difference between Borno and the other states in the Top 5 is very large, although Zamfara is slightly closer than Niger, Katsina, and Kaduna.

1.3.2 Hot spots of killings for the different victim categories at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

This section repeats the analysis done in section 1.3.1. It splits the overall 6-year reporting period into two parts: the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) and the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sep 2025).

1.3.2.1 Hot spots of killings for civilians at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

Table 21 compares the Top 5 states with the highest number of civilians killed over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). The table indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

Table 21: Top 5 states with civilians killed over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 civilians killed over first four years					TOP 5 civilians killed over last two years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kaduna	North West	5,094	1,274	16	Benue	North Central	1,960	980	18
Borno	North East	3,287	822	11	Plateau	North Central	1,214	607	11
Benue	North Central	3,186	796	10	Borno	North East	1,047	524	9
Zamfara	North West	2,684	671	9	Katsina	North West	1,044	522	9
Niger	North Central	2,616	654	8	Zamfara	North West	1,013	507	9
Total Top 5 (%)				55	Total Top 5 (%)				56
Country total		30,880	7,720		Country total		11,153	5,577	

Shift in civilians killed in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of civilian killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (7,720) was higher than over the last 2 years (5,577).
- The total percentage of killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (55%) and the last two years (56%), remained largely the same.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Benue increased from rank 3 to 1, while Plateau appeared in the Top 5 at rank 2. Borno dropped in ranking from 2 to 3. Katsina appeared in rank 4. Zamfara dropped from rank 4 to 5. Kaduna disappeared from the Top 5, as did Niger.

1.3.2.1.1 Hot spots of killings for Christian civilians at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians killed.

Table 22 compares the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of Christian civilians killed over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). The table indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

Table 22: Top 5 states with Christian civilians killed over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Christian civilians killed first four years					TOP 5 Christian civilians killed over last two years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kaduna	North West	3,548	887	21	Benue	North Central	1,906	953	31
Benue	North Central	2,674	668	16	Plateau	North Central	1,099	550	18
Plateau	North Central	1,500	375	9	Kaduna	North West	590	295	10
Niger	North Central	1,392	348	8	Taraba	North Central	211	106	3
Borno	North East	1,202	301	7	Borno	North East	202	101	3
Total Top 5 (%)				62	Total Top 5 (%)				66
Country total		16,769	4,192		Country total		6,066	3,033	

Shift in Christian civilians killed in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of Christian civilian killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (4,192) was higher than over the last 2 years (3,033). In other words, there was a decrease in Christian civilian killings over the last 2 years.
- The total percentage of Christian civilian killings in the Top 5 states increased from 62% over the first 4 years to 66% over the last two years.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Benue increased from rank 2 to 1, while Plateau increased from rank 3 to 2. Kaduna dropped from in ranking from 1 to 3. Taraba appeared in rank 4, while Borno remained in rank 5. Niger disappeared from the Top 5.

The Top 5 changes when we look at the proportional numbers of Christian civilians killed in the states for the first 4 and the last 2 years.

Table 23. Comparison of Top 5 Christian civilians killed actually and proportionally for the first 4 years (2020 to 2023) and the last 2 years (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Christian civilians killed over the first 4 years		TOP 5 Christian civilians killed over the last 2 years	
Actually	Proportionally	Actually	Proportionally
Kaduna	Zamfara	Benue	Kaduna
Benue	Kebbi	Plateau	Zamfara
Plateau	Kaduna	Kaduna	Borno
Niger	Katsina	Taraba	Katsina
Borno	Sokoto	Borno	Taraba

Table 23 shows shifting dynamics in killings, notably in the actual Top 5 from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- Actual Top 5:
 - First 4 years: 3 northcentral states, 1 northwestern, and 1 northeastern state.
 - Last 2 years: 2 northcentral, 1 northwestern, and 2 northeastern states.
- Proportionated Top 5:
 - First 4 years: 5 northwestern states.
 - Last 2 years: 3 northwestern and 2 northeastern states.

1.3.2.1.2 Hot spots of killings for Muslim civilians at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians killed.

Table 24 compares the Top 5 states with the highest number of Muslim civilians killed over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). The table indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

Table 24: Top 5 states with Muslim civilians killed over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Muslim civilians killed over first four years					TOP 5 Muslim civilians killed over last 2 years						
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total		
Zamfara	North West	1,520	380	24	Katsina	North West	907	454	21		
Borno	North East	1,000	250	16	Zamfara	North West	863	432	20		
Niger	North Central	725	181	12	Borno	North East	618	309	14		
Kaduna	North West	621	155	10	Sokoto	North West	362	181	8		
Katsina	North West	609	152	10	Kaduna	North West	359	180	8		
Total Top 5 (%)					72	Total Top 5 (%)					73
Country total		6,235	1,559		Country total		4,284	2,142			

Shift in Muslim civilians killed in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of Muslim civilian killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (1,559) was lower than over the last 2 years (2,142). In other words, there was an increase in Muslim civilian killings over the last two years.
- The total percentage of Muslim civilian killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (72%) and the last two years (73%) remained largely the same.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Katsina increased from rank 5 to 1, while Zamfara dropped from 1 to 2, and Borno from 2 to 3. Sokoto appeared in the Top 5. Kaduna dropped from 4 to 5. Niger disappeared from the Top 5.

1.3.2.2 Hot spots of killings for members of Security Forces at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

Table 25 compares the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of members of Security Forces killed over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). The table indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

Table 25: Top 5 states with members of Security Forces killed over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Security Forces killed over first four years					TOP 5 Security Forces killed over last 2 years					
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	
Borno	North East	2,345	586	47	Borno	North East	487	244	26	
Niger	North Central	446	112	9	Zamfara	North West	269	135	14	
Zamfara	North West	257	64	5	Katsina	North West	151	76	8	
Kaduna	North West	211	53	4	Niger	North Central	141	71	8	
Imo	South East	203	51	4	Kaduna	North West	120	60	6	
Total Top 5 (%)					70	Total Top 5 (%)				
Country total		4,953	1,238		Country total		1,858	929		

Shift in civilians killed in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of killings among members of Security Forces in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (1,238) was higher than over the last 2 years (929).
- The total percentage of killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (70%) decreased in the last two years (63%).
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Borno remained at rank 1, while Zamfara increased from rank 3 to 2. Katsina appeared in rank 3. Niger dropped from rank 2 to 4, and Kaduna from rank 4 to 5. Yobe disappeared from the Top 5.

1.3.2.3 Hot spots of killings for members of Terror Groups at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

Table 26 compares the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of members of Terror Groups killed over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). The table indicates the average numbers per year and calculates the percentages of state killings of the country's total.

Table 26: Top 5 states with members of Terror Groups killed over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Terror Groups killed over first four years					TOP 5 Terror Groups killed over last two years					
State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total	
Borno	North East	9,669	2,417	48	Borno	North East	3,469	1,735	33	
Zamfara	North West	2,756	689	14	Zamfara	North West	1,978	989	19	
Niger	North Central	2,006	502	10	Katsina	North West	1,216	608	12	
Kaduna	North West	1,510	378	8	Kaduna	North West	716	358	7	
Katsina	North West	1,199	300	6	Niger	North Central	715	358	7	
Total Top 5 (%)					85	Total Top 5 (%)				78
Country total		20,077	5,019		Country total		10,402	5,201		

Shift in members of Terror Groups killed in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of killings among members of Terror Groups in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (5,019) increased over the last 2 years (5,201).
- The total percentage of killings in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (85%) decreased to 78%, which is, however, still a remarkably high value.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Borno remained at rank 1, Zamfara at rank 2. Katsina increased from rank 5 to 3. Kaduna remained ranked 4. Niger dropped from rank 3 to 5.

1.3.3 Hotspots of killings at LGA level over all 6 years

Data for killings were registered for 722 out of 774 LGAs; this includes the 6 Area Councils. The text will only refer to LGAs, but means to include the Area Councils.

This section only looks at the hotspots of killing for the full 6 years (2020 to 2025); no analytical split is made between the first 4 years (2020 to 2023) and the last 2 years (2024 to 2025).

1.3.3.1 Hot spots of killings for civilians at LGA level over 6 years

Table 27 presents the 10 LGAs with the most civilians killed per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 27: Top 10 LGAs with civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 Civilians killed at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	1,308	218	3.1
Guma	Benue	North Central	1,307	218	3.1
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	1,202	200	2.9
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	1,109	185	2.6
Bassa	Plateau	North Central	787	131	1.9
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	742	124	1.8
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	690	115	1.6
Mangu	Plateau	North Central	604	101	1.4
Katsina-Ala	Benue	North Central	597	100	1.4
Faskari	Katsina	North West	572	95	1.4
Total Top 10 (%)					21
Country total			42,033	7,006	

21% of civilians were killed in 10 LGAs out of 722 with registered killings of civilians.

1.3.3.1.1 Hot spots of killings for Christian civilians at LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians killed.

Table 28 presents the 10 LGAs with most Christian civilians killed per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 28: Top 10 LGAs with Christian civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 Christian civilians killed at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Guma	Benue	North Central	1,256	209	5.5
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	1,071	179	4.7
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	1,017	170	4.5
Bassa	Plateau	North Central	612	102	2.7
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	611	102	2.7
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	558	93	2.4
Bokkos	Plateau	North Central	535	89	2.3
Mangu	Plateau	North Central	513	86	2.2
Katsina-Ala	Benue	North Central	510	85	2.2
Takum	Taraba	North East	439	73	1.9
Total Top 10 (%)					31
Country total			22,835	3,806	

31% of Christian civilians were killed in 10 LGAs out of 580 with registered killings of Christian civilians.

1.3.3.1.2 Hot spots of killings for Muslim civilians at LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians killed.

Table 29 presents the 10 LGAs with most Muslim civilians killed per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 29: Top 10 LGAs with Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 Muslim civilians killed at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	374	62	3.6
Maru	Zamfara	North West	325	54	3.1
Gusau	Zamfara	North West	293	49	2.8
Anka	Zamfara	North West	283	47	2.7
Giwa	Kaduna	North West	244	41	2.3
Sabon-Birni	Sokoto	North West	242	40	2.3
Igabi	Kaduna	North West	241	40	2.3
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	239	40	2.3
Faskari	Katsina	North West	235	39	2.2
Kukawa	Borno	North East	209	35	2.0
Total Top 10 (%)					26
Country total			10,519	1,753	

26% of Muslim civilians were civilians killed in 10 LGAs out of 396 with registered killings of Muslim civilians.

1.3.3.2 Hot spots of killings for members of Security Forces at LGA level over 6 years

Table 30 presents the 10 LGAs with most members of Security Forces killed per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 30: Top 10 LGAs with members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 members of Security Forces killed at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Damboa	Borno	North East	331	55	4.9
Kukawa	Borno	North East	321	54	4.7
Monguno	Borno	North East	217	36	3.2
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	201	34	3.0
Abadan	Borno	North East	190	32	2.8
Konduga	Borno	North East	182	30	2.7
Maiduguri Metropolis	Borno	North East	170	28	2.5
Bama	Borno	North East	160	27	2.3
Kaga	Borno	North East	153	26	2.2
Gujba	Yobe	North East	149	25	2.2
Total Top 10 (%)					31
Country total			6,811	1,135	

31% of members of Security Forces were killed in 10 LGAs out of 398 with registered killings of members of Security Forces.

1.3.3.3 Hot spots of killings for members of Terror Groups at LGA level over 6 years

Table 31 presents the 10 LGAs with most members of Terror Groups killed per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 31: Top 10 LGAs with members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 members of Terror Groups killed at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Bama	Borno	North East	2,344	391	7.7%
Gwoza	Borno	North East	1,697	283	5.6%
Marte	Borno	North East	1,421	237	4.7%
Abadan	Borno	North East	1,288	215	4.2%
Kukawa	Borno	North East	1,052	175	3.5%
Maru	Zamfara	North West	1,009	168	3.3%
Dambo	Borno	North East	996	166	3.3%
Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	North West	784	131	2.6%
Konduga	Borno	North East	639	107	2.1%
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	623	104	2.0%
Total Top 10 (%)					39
Country total			30,479	5,080	

39% of members of Terror Groups were killed in 10 LGAs out of 474 with registered killings of members of Terror Groups.

1.3.3.4 Compare the hot spots of killings at LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed.

Tables 32 to 35 compare the Top 10 LGAs where civilians were killed, with those where members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups were killed. It does the same for Christian civilians and Muslim civilians compared to members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups. Finally, it compares the Top 10 LGAs where civilians were killed, with those where the main subgroups of this category were killed, namely Christian civilians and Muslim civilians.

Table 32. Comparison of Top 10 LGAs where civilians, members of Security Forces, and members of Terror Groups were killed

TOP 10 Civilians killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 members of Security Forces killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 members of Terror Groups killed over all 6 years	
LGA (Area Council)	State	LGA (Area Council)	State	LGA (Area Council)	State
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	Dambo	Borno	Bama	Borno
Guma	Benue	Kukawa	Borno	Gwoza	Borno
Kajuru	Kaduna	Monguno	Borno	Marte	Borno
Shiroro	Niger	Shiroro	Niger	Kukawa	Borno
Bassa	Plateau	Konduga	Borno	Maru	Zamfara
Chikun	Kaduna	Bama	Borno	Dambo	Borno
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	Maiduguri Metro	Borno	Abadam	Borno
Kaura	Kaduna	Kaga	Borno	Birnin Gwari	Kaduna
Mangu	Plateau	Gujba	Yobe	Konduga	Borno
Katsina Ala/Ukum	Benue	Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	Shiroro	Niger

Table 32 shows a near total lack of overlap between LGAs where civilians were killed and LGAs where members of Security Forces or members of Terror Groups were killed. Only 1 out of 10 was a shared location (Shiroro). For members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups, it was different: 6 out of 10 were shared locations (Damboa, Kukawa, Shiroro, Konduga, Bama, Birnin Gwari).

Table 33. Comparison of Top 10 LGAs where Christian civilians, members of Security Forces, and members of Terror Groups were killed

TOP 10 Christian civilians killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 members of Security Forces killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 members of Terror Groups killed over all 6 years	
LGA	State	LGA	State	LGA	State
Guma	Benue	Damboa	Borno	Bama	Borno
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	Kukawa	Borno	Gwoza	Borno
Kajuru	Kaduna	Monguno	Borno	Marte	Borno
Bassa	Plateau	Shiroro	Niger	Abadan	Borno
Shiroro	Niger	Abadan	Borno	Kukawa	Borno
Chikun	Kaduna	Konduga	Borno	Maru	Zamfara
Bokkos	Plateau	Maiduguri Metro C.	Borno	Damboa	Borno
Mangu	Plateau	Bama	Borno	Birnin Gwari	Kaduna
Katsina-Ala	Benue	Kaga	Borno	Konduga	Borno
Takum	Taraba	Gujba	Yobe	Shiroro	Niger

As for civilians in general, Table 33 shows a near total lack of overlap between LGAs where Christian civilians were killed and LGAs where members of Security Forces or members of Terror Groups were killed. Only 1 out of 10 was a shared location (Shiroro). For members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups, it was different: 6 out of 10 were shared locations (Damboa, Kukawa, Abadan, Shiroro, Konduga, Bama).

Table 34. Comparison of Top 5 LGAs where Muslim civilians, members of Security Forces, and members of Terror Groups were killed

TOP 10 Muslims civilians killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 members of Security Forces killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 members of Terror Groups killed over all 6 years	
LGA	State	LGA	State	LGA	State
Shiroro	Niger	Damboa	Borno	Bama	Borno
Maru	Zamfara	Kukawa	Borno	Gwoza	Borno
Gusau	Zamfara	Monguno	Borno	Marte	Borno
Anka	Zamfara	Shiroro	Niger	Abadan	Borno
Giwa	Kaduna	Abadan	Borno	Kukawa	Borno
Sabon-Birni	Sokoto	Konduga	Borno	Maru	Zamfara
Igabi	Kaduna	Maiduguri Metro C.	Borno	Damboa	Borno
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	Bama	Borno	Birnin Gwari	Kaduna
Faskari	Katsina	Kaga	Borno	Konduga	Borno
Kukawa	Borno	Gujba	Yobe	Shiroro	Niger

Table 34 shows a limited overlap between LGAs where Muslim civilians were killed and LGAs where members of Security Forces or members of Terror Groups were killed. Only 2 out of 10 were shared locations with members of Security Forces killed (Shiroro, Kukawa); 3 out of 10 with members of Terror Groups killed (Shiroro, Maru, Kukawa). For members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups, it was different: 6 out of 10 were shared locations (Damboa, Kukawa, Shiroro, Abadan, Konduga, Bama).

Table 35. Comparison of Top 10 LGAs where all civilians, Christian and Muslim civilians were killed

TOP 10 Civilians killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 Christian civilians killed over all 6 years		TOP 10 Muslims civilians killed over all 6 years	
LGA	State	LGA	State	LGA	State
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	Guma	Benue	Shiroro	Niger
Guma	Benue	Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	Maru	Zamfara
Kajuru	Kaduna	Kajuru	Kaduna	Gusau	Zamfara
Shiroro	Niger	Bassa	Plateau	Anka	Zamfara
Bassa	Plateau	Shiroro	Niger	Giwa	Kaduna
Chikun	Kaduna	Chikun	Kaduna	Sabon-Birni	Sokoto
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	Bokkos	Plateau	Igabi	Kaduna
Mangu	Plateau	Mangu	Plateau	Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi
Katsina-Ala	Benue	Katsina-Ala	Benue	Faskari	Katsina
Faskari	Katsina	Takum	Taraba	Kukawa	Borno

Table 35 shows a strong overlap between LGAs where civilians were killed and LGAs where Christian civilians were killed: 8 out of 10. Wasagu/Danko and Faskari did not overlap. The overlap between LGAs where civilians were killed and LGAs where Muslim civilians were killed was only 2 out of 10 (Shiroro, Wasagu/Danko). Finally, the overlap between LGAs where Christian civilians were killed, and LGAs where Muslim civilians were killed was nearly absent: 1 out of 10 (Shiroro).

1.4 Size of attacks, including community attacks and other attacks

Most attacks with civilians killed targeted communities, the majority of them Christian communities. Community attacks often involved a shocking variety of hostile acts and led to enormous numbers of forcibly displaced people. At the end of 2024, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reported 3.4 million forcibly displaced civilians by conflict and violence in Nigeria.

Table 36 shows how many civilian, Christian civilian, and Muslim civilian killings took place in the context of community attacks, as distinguished from other attacks, in the distinct reporting periods.

Table 36: Percentages of civilian, Christian civilian, and Muslim civilian killings in community incidents per reporting period

Year	Total community and other civilian killings	Total civilians killed in community incidents	% of civilians killed in community incidents	Total community and other Christian civilian killings	Total christian civilians killed in community incidents	% of Christian civilians killed in community incidents	Total community and other Muslim civilians killings	Total Muslim civilians killed in community incidents	% of Muslim civilians killed in community incidents	Total community and other civilians killings of ATRs	Total community and other killings with unknown religious identity
2020	7,434	6,565	88	3,619	3,196	88	1,009	909	90	-	2,806
2021	9,940	8,484	85	4,328	3,761	87	1,237	1,083	88	24	4,351
2022	7,651	5,521	72	4,877	3,308	68	2,263	1,865	82	40	471
2023	5,855	4,742	81	3,945	3,298	84	1,726	1,344	78	90	94
2024	5,176	3,340	65	2,727	1,924	71	2,041	1,266	62	18	390
2025	5,977	3,625	61	3,339	2,131	64	2,243	1,292	58	12	383
2020-2025	42,033	32,277	77	22,835	17,618	77	10,519	7,759	74	184	8,495

Table 36 shows that 77% of civilians killed were killed in community attacks; for Christian civilians killed, this percentage was 77%, for Muslim civilians killed, it was 74%. Over the years, the percentage of civilians killed in community attacks has decreased, with its lowest value in 2025 (61%); the lowest value for Christian civilians was 64% (2,131), for Muslim civilians it was 58% (1,292).

Table 37 shows the breakdown of data on attacks with civilian killings, specifying the number 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 37: Civilians killed during community attacks and other attacks

Incidents with civilians killed		
ALL incidents with Civilians - 10394	Community 6000 incidents:	Other 4394 incidents:
0 – 5 civilian killings = 8756 incidents or 84%	0 – 5 civilian killings = 4659 incidents 78%	0 – 5 civilian killings = 4097 incidents 93%
6 – 10 civilian killings = 869 incidents or 8%	6 – 10 civilian killings = 661 incidents 11%	6 – 10 civilian killings = 208 incidents 5%
So % 92 on “smaller scale”	So 89% on “smaller scale”	So 98% on smaller scale
11 – 25 civilian killings = 558 incidents	11 – 25 civilian killings = 493 incidents	11 – 25 civilian killings = 65 incidents
26 – 50 civilian killings = 157 incidents	26 – 50 civilian killings = 139 incidents	26 – 50 civilian killings = 18 incidents
51 – 100 civilian killings = 42 incidents	51 – 100 civilian killings = 37 incidents	51 – 100 civilian killings = 5 incidents
>100 (up to 256) civilian killings = 12 incidents	>100 (up to 256) civilian killings = 11 incidents	>100 (up to 256) civilian killings = 1 incident

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

2. Spread of killings over the year

This section looks more closely at how the killings were spread over the course of the year. It starts with all people killed, then looks at civilians killed, and finally compares civilians killed with the sum of members of Security Forces and members of Terror Groups killed.

2.1 All killings over the months in the geographical zones and reporting periods

Table 38 shows the spread of all killings over the months in the different geopolitical zones, for the 6-year reporting period. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 7.

Table 38: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – All killings over the months

Geopolitical zone	2020-2025												
	Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	27,246	1,803	1,794	2,173	2,518	2,319	2,886	2,529	2,523	2,570	2,325	1,987	1,819
North Central	17,690	799	740	980	1,494	1,055	1,986	2,311	2,454	2,018	1,210	1,491	1,152
North East	24,880	1,931	2,085	2,013	2,512	1,681	2,196	2,054	2,541	2,491	1,506	1,552	2,318
South East	4,528	388	354	297	378	352	391	443	461	758	212	232	262
South South	2,887	296	210	186	197	308	303	306	327	217	220	137	180
South West	2,092	143	131	176	256	214	218	128	198	243	139	139	107
Grand Total	79,323	5,360	5,314	5,825	7,355	5,929	7,980	7,771	8,504	8,297	5,612	5,538	5,838

Figure 1 visualizes the data in Table 38

Figure 1. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – All killings over the months

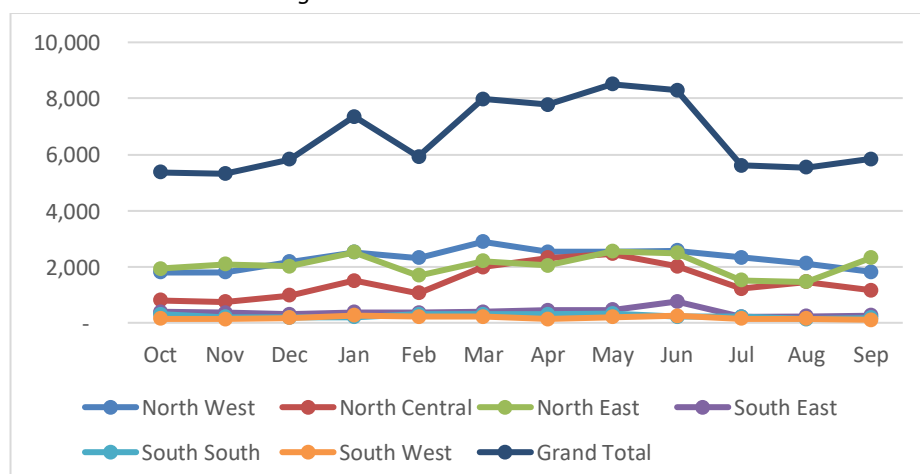


Figure 1 shows all people killed over the months for the 6-year period in the six geopolitical zones. There is a peak in killings between January and June. North West, North Central, and North East are by far the main contributors to that peak.

