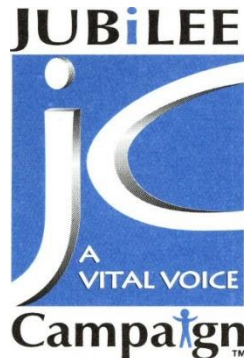


NIGERIA:

THIS GENOCIDE IS LOADING: Finding a Reasonable Basis to Believe Crimes Against Humanity Occurred

REPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

BY



18 November 2020

Jubilee Campaign promotes the human rights and religious liberty of ethnic and religious minorities; advocates the release of prisoners of conscience imprisoned on account of their faith; advocates for and assists refugees fleeing religious based persecution; and protects and promotes the dignity and safety of children from bodily harm and sexual exploitation. Jubilee Campaign holds special consultative status with ECOSOC at the United Nations.

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I. Introduction

Violence that has taken place in Nigeria's Middle Belt is spiraling out of control, costing the lives of thousands of civilians and destabilizing the country and region. The violence is often characterized as an "inter-communal conflict" between herders and farmers over natural resources. However, that well-worn label is now obsolete due to the increasing asymmetry in attacks, as well as the steadily increasing frequency and organizational planning of Fulani militant attacks against civilian targets.

Although it is inarguable that violence is being perpetrated by both party groups in the conflict, and all perpetrators must be held accountable, the evidence shows that rising radicalization and militancy among the Fulani group is associated with an increase in asymmetry and savagery of the violence perpetrated by Fulani militants in Nigeria. The sharp rise in attacks in recent years is uncharacteristic of the historic herder-farmer tension that has characterized the region for decades and centuries.

Demonstrating the asymmetry in the attacks, Christian Solidarity Worldwide documented attacks that took place during the first quarter of 2018. There was a total of 106 attacks on farming communities in central Nigeria which caused the deaths of 1,061 civilians, while in southern Nigeria, there were 11 attacks on farming communities with 21 lives lost. Contrastingly, during that same time frame, there were 7 attacks recorded on Fulani communities or herders, 5 in the central region and 2 in the south, with 61 lives lost.¹ The loss of life on both sides is doubtlessly a tragedy that must be investigated by a commission of inquiry. However, the casualty asymmetry indicates that radical Fulani militants are far more often the aggressors.

It is essential to note that within this context, we recognize that religiously motivated violence in Nigeria cannot and will not be attributed to the entire Fulani ethnic community, as there are mostly peaceful and non-radical Fulani Muslims throughout West Africa. Our research and focus is specifically on the armed, violent, radical Fulani militant groups that have wreaked havoc on predominantly Christian farming communities in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

Jubilee Campaign joins NGOs around the world in the continuing call for international efforts to end the violence in Nigeria and hold perpetrators to account. This is a massive humanitarian crisis that must be addressed. Agnes Callamard, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, stated after a trip to Nigeria that,

"The farmer-herder conflict may have become or will become Nigeria's gravest security challenge owing to the following factors: 1) the number of casualties and the extent of the existing humanitarian crisis; 2) the rapid geographical spread of the violence and killings, extending now well into Southern and North Western States; 3) the ethno-religious dimensions of the conflict and the many toxic rhetoric that seek to explain and justify the killings; 4) the seemingly intractable problem of the shrinking arable lands as a result of desertification; 5) the sub-regional tentacles of the conflict with similar problems reported in other countries of the sub-region; 6) the potential for greater propagation of the conflict due to the accessibility of weapons and the existence of ethno-religious narratives."

¹ HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA
Submission to the 126th Human Rights Committee session by CSW (Christian Solidarity Worldwide)
June 2019, paragraph 17.

“I urge the Nigerian government, and the international community, to prioritise as a matter of urgency addressing the humanitarian crisis resulting from the conflict, developing a proper road-map towards the implementation of the Livestock Plan, and undertaking investigations of the attacks and the killings.”²

Fulani militants pose a mortal threat to the predominantly Christian farming tribes in the Middle Belt and surrounding states, but the Nigerian government is failing both to protect the victims of Fulani militant violence and to bring the perpetrators to justice according to its duty. It is time for the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) to step up and fulfil its mandate to end the impunity and offer security to victims as well as communities in Nigeria vulnerable to Fulani militant attacks and violence.

II. Earlier Findings by the Office of the Prosecutor

The Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) publicly announced the opening of a preliminary assessment into the situation in Nigeria on November 18, 2010. The purpose of the preliminary assessment was to determine if there are grounds to open an investigation, which may later lead to prosecutions.

On August 5, 2013, the OTP released its Article 5 Report on the Situation in Nigeria analyzing whether there was reasonable basis to believe that the alleged crimes fell under the subject matter jurisdiction of the Court under Article 5 of the Rome Statute.

The Office’s analysis was based on information gathered up to December 2012. The report reviewed three situations of violence: violence related to Boko Haram, violence related to the Niger Delta region, and “inter-communal” violence in central and northern parts of Nigeria involving Fulani herdsman. The Office reported that it found reasonable basis to believe that Boko Haram had committed crimes against humanity, moving to phase 3 of the preliminary examination with regards to Boko Haram.³

However, with regards to the Fulani militant violence, the Office concluded that the available information did not provide reasonable basis to believe that crimes against humanity were committed.⁴ More information was needed to move forward towards opening an investigation. In particular, the OTP pointed to a lack of information about whether the attacks were systematic and whether groups were carrying out violence in accordance with a policy to attack civilians.⁵

Since the OTP issued its Article 5 Report in 2013, violence perpetrated by Fulani militants in the Middle Belt and north of Nigeria has become far more organized and deadly. With horror, Jubilee Campaign and other international observers have reported on the escalating violence and a troubling trend towards genocide, an international crime that was not originally included in the OTP’s preliminary assessment. Tragically, there is mounting evidence of both crimes against humanity and genocide and we ask the OTP to re-open conduct a comprehensive investigation into both.

² Agnes Callamard, United Nations Special Rapporteur for Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, “End of visit statement of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions on her visit to Nigeria”, 2 September 2019.

³ Art 5 report 2013 Nigeria, para. 128, 131

⁴ Art 5 report 2013 Nigeria, para. 127.

⁵ Nigeria 2013 report paras 55; 62

Opening an investigation does not mean that there must be sufficient evidence to begin prosecution proceedings. It means that there is a reasonable basis to believe that a crime that falls within the jurisdiction of the court has been committed, that it would be admissible under Article 17, and that there are no substantial reasons to believe an investigation would not serve the interests of justice.⁶ At such an early stage, there need only be “a sensible or reasonable justification for a belief that a crime falling within the jurisdiction of the Court has been or is being committed.”⁷ Provided that the justification is within the bounds of reason, it is not necessary that the OTP disprove all other explanations. As this report shows, such reasonable belief—and much more—exists.