Table 39 shows the spread of all killings per month in the five individual reporting periods. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 7.

Table 39: INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – All killings over the month

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
2024	10,746	892	1,013	1,155	1,025	840	942	1,260	1,009	869	359	809	573
2025	12,667	754	980	890	1,513	630	940	1,066	1,184	1,682	1,005	1,072	951
2020-2025	79,323	5,360	5,314	5,825	7,355	5,929	7,980	7,771	8,504	8,297	5,612	5,538	5,838

Figure 2 visualizes the data in Table 39.

Figure 2. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – All killings over the months

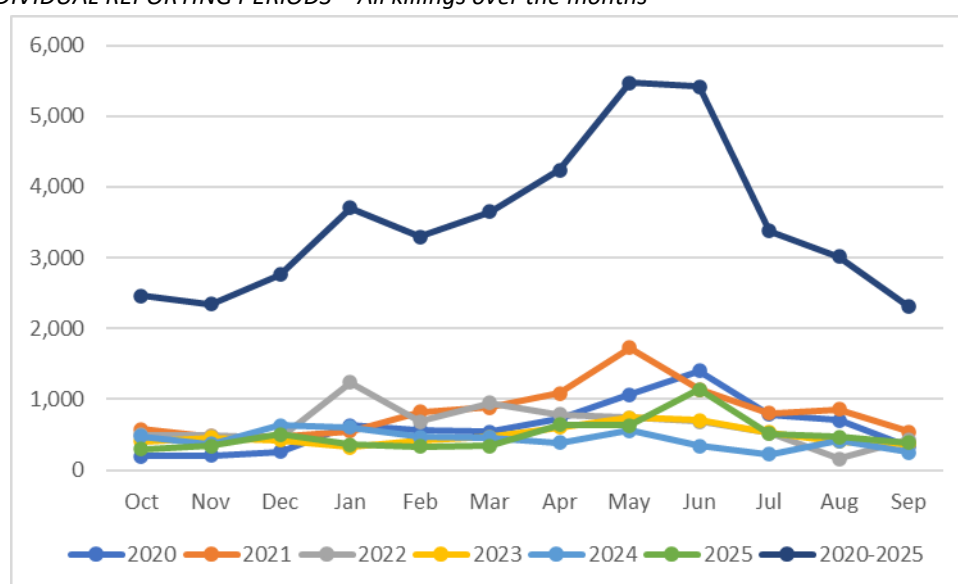


Figure 3 shows all people killed over the months in each of the five reporting periods. The peak in the killings, which runs from January to June, cannot be clearly attributed to one specific reporting period.

2.2 Civilian killings over the months in the geographical zones and reporting periods

Table 40 shows the spread of civilian killings over the months in the different geopolitical zones, for the overall 6-year reporting period. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 7.

Table 40: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilians killed per month

Geopolitical zone	Civilians Killed	2020-2025											
		Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	15,369	872	930	1,069	1,367	1,454	1,693	1,296	1,570	1,646	1,475	1,218	779
North Central	12,877	571	443	703	1,096	849	1,038	1,741	2,196	1,693	883	947	717
North East	7,287	453	525	551	632	382	266	601	1,030	1,160	687	523	477
South East	2,980	246	199	175	252	208	279	327	311	570	111	145	157
South South	1,863	197	141	124	145	221	189	181	212	135	124	83	111
South West	1,657	120	108	142	210	183	181	91	153	208	97	95	69
Grand Total	42,033	2,459	2,346	2,764	3,702	3,297	3,646	4,237	5,472	5,412	3,377	3,011	2,310

Figure 3 visualizes the data in Table 40.

Figure 3: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilians killed per month

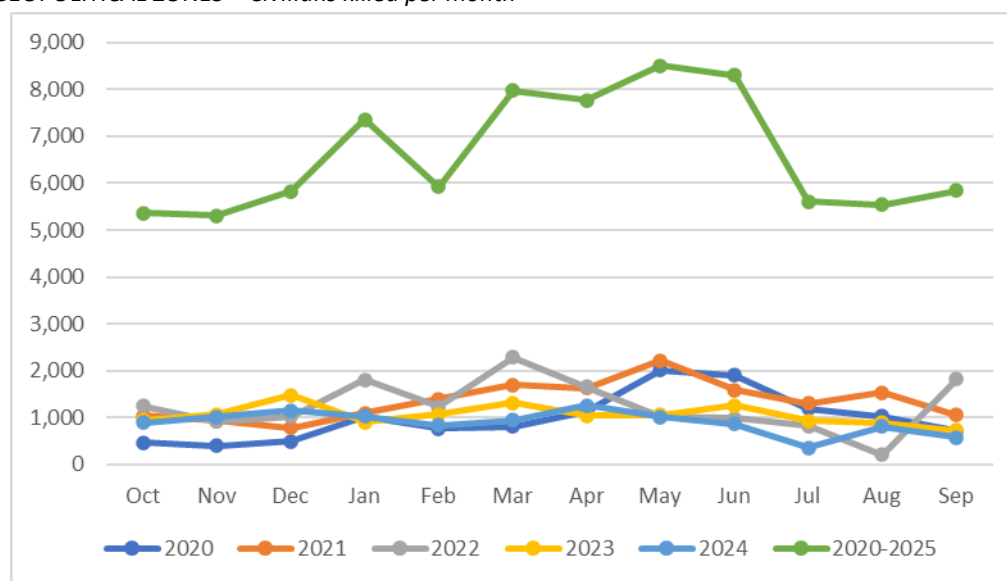


Figure 3 shows civilians killed over the months over the 6-year period. Although the totals peak between January and July, the biggest peak is between April and June, which is the ‘heart’ of the farming season. North Central contributes most to the April-June peak, followed by North West and North East.

Table 41 looks at the spread of civilian killings over the months per individual reporting period. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 7.

Table 41 INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS – Civilian killings over the month

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
2024	5,176	478	371	633	603	470	456	391	557	338	221	411	247
2025	5,977	301	340	507	360	335	339	641	636	1,137	517	473	391
2020-2025	42,033	2,459	2,346	2,764	3,702	3,297	3,646	4,237	5,472	5,412	3,377	3,011	2,310

Figure 4 visualizes the data in Table 41.

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

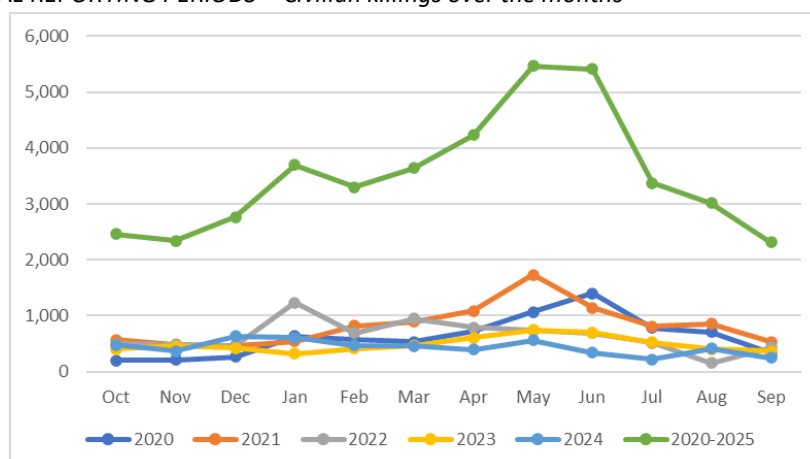


Figure 4 shows civilians killed over the months per individual reporting period. There is a peak in killings between January and June. The 2022 reporting period contributed most to the January peak. The 2021 reporting period did so for the April and May peaks, and the 2020 reporting period for the June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

2.3 Total Civilians killed over the months in comparison to members of Security Forces and Terror Groups killed

Table 42 takes the overall 6-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.

Table 42: All killings per month for the full 6-year reporting period, distinguishing killings of civilians and killings of members of Security Forces and Terror Groups combined

2020 - 2025	Total Killed	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
Civilian killings	42,033	2,459	2,346	2,764	3,702	3,297	3,646	4,237	5,472	5,412	3,377	3,011	2,310
Security Forces/Terror Group killings	37,290	2,448	2,328	2,678	2,500	2,337	3,733	3,109	2,484	2,340	1,747	1,928	2,968
All killings	79,323	5,360	5,314	5,825	7,355	5,929	7,980	7,771	8,504	8,297	5,612	5,538	5,838

Table 42 shows that when the number of civilians killed was at its highest, the number of Security Forces/Terror Group members killed was at its lowest.

Figure 5 visualizes the data in Table 42.

Figure 5: All killings per month for the full 6-year reporting period, distinguishing killings of civilians and killings of members of Security Forces and Terror Groups combined

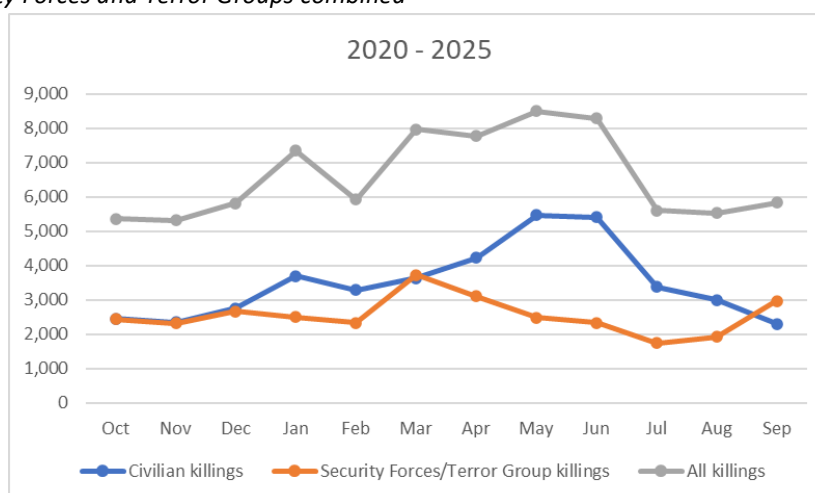


Figure 5 suggests that during the period April to June, which are critical months for the farming season, civilians, particularly farming communities, were less protected by the Security Forces and were therefore more at the mercy of the Terror Groups than outside this period. This effect was strongest in May and June.

Figure 6 gives the breakdown of Figure 5 for the individual reporting periods.

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

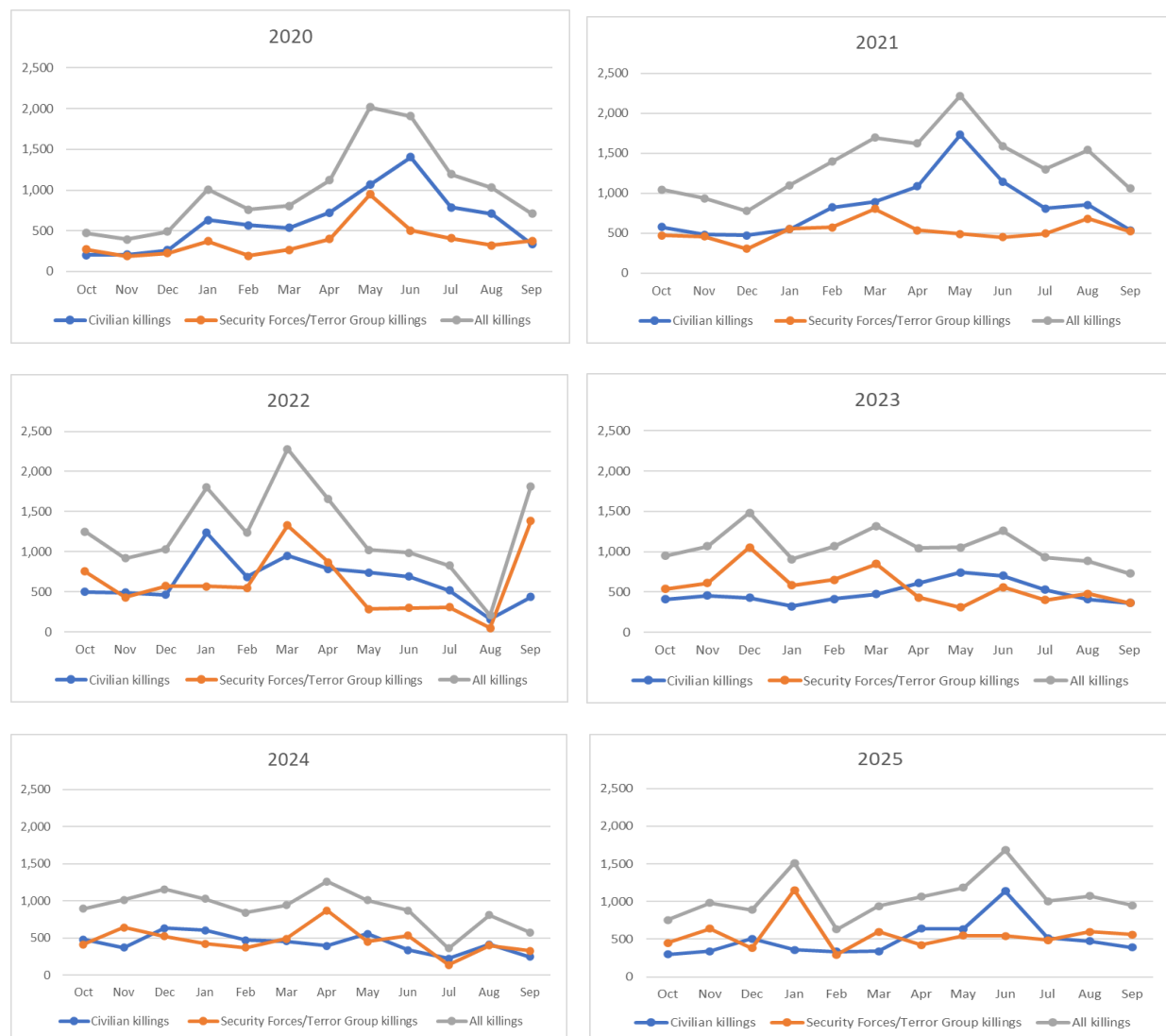


Figure 6 is less unambiguous regarding the imbalance between civilians killed and members of the Security Forces combined with members of Terror Groups killed than Figure 5, with respect to the situation during the critical period from April to June, and within that period, the situation in the months of May and June.

3. Killing analysis per aggressor

This section looks more closely at who is behind the killings.

The number of Muslim civilians killed by Christian local vigilantes is included in this report, as are Muslim civilians killed by retaliatory attacks by Christian civilians on Muslim civilians. However, the data shows that by far the majority of Muslim civilians were killed by the same aggressors as those who killed Christian civilians and ATR civilians. This means that most of the Muslim civilians killed, as reported by ORFA, must not be seen as victims of Christian civilians but as victims of their radicalized

ethno-religious or religious kin. The main ‘victims’ of the Christian local vigilantes were members of Terror Groups.

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 Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, 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 necessarily 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’. Strictly speaking, this is not correct, at least usually not, since it is their task to protect civilians from Terror Groups.

3.1 All people killed by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

Map 2 in section 1.2.2 shows All people killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors.

Table 43 shows that 79,323 people were killed during 15,434 attacks by different aggressors. Of these, 42,033 were civilians. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 9.

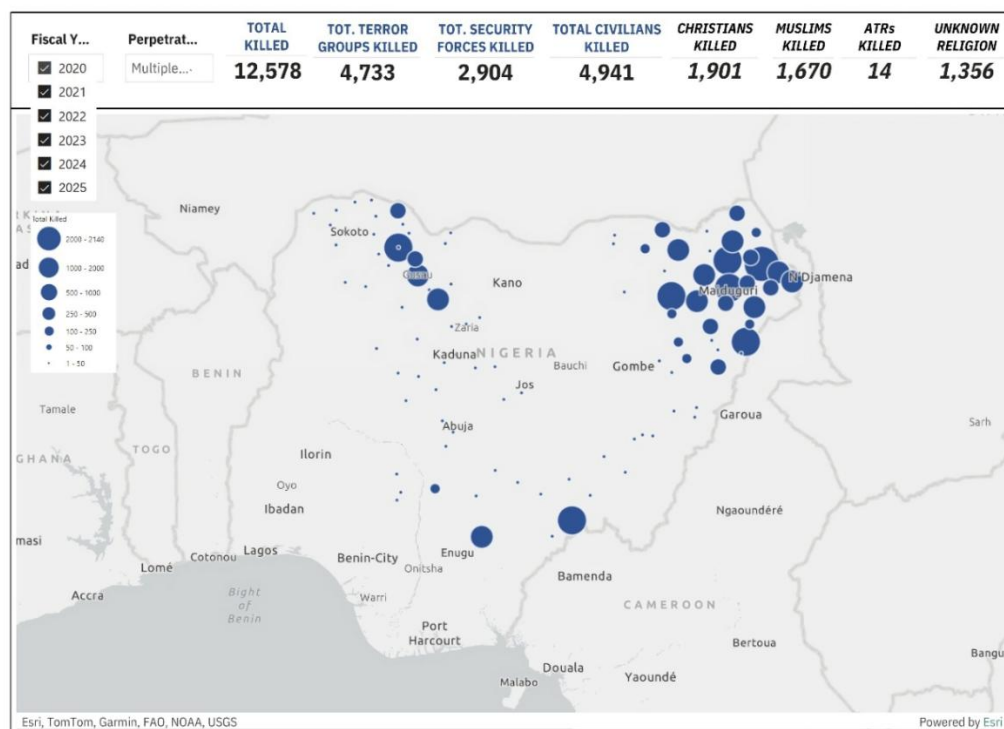
Table 43: ALL KILLINGS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) with percentages for civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians killed by the different aggressors (sorted by grand total of killings)

Aggressors	2020-2025 Killings											
	Grand total # of incidents with killings	Grand total of killings	Total civilians killed	% total civilians killed	Christian civilians killed	% Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	% Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians killed	Unknown religious identity killed	Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
Fulani Terror Groups	4,531	21,807	18,577	44%	12,160	53%	3,368	32%	35	3,014	1,126	2,104
Unidentified Terror Groups	4,480	18,314	13,346	32%	6,430	28%	4,448	42%	66	2,402	2,164	2,804
Boko Haram	2,838	6,346	3,309	8%	1,444	6%	1,042	10%	-	823	791	2,246
Security Forces	685	21,929	1,916	5%	857	4%	529	5%	12	518	419	19,594
Locals	870	1,903	1,648	4%	729	3%	332	3%	17	570	57	198
ISWAP	945	6,232	1,632	4%	457	2%	628	6%	14	533	2,113	2,487
Cultists	864	1,870	1,283	3%	563	2%	86	1%	39	595	19	568
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	78	420	225	1%	168	1%	23	0%	-	34	102	93
Vigilantes	143	502	97	0%	27	0%	63	1%	1	6	20	385
Total	15,434	79,323	42,033		22,835		10,519		184	8,495	6,811	30,479

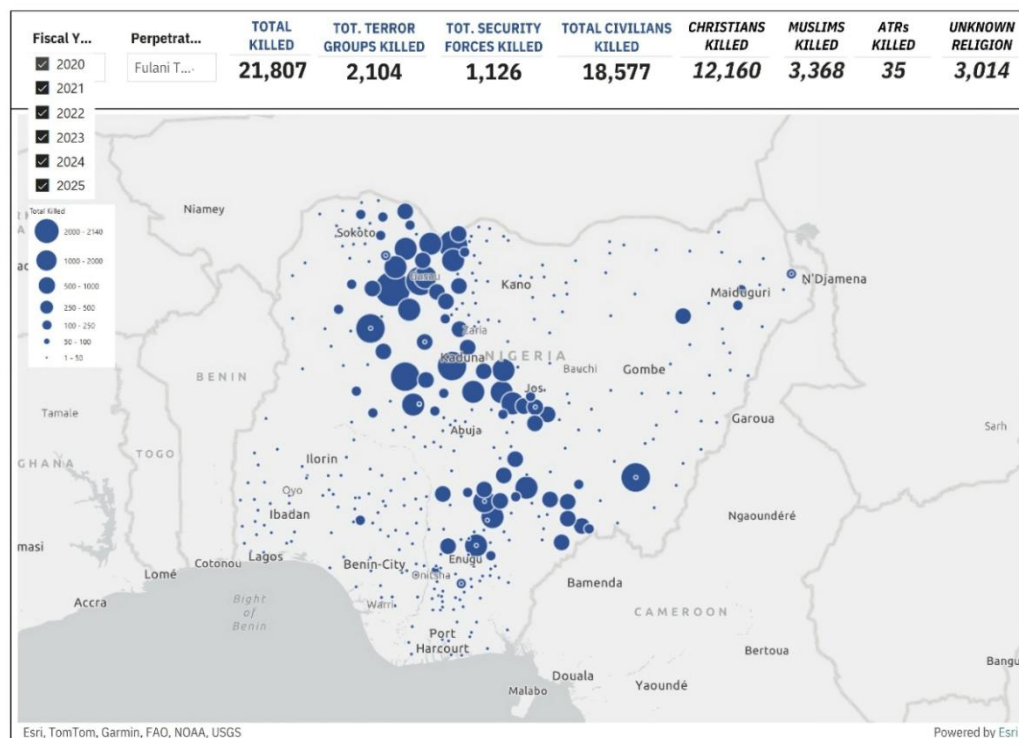
ALL PEOPLE KILLED: The top 5 killers overall were members of Security Forces (21,929), Fulani Terror Groups (21,807), Unidentified Terror Groups (18,314), Boko Haram (6,346), and ISWAP (6,232). In total, these 5 categories killed 74,628 people, of whom only 38,780 were civilians. Members of Security Forces killed many Terror Group members (19,594), while the top 3 of them killed a significant number belonging to the Security Forces (5,403). Terror Groups also turned against each other, or lost members during attacks they started themselves, with the four main groups totaling 9,641 inter-group clashes. The members of Security Forces also killed civilians (1,916).

Maps 7 to 10 show which aggressors killed all people over the 6-year reporting period.