III. The crimes are within the jurisdiction of the Court.

For a crime to fall within the jurisdiction of the court, there must be subject-matter jurisdiction (jurisdiction *ratione materiae*), temporal jurisdiction (jurisdiction *ratione temporis*), and either personal jurisdiction (jurisdiction *ratione personae*) or territorial jurisdiction (jurisdiction *ratione loci*).⁸

The Court would have personal jurisdiction over all individuals alleged of crimes against humanity and genocide because the persons the report identifies as suspects of alleged Rome Statute crimes are and were at the time of the alleged commission of the crime, Nigerian nationals or non-nationals operating in Nigeria.

The Court would have territorial jurisdiction over alleged of crimes against humanity and genocide because all the crimes alleged in this report occurred in Nigerian territory.

The Court would have temporal jurisdiction over all alleged crimes because Nigeria ratified the Rome Statute on September 27, 2001. The ICC has jurisdiction over Rome Statute crimes committed on the Nigerian territory from July 1, 2002 onwards. All of the crimes alleged in this report were committed after July 1, 2002.

The remainder of this report demonstrates that there is a reasonable basis to believe that Fulani militants have committed crimes against humanity and genocide in Nigeria, crimes that fall under the subject matter jurisdiction of the ICC.

i. Crimes against humanity

Crimes against humanity are defined in Article 7 of the Rome Statute as any of the acts listed in Article 7(1) “when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.”⁹ These acts include:

- (a) Murder;
- (b) Extermination;
- (c) Deportation or forcible transfer of population;
- (d) Torture;

⁶ Art 53(1)(a)-(c) Rome Statute

⁷ International Criminal Court Pre-Trial Chamber, *Decision Pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute on the Authorization of an Investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya*, ICC-01/09, 31 March 2010, para. 35.

⁸ Appeals Chamber, *Judgment on the Appeal of Mr. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo against the Decision on the Challenge to the Jurisdiction of the Court pursuant to article 19(2)(a) of the Statute of 3 October 2006*, paras 21-22.

⁹ Article 7(1), Rome Statute.

- (e) Rape;
- (f) Persecution against a group on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender or other grounds;
- (g) Enforced disappearance of persons; and
- (h) Other inhumane acts “intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.”¹⁰

These acts are considered crimes against humanity “when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.”

It is well-established that neither isolated nor random attacks are crimes against humanity. Nor is a crime spree, in which uncoordinated individuals commit crimes simultaneously, a crime against humanity. Instead, the attacks must be widespread or systematic.¹¹

Widespread refers to the large-scale nature of the attack in relation to number of victims or the geographic area involved.¹² The “systematic” nature of attacks refers to the “organised nature of the acts of violence and the improbability of their random occurrence” which can “often be expressed through patterns of crimes, in the sense of non-accidental repetition of similar conduct on a regular basis.”¹³ It can also be inferred from the strategy and method of an attack, such as the arrival of attackers from different directions or simultaneous attacks.¹⁴ Visible signs of internal cohesion such as uniforms or face painting are other indicators pointing to organization of the attackers.¹⁵

Second, the widespread or systematic attacks on a civilian population must be carried out “pursuant to or in furtherance of a “State or organizational policy to commit such attack.”¹⁶

No policy need be formally adopted and can be inferred from the totality of the circumstances.¹⁷ In fact, policies coordinating attacks are typically not formally adopted or even written. Instead, a policy can be inferred from the characteristics of the attacks which show that the attacks were not random. Indeed, the Pre-Trial Chamber stated in *Katanga* in 2014:

“As regards proof of the existence of such a policy, it is important to underline that it is relatively rare...that a State or organisation seeking to encourage an attack against a civilian population might adopt and disseminate a pre-established design or plan to that effect. In most cases, the existence of such a State or organisational policy can therefore be inferred by discernment of, *inter alia*, repeated actions occurring according to a same sequence, or the existence of preparations or collective mobilisation orchestrated and coordinated by that State or organisation.”¹⁸

¹⁰ Article 7(1), Rome Statute.

¹¹ The Chamber in the *Kenya Decision* read the widespread or systematic contextual element in Article 7(1) as disjunctive, “such that the alleged acts must be *either* widespread *or* systematic to warrant classification as crimes against humanity.” Kenya decision para 94, emphasis original. The Chamber explained that this contextual element is aimed at excluding isolated or random criminal acts from the definition of crimes against humanity. Kenya decision para 94. The decision whether an act is part of an attack is a case-by-case decision. Kenya para 135.

¹² <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/crimes-against-humanity.shtml>; Kenya decision. Para 95.

¹³ Pre-Trial Chamber I, Decision on the confirmation of charges, ICC-01/04-01/07-717, para 397 cited in Kenya para 96.

¹⁴ Kenya para 121

¹⁵ Kenya para 121

¹⁶ Article 7(2), Rome Statute.

¹⁷ Intro 237, footnote 75; <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/crimes-against-humanity.shtml>

¹⁸ *Katanga*, ICC TC II, 7 March 2014 (ICC-01/04—01/07—3436-t(ENG) para 1109; see also Cryer et al Intro p 237

Further, explicit or implicit approval or endorsement of certain conduct that fits within a general policy is sufficient to satisfy this part of the contextual element; an organization or a state need not take action to carry out a policy. For example, where inaction cannot be explained by any other motives such as lack of knowledge of the crimes or a lack of ability to intervene, a policy could be inferred.¹⁹ But this means that in order to infer a policy from inaction, the inaction must be motivated by a desire for the crimes to occur.

In addition to the physical and contextual elements, crimes against humanity carry an intent element.²⁰ At the early stages of the preliminary examination and investigation, it may be difficult to identify individual criminal defendants and thus consider their particular *mens rea*.²¹ For this reason, the OTP should not let the mental element be a stumbling block to opening an investigation.

To fall within the definition of a crime against humanity, a suspect must have the general intent to commit a prohibited act while having knowledge of the larger context. Although the attack must be widespread or systematic, the acts of an individual accused need not themselves be widespread or systematic. Instead, “all that is required is that he or she committed a prohibited act, that the act objectively falls within the broader attack, and that the accused was aware of this broader context.”²² The Elements of Crimes states that the accused does not even need to have detailed knowledge of the attack, its characteristics, or of the policy.²³ In most cases, knowledge of a widespread or systematic attack could not be credibly denied. For this reason, the contextual mental element can be inferred from relevant facts and circumstances.²⁴

Unlike genocide, crimes against humanity do not need to target a specific group. The victims can be any civilian population, meaning that no specific intent to target a group is required. All that is required is simple intent to commit the acts with knowledge that the act is part of the attack.²⁵

However, as the evidence demonstrates, the Fulani militant attacks do target a specific civilian population: predominantly Christian ethnic tribes engaged in farming. The targeting of this group elevates these crimes to genocide, which we ask the OTP to investigate.

ii. Genocide

Under Article 6 of the Rome Statute, Genocide is defined as specified acts “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious, group, as such.”²⁶ The prohibited acts include:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; and

¹⁹ See intro p 237 footnote 68

²⁰ Article 7(1), Rome Statute

²¹ Kenya para 140. The Pre-Trial Chamber similarly commented in its decision allowing an investigation into crimes committed in Kenya that because at that stage of the procedure there were no suspects before the Chamber, “it is impossible for the Chamber to assess the *mens rea* in relation to the specific crimes.”

²² Intro to intl crim law p 240. Cites to other cases

²³ Intro p 241

²⁴ See intro 242. See citations

²⁵ <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/crimes-against-humanity.shtml>

²⁶ Article 6, Rome Statute

(c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

These acts must take place “in the context of a manifest pattern of similar conduct directed against that group or was conduct that could itself effect such destruction.”²⁷ This precludes isolated hate crimes from prosecution. The contextual element requires that the accused either acted “within a broader context in which others are also committing acts of genocide (or crimes against humanity) against the targeted group” or the accused poses a real threat to a targeted group (for example, through the use of biological weapons) even if, for whatever reason, only a single person or few people, are killed.²⁸ In short, the accused must act in either “a pattern of crimes” or pose “a concrete danger to a group.”²⁹

Mounting evidence shows that there is an organized effort by Fulani militant groups against predominantly Christian farming communities. The victim groups are marked by both ethnic and religious characteristics. They come from different ethnic tribes but are predominantly Christian. They are attacked for a variety of motives: economic, vengeance, and religious. But these motives don’t alter the fact that they are being targeted for being members of a specific group. The cases of the Adara and Agatu tribes in Kaduna state are particularly compelling as they have been specially targeted for devastating violence.

In addition to the physical and contextual elements, Article 6 requires that the perpetrators must commit the prohibited acts “with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such.”³⁰ This has been interpreted as a *dolus specialis* (specific or special intent) which “demands that the perpetrator clearly seeks to produce the act charged.”³¹ In the case of genocide this means that the perpetrator not only intended to do the act (e.g. killing) but in carrying out the act, he or she intended to destroy a group in whole or in part. General intent to commit the prohibited act is insufficient; special intent to commit genocide is required.

Intent is not to be conflated with motive. Intent refers to “[t]he state of mind accompanying an act” while motive refers to “[s]omething, esp. willful desire, that leads one to act.”³² Black’s Law Dictionary notes the difference between the two terms: “[w]hile motive is the inducement to do some act, intent is the mental resolution or determination to do it.”³³ Unfortunately, the two terms are often conflated. But the *travaux préparatoires* indicate that the drafters of the Genocide Convention excluded mention of motive and Article 6 of the Rome Statute does not mention motive either.³⁴ Motive may give insight to into acts were committed, but what matters is whether the accused had the intent to kill an individual person while also having the intent to destroy the group, whether in whole or in part, to which the individual belonged.

That means that when Fulani leaders explain that Fulani militants attacked a village in revenge for the death of Fulani cattle, it doesn’t mean they didn’t have genocidal intent. It means their motive for attacking the victim group was revenge, or even religious animus or economic benefit. Their intent was still to destroy the group.

²⁷ The International Criminal Court: Elements of Crimes and Rules of Procedure and Evidence (New York, 2001) 41, 44, 45. See also, Intro to intl criminal law, p 218.

²⁸ Intro to intl criminal law, p 218-219.

²⁹ Intro to intl criminal law, p 218-219.

³⁰ Article 6, Rome statute.

³¹ Prosecutor v. Akayesu, Judgement, ICTR-96-4-T (2 September 1998), para 498.

³² Black’s Law Dictionary, 9th Ed.

³³ Black’s Law Dictionary, 9th Ed.

³⁴ See Intro to intl law 225

IV. Escalating violence

Since 2001 over 60,000 people have died in the Middle Belt conflict violence.³⁵ Between 2012 and 2016, Fulani extremists killed over 2,500 people in Nigeria, according to the Global Terrorism Index.³⁶

Obtaining accurate numbers of casualties is difficult due to the formidable challenge of gathering evidence in country. This necessarily makes estimates conservative. Surveying reports published by news and NGO sources, including the publicly available information from Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED)³⁷ this section aims to provide a snapshot of the increasing Fulani militant violence, starting from the year that the OTP last issued a substantive report on the preliminary examination of the situation.

i. Attacks from 2013 through 2020

2013

In 2013, when the OTP released its Article 5 Report concluding there was insufficient evidence to move forward with an investigation into crimes against humanity committed by Fulani militants, Nigeria ranked fourth on the Global Terrorism Index.³⁸ The primary terror threat in Nigeria was Boko Haram, responsible for 90% of terror attacks. Out of the 1,826 total dead, Boko Haram was responsible for killing 1,587.³⁹ The GTI did not record the number killed by Fulani militants, but ACLED data put the death toll at 474 deaths for 2013. The Fulani terror group was active, albeit at a lower intensity than in subsequent years.

2014

In 2014, Fulani militants were very active. ACLED data shows that in 2014, attacks by Fulani militants resulted in 1,376 fatalities. See Appendix A for a list of the attacks. The Global Terrorism Index recorded a death toll of 1,229 people, up from their reported number of 63 killed in 2013. Nigeria experienced a 300% increase in terrorism deaths from 2013 to 2014, earning the country a ranking as third on the Global Terrorism Index.⁴⁰ The GTI attributed the spike in terrorism to the increased activity of Fulani militants, who, according to GTI, “now pose a serious threat to

³⁵ Kaley Fulton & Benhamin P. Nickels, “Africa’s Pastoralists: A New Battleground for Terrorism”, *Africa Center for Strategic Studies*, 11 January 2017.

Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Terrorism Index 2019, p.92, appendix d, <http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/> (last accessed Dec 12 2019).

³⁶ Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Terrorism Index 2017, p.24, <http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/> (last accessed Dec 12 2019).

³⁷ Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED); acleddata.com. Searching on the ACLED database, the terms “violence against civilians,” “Fulani militants,” and “Nigeria” yielded the results found in Appendix A on the ACLED database. The search results provide the date and location of attacks, the number of fatalities, as well as a few details about the attack and the source for the information. These estimates are conservative for two reasons. First, the number of attacks related to the Middle Belt conflict are vastly under reported in general. Second, the search terms are necessarily limiting, as they include only attacks where the victim was clearly civilian. It does not include police, military, or other ethnic militia victims, which would necessarily increase the casualty numbers.

³⁸ Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Terrorism Index 2014, p.8, <http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/> (last accessed Dec 12 2019).

³⁹ Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Terrorism Index 2014, p.19, <http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/> (last accessed Dec 12 2019).