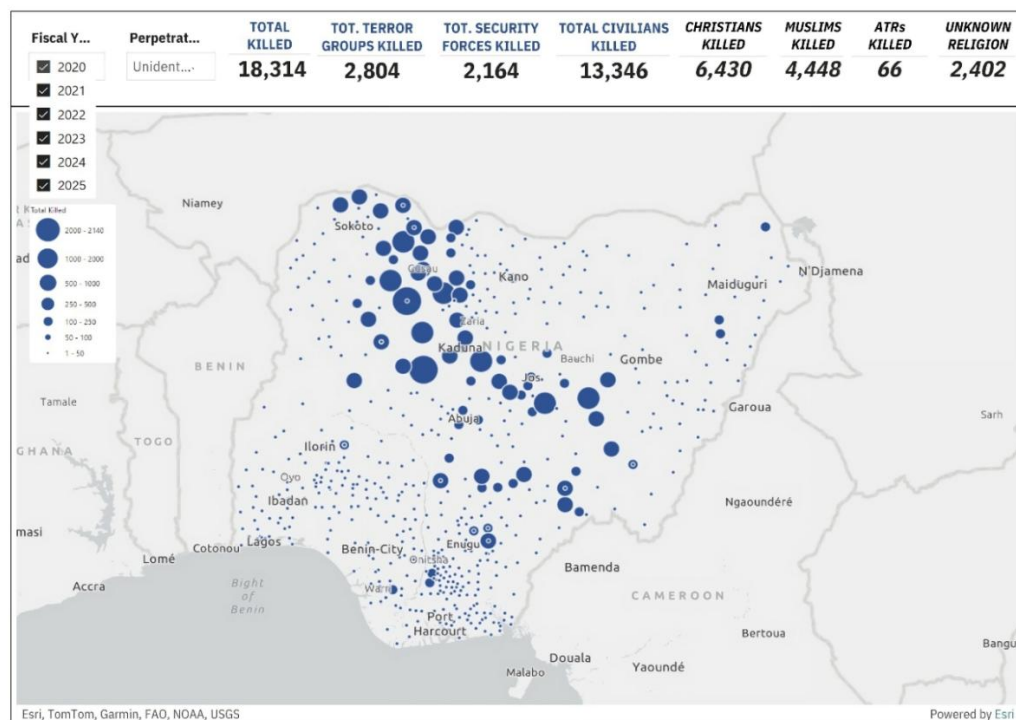
Map 7. All people killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP (12,578)



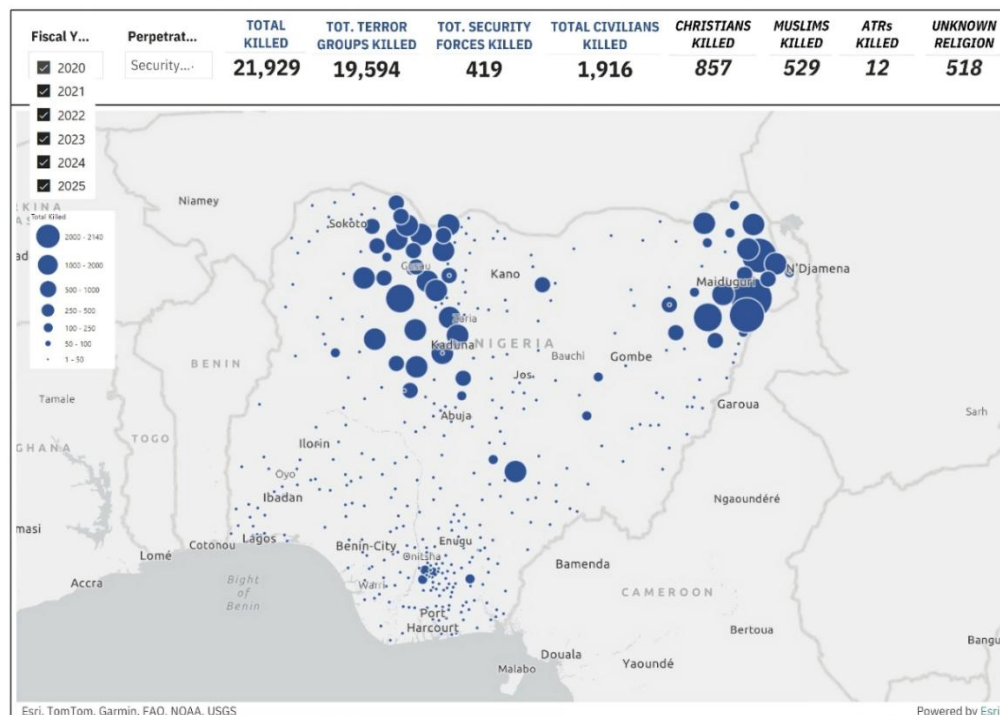
Map 8. All people killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups (21,807)



Map 9. All people killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups (18,314)



Map 10. All people killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by members of Security Forces (21,929)



For more maps about which aggressors killed people, see Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 15 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 19 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 23 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 27 People killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Security Forces

The Table and maps also show that members of Security Forces killed 21,929 people. Most people killed by members of Security Forces were members of the Terror Groups (19,594). The maps show that members of Security Forces killed most people in North East and North West. North Central zone, where many civilians were killed by the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups, received little attention from the Security Forces.

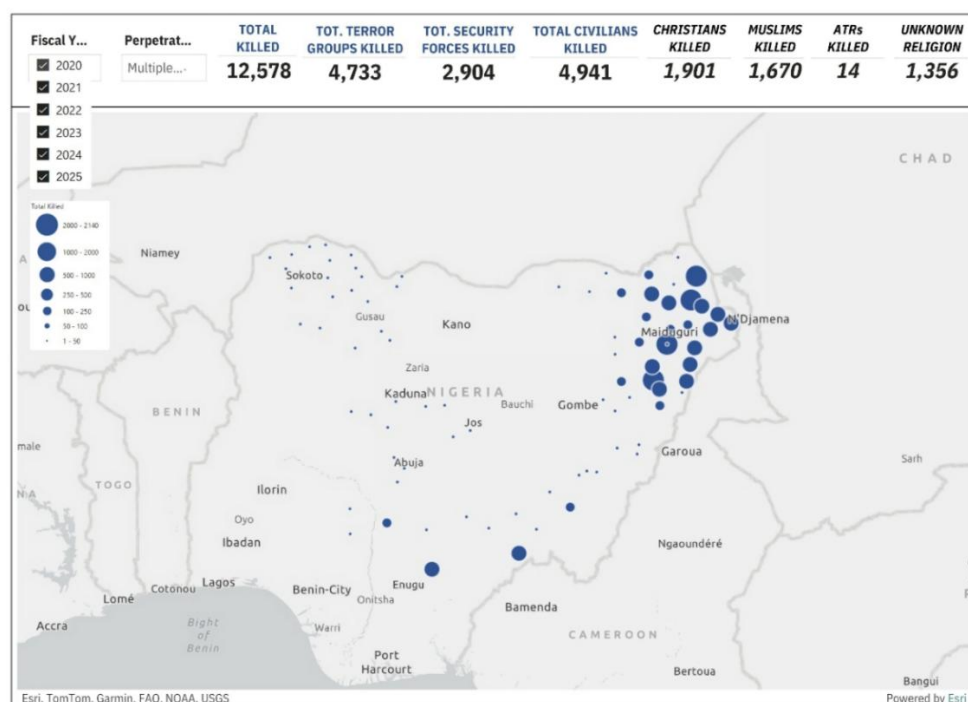
3.2 Civilians killed by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

Map 3 in section 1.2.2.1 shows civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors.

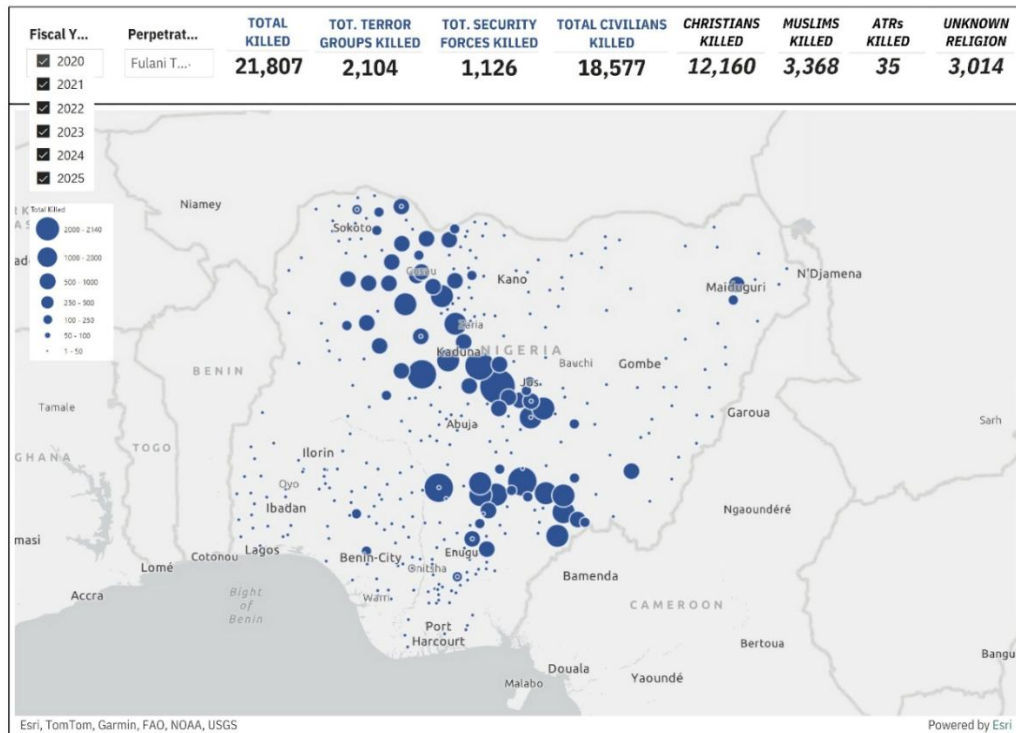
CIVILIANS KILLED: Table 34 shows that the most civilians were killed by Fulani Terror Groups (18,577; 44%), followed by Unidentified Terror Groups (13,346; 32%). This category ‘Unidentified Terror Groups’ actually consists of some smaller, unnamed groups, and a variety of unidentified terrorist groups, although the characteristics of their attacks were often comparable to the attacks of the Fulani Terror Groups, Boko Haram and/or ISWAP. Remarkably, the percentages for Boko Haram (8%) and ISWAP (4%) were much lower than expected, as compared to the Fulani Terror Groups.

Maps 11 to 14 show which aggressors killed civilians over the 6-year reporting period.

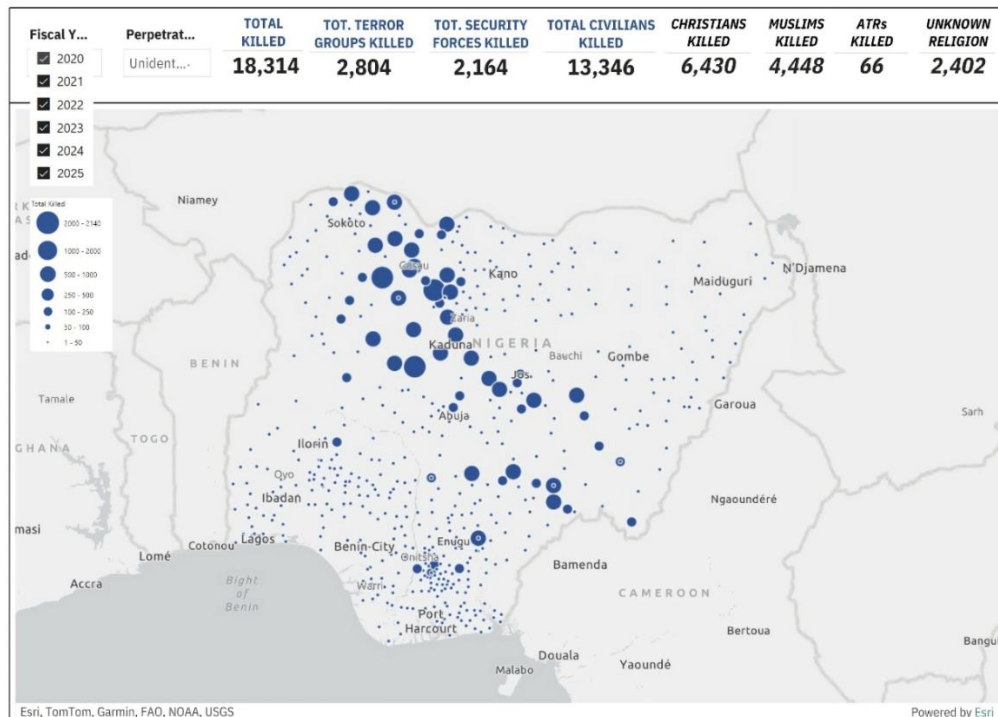
Map 11. Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP (4,941)



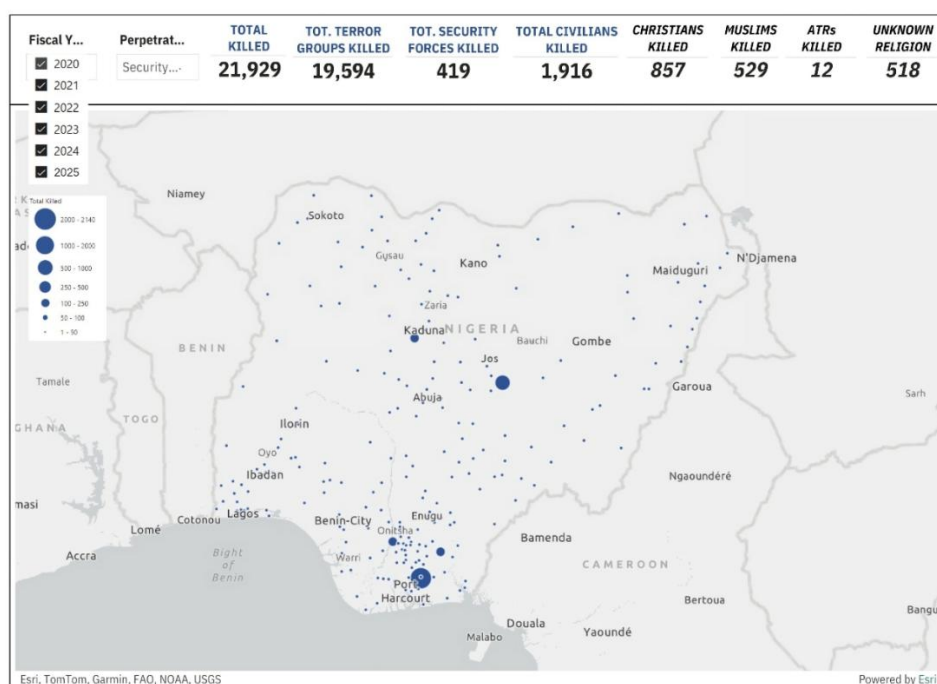
Map 12. Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups (18,577)



Map 13. Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups (13,346)



Map 14. Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by members of Security Forces (1,916)



For more maps about which aggressors killed civilians, see Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 16 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 20 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 24 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 28 Civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Security Forces

Table 44, and the maps 11 to 13 show that the number of killings by Boko Haram and ISWAP together was far less than the killings by either the Fulani Terror Groups or Unidentified Terror Groups. The area of operation of Boko Haram and ISWAP was mainly in North East. The maps seem to refute the long-held notion that the Fulani Terror Groups were more prominent in North Central (including Southern Kaduna) and the Unidentified Terror Groups in North West. The areas of operation of the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups were connected, and greatly overlapped, forming a wide strip from North West to North Central. That raises the question of whether the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups are largely the same.

3.2.1 Main areas of operation of different Terror Groups involved in civilian killings according to geopolitical zones

In this section, the main areas of operation of the various terrorist groups involved in civilian killings are presented by geopolitical zone. It does so for the full 6-year reporting period at once. The ORFA research team can also provide overviews at the level of the individual states or for the individual reporting periods.

Table 44. Main areas of operation of the different categories of Terror Groups from 2020 to 2025

Geopolitical Zone / Aggressor	Total Killed	Total Civilians Killed	2020 -2025				Security Forces killed	Terror Groups killed
			Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians killed	Unknown Religious Identity killed		
North Central	17,690	12,877	9,546	1,668	26	1,637	935	3,878
Boko Haram	309	234	213	20		1	24	51
Cultists	216	147	58	27		62	1	68
Fulani Terror Groups	8,448	7,585	6,269	530	10	776	286	577
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	11	11	11					
ISWAP	77	19	8	7	2	2	38	20
Locals	531	449	198	115	3	133	15	67
Security Forces	2,745	557	345	133	3	76	92	2,096
Unidentified Terror Groups	5,139	3,832	2,440	798	7	587	478	829
Vigilantes	214	43	4	38	1		1	170
North East	24,880	7,294	3,170	2,194	33	1,897	3,217	14,369
Boko Haram	5,571	2,844	1,184	918		742	724	2,003
Cultists	14	14	8	1		5		
Fulani Terror Groups	1,555	1,268	914	286	1	67	146	141
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	2	2	1	1				
ISWAP	6,135	1,604	448	615	12	529	2,065	2,466
Locals	220	209	83	69	5	52	3	8
Security Forces	9,664	212	58	73	2	79	181	9,271
Unidentified Terror Groups	1,647	1,129	465	228	13	423	97	421
Vigilantes	72	12	9	3		0	1	59
North West	27,246	15,365	5,944	6,370	54	2,997	1,558	10,323
Boko Haram	466	231	47	104		80	43	192
Cultists	41	29	3	25		1		12
Fulani Terror Groups	10,114	8,263	3,782	2,477	24	1,980	494	1,357
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	12	12	8			4		
ISWAP	15	9	1	6		2	5	1
Locals	322	261	81	112		68	16	45
Security Forces	7,966	503	68	302		133	92	7,371
Unidentified Terror Groups	8,112	6,024	1,948	3,323	30	723	893	1,195
Vigilantes	198	33	6	21		6	15	150
South East	4,528	2,976	2,327	100	5	544	658	894
Boko Haram								
Cultists	258	167	121			46		91
Fulani Terror Groups	1,122	976	857	49		70	139	7
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	352	179	146	11		22	85	88
ISWAP								
Locals	199	167	112	2		53	2	30
Security Forces	866	337	246	1		90	24	505
Unidentified Terror Groups	1,721	1,145	840	37	5	263	408	168
Vigilantes	10	5	5					5
South South	2,887	1,863	1,039	54	18	752	347	677
Boko Haram								
Cultists	755	535	256			9	14	206
Fulani Terror Groups	237	173	136			37	52	12
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)								
ISWAP	42	20	1	11		8	17	5
Locals	291	258	128	23	3	104	12	21
Security Forces	518	182	84	3	6	89	20	316
Unidentified Terror Groups	1,038	693	432	17		244	229	116
Vigilantes	6	2	2				3	1
South West	2,092	1,658	809	133	48	668	96	338
Boko Haram								
Cultists	586	391	117	33	30	211	4	191
Fulani Terror Groups	331	312	202	26		84	9	10
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	1	1	1					
ISWAP	5						5	
Locals	340	304	127	11	6	160	9	27
Security Forces	170	125	56	17	1	51	10	35
Unidentified Terror Groups	657	523	305	45	11	162	59	75
Vigilantes	2	2	1	1				
Grand Total	79,323	42,033	22,835	10,519	184	8,495	6,811	30,479

Table 44 reinforces the question raised in section 3.2 of whether the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups are largely the same. Even in North West, the number of civilians killed by Fulani Terror Groups (8,266) is higher than the number of civilians killed by unidentified Terror Groups (6,025).

3.2.2 Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed.

Table 44 shows that Fulani Terror Groups were the deadliest Terror Group for killing Christian civilians (12,160; 53%), followed by the 'Unidentified Terror Groups' (6,430; 28%). Boko Haram was responsible for 6% of Christian civilians killed (1,444) and ISWAP for 2% (457). For Muslim civilians, the Unidentified Terror Groups were the deadliest group, responsible for 42% of Muslim civilians killed (4,448), followed by Fulani Terror Groups (3,368; 32%), Boko Haram (1,042; 10%), and ISWAP (628; 6%).

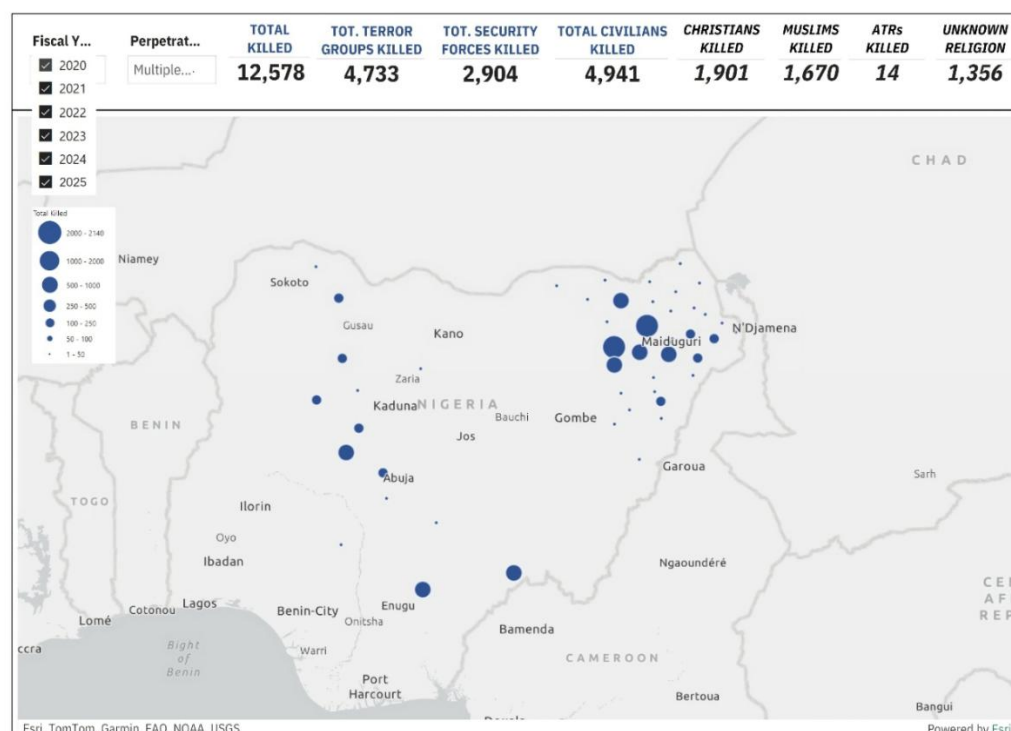
3.3 Members of Security Forces killed by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

Table 44 shows that most members of Security Forces were killed by Unidentified Terror Groups (2,164), closely followed by ISWAP (2,113). The Fulani Terror Groups were responsible for 1,126 members of Security Forces killed.

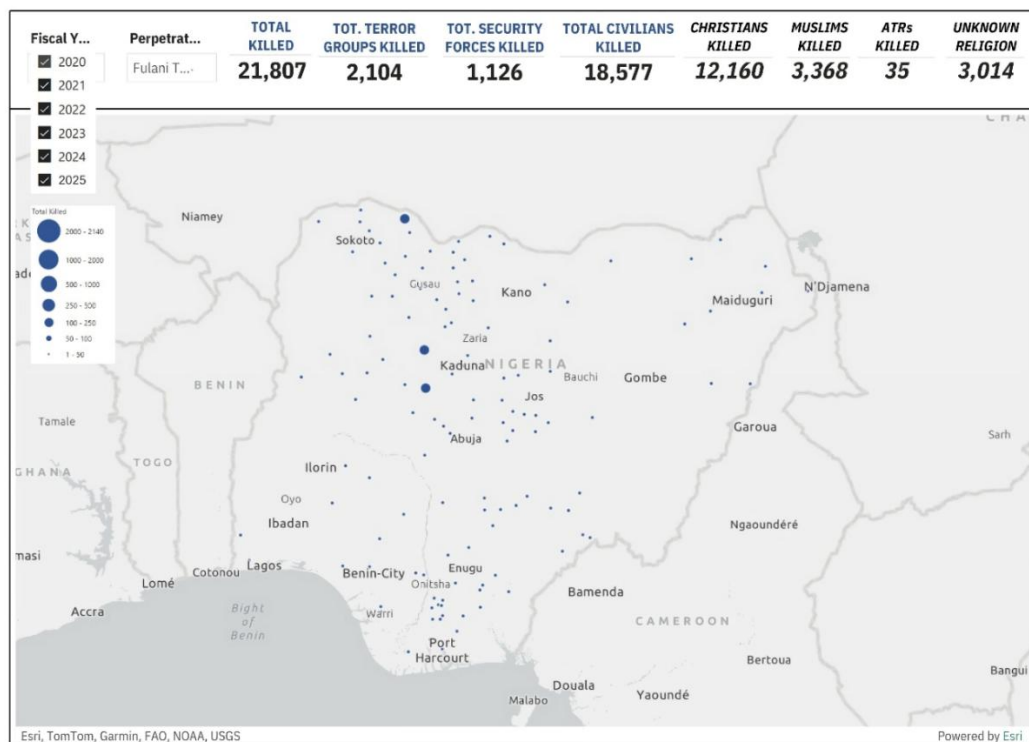
Map 5 in section 1.2.3 shows members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors.

Maps 15 to 18 show which aggressors killed members of Security Forces over the 6-year reporting period.

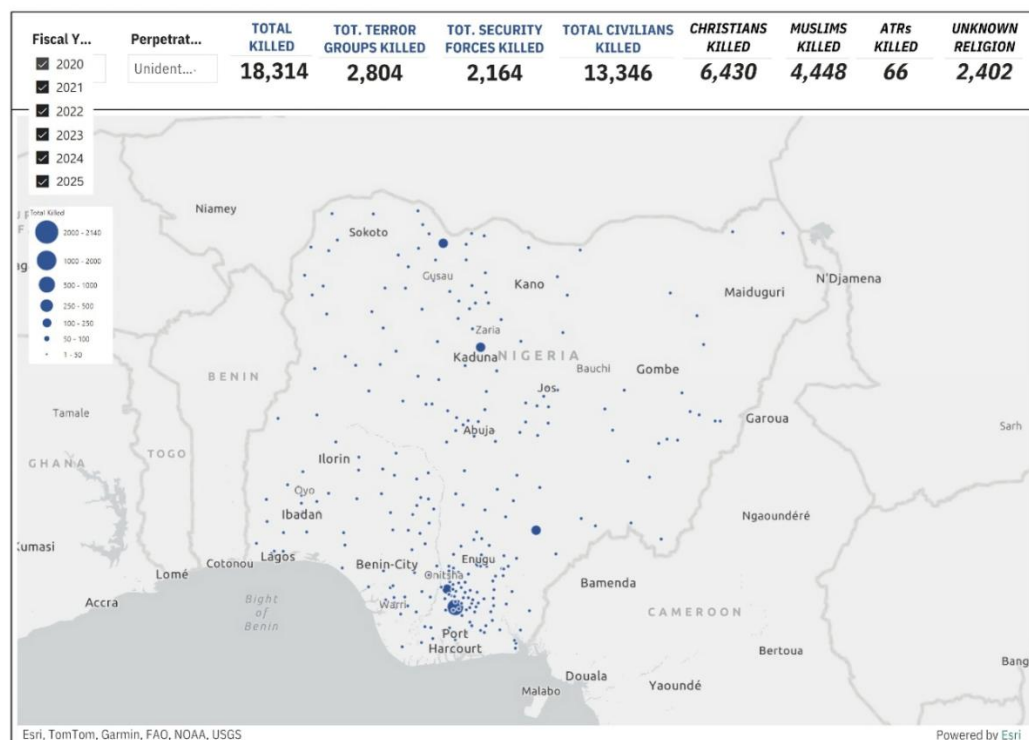
Map 15. Members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP



Map 16. Members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups



Map 17. Members of Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by members of Unidentified Terror Groups



Fiscal Y... **Perpetrat...** **TOTAL KILLED** **TOT. TERROR GROUPS KILLED** **TOT. SECURITY FORCES KILLED** **TOTAL CIVILIANS KILLED** **CHRISTIANS KILLED** **MUSLIMS KILLED** **ATRs KILLED** **UNKNOWN RELIGION**

☒ 2020 ☒ 2021 ☒ 2022 ☒ 2023 ☒ 2024 ☒ 2025

Security...

21,929 **19,594** **419** **1,916** **857** **529** **12** **518**

Map of Nigeria showing conflict locations and casualty statistics. The map includes labels for major cities like Niamey, Sokoto, Kano, Zaria, Kaduna, Abuja, Lagos, and Accra. A legend indicates the number of total killed with blue circles of varying sizes. The statistics table at the top provides a breakdown of casualties by category and year.

Legend: Total Killed

- 2000 - 2140
- 1000 - 2000
- 500 - 1000
- 250 - 500
- 100 - 250
- 50 - 100
- 1 - 50

Map Labels: Niamey, Sokoto, Kano, Zaria, Kaduna, Abuja, Lagos, Accra, Benin, Togo, Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin-City, Ibadan, Oyo, Ilorin, Enugu, Onitsha, Warri, Port Harcourt, Douala, Yaounde, Bertoua, Bangui, Sarh, Garoua, Maiduguri, N'Djamena, Jos, Bauchi, Gombe, Ngaoundere, Tamale, Lome, Cotonou, Lagos, Accra, Bight of Benin.

A2 – 17 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 21 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

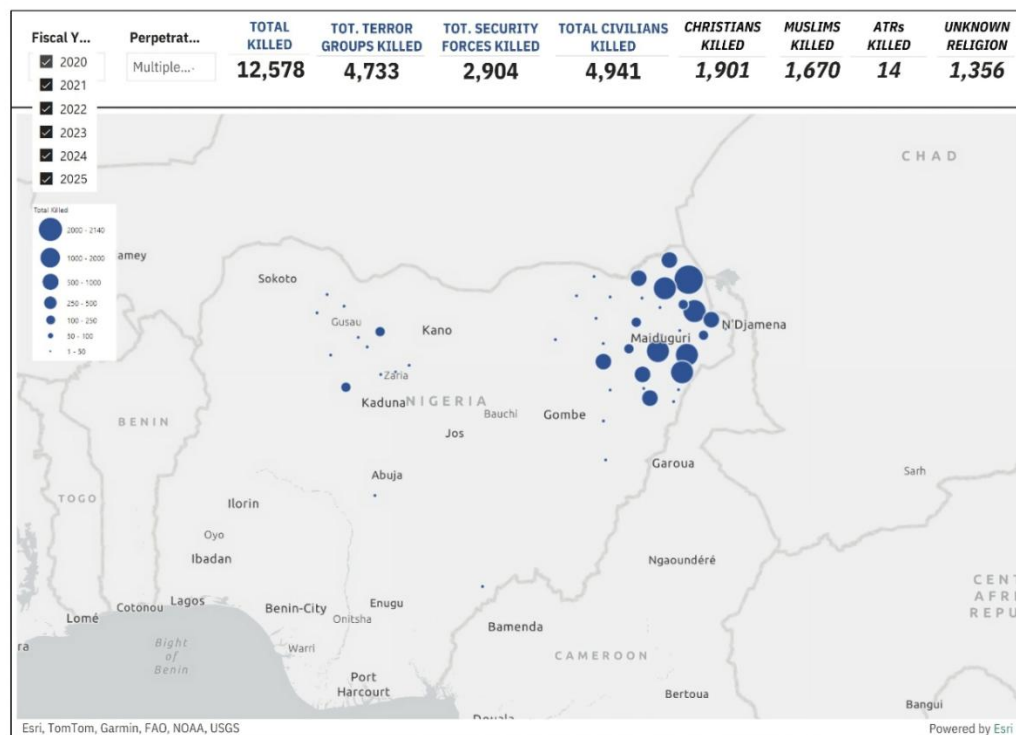
A2 – 25 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

A2 – 29 Security Forces killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Security Forces

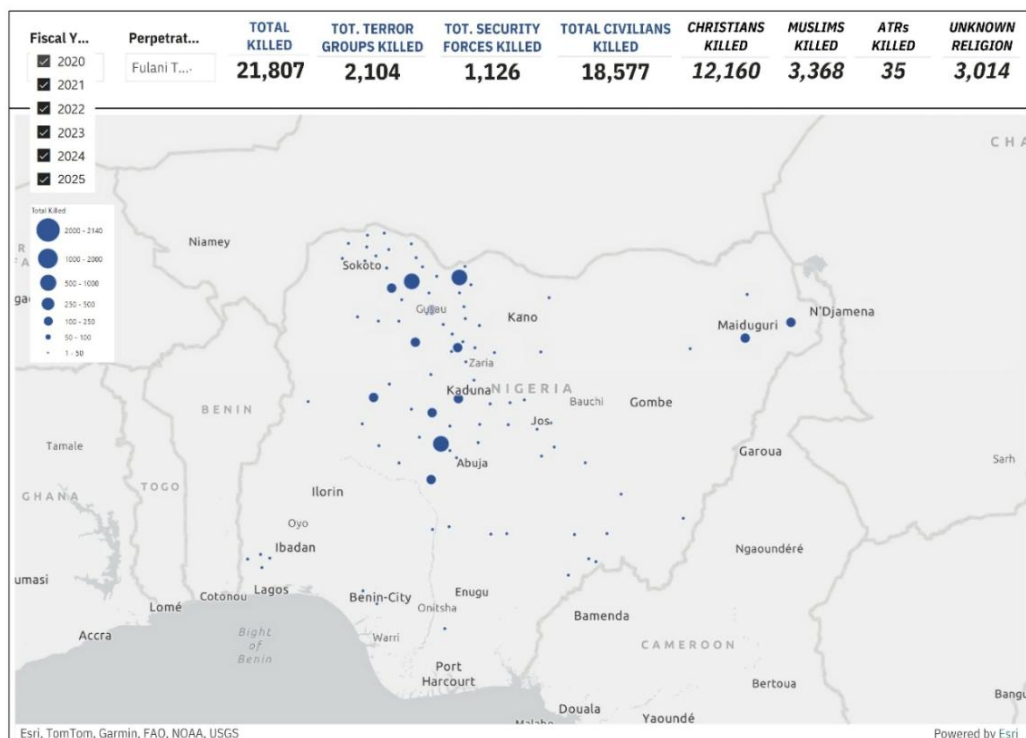
Table 34 shows that by far most members of Terror Groups were killed by the Security Forces (19,594). Members of unidentified Terror Groups killed 2,804 members of Terror Groups; ISWAP 2,487; Boko Haram 2,246; Fulani Terror Groups 2,104. As explained in section 1.2.4, members of Terror Groups killed can be members of the same terror Group that initiated the attack but were killed in that attack.

Maps 19 to 22 show which aggressors killed members of Terror Groups over the 6-year reporting period.

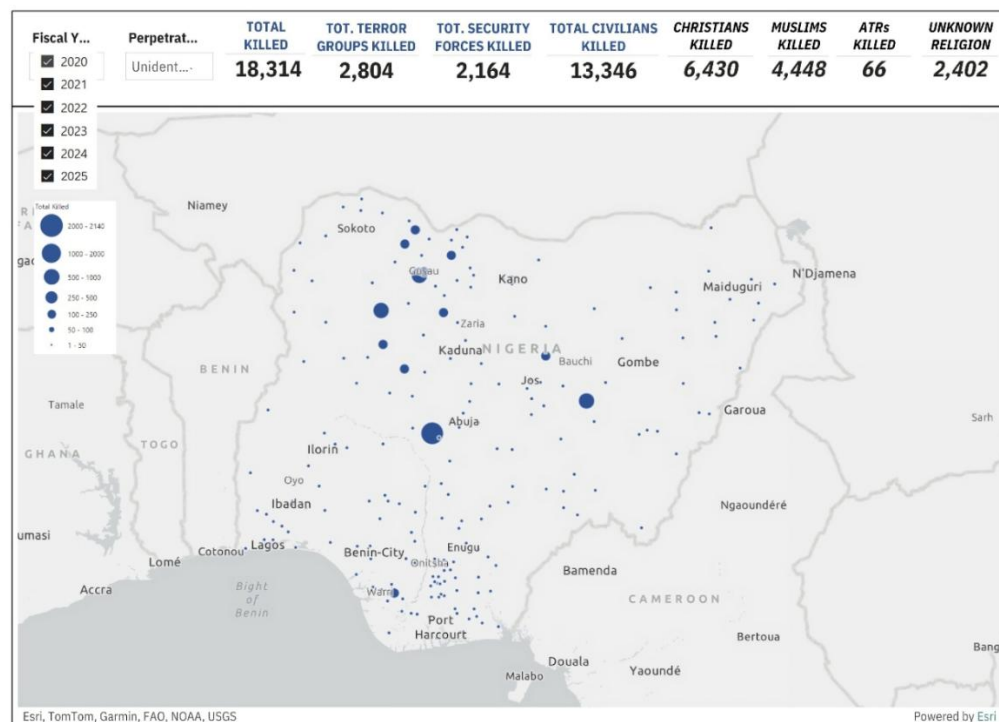
Map 19. Members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP



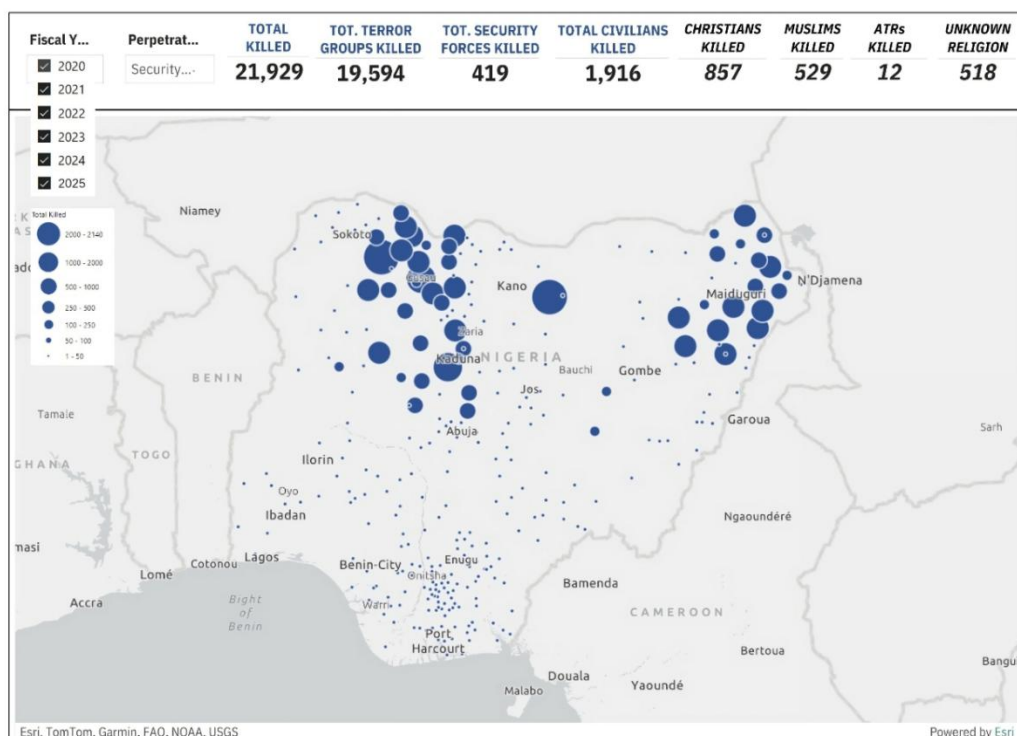
Map 20. Members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups



21. Members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by members of Unidentified Terror Groups



Map 22. Members of Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by members of Security Forces



For more maps about which aggressors killed people, see Appendix 2 – Maps:

- A2 – 18 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Boko Haram and ISWAP
- A2 – 22 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Fulani Terror Groups
- A2 – 26 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Unidentified Terror Groups
- A2 – 30 Combined Terror Groups killed over the 6-year reporting period by Security Forces

B. ABDUCTIONS

4. Summary data on abductions in Nigeria's geopolitical zones and states

4.1 Attacks with abductions over the 6-year reporting period

Over the 6-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'.

The data shows that many people were killed (79,323). Many others were abducted (34,917). The total number of attacks with killings was 15,434, and the total number of attacks with abductions was 4,590. There was some overlap. ORFA registered 18,331 attacks in which people were killed and/or abducted. Out of these, 13,741 have recorded killings, no abductions; 1,693 have recorded both killings and abductions; 2,897 have recorded abductions, no killings. This is an average of 8.4 attacks per day with killings and/or abductions over a 6-year period. While Part A of this report further elaborates on the data on killings, Part B delves deeper into the data on abductions.

Tables 45 and 46 give an overview of all attacks with abductions. Table 46 focuses on the geopolitical zones for the 6-year reporting period; Table 10 focuses on the four distinct reporting periods. Out of the 34,917 people abducted in 4,590 incidents, 34,773 were civilians who were abducted in 4,539 incidents.

Table 45: All attacks with abductions in the geopolitical zones, for the 6-year reporting period, with emphasis on attacks with civilians abducted

Geopolitical zone	# of all incidents with people abducted	Total all people abducted	# of incidents with civilians abducted	Total of civilians abducted
North West	2,123	21,453	2,111	21,421
North Central	1,395	8,569	1,382	8,510
North East	397	2,285	388	2,264
South East	225	767	215	752
South South	250	1,185	245	1,173
South West	200	658	198	653
Grand Total	4,590	34,917	4,539	34,773

According to Table 45, most attacks with abductions took place in North West (2,123), followed by North Central (1,395) and North East (397). South East (255), South South (250), and South West (200) had their share of attacks too. Looking purely at the number of civilians abducted, North West (2,111)

and North Central (1,382) had most attacks. North East had a lower number (388), as did South West (198), South South (245), and South East (215). 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 (4,590) and with civilians abducted (4,539) was small because during the many clashes between Security Forces and Terror Groups, many were killed, but very few abducted.

Table 46: All attacks with abductions for the 6 individual reporting periods, with emphasis on attacks with civilians abducted

Geopolitical zone	# of all incidents with people abducted	Total all people abducted	# of incidents with civilians abducted	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
2024	921	7,659	915	7,648
2025	964	5,637	954	5,593
2020-2025	4,590	34,917	4,539	34,773

Table 46 shows that most attacks with people abducted were in the 2025 reporting period (964), followed by 2024 (921), 2022 (861), 2023 (846), 2021 (734), and 2020 (264). For civilians abducted, it was the same: Most attacks with civilians abducted were in 2025 (954), followed by 2024 (915), 2023 (834), 2022 (829), 2021 (747), and 2020 (260).

4.2 All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period

This section presents the details of people abducted over the 6-year reporting period in the context of violence created by Terror Groups.

It is interesting to see if the 2024 and 2025 reporting periods show a different trend in abductions than the 2020 to 2023 reporting periods. The 2024 and 2025 reporting periods represent the period during which a potential positive impact of the Tinubu presidency could have become visible compared to the Buhari presidency, which defined the 2020 to 2023 reporting periods.

Civilians abducted 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 ('Unknown religious identity'). 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. However, the number of members of Security Forces abducted, and members of Terror Groups

abducted was so small (144 in total), that the analysis for abductions is mainly limited to civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians.

4.2.1 All people abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods (with map)

Tables 47 and 48 present the total number of people abducted over the 6-year reporting period. Table 47 gives the breakdown for the geopolitical zones over the full 6-year period. Table 48 gives the breakdown for the different reporting periods for all geopolitical zones together.

Table 47: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - People abducted in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Geopolitical zone	2020-2025							
	Total abducted	Total civilians abducted	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians killed	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
North West	21,453	21,421	8,437	11,012	113	1,859	27	5
North Central	8,569	8,510	4,414	3,420	121	555	34	25
North East	2,285	2,264	916	709	1	638	18	3
South East	767	752	706	14	-	32	15	-
South South	1,185	1,173	1,011	52	10	100	11	1
South West	658	653	448	65	7	133	5	-
Grand Total	34,917	34,773	15,932	15,272	252	3,317	110	34

Table 47 shows that the total number of people abducted over the 6-year reporting period was 34,917. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 3. Most abductions were in North West (21,453), followed by North Central (8,569).

Table 48. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - People abducted in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Year	Total abducted	Total civilians abducted	Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians killed	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
2024	7,659	7,648	2,647	4,474	15	512	11	-
2025	5,637	5,593	2,100	2,899	53	541	14	30
2020-2025	34,917	34,773	15,932	15,272	252	3,317	110	34

Table 48 shows the number of people abducted over the 6 individual reporting periods. Abductions increased sharply from 2020 (1,677) to 2021 (5,907) to 2022 (7,762) and then somewhat decreased in 2023 (6,275), increased in 2024 (7,659), and decreased again in 2025 (5,637). The number of people abducted in 2025 (5,637) was still much higher than the number of people abducted in 2020 (1,677).

Table 49 splits the 6-year reporting period into two parts. First, the 2020 to 2023 reporting period is mainly defined by the Buhari presidency. Second, the 2024 to 2025 reporting period is mainly defined by the Tinubu presidency.

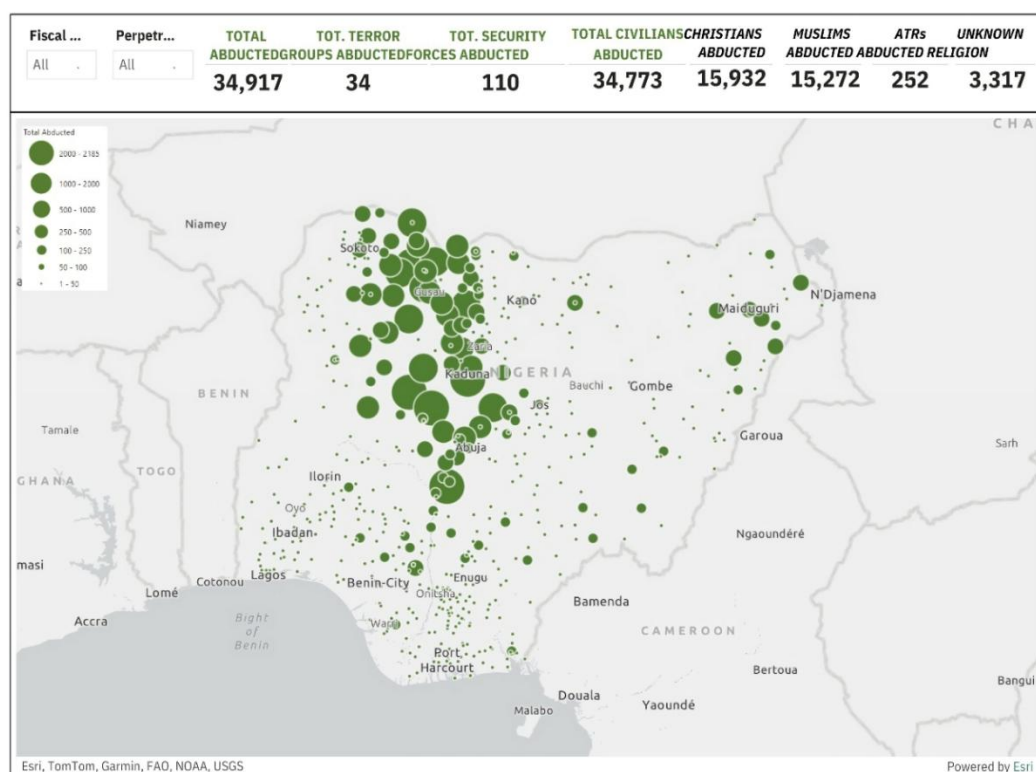
Table 49: People abducted in Nigeria in the context of 'Terror groups' from Oct 2019 to Sep 2023 compared to Oct 2023 to Sep 2025

Year	Total Abducted	Total civilians abducted	Christian civilians abducted	Muslim civilians abducted	ATR civilians 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
TOTAL	21,621	21,532	11,185	7,899	184	2,264	85	4
ANNUAL AV.	5,405	5,383	2,796	1,975	46	566	21	1
2024	7,659	7,648	2,647	4,474	15	512	11	-
2025	5,637	5,593	2,100	2,899	53	541	14	30
TOTAL	13,296	13,241	4,747	7,373	68	1,053	25	30
ANNUAL AV.	6,648	6,621	2,374	3,687	34	527	13	15
2020-2025	34,917	34,773	15,932	15,272	252	3,317	110	34
Difference	1,243	1,238	(423)	1,712	(12)	(40)	(9)	14
%	23	23	-15	87	-26	-7	-41	1400

Table 49 shows that the annual average number of people abducted in the first 4 years (5,405) was lower than in the last 2 years (6,648). Or: an increase of 23%. The relevance of this difference in terms of the violence landscape in Nigeria is limited, especially because the number of people abducted in 2025 (5,637) was lower than in 2024 (7,659).