⁴⁰ Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Terrorism Index 2015, p.10, <http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/> (last accessed Dec 12 2019).

stability.”⁴¹ Reports were made “of a link between Boko Haram and Fulani militants, particularly in regards to smuggling and organised crime.”⁴²

From 2013 to 2014, the Fulani militants went from being “never previously featured among the most deadly terrorist groups” to [t]he fourth mostly deadly terrorist group of 2014.”⁴³

Fulani militants also gained a spot on the list of the most deadly terrorist attacks of the year, their May 4, 2014 assault on Galadima village in Zamfara state, ranking as the tenth most deadly attack in 2014. During that attack, gunman opened fire on community leaders and residents, killing at least 200 and injuring an unknown number.⁴⁴

The GTI reports that “[o]verwhelmingly, Fulani militants target private citizens accounting for 92 per cent of attacks and 81 per cent of deaths. These attacks have mainly been through armed assaults, which kill, on average, 11 people per attack.” The attacks primarily occur in five states of the Middle Belt: Benue, Kaduna, Masaraw, Plateau, Taraba, and the Northern Belt state of Zamfara.⁴⁵

Non-state armed conflicts between Fulani militants and other armed ethnic groups resulted in an additional 712 deaths in 2014. GTI reported that these groups included the Eggon, Jukun and Tiv communities, predominantly Christian farming communities.⁴⁶ The genocide targeting by Fulani militants was becoming clearer by 2014.

2015

ACLED data show that in 2015, there were 546 reported civilian fatalities caused by Fulani extremists. See Appendix A for a list of the attacks. Nigeria ranked third in the world for terrorism, with the seventeenth worst terrorist attack for 2015—an attack by Fulani militants in Egba village that killed 95 people.⁴⁷

2016

ACLED data from 2016 shows that at least 889 civilians were killed by Fulani extremists. See Appendix A for a list of the attacks. Amnesty International reported 814 total deaths from their sources.⁴⁸

In 2016, Fulani militants were responsible for more deaths than Boko Haram.⁴⁹ Although the number of terrorism deaths was lower in 2016 than in 2015, Nigeria ranked as the third country most impacted by terrorism.⁵⁰ The 2016 GTI warned that the temporary reduction in deaths was not likely to continue in 2017. While Boko Haram was less active, other groups, including the Fulani militia, were turning up the pressure.

⁴¹ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2015](#), p.20, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴² Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2015](#), p.20, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴³ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2015](#), p.38, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴⁴ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2015](#), p.12, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴⁵ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2015](#), p.35, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴⁶ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2015](#), p.43-44, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴⁷ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2016](#), p.13, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁴⁸ P37, Harvest of Death

⁴⁹ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2017](#), p.24, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

⁵⁰ Institute for Economics and Peace, [Global Terrorism Index 2017](#), p.10, (last accessed 12 December 2019).

One of the worst attacks occurred between February 22 to 26, 2016, when Fulani militants attacked the predominantly Christian Agatu community in Benue, killing over 300 people. The Fulani said the attacks were retaliation for the killing of 10,000 of their cattle.

A report from World Watch Monitor covering the period 2014-2016, a pattern emerges of the targeting of Christians in Benue state. Between 2014 and 2016, World Watch Monitor reported that 4,194 Christians were killed and 2,957 injured; 30 churches were damaged or destroyed; and 195,576 Christian homes were damaged.⁵¹

2017

Data gathered from the ACLED database show that in 2017, Fulani militant violence against civilians led to at least 360 deaths, likely an undercount. See Appendix A for a list of the attacks. In Benue State alone, a reported 139 were killed by Fulani militia between January 1 and August 31, 2017.⁵²

The Global Terrorism Index includes an attack by Fulani extremists as the seventeenth worst attack on the list of the twenty most fatal terrorist attacks of 2017. In that attack, Fulani extremists opened fire at a market in Zaki Biam in Benue state on March 20, 2017, taking the lives of 73 people.⁵³

The targeting of Christian tribes was readily apparent in attacks carried out in 2017. Open Doors USA, which works on the ground in Nigeria, reported that between November 1, 2016 through October 31, 2017, 2,000 Christians were killed, with another 2,752 individuals attacked. Twenty-two churches were attacked, and 5,120 Christian-owned homes and businesses were ransacked or destroyed.⁵⁴

In one example of violence targeted at Christians, the predominantly Christian Irigwe tribe suffered attacks on two major communities in Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State between September 8, 2017 and October 17, 2017. The ethnic population of 80,000 suffered extensive losses. The Stephanos Foundation reported that 75 people were killed, 23 were injured, 489 homes were burned, and 13,726 individuals were displaced in just five weeks.⁵⁵ In one attack, 29 people were reportedly murdered in Miango in the Bassa LGA of Plateau State while sheltered in a classroom that was under the watch of the military.⁵⁶ A report in the wake of the attacks, published on October 27, 2017 reported that no perpetrators had been arrested.⁵⁷ In a particularly troubling development, it was reported that following the attacks, the villages were occupied by Fulani.⁵⁸

2018

⁵¹ Abdulbarkindo Adamu and Alupsen Ben, "Nigeria: Benue State under the shadow of 'herdsmen terrorism'" (2014-2016), with update 1 January-31 August 2017, World Watch Research, November 2017

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ Institute for Economics & Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2018: Measuring the impact of terrorism*, Sydney, November 2018, p. 11.

⁵⁴ P. 11 NIGERIA – Open Doors USA FINAL WWL 2019 COUNTRY DOSSIER / EMBARGO,

⁵⁵ Friday Olorok, "Herdsmen attacks: '75 killed, 13,726 displaced in Plateau'", *Punch Nigeria*, October 27, 2017.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

In 2018, the number of terrorism-related deaths increased by 33 per cent, despite a decrease in the number of deaths attributed to Boko Haram. The increase was attributed to Fulani militants, “with deaths attributed to extremist Fulani elements increasing by 261 per cent in a single year.”⁵⁹

In 2018 the *Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project* reported that Fulani militants constituted the deadliest threat to civilians in Nigeria, killing over 1000 civilians in 2018, surpassing Boko Haram Terrorist Group in casualties.⁶⁰ The database search conducted for this report yielded a result of 1,581 fatalities. See Appendix A.

The Global Terrorism Index reported that in 2018, Fulani extremists were responsible for 1,158 deaths, a majority of terror-related fatalities. Deaths attributed to Fulani militants increased by 261% and terror incidents by 308% over the previous year. The GTI reports that 200 of the 297 attacks by Fulani militants were armed attacks, with 84% of these attacks targeting civilians.⁶¹

The Institute for Economics and Peace included Fulani extremist violence in Nigeria among its “emerging hotspots of terrorism” in its 2018 Global Terrorism Index, which covers terrorist activities from the beginning of 1998 to the end of 2017. The authors noted, “In Nigeria in 2018, there has been a dramatic increase in violence involving Fulani extremists even as deaths committed by Boko Haram are falling.”⁶² In 2018, Nigeria was listed as the third worst country for terrorism, after Afghanistan and Iraq.⁶³ The Institute for Economics and Peace characterized the impact of terrorism in Nigeria as “very high.”⁶⁴ The International Crisis Group warned that “The farmer-herder conflict has arguably become the greatest threat to Nigeria’s peace and security.”⁶⁵

The Internal Displacement Monitoring Center observed that “the conflict in the Middle Belt was six times deadlier in 2018 than the Boko Haram insurgency, with over 1,300 people killed in the first half of the year alone.” Of the 1,700 victims killed between January and September 2018, 89% were civilians.⁶⁶ It noted that “the majority of the displacement took place in Benue, Nasarawa and Plateau states, when entire villages were burnt down and emptied of their residents.” The impact of these attacks was devastating, with nearly 200,000 new displacements associated to the conflict recorded in 2018. But the organization cautioned that this was “likely to be an underestimate given the limited number of aid organisations responding to the humanitarian crisis there.”⁶⁷

The pace of destruction rapidly increased in 2018, surpassing the 2014 peak of 1,169 deaths. The accelerating rate of displacement is a grave concern, not only as a humanitarian crisis, but also as further evidence of an intent by the Fulani militants to destroy the targeted communities by killing and forced displacement from their land.

Christians were severely impacted by violence in 2018. Open Doors reported from their in-country sources that between November 2017 and October 31, 2018, 3,731 Christians were killed by

⁵⁹ Global Terrorism Index 2019, p 13

⁶⁰ *The Economist*, “Fighting between Nigerian Farmers and Herders Is Getting Worse”, 7 June 2018.

⁶¹ Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2019*, p.21.

⁶² Institute for Economics & Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2018: Measuring the impact of terrorism*, Sydney, November 2018, p. 5.

⁶³ Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2019*, p.21.

⁶⁴ Institute for Economics & Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2018: Measuring the impact of terrorism*, Sydney, November 2018, p. 8.

⁶⁵ International Crisis Group, “Stopping Nigeria’s Spiralling Farmer-Herder Violence”, Africa Report N°262, 26 July 2018.

⁶⁶ Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index: 2018*, p.56.

⁶⁷ Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, *Nigeria*

Boko Haram and Fulani militants and 569 churches were attacked. A reported 29,444 Christian-owned homes and shops were attacked.⁶⁸ This was a significant increase in violence over the previous reporting period, during which 2,000 Christians were killed and 22 churches and 5,120 Christian-owned homes and shops were attacked.⁶⁹

2019

According to news sources, in 2019, Fulani militants attacked over 20 villages.⁷⁰ Their target is Christian-majority villages where they killed civilians and burned their homes, leaving the community fear-stricken and forcing many to abandon the area.⁷¹ ACLED data show that there were 371 fatalities reported in news sources, an undercount.

Among the reported attacks are the following:

“17 April: Fulani pastoralist militia killed 15 and left 3 wounded in late night attack on Adamawa communities in Bolki, Bolon, Bujum and Numan towns. They also burned down several houses. Fatalities distributed over 4 locations.”⁷²

A series of deadly coordinated attacks were reported to have occurred on June 16 and 17, 2019. The details of the attack were given by a witness:

“I know that 11 persons were killed and their corpses were taken to mortuaries in some hospitals in the town of Jalingo,” Joseph David, a 30-year-old resident of one of the communities attacked this week, told Morning Star News by phone. He said the assailants arrived about 6 p.m. on Sunday and continued the assault the next day. The attacks were carried out by Muslim Fulanis riding Bajaj motorcycles,” he said. “They burned houses and shot us as we fled.”⁷³

According to Morningstar News, the attacks were carried out on predominantly Christian villages (Kona and ATC outside Jalingo, and Tudiri and Janibanibu villages in Ardo Kola County).⁷⁴

“01 August. A catholic priest was shot and killed by a suspected Fulani militia on the Ihe-Agbudu Road in Awgu LGA.”⁷⁵

“28 August. Suspected Fulani militia abducted women from Wurma. Information on the number of abductees range from 15 to 50.”⁷⁶

“On 15 December 2019 (or around), suspected Fulani militias abducted a catholic priest in Issele-Mkpitime.”⁷⁷

⁶⁸ Open Doors World Watch Research, *Nigeria: Country Dossier*, January 2019.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Numbers compiled from *Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project* database.

⁷¹ Aid to the Church in Need, *“Aid to the Church in Need Nigeria”*.

⁷² ACLED data, Appendix A

⁷³ Morning Star News, *“Fulani Herdsmen in Nigeria Continue Campaign for Territory for their Cattle – and Islam”*, 21 June 2019.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ ACLED data, Appendix A

⁷⁶ ACLED data, Appendix A

⁷⁷ ACLED data, Appendix A

The full list of attacks found on the ACLED database can be found in Appendix A.

2020

According to a May 15, 2020 report by a local Nigerian NGO called International Society for Civil Liberties & Rule of Law [Intersociety], within the first five months of 2020, 620 Nigerian Christians had been killed in deadly attacks by groups such as Fulani militants and Boko Haram. Intersociety further estimates that approximately 11,500 Nigerian Christians have been killed by Fulani militants and Boko Haram insurgents since 2015:

“Jihadist Fulani Herdsmen accounted for 6,000 Christian deaths between Jan 2009 and Dec 2014, a period of six years. This is an average of 1000 Christian deaths per year. And from Jan 2015 to Dec 2020, a period of six years; the Jihadist Fulani militants must have accounted for additional 9000 Christian deaths or 1500 deaths per year. In the end, the Jihadist Fulani Herdsmen must have accounted for total Christian deaths of 15,000 in eleven years or Jan 2009 to end of Dec 2020.”⁷⁸

In June 2020, the United Kingdom All Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief released a report, *Nigeria: Unfolding Genocide?*, in which they outline their observations following personal visits to conflict zones in the Middle Belt of Nigeria. In this report, it is revealed that, while “the exact death toll is unknown”, organizations such as Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust estimate that no fewer than 6,000 Christian deaths since 2015 can be attributed to Fulani militant attacks, and that 1,000 attacks took place between January and November 2019 alone; however, it is important to note that these estimates, while significant and suggestive of genocidal proportions, are quite low in comparison to local organizations such as the Christian Association of Nigeria which “report higher figures: between January and June 2018 [merely 6 months], over 6,000 people were killed by Fulani herders.”⁷⁹

International Committee on Nigeria [ICON] includes in its 2020 report, *Nigeria's Silent Slaughter*⁸⁰, a series of graphs exhibiting a disconcerting trend: though the terrorism against and persecution of Nigerian Christians by Fulani militants is a “recent” trend- compared to the historical wrath of Boko Haram- the number of killings is staggering. In Nigeria from the period of January 2000 to January 2020, ICON has recorded 18,834 deaths as a result of Fulani militant violence, and the number of incidents per four years has been steadily increasing: from the period of 2000 to 2004, Fulani militants were involved in 44 violent incidents in Nigeria leading to 857 deaths. From 2005 to 2009, Fulani militants engaged in fewer confrontations (13) resulting in fewer deaths (693) than the previous period. However, Fulani militant activity experienced a major uptick: from 2010 to 2014, Fulani militants executed 615 incidents killing 7,551, and from 2015 to 2020, they carried out 1,289 incidents killing 9,733 Nigerians. In contrast, throughout the latter two reporting periods, the number of Boko Haram incidents in Nigeria has remained relatively stable.

ii. Gender-Based Violence and the Impact on Women and Children

⁷⁸ International Society for Civil Liberties & Rule of Law [Intersociety], “620 Christians Hacked to Death by Nigerian Jihadists in 4 Months and 15 Days of 2020”, 15 May 2020.