Map 23 visualizes the overall data for people abducted in Table 47. It shows the spread of abductions over the country.

Map 23: All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (34,917)



More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 Maps:

A2 – 32 All People abducted in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 33 All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Section 6 introduces additional maps that specify who abducted these people:

A2 – 40 All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors

A2 – 41 All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 43 All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 45 All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

4.2.2 Civilians abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

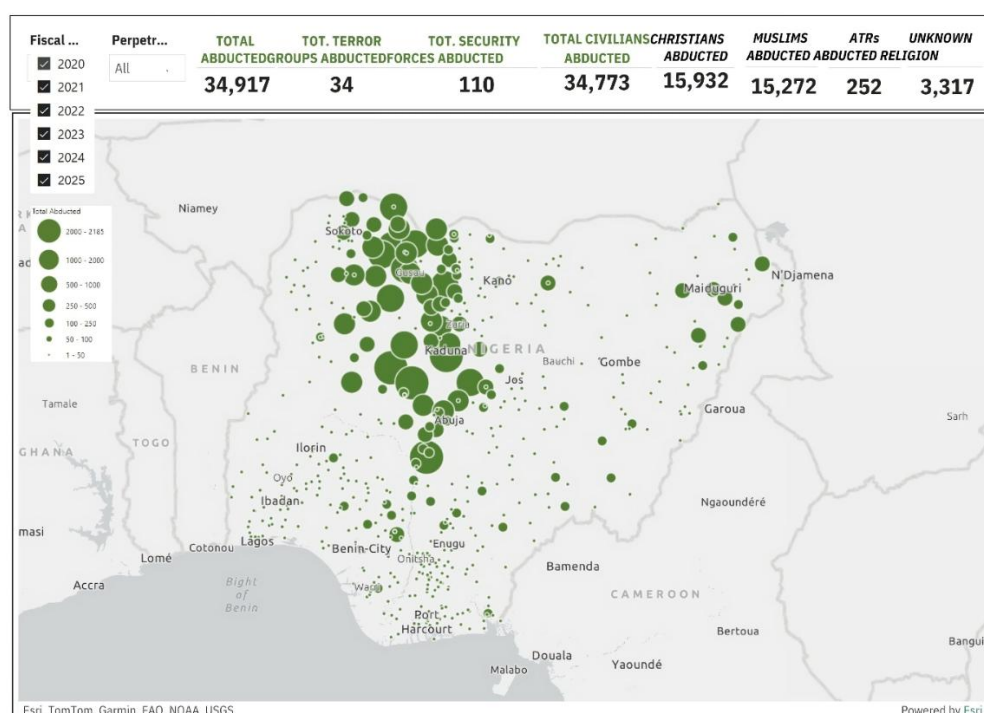
Table 47 shows that the total number of civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period was 34,773. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 3. Most abductions were in North West (21,424), at a distance followed by North Central (8,504). The number of abductions in North East was relatively low (2,261).

Table 48 shows the number of civilians abducted over the 6 individual reporting periods. Abductions increased from 2020 (1,665) to 2021 (5,907) to 2022 (7,705) and then went down in 2023 (6,255), up in 2024 (7,648), and down again in 2025 (5,593).

Table 49 shows that the annual average number of civilians abducted in the first 4 years (5,383) was lower than in the last 2 years (6,621). Or: an increase of 23%. So, for civilian abductions, the situation has gotten worse in the last two years. However, the average number of civilians abducted over the 2nd to 6th reporting periods (total abducted 33,108; average per year 6,622) seems to indicate there was no real trend break during Tinubu's presidency. The 2020 reporting period just had a really low number compared to the other 5 reporting periods, suggesting that the 'abduction industry' started then and quickly boomed in the subsequent years.

Map 24 visualizes the overall data for civilians abducted. It shows the spread of these abductions over the country.

Map 24: Civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (34,773)



More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 34 All civilians abducted in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 35 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Section 6 introduces additional maps that specify who killed these people:

A2 – 42 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 44 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 46 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

Table 50 recalculates part of Table 11 by distributing the number of civilians killed with unknown religious identity over the other categories. The calculation is done at the level of each geopolitical zone over the complete 6-year period at once. It proved to be the most cautious approach, so as not to create a positive bias towards the distributed number of Christian civilians killed.

Table 50. Actual number of civilians abducted with Unknown religious identity distributed over the remaining categories

Abduction of Civilians	Total civilians abducted	Christian civilians (actual)	Christian civilians (distributed)	Muslim civilians (actual)	Muslim civilians (distributed)	ATR civilians (actual)	ATR civilians (distributed)	Unknown Religious Identity (actual)
North West	21,421	8,437	9,239	11,012	12,059	113	124	1,859
North Central	8,510	4,414	4,722	3,420	3,659	121	129	555
North East	2,264	916	1,276	709	987	1	1	638
South East	752	706	737	14	15	-	-	32
South South	1,173	1,011	1,105	52	57	10	11	100
South West	653	448	563	65	81	7	9	133
All	34,773	15,932	17,642	15,272	16,857	252	274	3,317

The distributed numbers, though based on calculations, give a better impression of the numbers of Christian civilians abducted and Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period than the actual numbers:

- Christian civilians abducted - distributed: 17,642
- Muslim civilians abducted - distributed: 16,857.

4.2.2.1 Christian civilians abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians abducted.

Table 47 shows that the total number of Christian civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period was 15,932. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 3. Most abductions were in North Central (8,437), followed by North Central (4,414). The number of abductions of Christian civilians in North East (916) was lower than in South South (1,011) but higher than in South East (706) and South West (448).

Table 50 shows that when the civilians abducted with unknown religious identity, in the six geopolitical zones, are considered, the numbers for Christian civilian abductions increase, but the pattern remains the same.

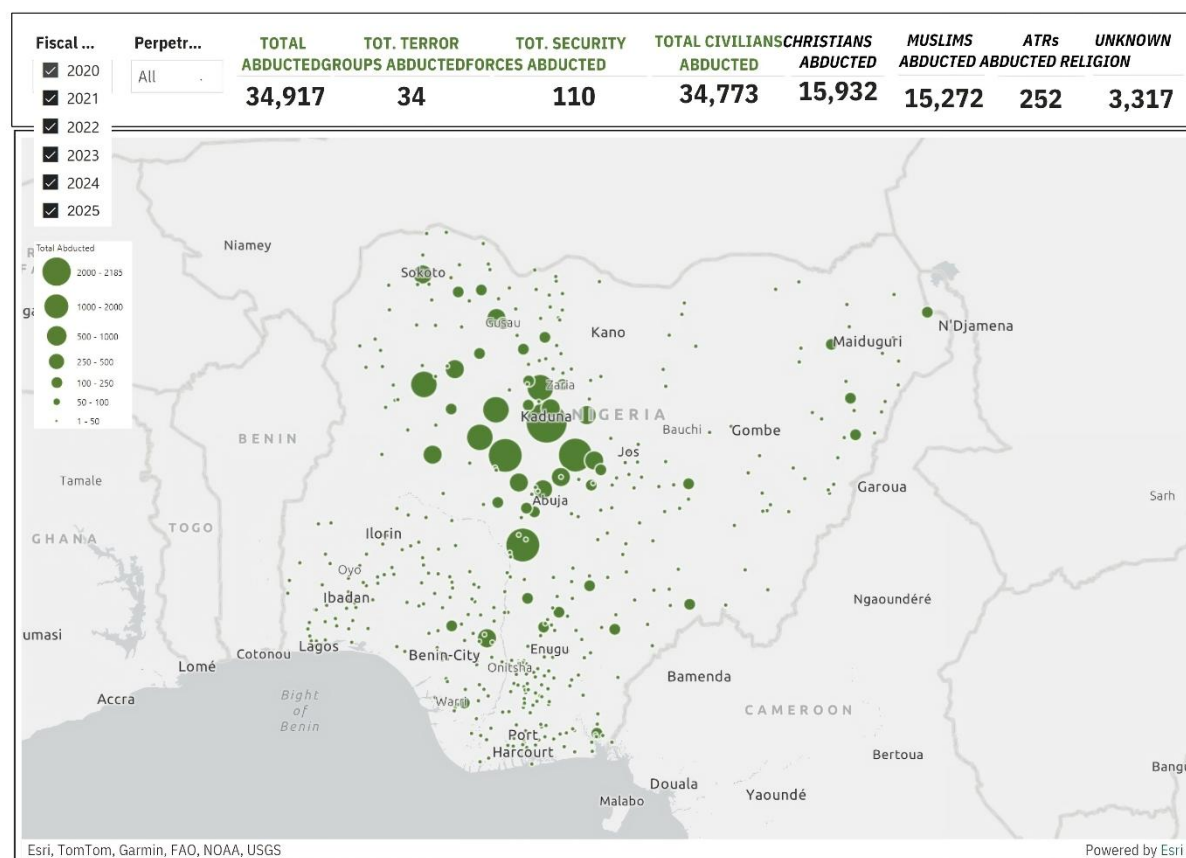
Table 48 shows the number of Christian civilians abducted over the 6 individual reporting periods. Abductions increased from 2020 (977) to 2021 (2,346) and 2022 (4,634); they then decreased in 2023 (3,228), 2024 (2,647), and 2025 (2,100).

Table 50 shows that the annual average number of Christian civilians abducted in the first 4 years (2,796) was higher than in the last 2 years (2,374); this is a decrease of 15%. So, for Christian civilians, the situation got somewhat better in the last two years.

The average number of Christian civilians abducted over the 2nd to 6th reporting periods was 2,991 (total abducted 14,955). It excludes the 2020 reporting period. This average being higher than the average for the first 4 years (2,796) as well as the last 2 years (2,374), confirms the impression that for Christian civilians, the situation got a bit better.

Map 25 visualizes the overall data for Christian civilians abducted. It shows the spread of these abductions over the country.

Map 25: Christian civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (15,932)



More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 34 All Christian civilians abducted in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 35 All Christian civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

4.2.2.2 Muslim civilians abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians abducted.

Table 47 shows that the total number of Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period was 15,272. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 3. Most abductions were in North West (11,015), followed at a distance by North Central (3,420). The number of abductions of Muslim civilians in North East was 709. In South West (65), South South (52), and South East (14), the numbers were very low compared to northern Nigeria.

Table 50 shows that when the civilians abducted with unknown religious identity, in the six geopolitical zones, are considered, the numbers for Muslim civilian abductions increase, but the pattern remains the same.

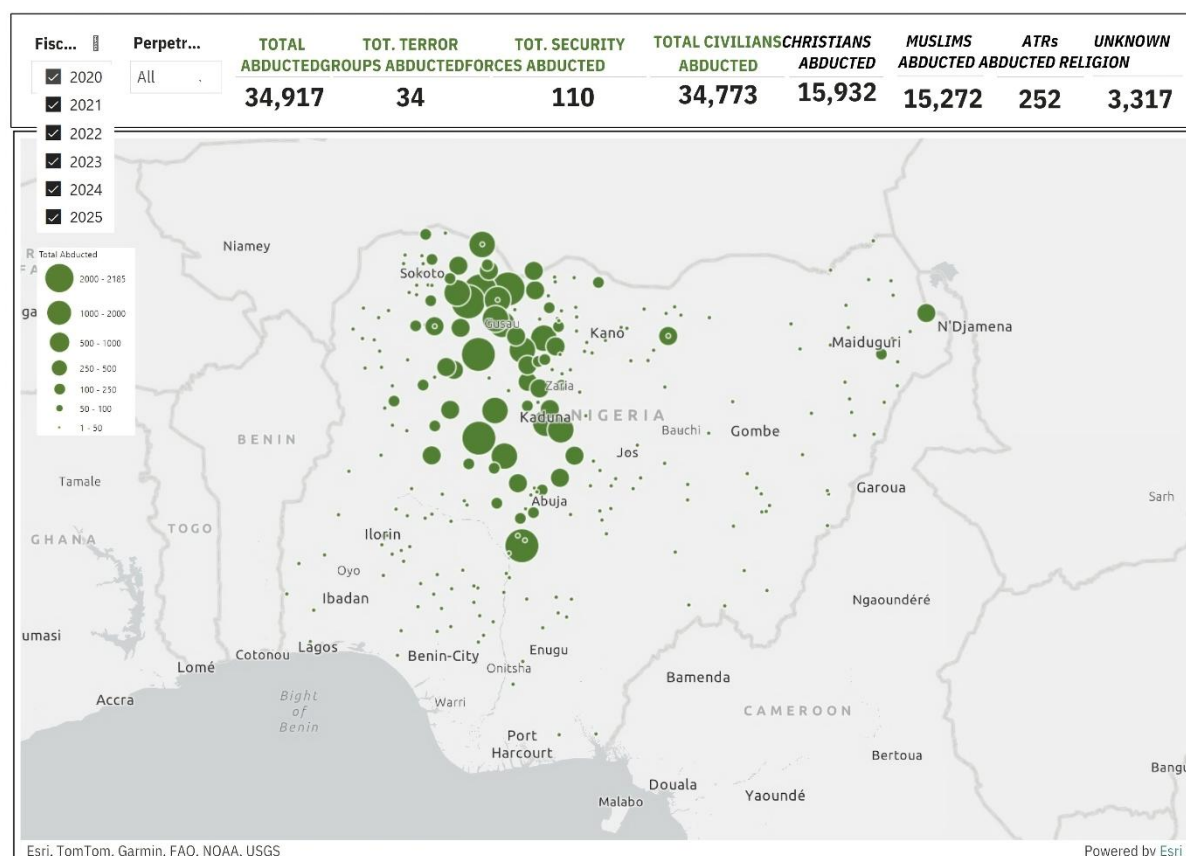
Table 48 shows the number of Muslim civilians abducted over the 6 individual reporting periods. Abductions strongly increased from 2020 (91) to 2021 (2,243) to 2022 (2,691) to 2023 (2,874) to 2024 (4,474). Abductions only decreased again in 2025 (2,899).

Table 50 shows that the annual average number of Muslim civilians abducted in the first 4 years (1,975) was lower than in the last 2 years (3,687); this is an increase of 87%. So, for Muslim civilians, the situation got notably worse in the last two years.

The average number of Muslim civilians abducted over the 2nd to 6th reporting periods was 3,036 (total abducted 15,181). It excludes the 2020 reporting period. This average being much higher than the average for the first 4 years (1,975) but still clearly lower than the average for the last 2 years (3,687), confirms the impression that for Muslim civilians, the situation deteriorated.

Map 26 visualizes the overall data for Muslim civilians abducted. It shows the spread of these abductions throughout the country.

Map 26: Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (15,272)



More maps are to be found in Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 36 All Muslim civilians abducted in individual reporting periods (2020-2025)

A2 – 37 All Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

4.2.2.3 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians abducted. This

means that the estimated proportion of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians among the abducted citizens whose religious identity is unknown has not been included.

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

Tables 51 and 52 indicate that over the 6-year reporting period, the ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted was **1.0:1**. When taking into account the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the individual states where attacks occurred, the ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted increased to 3.2:1. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 4.

Table 51: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Comparison of the ratio of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels in the states

Geopolitical zone	2020-2025				
	Total Christians and Muslims abducted	Christian civilians Abducted	Muslim civilians Abducted	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted
North West	19,449	8,437	11,012	0.8	3.4
North Central	7,834	4,414	3,420	1.3	2.4
North East	1,625	916	709	1.3	3.5
South East	720	706	14	50.4	10.8
South South	1,063	1,011	52	19.4	3.8
South West	513	448	65	6.9	3.6
Grand Total	31,204	15,932	15,272	1.0	3.2

Table 51 shows that the ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted was by far the highest in South East (50.4:1), South South (19.4:1) and South West (6.9:1). The ratio in North West (0.8:1), North Central (1.3:1) and North East (1.3:1) was the lowest. When taking into account the population sizes of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians in the different states, the highest ratio was again in South East (10.8:1), followed by South South (3.8:1), South West (3.6:1), North East (3.5:1), North West (3.4:1), and North Central (2.4:1).

Table 52. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels in the states

Year	Total Christians and Muslims abducted	Christian civilians abducted	Muslim civilians abducted	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportionate ratio Christian to Muslim civilians 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
2024	7,121	2,647	4,474	0.6	1.3
2025	4,999	2,100	2,899	0.7	1.1
2020-2025	31,204	15,932	15,272	1.0	3.2

The ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted was very high in the 2020 reporting period (10.7:1). In the following reporting period, and beyond, this ratio dropped sharply, with strongly

increasing total abductions for Christian civilians and Muslim civilians (with ratios between 0.6:1 and 1.7:1), suggesting that the abductors didn't focus on Christian civilians above Muslim civilians anymore. However, when taking into account the population sizes of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians in the different states, the ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted remained in the range of 1.1:1 – 55.1:1, suggesting a stronger focus of the abductors on Christian civilians than on Muslim civilians.

4.2.2.4 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed in northern geopolitical zones in the different reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians abducted.

Tables 53, 54, and 55 show the breakdown of the actual and proportional ratios of the number of Christian civilians abducted to the number of Muslim civilians abducted, over the 6-year reporting period, for the three northern geopolitical zones.

Table 53: NORTH WEST - INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels in the states

NORTH WEST	Total Christians and Muslims abducted	Christian civilians abducted	Muslim civilians abducted	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted
2020	530	520	10	52.0	394.3
2021	3,120	1,537	1,583	1.0	5.1
2022	4,104	2,614	1,490	1.8	8.0
2023	3,150	1,259	1,891	0.7	3.7
2024	4,965	1,337	3,628	0.4	1.2
2025	3,580	1,170	2,410	0.5	1.0
2020-2025	19,449	8,437	11,012	0.8	3.4

Table 53 shows that in North West, the 2020 reporting period had exceptionally high actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted, although the actual numbers were remarkably low. This seems to have been the beginning of (or transition to) a phenomenon that would very soon develop into an 'abduction industry'. The actual ratios for the last 2 years (2024 and 2025) were gradually lower than those of the preceding three years. When looking at the proportional ratios, these differences were more pronounced.

Table 54: NORTH CENTRAL - INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels in the states

NORTH CENTRAL	Total Christians and Muslims abducted	Christian civilians abducted	Muslim civilians abducted	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted
2020	265	218	47	4.6	9.9
2021	1,177	544	633	0.9	2.0
2022	2,367	1,346	1,021	1.3	3.1
2023	1,935	1,167	768	1.5	2.9
2024	1,289	695	594	1.2	1.4
2025	801	444	357	1.2	1.2
2020-2025	7,834	4,414	3,420	1.3	2.4

Table 54 shows the actual ratio of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted was stable from 2021 to 2025 (range from 0.9 to 1.5). The same applies to the proportional ratio (range from 3.1 to 1.2), although the values for the last 2 reporting periods were the lowest (2024: 1.4; 2025: 1.2).

Table 55: NORTH EAST - INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Comparison of the ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

NORTH EAST	Total Christians and Muslims abducted	Christian civilians abducted	Muslim civilians abducted	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted
2020	223	189	34	5.6	17.2
2021	179	152	27	5.6	15.6
2022	408	253	155	1.6	4.1
2023	250	87	163	0.5	1.3
2024	335	123	212	0.6	1.4
2025	230	112	118	0.9	2.5
2020-2025	1,625	916	709	1.3	3.5

Table 55 shows that in North East, the actual and proportional ratios were highest in 2020 (5.6; 17.2) and 2021 (5.8; 15.6); 2022 was a transition period (1.6; 4.1). The actual and proportional ratios had their lowest values in 2023 (0.5; 1.3), increased in 2024 (0.6; 1.4), and again in 2025 (1.0; 2.5).

4.2.2.5 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed in northern states in the different reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians abducted.

Tables 56 and 57 present the actual and proportional ratios of Christian to Muslim civilians abducted for the 20 northern states. Table 56 puts the highest actual ratio first, Table 57 the highest proportional ratio.

Table 56: 20 NORTHERN STATES: Comparison of the actual ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

2020-2025							
State	Geopolitical zone	Christian civilians Abducted	% Christians in the state	Muslim civilians Abducted	% Muslims in the state	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted
Benue	North Central	360	75	25	10	14.4	1.9
Kogi	North Central	356	50	74	41	4.8	3.9
Plateau	North Central	314	60	69	17	4.6	1.3
Adamawa	North East	129	30	29	65	4.4	9.6
Kaduna	North West	6,615	35	1,965	50	3.4	4.8
Yobe	North East	26	10	9	87	2.9	25.1
Gombe	North East	9	30	4	55	2.3	4.1
Taraba	North East	299	30	140	55	2.1	3.9
Abuja FCT	North Central	474	50	222	30	2.1	1.3
Kwara	North Central	183	45	86	50	2.1	2.3
Nasarawa	North Central	92	45	90	40	1.0	0.9
Niger	North Central	2,635	25	2,854	70	0.9	2.6
Borno	North East	433	20	478	60	0.9	2.7
Kebbi	North West	309	10	410	88	0.8	6.6
Bauchi	North East	20	15	49	80	0.4	2.2
Sokoto	North West	340	5	1,296	94	0.3	4.9
Katsina	North West	489	7	2,251	91	0.2	2.8
Zamfara	North West	680	5	4,932	94	0.1	2.6
Kano	North West	2	9	23	91	0.1	0.9
Jigawa	North West	2	10	135	88	0.0	0.1

Source for Christian and Muslim percentages: Gina A. Zurlo, ed., *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed June 2025).

One state has an actual ratio of Christian civilians killed to Muslim civilians killed over the 6-year reporting period, which is higher than 5.0: Benue (14.4). Eleven states have an actual ratio higher than 1.0, while 9 states have an actual ratio lower than 1.0. Nasarawa state has an actual ratio of 1.0.

Table 57: 20 NORTHERN STATES: Comparison of the proportional ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period, considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

2020-2025							
State	Geopolitical zone	Christian civilians Abducted	% Christians in the state	Muslim civilians Abducted	% Muslims in the state	Actual ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted	Proportional ratio Christian to Muslim civilians abducted
Yobe	North East	26	10	9	87	2.9	25.1
Adamawa	North East	129	30	29	65	4.4	9.6
Kebbi	North West	309	10	410	88	0.8	6.6
Sokoto	North West	340	5	1,296	94	0.3	4.9
Kaduna	North West	6,615	35	1,965	50	3.4	4.8
Gombe	North East	9	30	4	55	2.3	4.1
Kogi	North Central	356	50	74	41	4.8	3.9
Taraba	North East	299	30	140	55	2.1	3.9
Katsina	North West	489	7	2,251	91	0.2	2.8
Borno	North East	433	20	478	60	0.9	2.7
Zamfara	North West	680	5	4,932	94	0.1	2.6
Niger	North Central	2,635	25	2,854	70	0.9	2.6
Kwara	North Central	183	45	86	50	2.1	2.4
Bauchi	North East	20	15	49	80	0.4	2.2
Benue	North Central	360	75	25	10	14.4	1.9
Plateau	North Central	314	60	69	17	4.6	1.3
Abuja FCT	North Central	474	50	222	30	2.1	1.3
Nasarawa	North Central	92	45	90	40	1.0	0.9
Kano	North West	2	9	23	91	0.1	0.9
Jigawa	North West	2	10	135	88	0.0	0.1

Source for Christian and Muslim percentages: Gina A. Zurlo, ed., *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed June 2025).

One state has a proportional ratio higher than 10.0 (Yobe: 25.1). A very high ratio but the numbers of Christian civilians abducted (26), and Muslim civilians abducted (9) are low. Two states have a proportional ratio between 5.0 and 10.0 (Adamawa, Kebbi). Fourteen states have a proportional ratio between 1.0 and 5.0. Three states have a proportional ratio lower than 1.0. This data suggests that Christian civilians have been disproportionately affected by abductions in most of the northern states.

4.3 Hotspots of abductions for the different victim categories

Tables 58 – 69 below present the states as well as the LGAs with the most abductions for the different victim categories of abductions for the overall 6 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2025), for the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023), and the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sep 2025). The rationale is that if the Tinubu government had meant a change in the violence panorama after the Buhari government, it would have shown in the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sep 2025).

4.3.1 Hot spots of abductions for the different victim categories at state level over 6 years

The tables below specify data for civilians in general, and for Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians (not including the distributed numbers for ‘Unknown religious identity’). An indication is also given for the Top 5 abductions at the state level based on the ‘proportional’ number of Christian civilians abducted.

4.3.1.1 Hot spots of abductions for civilians at state level over 6 years

Map 24 in section 4.2.2 shows the distribution of civilians abducted across the country.

Table 58 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period. It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of abductions per state relative to the national total.

Table 58: Top 5 states with civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Civilians Abducted over all 6 years				
State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country
Kaduna	North West	9,000	1,500	25.9
Zamfara	North West	6,235	1,039	17.9
Niger	North Central	5,952	992	17.1
Katsina	North West	3,178	530	9.1
Sokoto	North West	2,052	342	5.9
Total Top 5 (%)				76
Country total		34,773	5,796	

Civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over all six years:

- Kaduna had the most civilians abducted (26%). The Top 5 states had 76% of the total number of civilians abducted in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 24% of the abductions. The successive numbers for the Top 5 states differ gradually, although the difference between 1st placed Kaduna (9,000) and 5th placed Sokoto (2,052) is substantial.
- Most civilians were abducted in the northern states (32,195) compared to the southern states (2,578).

4.3.1.1.1 Hot spots of abductions for Christian civilians at state level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians abducted.

Map 25 in section 4.2.2.1 shows the distribution of Christian civilians abducted across the country.

Table 59 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of Christian civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period. It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of abductions per state relative to the national total.

The numbers in Table 59 do not include the proportionally distributed numbers of abducted civilians with unknown religious identity (3,317). See section 4.2.2 for the distributed numbers of Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians.

Table 59: Top 5 states with Christian civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Christian civilians abducted over all 6 years				
State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of
Kaduna	North West	6,615	1,103	41.5
Niger	North Central	2,635	439	16.5
Zamfara	North West	680	113	4.3
Katsina	North West	489	82	3.1
Abuja FCT	North Central	474	79	3.0
Total Top 5 (%)				68
Country total		15,932	2,655	

Christian civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over all six years:

- Kaduna had the most Christian civilians abducted (42%). The Top 5 states had 68% of the total number of civilians abducted in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 32% of the abductions. The successive numbers for the Top 5 states differ greatly. The difference between first-placed Kaduna (42%) and 2nd placed Niger (17%) is very large, as is the difference with the other three (4%, 3%, 3%). This suggests a strong concentration of abductions in one state.
- Most Christian civilians were abducted in the northern states (13,767) compared to the southern states (2,165).

Table 59 is based on registered ‘actual’ numbers of Christian civilians abducted. It is also possible to speak about calculated ‘proportioned numbers’. These are related to proportional ratios, which are derived from the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in each state. See 4.2.2.3, 4.2.2.4, and 4.2.2.5 for more information.

The Top 5 changes when considering the proportional numbers of Christian civilians abducted in the states for all 6 years.

Table 60. Comparison of the Top 5 Christian civilians abducted actually and proportionally over all 6 years

TOP 5 Christian civilians abducted over all 6 years	
Actually	Proportionally
Kaduna	Zamfara
Niger	Kaduna
Zamfara	Niger
Katsina	Sokoto
Abuja FCT	Katsina

While in the actual Top 5 there were 3 northwestern and 2 northcentral states, in the proportional Top 5 there were 4 northwestern states and 1 northcentral state. Both suggest that Christian civilians in North West were specifically targeted by abductions.

4.3.1.1.2 Hot spots of abductions for Muslim civilians at state level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians abducted.

Map 26 in section 4.2.2.2 shows the distribution of Muslim civilians abducted across the country.

Table 61 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period. It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of abductions per state relative to the national total.

The numbers in Table 61 do not include the proportionally distributed numbers of abducted civilians with unknown religious identity (3,317). See section 4.2.2 for the distributed numbers of Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians.

Table 61: Top 5 states with Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

TOP 5 Muslim civilians abducted over all 6 years				
State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country
Zamfara	North West	4,932	822	32.3
Niger	North Central	2,854	476	18.7
Katsina	North West	2,251	375	14.7
Kaduna	North West	1,965	328	12.9
Sokoto	North West	1,296	216	8.5
Total Top 5 (%)				87
Country total		15,272	2,545	

Muslim civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over all six years:

- Zamfara had the most Muslim civilians abducted (32%). The Top 5 states had 87% of the total number of Muslim civilians abducted in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 13% of the abductions. The consecutive numbers for the Top 5 states differ gradually, although the difference between 1st placed Zamfara (4,932) and 5th placed Sokoto (1,296) is substantial.
- Almost all Muslim civilians were abducted in the northern states (15,141) compared to the southern states (131).

4.3.2 Hot spots of abductions for the different victim categories at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

This section repeats the analysis done in section 4.3.1. It splits the overall 6-year reporting period into two parts: the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) and the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sep 2025).

4.3.2.1 Hot spots of abductions for civilians at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

Table 62 compares the Top 5 states with the highest number of civilians abducted over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of abductions per state relative to the national total.

Table 62: Top 5 states with civilians abducted over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Civilians Abducted over first 4 years					TOP 5 Civilians Abducted over last 2 years				
State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country	State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country
Kaduna	North West	5,782	1446	26.9	Kaduna	North West	3,218	1609	24.3
Niger	North Central	4,963	1241	23.0	Zamfara	North West	3,191	1596	24.1
Zamfara	North West	3,044	761	14.1	Katsina	North West	1,605	803	12.1
Katsina	North West	1,573	393	7.3	Sokoto	North West	1,026	513	7.7
Borno	North East	1,059	265	4.9	Niger	North Central	989	495	7.5
Total Top 5 (%)				76	Total Top 5 (%)				76
Country total		21,532	5,383		Country total		13,241	6,621	

Shifts in civilians abducted in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (5,383) was lower than over the last 2 years (6,621). So, there was an increase in civilians abducted.
- The total percentage of civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (76%) and the last two years (76%) remained the same.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Zamfara increased from rank 3 to 2, while Kaduna remained at 1. Katsina increased from rank 4 to 3. Sokoto appeared in rank 4. Niger dropped from rank 2 to rank 5. Borno disappeared from the Top 5.

4.3.2.1.1 Hot spots of abductions for Christian civilians at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians abducted.

Table 63 compares the Top 5 states with the highest numbers of Christian civilians abducted over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of abductions per state relative to the national total.

Table 63: Top 5 states with Christian civilians abducted over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Christian civilians abducted over first 4 years					TOP 5 Christian civilians abducted over last 2 years				
State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of	State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of
Kaduna	North West	4,337	1084	38.8	Kaduna	North West	2,278	1139	48.0
Niger	North Central	2,337	584	20.9	Niger	North Central	298	149	6.3
Zamfara	North West	579	145	5.2	Benue	North Central	261	131	5.5
Katsina	North West	393	98	3.5	Abuja FCT	North Central	194	97	4.1
Borno	North East	351	88	3.1	Kogi	North Central	180	90	3.8
Total Top 5 (%)				71	Total Top 5 (%)				68
Country total		11,185	2,796		Country total		4,747	2,374	

Shift in Christian civilians abducted in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of Christian civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (2,796) was higher than over the last 2 years (2,374). So, there was a decrease in Christian civilians abducted.
- The total percentage of Christian civilians abducted in the Top 5 states decreased from 71% over the first 4 years to 68% over the last two years.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Kaduna remained at rank 1, and Niger in rank 2. Benue appeared in rank 3, Abuja FCT at rank 4, and Kogi at rank 5. Zamfara, Katsina, and Borno disappeared

from the Top 5. This suggests a partial shift from Christian civilian abductions to North Central over the 6-year reporting period.

The Top 5 changes when we look at the proportional numbers of Christian civilians abducted in the states for the first 4 and the last 2 years.

Table 64. Comparison of Top 5 Christian civilians abducted, actually, and proportionally for the first 4 years (2020 to 2023) and the last 2 years (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Christian civilians abducted over first 4 years		TOP 5 Christian civilians abducted over the last 2 years	
Actually	Proportionally	Actually	Proportionally
Kaduna	Zamfara	Kaduna	Kaduna
Niger	Niger	Niger	Zamfara
Zamfara	Sokoto	Benue	Katsina
Katsina	Kaduna	Abuja FCT	Niger
Borno	Katsina	Kogi	Borno

Table 64 shows shifting dynamics in abductions, notably in the actual Top 5 from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- Actual Top 5:
 - First 4 years: 3 northwestern states, 1 northcentral, and 1 northeastern state.
 - Last 2 years: 1 northwestern, and 4 northcentral states.
- Proportionated Top 5:
 - First 4 years: 4 northwestern states, and 1 northcentral state.
 - Last 2 years: 3 northwestern, 1 northcentral, and 1 northeastern state.

4.3.2.1.2 Hot spots of abductions for Muslim civilians at state level over the first 4 and last 2 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians abducted.

Table 65 compares the Top 5 states with the highest number of Muslim civilians abducted over the first 4 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2023) with the last 2 years (Oct 2023 to Sept 2025). It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of abductions per state relative to the national total.

Table 65: Top 5 states with Muslim civilians abducted over the first 4-year (2020 to 2023) and last 2-year reporting periods (2024 to 2025)

TOP 5 Muslim civilians abducted over first 4 years					TOP 5 Muslim civilians abducted over last 2 years					
State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country	State		Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country	
Zamfara	North West	2,222	556	28.1	Zamfara	North West	2,710	1355	36.8	
Niger	North Central	2,198	550	27.8	Katsina	North West	1,310	655	17.8	
Kaduna	North West	1,117	279	14.1	Sokoto	North West	861	431	11.7	
Katsina	North West	941	235	11.9	Kaduna	North West	848	424	11.5	
Sokoto	North West	435	109	5.5	Niger	North Central	656	328	8.9	
Total Top 5 (%)					88	Total Top 5 (%)				87
Country total		7,899	1,975		Country total		7,373	3,687		

Shift in Muslim civilians abducted in the Top 5 states from the first 4 to the last 2 years:

- The annual average of Muslim civilians abducted in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (1,975) was

much lower than over the last 2 years (3,687). In other words, there was a considerable increase in Muslim civilians abducted over the last two years.

- The total percentage of Muslim civilian abductions in the Top 5 states over the first 4 years (88%) and the last two years (87%) remained almost the same.
- From the first 4 years to the last 2 years, Zamfara remained at 1, while Katsina increased from rank 4 to 2. Kaduna dropped from rank 3 to 4. Sokoto increased from rank 5 to 3, while Niger dropped from rank 2 to 5.

4.3.3 Hotspots of abductions at LGA level over all 6 years

Data for abductions were registered for 524 LGAs or Area Councils, which include the 6 Area Councils. The text will only refer to LGAs, but means to include the Area Councils.

This section only looks at the hotspots of abduction for the full 6 years (2020 to 2025); no analytical split is made between the first 4 years (2020 to 2023) and the last 2 years (2024 to 2025).

4.3.3.1 Hot spots of abductions for civilians at LGA level over 6 years

Table 66 presents the 10 LGAs with the most civilians abducted per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 66: Top 10 LGAs with civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 Civilians abducted at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	3,678	613	10.6
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	1,613	269	4.6
Munya	Niger	North Central	1,572	262	4.5
Rafi	Niger	North Central	1,412	235	4.1
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	1,021	170	2.9
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	863	144	2.5
Maru	Zamfara	North West	849	142	2.4
Zurmi	Zamfara	North West	832	139	2.4
Kachia	Kaduna	North West	767	128	2.2
Sabon-Birni	Sokoto	North West	744	124	2.1
Total Top 10 %					38
Country total			34,773	5,796	

Table 66 shows that 38% of civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 524 with registered abductions of civilians.

4.3.3.1.1 Hot spots of abductions for Christian civilians at LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians abducted.

Table 67 presents the 10 LGAs with the most Christian civilians abducted per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 67: Top 10 LGAs with Christian civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 Christian civilians abducted at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	3,389	565	21.3
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	1,049	175	6.6
Munya	Niger	North Central	813	136	5.1
Kachia	Kaduna	North West	551	92	3.5
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	520	87	3.3
Rafi	Niger	North Central	374	62	2.3
Giwa	Kaduna	North West	283	47	1.8
Rijau	Niger	North Central	281	47	1.8
Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	North West	277	46	1.7
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	213	36	1.3
Total Top 10 %					49
Country total			15,932	2,655	

Table 67 shows that 49% of Christian civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 434 with registered abductions of Christian civilians.

4.3.3.1.2 Hot spots of abductions for Muslim civilians at LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians abducted.

Table 68 presents the 10 LGAs with the most Muslim civilians abducted per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 68: Top 10 LGAs with Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period

TOP 10 Muslim civilians abducted at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Rafi	Niger	North Central	844	141	5.5
Zurmi	Zamfara	North West	775	129	5.1
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	670	112	4.4
Munya	Niger	North Central	665	111	4.4
Maru	Zamfara	North West	634	106	4.2
Talata Mafara	Zamfara	North West	546	91	3.6
Sabon-Birni	Sokoto	North West	501	84	3.3
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	467	78	3.1
Kaura Namoda	Zamfara	North West	433	72	2.8
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	428	71	2.8
Total Top 10 %					39
Country total			15,272	2,545	

Table 68 shows that 39% of Muslim civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 250 with registered abductions of Muslim civilians.

4.3.3.2 Compare the hot spots of abductions at LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians abducted.

Table 69 compares the Top 10 LGAs where civilians were abducted, with those where the main subgroups of this category were abducted, namely Christian civilians and Muslim civilians.

Table 69. Comparison of the Top 10 LGAs where all civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians were abducted

Top 10 civilians abducted over all 6 years		Top 10 Christians civilians abducted over all 6 years		Top 10 Muslim civilians abducted over all 6 years	
LGA	State	LGA	State	LGA	State
Kajuru	Kaduna	Kajuru	Kaduna	Rafi	Niger
Chikun	Kaduna	Chikun	Kaduna	Zurmi	Zamfara
Munya	Niger	Munya	Niger	Maradun	Zamfara
Rafi	Niger	Kachia	Kaduna	Munya	Niger
Shiroro	Niger	Shiroro	Niger	Maru	Zamfara
Maradun	Zamfara	Rafi	Niger	Talata Mafara	Zamfara
Maru	Zamfara	Giwa	Kaduna	Sabon-Birni	Sokoto
Zurmi	Zamfara	Rijau	Niger	Shiroro	Niger
Kachia	Kaduna	Birnin Gwari	Kaduna	Kaura Namoda	Zamfara
Sabon-Birni	Sokoto	Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	Chikun	Kaduna

Table 69 shows a strong overlap between LGAs where civilians were abducted, and LGAs where Christian civilians were abducted: 8 out of 10. Wasagu/Danko and Faskari did not overlap. The overlap between LGAs where civilians were abducted and LGAs where Muslim civilians were abducted was only 2 out of 10 (Chikun, Shiroro). Finally, the overlap between LGAs where Christian civilians were abducted, and LGAs where Muslim civilians were abducted was also 2 out of 10 (Shiroro and Chikun).

4.4 Size of attacks with abductions, distinguishing community attacks and other attacks

Most attacks with civilians abducted targeted communities, the majority of them Christian communities. Community attacks often involved a shocking variety of hostile acts and led to enormous numbers of forcibly displaced people. At the end of 2024, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reported 3.4 million forcibly displaced civilians by conflict and violence in Nigeria.

Table 70 shows how many civilian, Christian civilian, and Muslim civilian abductions took place in the context of community attacks, as distinguished from other attacks, in the different reporting periods.

Table 70: Percentages of civilian, Christian civilian, and Muslim civilian abductions in community incidents per reporting period

Year	Total community and other civilian abductions	Total civilians abducted in community incidents	% of civilians abducted in community incidents	Total community and other Christian civilian abductions	Total christian civilians abducted in community incidents	% of Christian civilians abducted in community incidents	Total community and other Muslim civilian abductions	Total Muslim civilians abducted in community incidents	% of Muslim civilians abducted in community incidents	Total community and other civilian abductions of ATRs	Total community and other abductions with unknown religious identity
2020	1,665	1,089	65	977	654	67	91	79	87	-	356
2021	5,907	5,246	89	2,346	2,001	85	2,243	2,140	95	6	1,099
2022	7,705	5,413	70	4,634	2,947	64	2,691	2,157	80	133	176
2023	6,255	5,013	80	3,228	2,601	81	2,874	2,285	80	41	86
2024	7,648	5,681	74	2,647	1,678	63	4,474	3,675	82	-	328
2025	5,593	2,804	50	2,100	1,120	53	2,899	1,682	58	-	2
2020-2025	34,773	25,246	73	15,932	11,001	69	15,272	12,018	79	180	2,047

Table 70 shows that 73% (25,246) of all civilians abducted were abducted in community attacks; for Christian civilians abducted, this percentage was 69% (11,001), for Muslim civilians abducted, it was 79% (12,018). Over the years, the percentages of civilians abducted in community attacks have fluctuated, with their lowest value in 2025 (50%; 2,804); the lowest value for Christian civilians was 53% (1,120), for Muslim civilians it was 58% (1,682), both also in 2025.

Table 71 shows the breakdown of data on attacks with civilian abductions, specifying the number of civilians 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 71. Civilians abducted during community attacks and other attacks

Incidents with civilians abducted		
ALL incidents with CIVILIANS - 4539	Community 2740 incidents:	Other 1799 incidents:
0 – 5 kidnapped = 3062 incidents 68%	0 – 5 kidnapped = 1672 incidents 63%	0 – 5 kidnapped = 868 incidents 76%
6 – 10 kidnapped = 673 incidents 15%	6 – 10 kidnapped = 462 incidents 16%	6 – 10 kidnapped = 143 incidents 13%
So 83% on “smaller scale”	So 79% on “smaller scale”	So 89% on smaller scale
11 – 25 kidnapped = 548 incidents	11 – 25 kidnapped = 408 incidents	11 – 25 kidnapped = 140 incidents
26 – 50 kidnapped = 186 incidents	26 – 50 kidnapped = 142 incidents	26 – 50 kidnapped = 44 incidents
51 – 100 kidnapped = 51 incidents	51 – 100 kidnapped = 41 incidents	51 – 100 kidnapped = 10 incidents
>100 (up to 470) kidnapped = 19 incidents	>100 (up to 470) kidnapped = 15 incidents	>100 (up to 470) 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).

5. Spread of civilian abductions over the year

This section looks more closely at how the abductions are spread over the course of a year.

For this chapter, the analysis has been carried out only for civilian abductions. The reason for this was that the difference between all people abducted, and civilians abducted was only 144 persons (i.e., members of Security Forces, and Terror Groups combined).

The data is about all abductions over the year in the geopolitical zones, as well as in the distinct reporting periods. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 8.

5.1 All abductions over the months in the geographical zones and reporting periods

Table 72 shows the spread of civilian abductions over the year in the different geopolitical zones, for the 6-year reporting period.

Table 72: GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilian abductions per month

Geopolitical zone	2020-2025												
	Total Civilians Abducted	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
North West	21,421	1,026	1,261	2,408	1,729	2,113	2,539	1,173	1,870	1,417	2,194	1,866	1,825
North Central	8,510	518	687	462	936	871	638	875	1,426	759	294	485	559
North East	2,264	177	103	396	425	134	171	84	85	190	197	167	135
South East	752	102	36	47	81	53	51	29	69	95	88	58	43
South South	1,173	166	79	89	109	42	163	119	115	48	103	38	102
South West	653	46	15	49	88	32	48	56	82	66	61	27	83
Grand Total	34,773	2,035	2,181	3,451	3,368	3,245	3,610	2,336	3,647	2,575	2,937	2,641	2,747

Figure 7 visualizes the data in Table 72.

Figure 7 : GEOPOLITICAL ZONES – Civilian abductions per month

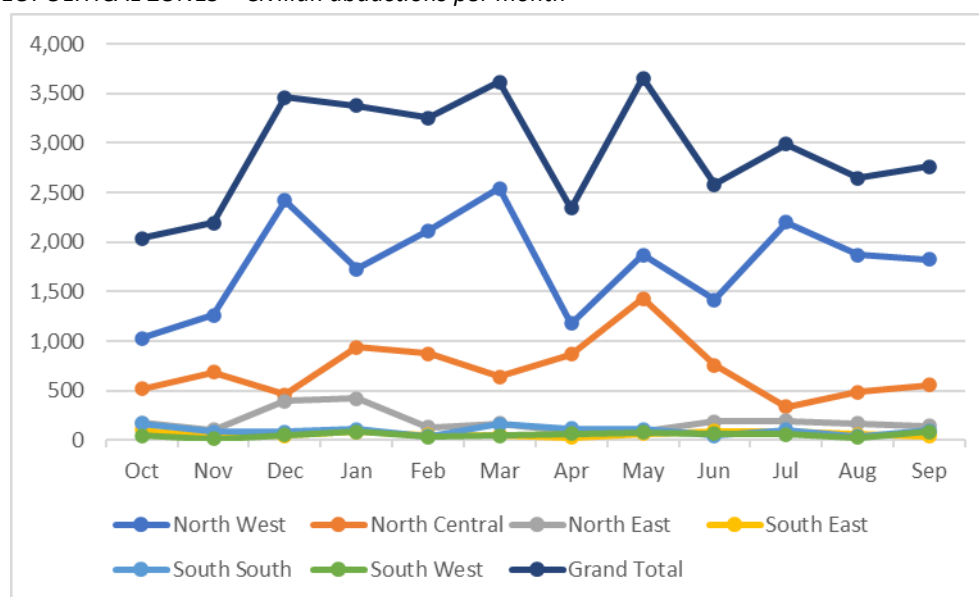


Figure 7 shows all civilians abducted over the months for the 6-year period in the six geopolitical zones. The highest peaks took place in North West in December, March, and July. In May, North Central peaked but still saw fewer civilians abducted than North West. Taking all together, the civilian abductions peaked in December, March, and May.