⁷⁹ All Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief, *Nigeria: Unfolding Genocide? An Inquiry by the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief*, June 2020

⁸⁰ International Committee on Nigeria, International Organisation for Peace Building and Social Justice, *Nigeria's Silent Slaughter: Genocide in Nigeria and the Implications for the International Community*, 2020.

There are widespread reports of the murder, rape, and kidnapping of women and children. These crimes include the kidnapping and beating of a woman in Aganyi, Gwer-West LGA on April 30, 2015 and the tying of another woman to a tree, left without food in the bush for two days in Mbalom, Gwest East LGA on April 9, 2015. It also includes horrendous sexual violence, such as the gang rape of a 13-year old girl in Bino village, Guma LGA on August 22, 2015; the kidnapping and rape of a 14 year old girl in Vaase, Ukum LGA on March 29, 2015; and a gang-rape of an 11 year old girl in Ago, Katsina-Ala LGA on April 30, 2015 that nearly killed her. Sadly, there are many other cases. See Appendix A for news reports recounting this horrendous violence. These horrifying human rights abuses inflict devastation on vulnerable populations and must be stopped.

The International Crisis Group laments that in the violence, “Women and children are particularly hard-hit, many having lost the male head of household, a huge loss in a largely patriarchal society. Some were raped by attackers.”⁸¹

Open Doors explains in its 2018 report on the risks to women that the Fulani militants appear to make less distinction between men, women, and children in their attacks. The report quotes a Christian cleric who explained that the difference between the Fulani militants and Boko Haram is that although both inflict devastating violence, the radical Fulani’s “primary aim is to ‘purify’ and occupy the land,” while Boko Haram is “more focused on increasing their numbers [and are therefore more often abducting and forcefully marrying women for reasons of procreation].”⁸² The result is that women and children are not spared the violence in Fulani militant attacks.

The Fulani militant violence has led to the displacement of thousands, especially women and children. Survivors of the attacks flee from their homes, terrified of returning for fear of more attacks. Some have found shelter with family in safer areas, but many others have sought refuge in IDP camps.

The International Crisis Group visited two of these camps in Benue state and found appalling conditions.⁸³ Overcrowding, a lack of clean water, a lack of sanitation and a lack of healthcare has led to disease in the camps. Further, there is very little security at the camps and sleeping arrangements are not separated by sex, leaving women and girls “exposed to the risks of sexual harassment, assault and rape, both by outsiders and by fellow IDPs, and vulnerable to desperate survival mechanisms involving sexual exploitation.”⁸⁴

The violence and displacement also have a tremendous impact on the mental health of the survivors as well as other women in the area. Fulani militants (as well as Boko Haram) inflict severe mental harm on women, especially Christian women. Open Doors reports that “The unrest in the northeast and Middle Belt region is also inhibiting the freedom of movement of Christian women. The risk of abduction and sexual abuse is real and hinders women from feeling that they can move around freely and safely.”⁸⁵ This impacts not only the women themselves, but their families also, since women are the ones typically tasked with gathering water or buying food at the market.⁸⁶

⁸¹ International Crisis Group, Report No. 262, “Stopping Nigeria’s Farmer-Herder Conflict”, July 2018.

⁸² Open Doors World Watch Report, “Nigeria: Compound structural vulnerabilities facing Christian women”, April 2019.

⁸³ International Crisis Group, Report No. 262, “Stopping Nigeria’s Farmer-Herder Conflict”, July 2018.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Open Doors World Watch Report, “Nigeria: Compound structural vulnerabilities facing Christian women”, April 2019.

⁸⁶ Open Doors World Watch Report, “Nigeria: Compound structural vulnerabilities facing Christian women”, April 2019.

Samdi Puldi, a Nigerian professor at the University of Jos and president of the LEAH Foundation called some Muslim-dominated areas in the far north and Middle Belt region as “high danger zones for Christians.” She explained that women can be attacked for something as simple as wearing trousers, which is considered improper attire for a woman according to some Islamic traditions.⁸⁷ Such violence and threats of violence severely impede the freedom of movement and safety of women in these “high danger zones for Christians.”

Violence in the region has also detrimentally impacted education of all children, both farmer and herder. In April 2018, the executive secretary of the Benue state Teaching Service Board, Wilfred Uji, estimated that “persistent attacks had forced 300,000 children out of school” and half of the state’s 24 schools for herder children had closed.”⁸⁸ The violence has dramatic humanitarian effects, especially on the lives of women and children.

V. Fulani militant attacks are widespread or systematic

As this evidence shows, there are many heinous acts committed by Fulani militants against civilians. But to qualify as a crime against humanity, the acts must be widespread and systematic. The OTP concluded in its 2013 Article 5 Report that there were indeed widespread attacks against civilians, taking place on a large scale and targeting a large number of civilian victims.⁸⁹ But it found that “the systematic nature of the attacks is less clear,” although “in some cases...circumstances suggest that the attack may have been prepared and premeditated, and could therefore be considered ‘systematic.’”⁹⁰

Since that time, there is growing evidence of the systematic nature of the attacks.

The Fulani militant attacks follow a consistent pattern. Eyewitness reports consistently identify Fulani attackers as dressed in black with head coverings, attacking at night or in the early morning. At times, warnings of an impending attack are given before an attack. The Fulani attackers typically arrive in a coordinated group, most often by motorcycle, and they carry AK-47s and other sophisticated weapons. After attacks, the farmer communities are displaced and Fulani herders move in, taking over the land for their herds. This pattern reveals a method and strategy that evidences the systematic nature of the attacks.

i. Attackers dress in a coordinated fashion

Witness testimony collected by Amnesty International indicate that perpetrators “appeared to have taken measures to hide their identities, wearing uniforms and other disguise and at times masks and operating in a coordinated fashion.”⁹¹ For example, one villager told Amnesty that the attackers wore black, which comports with the description the Nigerian Air Force gave of the attackers.⁹²

⁸⁷ Open Doors World Watch Report, “Nigeria: Compound structural vulnerabilities facing Christian women”, April 2019.