The data shows that over the overall 6-year reporting period, North West was the epicenter of abductions, followed by North Central. The abduction phenomenon spread out more over the year than was the case with killings, although most abductions also took place in the context of community attacks.

5.2 Civilian abductions over the months in the geographical zones and reporting periods

Table 73 looks at the spread of civilian abductions over the separate reporting periods.

Table 73: 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
2024	7,648	563	564	698	666	834	927	431	1,292	406	473	579	215
2025	5,593	334	361	653	581	439	254	406	652	246	443	597	627
2020-2025	34,773	2,035	2,181	3,451	3,368	3,245	3,610	2,336	3,647	2,575	2,937	2,641	2,747

Figure 8 visualizes the data in Table 33.

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

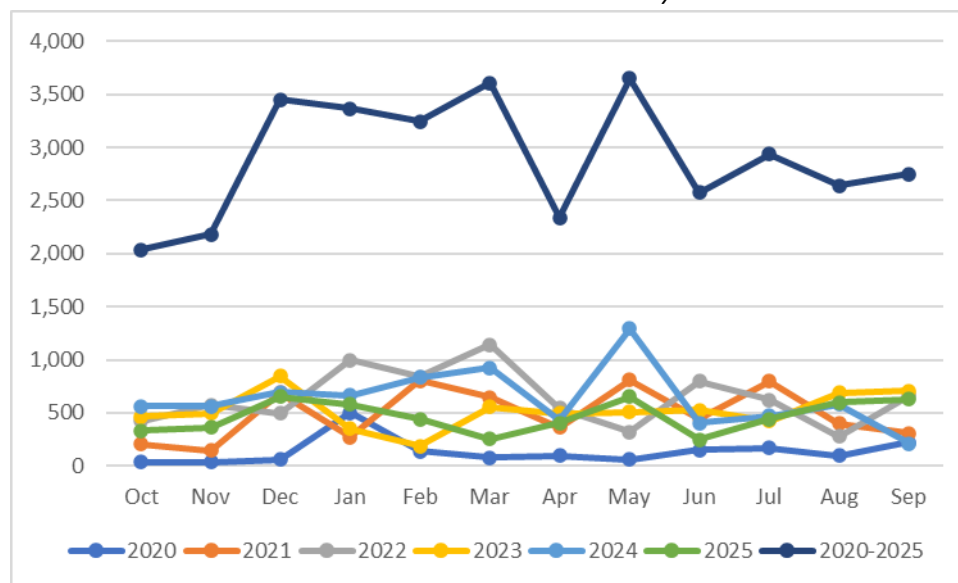


Figure 8 shows all civilians abducted per month for the six separate reporting periods. The highest monthly values were in January and March for the 2022 reporting period.

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.

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 Muslim civilians were abducted by the same aggressors as those who abducted Christian civilians, and adherents of ATR. This means that most of the Muslim civilians 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. Taking ‘proportionality’ into account would further emphasize the trends.

When using the recorded data for the abductions of Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and adherents of ATR for analysis, all people abducted with ‘Unknown religious identity’ have been unavoidably left out of the analysis. That is not necessarily 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 by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

Map 23 in section 4.2.1 shows All people abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors.

Table 74 shows that 34,917 people were abducted during 4,589 attacks by different aggressors. Of these, 34,773 were civilians. A full overview at the state level is available in Appendix A1 – 8 and A1 – 10

Table 74: ALL ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories over the 6-year reporting period with percentages for civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians abducted by the different aggressors

Aggressors	2020-2025 Abductions											
	Total # of incidents with abductions	Total of abductions	Total civilians abducted	% civilians abducted	Christian civilians abducted	% Christians abducted	Muslim civilians abducted	% Muslims abducted	ATR civilians abducted	Unknown religious identity abducted	Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
Unidentified Terror Groups	2,279	17,274	17,197	49%	8,645	54%	7,691	50%	179	682	52	25
Fulani Terror Groups	1,968	15,156	15,107	43%	6,602	41%	6,639	43%	66	1,800	42	7
Boko Haram	46	1,572	1,569	5%	380	2%	643	4%	-	546	2	1
ISWAP	179	606	595	2%	170	1%	269	2%	-	156	11	-
Security Forces	71	186	185	1%	47	0%	17	0%	3	118	1	-
Locals	7	80	80	0%	59	0%	5	0%	4	12	-	-
Vigilantes	26	20	18	0%	15	0%	3	0%	-	-	2	-
Cultists	2	12	12	0%	7	0%	5	0%	-	-	-	-
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	11	11	10	0%	7	0%	-	0%	-	3	-	1
Total	4,589	34,917	34,773		15,932		15,272		252	3,317	110	34

All people abducted: The top 3 abductors were Unidentified Terror Groups (17,274), Fulani Terror Groups (15,156), and Boko Haram (1,572). These three categories abducted 34,002 people out of the total of 34,917.

Because the difference between all people abducted and civilians abducted is so small (144), maps will not be presented for all people killed but will start with civilians killed.

6.2 Civilians abducted by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

Map 23 in section 4.2.2 shows civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by all aggressors.

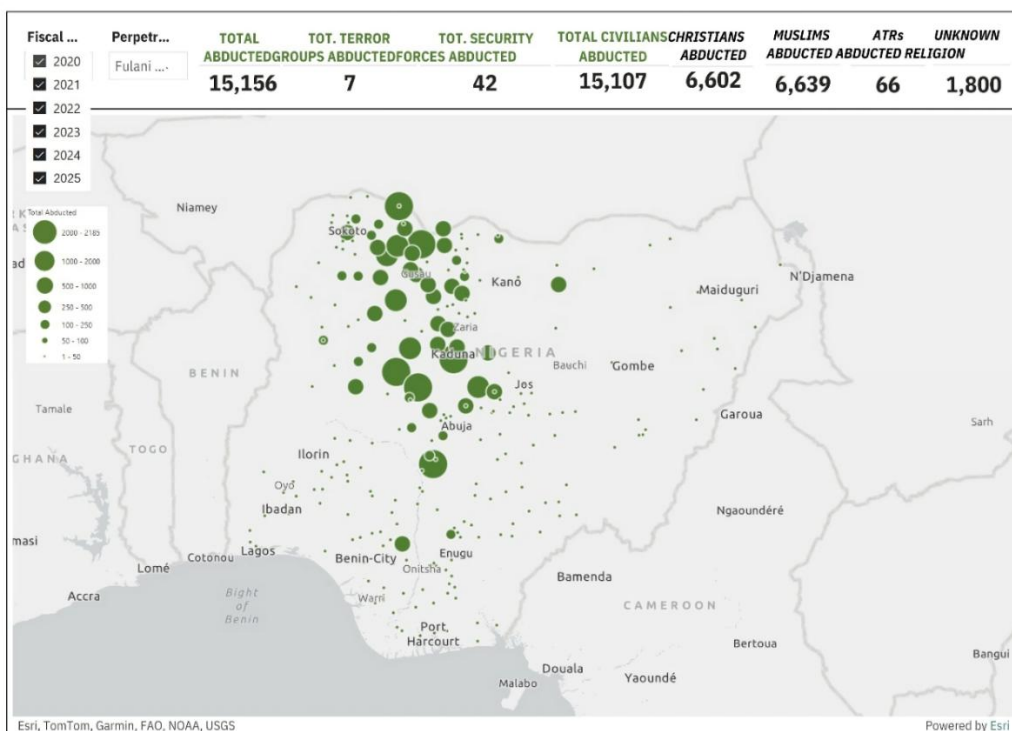
Table 74 shows that most civilians were abducted by Unidentified Terror Groups (49%), followed by Fulani Terror Groups (43%). Remarkably, the percentages for Boko Haram (5%) and ISWAP (2%) were much lower than expected, as compared to the Fulani Terror Groups.

Maps 27 to 29 show which aggressors abducted civilians over the 6-year reporting period.

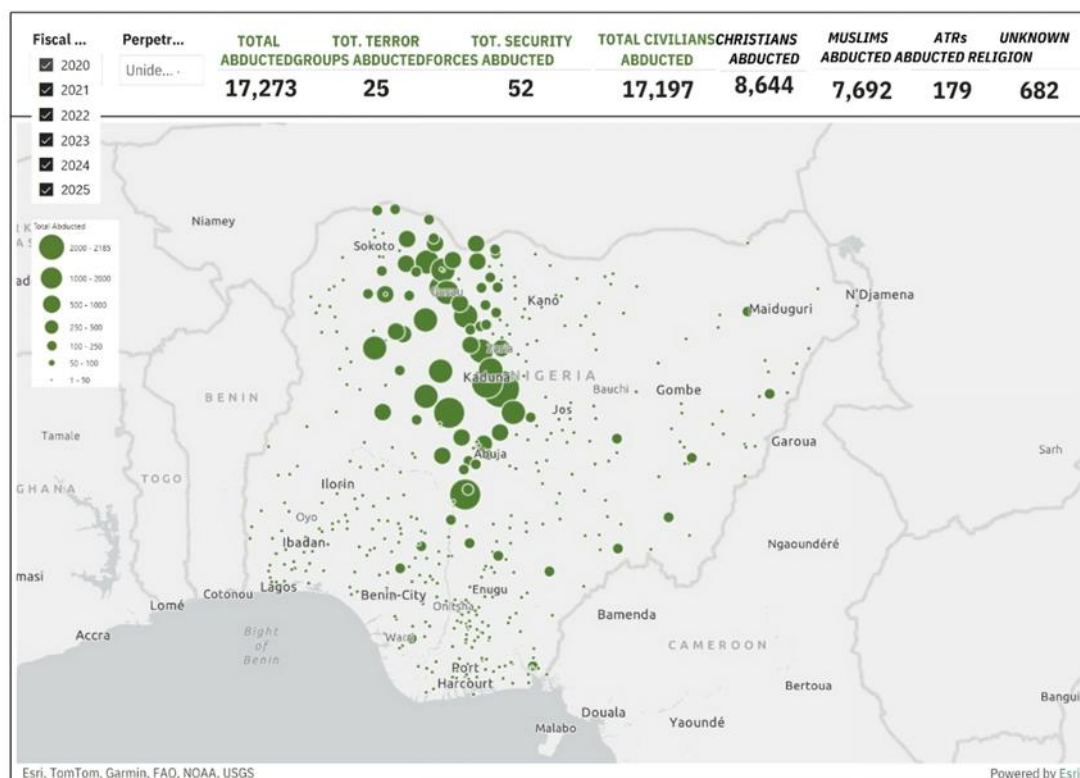
Map 27. Civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP (2,164)



Map 28. All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups (15,107)



Map 29. All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by members of Unidentified Terror Groups (17,197)



For more maps about which aggressors abducted civilians, see Appendix 2 – Maps:

A2 – 42 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Boko Haram and ISWAP

A2 – 44 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Fulani Terror Groups

A2 – 46 All civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) by Unidentified Terror Groups

Table 74, and the maps 27 to 29 show that the number of abductions by Boko Haram and ISWAP together was far less than the abductions by either the Fulani Terror Groups or Unidentified Terror Groups. The area of operation of Boko Haram and ISWAP was not only in North East, but also in North West. Maps 28 and 29 seem to suggest that the areas of operation of the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups were connected and greatly overlapped, forming a wide strip from North West to North Central as for killings (section 3.2). This raises the question of whether the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups are largely the same.

6.2.1 Main areas of operation of different Terror Groups involved in civilian abductions according to geopolitical zones

In this section, the main areas of operation of the various terrorist groups involved in civilian abductions are presented by geopolitical zone. It does so for the full 6-year reporting period at once. The ORFA research team can also provide overviews of the level of the individual states or the individual reporting periods.

Table 75. Main areas of operation for abductions of the different categories of Terror Groups from 2020 to 2025

Geopolitical Zone / Aggressor	Total Abducted	Total Civilians abducted	2020 -2025				Security Forces abducted	Terror Groups abducted
			Christian civilians killed	Muslim civilians killed	ATR civilians killed	Unknown Religious Identity abducted		
North Central	8,569	8,510	4,414	3,420	121	555	34	25
Boko Haram	131	131	75	56				
Cultists								
Fulani Terror Groups	3,380	3,369	1,488	1,480	8	393	11	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)								
ISWAP								
Locals	25	25	11	3	4	7		
Security Forces	15	15	8	3		4		
Unidentified Terror Groups	5,018	4,970	2,832	1,878	109	151	23	25
Vigilantes	0	0	0					
North East	2,285	2,264	916	709	1	638	18	3
Boko Haram	753	750	219	187		344	2	1
Cultists						0		
Fulani Terror Groups	165	161	117	41		3	2	2
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)								
ISWAP	605	594	169	269		156	11	
Locals	3	3	1	2				
Security Forces	92	92	3			89		
Unidentified Terror Groups	667	664	407	210	1	46	3	
Vigilantes	0	0	0	0		0		
North West	21,453	21,421	8,437	11,012	113	1,859	27	5
Boko Haram	687	687	85	400		202		
Cultists	0	0	0	0		0		
Fulani Terror Groups	10,926	10,905	4,407	5,105	56	1,337	16	5
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)								
ISWAP	1	1	1					
Locals	24	24	23	0		1		
Security Forces	55	55	23	13	3	16		
Unidentified Terror Groups	9,748	9,737	3,891	5,489	54	303	11	
Vigilantes	12	12	7	5				
South East	767	752	706	14		32	15	
Boko Haram								
Cultists	4	4	4					
Fulani Terror Groups	246	243	226	9		8	3	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	0	0	0					
ISWAP	20	18	15	3			2	
Locals	14	14	12			2		
Security Forces	3	2	2	0			1	
Unidentified Terror Groups	480	471	447	2		22	9	
Vigilantes	0	0	0					
South South	1,185	1,173	1,011	52	10	100	11	1
Boko Haram								
Cultists	5	4	2	0		2		1
Fulani Terror Groups	346	337	316	2	2	17	9	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	0	0	0					
ISWAP	0	0	0					
Locals	12	12	12					
Security Forces	9	9	9					
Unidentified Terror Groups	813	811	672	50	8	81	2	
Vigilantes	0	0	0					
South West	658	653	448	65	7	133	5	
Boko Haram	1	1	1					
Cultists	2	2	1			1		
Fulani Terror Groups	93	92	48	2		42	1	
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	0	0	0					
ISWAP	0	0						
Locals	2	2	0			2		
Security Forces	12	12	2	1		9		
Unidentified Terror Groups	548	544	396	62	7	79	4	
Vigilantes	0	0	0					
Grand Total	34,917	34,773	15,932	15,272	252	3,317	110	34

Table 75 reinforces the question raised in section 6.2 of whether the Fulani Terror Groups and the Unidentified Terror Groups are largely the same. In North West, considered the hotspot of Unidentified Terror Groups, the number of civilians abducted by Fulani Terror Groups (10,692) is higher than the number of civilians abducted by Unidentified Terror Groups (9,736).

6.2.2 Christian civilians and Muslim civilians abducted by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians abducted. That means that neither the proportions of civilians abducted with unknown religious identity, nor the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the respective states, are taken into consideration.

Table 74 shows that Unidentified Terror Groups were the strongest threat for abduction of Christian civilians (8,645; 54%), followed by Fulani Terror Groups (6,602; 41%). Boko Haram was responsible for 2% (380) and ISWAP for 1% (170) of Christian abductions. For Muslim civilians, Unidentified Terror Groups were the strongest threat for abduction too (7,691; 50%), followed by Fulani Terror Groups (6,639; 43%). Boko Haram was responsible for 4% (643) and ISWAP for 2% (269) of Muslim abductions.

C. SYNTHESIS OF CIVILIAN KILLINGS AND ABDUCTIONS

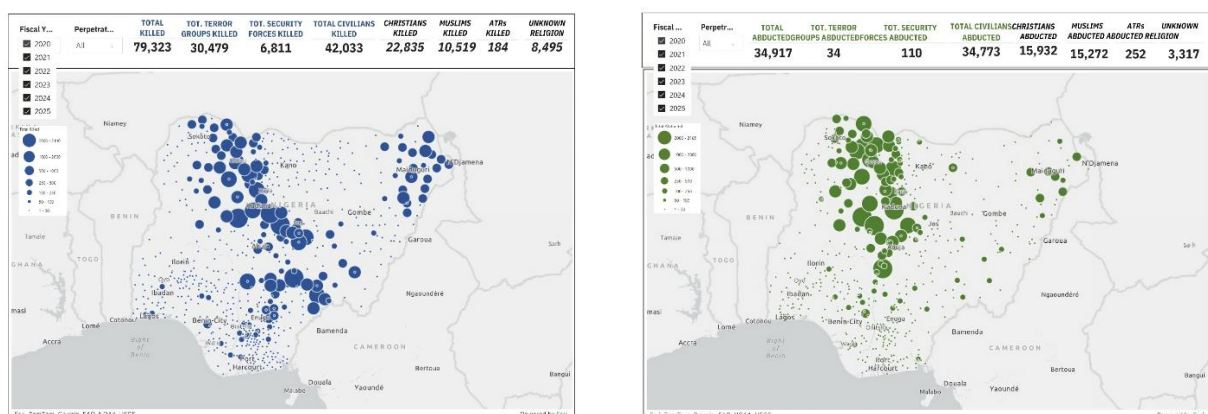
Chapter C combines some key data from Chapters A (Killings) and B (Abductions) of civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians.

Often, the same communities were affected by violence leading to killings or abductions of civilians. Often repeatedly. It is not appropriate to completely separate incidents of killing from incidents of abduction, as this does not do justice to the gravity of the situation. The cumulative impact of all this violence is greater than the sum of individual incidents. Therefore, data on killings and abductions are combined in Part C.

7. Civilians killed or abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

Maps 30 and 31 are taken from sections 1.2.2 and 4.2.2 to show the distribution of civilians killed and civilians abducted in Nigeria.

Maps 30 and 31: Civilians killed (42,033) and civilians abducted (34,773) over the 6-year reporting period



Maps 30 and 31 show that the areas affected strongly overlap but that killings are higher in numbers and more widespread throughout the country, particularly in the northern geopolitical zones.

Table 76 shows the combined numbers for civilian killings and abductions in Nigeria's six geopolitical zones.

Table 76. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Total civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Geopolitical Zone	Total civilians killed	Total civilians abducted	Total civilians killed or abducted
North West	15,365	21,424	36,789
North Central	12,877	8,504	21,381
North East	7,294	2,261	9,555
South East	2,976	752	3,728
South South	1,863	1,173	3,036
South West	1,658	659	2,317
Grand Total	42,033	34,773	76,806

Table 76 shows a high concentration of killings and abductions in the North West (36,789), followed at some distance by North Central (21,381).

Figure 9 presents the data on civilians killed or abducted in Nigeria's geopolitical zones otherwise.

Figure 9. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Total civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

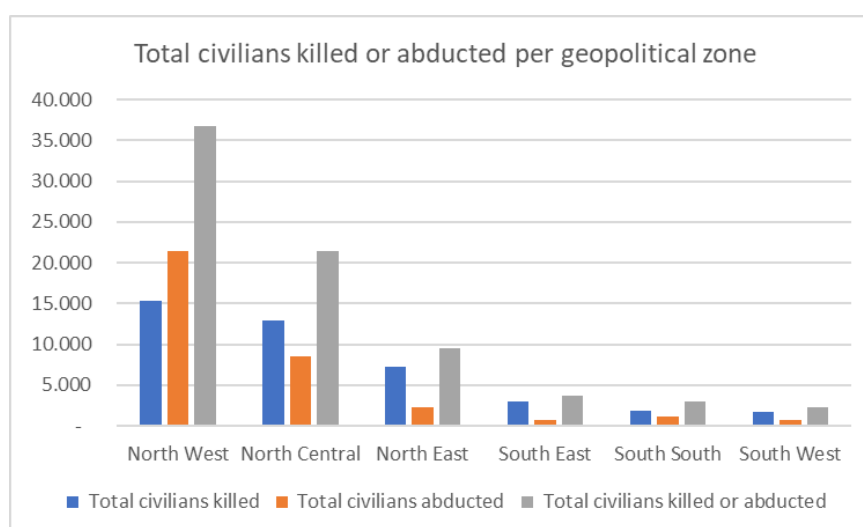


Table 77 shows the combined numbers for civilian killings and abductions for the 6 individual reporting periods.

Table 77. *INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Total civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)*

Year	Christian civilians killed or abducted	Muslim civilians killed or abducted	Total civilians killed or abducted
2020	4,596	1,100	9,099
2021	6,674	3,480	15,847
2022	9,511	4,954	15,356
2023	7,173	4,600	12,110
2024	5,374	6,515	12,824
2025	5,439	5,142	11,570
2020-2025	38,767	25,791	76,806

Table 77 shows that the annual values vary between 9,099 (2020) and 15,847 (2021). Although still high, the value for 2025 is the second lowest value over the 6-year reporting period.

Figure 10 presents the data on civilians killed or abducted in the individual reporting periods otherwise.

Figure 10. *INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Total civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)*

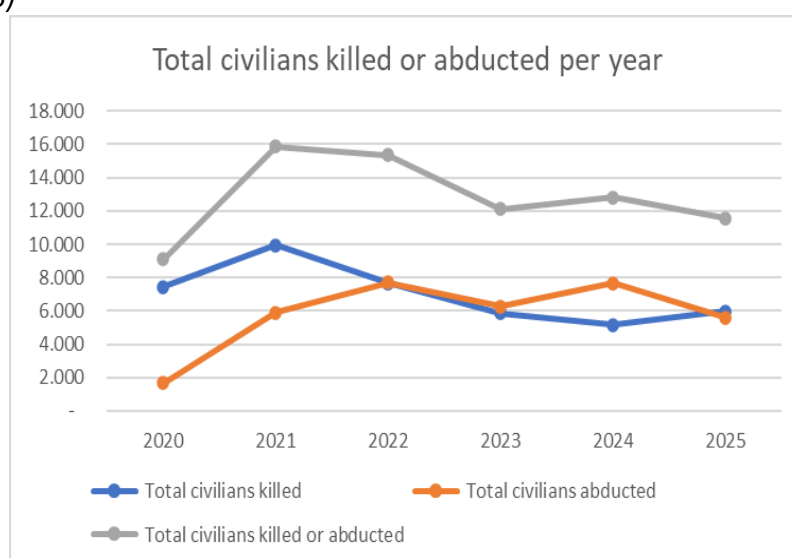


Table 78 recalculates part of Table 3 and 47 by distributing the number of civilians killed with unknown religious identity over the other categories. The calculation is done at the level of each geopolitical zone over the complete 6-year period at once. It proved to be the most cautious approach, so as not to create a positive bias towards the distributed number of Christian civilians killed.