⁸⁸ International Crisis Group, Report No. 262, “Stopping Nigeria’s Farmer-Herder Conflict”, July 2018.

⁸⁹ International Criminal Court Office of the Prosecutor, *Situation in Nigeria: Article 5 Report*, 5 August 2013, para. 42-54

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

⁹² *ibid.*

This is also consistent with other witness reports of Fulani attackers coordinating their appearance by wearing mostly black when attacking.⁹³ For example, in a 2020 attack which left a Christian pastor and three Church members killed attackers were wearing black.⁹⁴ And in Kaduna State, one witness from Zilian Village said after a Fulani militant attack on February 20, 2017 killed five people,

“I did not recognise any of the Fulani [gunmen]. They all wore uniforms, you couldn’t even recognise them. They wore black trousers and the type of boots soldiers wear with long black jackets. Some wore black while other wore green. They also wore this headgear that covers all your face like a mask. So you couldn’t recognise them.”⁹⁵

Another eyewitness, from the village of Jarkuka in Zamfara State, told Amnesty International that attackers “wore black attire under black coats or jackets. Some wore masks and some had turbans on. Some wore camouflage uniforms but not the type worn by Nigerian soldiers. The camouflage uniforms looked foreign.”⁹⁶

ii. Attacks at night or in the early morning

Incidents in which Fulani militant herdsman target, harm, and kill members of the farming community occur at various times throughout the day; however, there is no shortage of reports that document the timing of the attacks to be extremely late at night or in the very early morning, times during which most individuals would be asleep and therefore vulnerable and defenseless. In 2018, a journalist from Benue State explained regarding the trend of violence in the Middle Belt and Northwest: “no farmers clashed with herdsman- they were attacked at night in their homes.”⁹⁷

Attackers arrived to survivor Abbah Yoki’s village, Ngbra-zongo in Plateau State, around 7am. He reported seeing 10 Fulani herders, dressed in black. He saw them split into three groups and heard one gunman shout an order in Hausa for the others to shoot. Such coordination underscores the systematic nature of these attacks.⁹⁸ Another survivor recounted how black-clad attackers arrived early in the morning of December 4, 2017. Running away, the survivor reported seeing the Fulani attackers burning down houses.”⁹⁹

The situation of timing remains strictly similar to this day- in a report regarding perhaps the most devastating Fulani militant attack of May 2020 [the month in which this section of the report was drafted], it is revealed that the Fulani militant group initiated their deadly massacre at 11:30 p.m.

⁹³ Lawrence Zongo, “The government is silent: Muslim tribesmen kill Christian pastor and burn down school in Nigerian village”, *Zenger News*, 9 April 2020.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁹⁵ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

⁹⁶ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

⁹⁷ Yomi Kazeem, “A new wave of brazen attacks by herdsman in Nigeria is sparking fears of genocide”, *Quartz Africa*, 12 January 2018.

⁹⁸ Lawrence Zongo, “The government is silent: Muslim tribesmen kill Christian pastor and burn down school in Nigerian village”, *Zenger News*, 9 April 2020.

⁹⁹ Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria, Amnesty International, 2018, p. 17., f.n. 26.

on May 11, at which point the attacks lasted until the hours of the early morning.⁹ According to Genocide Watch,¹⁰⁰

“Since 2015, about 11,500 Christians have been killed in Nigeria, according to Intersociety [International society for Civil Liberties and Rule of Law]. The killings are largely a result of increased terrorist attacks from Boko Haram splinter groups and overnight attacks carried out by radicalized Muslim nomadic Fulani herders against predominantly Christian farming communities in Nigeria’s Middle Belt.”

According to another article also by Genocide Watch, one survivor of a major attack in Hura-Maiyanga village in Nigeria stated,

“Most families had already retired into houses to sleep when these Fulani gunmen came into the village and were shooting into houses...as the herdsmen shot at us, we all ran out from our houses into the surrounding bushes. Some of the herdsmen chased after us and shot at us, while others were burning down our houses.”¹⁰¹

In instance such as the ones described above, it is obvious that these attacks are executed at night when community members are asleep and therefore unable to anticipate an attack, flee, or find a means of self-defense; their inability to defend themselves mean that the incidents fit the description of ‘attacks’ rather than ‘clashes’ as there was no two-directional exchange of violence.

Not only are the community members unsuspecting of and unable to swiftly respond to the attacks, but also the timing prevents a quick reaction from Nigeria’s local and national security forces as, by the time they arrive on the scene, the Fulani militant attackers have stealthily returned to the covering of the forests surrounding the communities.

iii. Warnings given before attacks

It has been reported that sometimes before attacks “the Fulani send a ‘warning signal’ via a note or a phone call to tell villagers that an attack is imminent.”¹⁰² This kind of warning is in line with “the rules of engagement in an Islamic jihad,” pointing to a possible religious motivation behind the attacks.¹⁰³ It also shows that the attacks are premeditated and organized. Some warning messages take on a threatening tone, such as “we have attacked (such and such a village) and you or your village will be next” or “your land or your blood.”¹⁰⁴

Fulani living in targeted villages appear to be warned to flee ahead of the attacks. Survivors report that Fulani neighbors who have lived in the villages or neighborhoods will leave in the middle of the night before an attack occurs.¹⁰⁵ For example, prior to an attack that targeted Christians in

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Smith, “At Least 50 Nigerian Christians Killed by Fulani Attacks in March, NGO Reports”, *Genocide Watch*, 7 April 2020.

¹⁰¹ Genocide Watch, “Six Children, Pregnant Mother among Nine Christians Killed in Fulani Jihadist Attack in Nigeria”, 16 April 2020.

¹⁰² Baroness Caroline Cox and Reverend David Thomas, *‘Your Land or Your Blood’: The escalating persecution and displacement of Christians in northern and central Nigeria*, November 2019.