Table 78. *Actual number of civilians killed or abducted with Unknown religious identity distributed over the remaining categories*

Killing or abduction of civilians	Total civilians killed or abducted	Christian civilians (actual)	Christian civilians (distributed)	Muslim civilians (actual)	Muslim civilians (distributed)	ATR civilians (actual)	ATR civilians (distributed)	Unknown Religious Identity (actual)
North West	36,790	14,385	16,628	17,382	19,972	167	191	4,856
North Central	21,387	13,953	15,650	5,095	5,578	147	159	2,192
North East	9,551	4,084	5,559	2,898	3,946	34	46	2,535
South East	3,732	3,037	3,589	114	137	5	6	576
South South	3,036	2,050	2,847	106	147	28	41	852
South West	2,310	1,258	1,920	196	301	55	89	801
ALL	76,806	38,767	46,193	25,791	30,080	436	532	11,812

The distributed numbers, though based on calculations, give a better impression of the numbers of Christian civilians killed or abducted and Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period than the actual numbers:

- Christian civilians killed or abducted – distributed: 46,193.
- Muslim civilians killed or abducted – distributed: 30,080.

7.1 Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted in geopolitical zones and reporting periods

Table 79 shows the combined numbers for civilian, Christian civilian and Muslim civilian killings and abductions in Nigeria's six geopolitical zones.

Table 79. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Total civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Geopolitical Zone	Christian civilians killed or abducted	Muslim civilians killed or abducted	ATR civilians killed or abducted	Unknown religious identity killed or abducted	Total civilians killed or abducted
North West	14,381	17,385	167	4,856	36,789
North Central	13,953	5,089	147	2,192	21,381
North East	4,086	2,900	34	2,535	9,555
South East	3,033	114	5	576	3,728
South South	2,050	106	28	852	3,036
South West	1,264	197	55	801	2,317
Grand Total	38,767	25,791	436	11,812	76,806

Table 79 shows a high concentration of Christian killings and abductions in the North West (14,831) and the North Central (13,953). Both values are nearly the same. That's a different pattern than for all civilians taken together. For Muslim civilian killings or abductions, the situation is actually the opposite: much more in the North West than in the North Central and North East. The values for the southern geopolitical zones are very low.

Figure 11 presents the data on civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted in Nigeria's geopolitical zones otherwise.

Figure 11. GEOPOLITICAL ZONES - Total civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

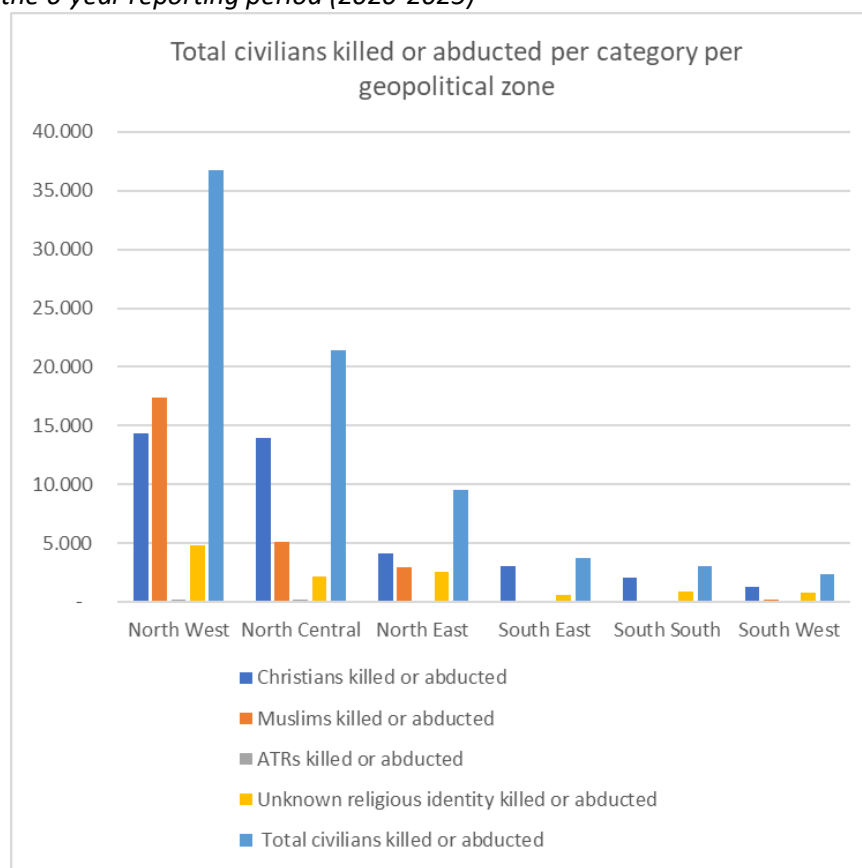


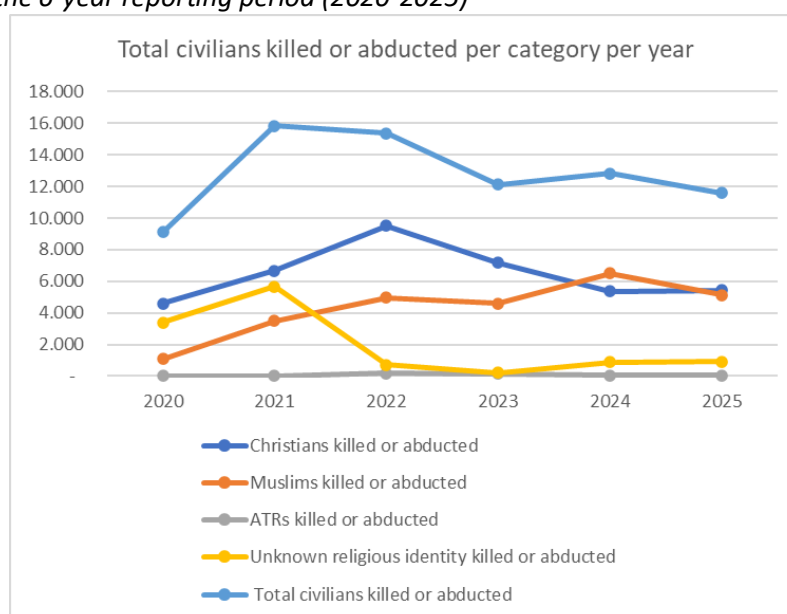
Table 80 shows the combined numbers for civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians' killings and abductions for the 6 individual reporting periods.

Table 80. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS - Total civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Year	Christian civilians killed or abducted	Muslim civilians killed or abducted	ATRs killed or abducted	Unknown religious identity killed or abducted	Total civilians killed or abducted
2020	4,596	1,100	-	3,403	9,099
2021	6,674	3,480	30	5,663	15,847
2022	9,511	4,954	173	718	15,356
2023	7,173	4,600	135	202	12,110
2024	5,374	6,515	33	902	12,824
2025	5,439	5,142	65	924	11,570
2020-2025	38,767	25,791	436	11,812	76,806

Figure 12 presents the data on civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted in the individual reporting periods otherwise.

Figure 12. INDIVIDUAL REPORTING PERIODS: Total civilians, Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)



7.2 Actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed or abducted in northern states in the different reporting periods

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed.

Tables 81 and 82 present the actual and proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed or abducted for the 20 northern states. Table 81 puts the highest actual ratio first, Table 82 the highest proportional ratio.

Table 81: 20 NORTHERN STATES: Comparison of the actual ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

2020-2025							
State	Geopolitical zone	Christian civilians killed or abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslim civilians killed or abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual Ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed or abducted	Proportional Ratio Christian to Muslim civilians Killed or Abducted
Benue	North Central	4,939	75	65	10	76.0	10.1
Plateau	North Central	2,916	60	326	17	8.9	2.5
Adamawa	North East	503	30	89	65	5.7	12.2
Taraba	North East	1,501	30	310	55	4.8	8.9
Kogi	North Central	587	50	135	41	4.3	3.6
Kaduna	North West	10,749	35	2,936	50	3.7	5.2
Gombe	North East	79	30	23	55	3.4	6.3
Kwara	North Central	286	45	142	50	2.0	2.2
Abuja FCT	North Central	620	50	310	30	2.0	1.2
Nasarawa	North Central	466	45	278	40	1.7	1.5
Kebbi	North West	975	10	817	88	1.2	10.5
Niger	North Central	4,146	25	3,832	70	1.1	3.0
Borno	North East	1,840	20	2,101	60	0.9	2.6
Yobe	North East	87	10	196	87	0.4	3.9
Bauchi	North East	76	15	184	80	0.4	2.2
Kano	North West	38	9	130	91	0.3	3.0
Sokoto	North West	559	5	2,201	94	0.3	4.8
Katsina	North West	917	7	3,773	91	0.2	3.2
Zamfara	North West	1,112	5	7,298	94	0.2	2.9
Jigawa	North West	31	10	227	88	0.1	1.2

Source for Christian and Muslim percentages: Gina A. Zurlo, ed., *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed June 2025).

Benue has an extremely high actual ratio of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period: 76,0. The state's proportional ratio is also very high: 10,1. Two more states have actual ratios higher than 5.0: These are Plateau and Adamawa. Nine states have an actual ratio that is higher than 1.0, while 8 states have an actual ratio lower than 1.0.

Table 82: 20 NORTHERN STATES: Comparison of the proportional ratios of Christian civilians abducted to Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025), considering the Christian/Muslim population levels

2020-2025							
State	Geopolitical zone	Christian civilians killed or abducted	% Christians in the State	Muslim civilians killed or abducted	% Muslims in the State	Actual Ratio Christian to Muslim civilians killed or abducted	Proportional Ratio Christian to Muslim civilians Killed or Abducted
Adamawa	North East	503	30	89	65	5.7	12.2
Kebbi	North West	975	10	817	88	1.2	10.5
Benue	North Central	4,939	75	65	10	76.0	10.1
Taraba	North East	1,501	30	310	55	4.8	8.9
Gombe	North East	79	30	23	55	3.4	6.3
Kaduna	North West	10,749	35	2,936	50	3.7	5.2
Sokoto	North West	559	5	2,201	94	0.3	4.8
Yobe	North East	87	10	196	87	0.4	3.9
Kogi	North Central	587	50	135	41	4.3	3.6
Katsina	North West	917	7	3,773	91	0.2	3.2
Niger	North Central	4,146	25	3,832	70	1.1	3.0
Kano	North West	38	9	130	91	0.3	3.0
Zamfara	North West	1,112	5	7,298	94	0.2	2.9
Borno	North East	1,840	20	2,101	60	0.9	2.6
Plateau	North Central	2,916	60	326	17	8.9	2.5
Kwara	North Central	286	45	142	50	2.0	2.2
Bauchi	North East	76	15	184	80	0.4	2.2
Nasarawa	North Central	466	45	278	40	1.7	1.5
Jigawa	North West	31	10	227	88	0.1	1.2
Abuja FCT	North Central	620	50	310	30	2.0	1.2

Source for Christian and Muslim percentages: Gina A. Zurlo, ed., *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed June 2025).

Three states have proportional ratios of Christian civilians to Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period higher than 10: Adamawa (12.2), Kebbi (10.5), and Benue (10.1). Three others have values higher than 5.0: Taraba (8.9), Gombe (6.3), and Kaduna (5.2). The remaining 14 states have all proportional ratios above 1.0.

8. Hotspots of killings or abductions for the different victim categories

Tables 83 – 90 below present the states as well as the LGAs with the most killings or abductions for the different victim categories of killings for the overall 6 years (Oct 2019 to Sept 2025).

8.1 Hot spots of killings or abductions for the different victim categories at state level over 6 years

The tables below specify data for civilians in general, and for Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians (not including the distributed numbers for 'Unknown religious identity').

8.1.1 Hot spots of killings or abductions for civilians at state level over 6 years

Table 83 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period. It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of killings or abductions per state relative to the national total.

Table 83: Top 5 states with civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Top 5 Civilians killed or abducted over all 6 years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total civilians killed or abducted	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kaduna	North West	15,072	2,512	19.6
Zamfara	North West	9,912	1,652	12.9
Niger	North Central	8,953	1,492	11.7
Katsina	North West	5,838	973	7.6
Borno	North East	5,796	966	7.5
Total Top 5 (%)				59
Country total		76,806	12,801	

Civilians killed or abducted in the Top 5 states over all six years: Kaduna saw by far the most civilians abducted (20%). The Top 5 states had 59% of the total number of civilians abducted in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 41% of the killings or abductions. The successive numbers for the Top 5 states differ gradually, although the difference between 1st placed Kaduna (15,072) and 5th placed Borno (5,796) is substantial.

8.1.1.1 Hot spots of killings or abductions for Christian civilians at state level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians killed or abducted.

Table 84 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of Christian civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period. It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of killings or abductions per state relative to the national total.

The numbers in Table 84 do not include the proportionally distributed numbers of killed or abducted civilians with unknown religious identity (11,812). See table 78 for the distributed numbers of Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians.

Table 84: Top 5 states with Christian civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Top 5 Christian civilians killed over all 6 years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total Christian civilians killed or abducted	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kaduna	North West	10,749	1,792	27.7
Benue	North Central	4,939	823	12.7
Niger	North Central	4,146	691	10.7
Plateau	North Central	2,916	486	7.5
Borno	North East	1,840	307	4.7
Total Top 5 (%)				63
Country total		38,767	6,461	

Christian civilians killed or abducted in the Top 5 states over all six years: Kaduna had most Christian civilians killed or abducted (28%), followed by Benue (13%), Niger (11%), Plateau (8%), and Borno (5%). The Top 5 states had 63% of the total number of civilians abducted in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 37% of the killings.

8.1.1.2 Hot spots of killings or abductions for Muslim civilians at state level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians killed or abducted.

Table 85 gives the Top 5 states with the highest number of Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period. It displays the average numbers per year and calculates the percentage of killings or abductions per state relative to the national total.

The numbers in Table 85 do not include the proportionally distributed numbers of killed or abducted civilians with unknown religious identity (11,812). See table 78 for the distributed numbers of Christian civilians, Muslim civilians, and ATR civilians.

Table 85: Top 5 states with Muslim civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025)

Top 5 Muslim civilians killed over all 6 years				
State	Geopolitical zone	Total Muslim civilians killed or abducted	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Zamfara	North West	7,298	1,216	28.3
Niger	North Central	3,832	639	14.9
Katsina	North West	3,773	629	14.6
Kaduna	North West	2,936	489	11.4
Sokoto	North West	2,201	367	8.5
Total Top 5 (%)				78
Country total		25,791	4,299	

Muslim civilians killed or abducted in the Top 5 states over all six years: Zamfara had most Muslim civilians killed or abducted (28%), followed by Niger (15%), Katsina (15%), Kaduna (11%) and Sokoto (9%). The Top 5 states had 78% of the total number of Muslim civilians killed or abducted in the country. The remaining 32 states (including Abuja FCT) account for 22% of the killings.

8.2 Hot spots of killings or abductions for the different victim categories at LGA level over 6 years

This section only looks at the hotspots of killings or abduction for the full 6 years (2020 to 2025); no analytical split is made between the first 4 years (2020 to 2023) and the last 2 years (2024 to 2025).

8.2.1 Hot spots of killings or abductions for civilians at the LGA level over 6 years

Table 86 presents the 10 LGAs with the most civilians killed or abducted per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 86: Top 10 LGAs with civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period

Top 10 Civilians killed or abducted at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total civilians killed or abducted	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	4,880	813	6.4
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	2,355	393	3.1
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	2,130	355	2.8
Munya	Niger	North Central	2,111	352	2.7
Rafi	Niger	North Central	1,721	287	2.2
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	1,520	253	2.0
Maru	Zamfara	North West	1,404	234	1.8
Guma	Benue	North Central	1,323	221	1.7
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	1,227	205	1.6
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	1,222	204	1.6
Total Top 10 (%)					26
Country total			76,806	12,801	

Table 86 shows that 26% of civilians were killed or abducted in 10 LGAs only.

- Killings and Abductions in the Top 10 LGAs over all six years:
 - 26% of civilians were killed and/or abducted in 10 LGAs out of 725 with registered killings and/or abductions of civilians.

8.2.1.1 Hot spots of killings or abductions for Christian civilians at the LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians killed or abducted.

Table 87 presents the 10 LGAs with the most Christian civilians killed or abducted per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 87: Top 10 LGAs with Christian civilians killed or abducted over the 6-year reporting period

Top 10 Christians civilians killed or abducted at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total Christian civilians killed or abducted	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Kajuru	Kaduna	North West	4,406	734	11.4
Chikun	Kaduna	North West	1,607	268	4.1
Guma	Benue	North Central	1,269	212	3.3
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	North West	1,245	208	3.2
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	1,131	189	2.9
Munya	Niger	North Central	1,127	188	2.9
Kachia	Kaduna	North West	706	118	1.8
Bassa	Plateau	North Central	636	106	1.6
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	North West	612	102	1.6
Bokkos	Plateau	North Central	566	94	1.5
Total Top 10 (%)					34
Country total			38,767	6,461	

Table 87 shows that 34% of Christian civilians were killed or abducted in 10 LGAs only.

- Killings and Abductions in the Top 10 LGAs over all six years:
 - 34% of Christian civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 633 with registered killings and/or abductions of Christian civilians.

8.2.1.2 Hot spots of killings or abductions for Muslim civilians at the LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Muslim civilians killed or abducted.

Table 88 presents the 10 LGAs with the most Muslim civilians killed or abducted per LGA for the 6-year reporting period (2020 to 2025).

Table 88: Top 10 LGAs with Muslim civilians abducted over the 6-year reporting period

Top 10 Muslim civilians killed or abducted at LGA level over all 6 years					
LGA	State	Geopolitical zone	Total Muslim civilians killed or abducted	No./Yr	Percentage of country total
Rafi	Niger	North Central	967	161	3.7
Maru	Zamfara	North West	959	160	3.7
Zurmi	Zamfara	North West	930	155	3.6
Maradun	Zamfara	North West	874	146	3.4
Shiroro	Niger	North Central	841	140	3.3
Munya	Niger	North Central	771	129	3.0
Sabon-Birni	Sokoto	North West	743	124	2.9
Talata Mafara	Zamfara	North West	702	117	2.7
Gusau	Zamfara	North West	649	108	2.5
Kaura Namoda	Zamfara	North West	617	103	2.4
Total Top 10 (%)					31
Country total			25,791	4,299	

Table 88 shows that 31% of Muslim civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs only.

- Killings and Abductions in the Top 10 LGAs over all six years:
 - 31% of Muslim civilians were abducted in 10 LGAs out of 432 with registered killings and/or abductions of Muslim civilians.

8.2.2 Compare the hot spots of killings or abductions at the LGA level over 6 years

This section only considers the actual number of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted.

Table 89 compares the Top 10 LGAs where civilians were killed or abducted, with those where the main subgroups of this category were killed or abducted, namely Christian civilians and Muslim civilians.

Table 89. Comparison of the Top 10 LGAs where all civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians were killed or abducted

Top 10 civilians killed or abducted over all 6 years		Top 10 Christians civilians killed or abducted over all 6 years		Top 10 Muslim civilians killed or abducted over all 6 years	
LGA	State	LGA	State	LGA	State
Kajuru	Kaduna	Kajuru	Kaduna	Rafi	Niger
Chikun	Kaduna	Chikun	Kaduna	Maru	Zamfara
Shiroro	Niger	Guma	Benue	Zurmi	Zamfara
Munya	Niger	Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	Maradun	Zamfara
Rafi	Niger	Shiroro	Niger	Shiroro	Niger
Zangon Kataf	Kaduna	Munya	Niger	Munya	Niger
Maru	Zamfara	Kachia	Kaduna	Sabon-Birni	Sokoto
Guma	Benue	Bassa	Plateau	Talata Mafara	Zamfara
Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	Wasagu/Danko	Kebbi	Gusau	Zamfara
Maradun	Zamfara	Bokkos	Plateau	Kaura Namoda	Zamfara

Table 89 shows the overlap between LGAs where civilians were killed or abducted, and LGAs where Christian civilians were killed or abducted: 7 out of 10. Rafi, Maru and Maradun did not overlap. The overlap between LGAs where civilians were killed or abducted and LGAs where Muslim civilians were killed or abducted was 5 out of 10 (Kajuru, Chikun, Zangon Kataf, Guma and Wasagu/Danko did not overlap). Finally, the overlap between LGAs where Christian civilians were killed or abducted, and LGAs where Muslim civilians were killed or abducted was 2 out of 10 (only Shiroro and Chikun overlapped).

9. Civilians killed or abducted by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

Table 90 shows that 114,240 people were killed or abducted during 20,023 attacks by different aggressors. Of these, 76,806 were civilians.

Table 90: ALL KILLINGS OR ABDUCTIONS - Distinguishing attacks by different aggressor categories over the 6-year reporting period (2020-2025) with percentages for civilians, Christian civilians, and Muslim civilians killed or abducted by the different aggressors

Agressors	2020-2025											
	Killings or Abductions											
	Total # of incidents with killings or abductions	Total people killed or abducted	Total civilians killed or abducted	% total civilians killed or abducted	Christian civilians killed or abducted	% Christian civilians killed or abducted	Muslim civilians killed or abducted	% Muslim civilians killed or abducted	ATR civilians killed or abducted	Unknown religious identity killed or abducted	Security Forces killed or abducted	Terror Groups killed or abducted
Fulani Terror Groups	6,499	36,963	33,684	44	18,762	48	10,007	39	101	4,814	1,168	2,111
Unidentified Terror Groups	6,759	35,588	30,543	40	15,075	39	12,139	47	245	3,084	2,216	2,829
Boko Haram	2,884	7,918	4,878	6	1,824	5	1,685	7	-	1,369	793	2,247
ISWAP	1,124	6,838	2,227	3	627	2	897	3	14	689	2,124	2,487
Security Forces	756	22,115	2,101	3	904	2	546	2	15	636	420	19,594
Locals	877	1,983	1,728	2	788	2	337	1	21	582	57	198
Cultists	866	1,882	1,295	2	570	1	91	0	39	595	19	568
IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra)	89	431	235	0	175	0	23	0	-	37	102	94
Vigilantes	169	522	115	0	42	0	66	0	1	6	22	385
Total	20,023	114,240	76,806		38,767		25,791		436	11,812	6,921	30,513

Table 90 shows that most civilians were killed or abducted by Fulani Terror Groups (33,684; 44%), closely followed by Unidentified Terror Groups (30,543; 40%). Remarkably, the numbers and percentages for Boko Haram (4,878; 6%) and ISWAP (2,227; 3%) were much lower than expected, as compared to the Fulani Terror Groups and Unidentified Terror Groups.

9.1 Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted by different aggressors over the 6-year reporting period

This section only considers the actual numbers of Christian civilians and Muslim civilians killed or abducted. That means that neither the proportions of civilians killed or abducted with unknown religious identity, nor the size of the Christian and Muslim populations in the respective states, are taken into consideration.

Table 90 shows that Fulani Terror Groups were the strongest threat for killing or abduction of Christian civilians (18,762; 48%), followed by Unidentified Terror Groups (15,075; 39%). Boko Haram was responsible for 5% (1,824) and ISWAP for 2% (627) of Christian killings or abductions. For Muslim civilians, Unidentified Terror Groups were the strongest threat for killing or abduction (12,139; 47%), followed by Fulani Terror Groups (10,007; 39%). Boko Haram was responsible for 7% (1,685) and ISWAP for 3% (897) of Muslim killings or abductions.