¹⁰³ All Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief, *Nigeria: Unfolding Genocide? An Inquiry by the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief*, 15 June 2020.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ M J, “Christian Families Slain in Their Homes in Kaduna State, Nigeria”, *Christian Response*, 14 May 2020,

Kaduna state, Fulani neighbors who had lived in the area for 40 years fled the night before the attack.¹⁰⁶

The cases of advanced warning, even if they do not occur in all cases, are strong evidence of planned and premeditated—systematic—attacks by the radical Fulani militants against Christian farmer communities.

iv. Coordinated arrival by motorcycle or boat

The arrival of Fulani attackers to the targeted Christian farmer villages is well-coordinated. The use of motorcycles as transportation by attackers is very common. For example, in a May 12, 2020 attack, herdsman invaded Tse-Haaga village in Benue State riding on four motorbikes, killing four Christians in the village and injuring three others.¹⁰⁷

A villager from Jarkuka in Zamfara State reported that Fulani attackers “arrived on motorcycles and there were about 100 motorcycles, each with three passengers, one driving and two shooting.”¹⁰⁸ In another instance, two villagers in Katibu and Bang reported counting 84 motorcycles, each carrying three passengers, crossing into Adamawa State on May 2, 2018 to attacks five villages. The attack resulted in the death of 33 people.¹⁰⁹

Though motorcycle is by far the most common method of transportation, Fulani militants have also been known to arrive by boat. For example, the horrendous massacre of hundreds of members of the Agatu tribe in February 2016 involved coordinated boat travel. According to eyewitness accounts, the Fulani attackers arrived to the Agatu villages dressed in combat gear, carrying AK-47 rifles. They arrived to the village of Aila by boat, crossing the Benue River from Nasarawa State, according to eyewitness Shaibu Ahmadu. He remarked, “Fulanis invaded in their hundreds by boats.”¹¹⁰ Soon after, the murder of men, women, and children began. An estimated 300 villagers were killed that first day in Aila, Okokolo, Akwu, Adagbo, Odugbehon and Odejo.¹¹¹

A video obtained by SB Morgen Intelligence shows boats of armed Fulani attackers crossing the Benue River, believed to be en route to attack an Agatu village, much like Ahmadu described. The dialects of the attackers are both native and foreign. The video shows the faces of some of the men and may aid in identifying attackers and it clearly demonstrated the planned and premeditated nature of the attacks.

v. Sophisticated weapons

Just as similar clothing, attacks at certain times of day, advanced warnings, and coordinated travel, the use of sophisticated weapons by Fulani attackers indicates a high level of coordination and organization. It also suggests that the Fulani militias have participated in arms dealing in the region and points to a high level of financing.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ The Christian Voice, “Herdsman Kill 12 Christians, Kidnap One in Attacks in Benue State Nigeria”, May 2020.

¹⁰⁸ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Emmanuel Mayah, “SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere”, *Premium News*, 18 March 2016.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

Up until a few years ago, the Fulani militants carried simple sticks to manage their cattle and to fight in skirmishes with farmers. But now, they wield AK-47s, escalating the conflict into a one-sided drive to destroy Christian farmer communities. Several NGOs have confirmed the advanced firepower of the Fulani militants. Amnesty International reported their findings that “Fulani gunmen have access to military-grade weapons. In all communities, members of farmer communities kept mentioning seeing different types of rifles, including machine guns, Mark 4 and AK-type rifles.”¹¹² At the conclusion of a forensic analysis of casings and photos of casings found in Adamawa, Kaduna, and Plateau state after Fulani militant attacks, Amnesty researchers concluded, “the Fulani gunmen were likely armed with machine guns like the PKM, or G3 and AK-type rifles. Four different examples of the standard round for AK-type rifles, all Chinese, were also manufactured between 2008 and 2013.”¹¹³

Eyewitnesses consistently report that Fulani attackers have sophisticated weapons. A survivor of a Fulani militant attack on Bolki village on May 2, 2018 that killed nine people reported that, a “[m]ajority of the attackers had AK-47s, while some had G3s, machetes, locally made guns, rocket launchers.”¹¹⁴ Similarly, after a May 11th, 2020 attack on Christians in Agasha village in Benue state, troops recovered two AK-47 rifles, four magazines, and 65 rounds of 7.62 mm ammunition.¹¹⁵ In a separate attack in Kaduna state on May 12, 2020 it was reported that half of the estimated 100 Fulani attackers carried AK-47 rifles or pump-action shotguns.¹¹⁶

The Fulani militants are so well-armed that they pose a challenge even to the military. For example, Brigadier General Muhammed Bello, army commander in Yola, Adamawa state, explained that in December 2017, when his troops came upon Fulani militants planning to attack Bachama villages, they had to use rocket-propelled grenades to disperse them because the militants were so well-armed.¹¹⁷ But for local police forces, the firepower may be too much. Amnesty International reports, “[a]ccording to a resident of one of the villages, the policemen refused to go to the villages, complaining of bad roads and that the Fulani gunmen had better weapons than them.”¹¹⁸

The weapons of farmer communities are no match for those of the Fulani militants. During the string of Fulani militant attacks on the Agatu in February 2016 that resulted in hundreds of dead Agatu, eyewitness Shaibu Ahmadu lamented that when the group attacked Okokolo village three times, burning it to the ground, before laying siege to Akwu, Adagbo, and Aila, the fight was one-sided. He said, “It was impossible to repel them; we were just ordinary farmers with hoes and cutlasses while the Fulanis were armed with AK-47.”¹¹⁹

Witness reports show a stark difference between the firepower of the Fulani militants in contrast to that of farmer communities. While Fulani gunmen attacked farmer communities “with cutlasses, bows and arrows and military-grade rifles, including light machine guns” herders recount that the

¹¹² Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ The Cristian Voices, “Herdsman Kill 12 Christians, Kidnap One in Attacks in Benue State Nigeria”, The Christian Voice, May 2020.

¹¹⁶ Douglas Burton, “Gunmen kill 28 in back-to-back attacks in Nigeria”, *Zenger News*, 19 May 2020.

¹¹⁷ International Crisis Group, “Stopping Nigeria’s Spiralling Farmer-Herder Violence”, Africa Report N°262, 26 July 2018.

¹¹⁸ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

¹¹⁹ Emmanuel Mayah, “SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere”, *Premium News*, 18 March 2016.

farmers who attacked them “came with cutlasses, spears, bows and arrows, and sometimes Dane guns.”¹²⁰ Some farmer communities have even begun to produce their own weapons. The Small Arms Survey indicated in its 2017-2018 report that the uptick in small arms production and sales is due to increased conflict between farmers and herders. Self-defense, not profit, is the driving force of domestic weapons production and sales. The Small Arms Survey reported that “Some producers said they were making craft weapons as a way of supporting their communities, as one blacksmith explained: ‘The production and repair of firearms is [sic] not about income for me, but for protection from incessant attacks for [sic] Fulani militia, and defence from armed robbers’”¹²¹

Conflict Armament Research (CAR) analyzed weapons collected from armed groups in the conflict, which it characterized as “arguably...the western Sahel’s deadliest conflict.”¹²² The group’s investigation found that while groups use locally made artisanal weapons, “they also use factory-produced weapons manufactured in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East.”¹²³ CAR investigators found that the weapons had serial numbers and markings similar to those previously identified as coming from stockpiles in the Ivory Coast and Libya. The group also identified Iraqi assault rifles manufactured in 1987, which all had their serial numbers removed in a distinctive way. These weapons are uncommon in the Sahel region, but terrorist groups used rifles like these, with the markings removed in the same manner, in waves of attacks on security forces in Mali and Niger since 2016.¹²⁴ This led CAR to conclude that the weapons came from the same source.¹²⁵

How these weapons got into Nigeria and into the hands of armed groups is not known at this time. Fulani herders themselves could be trafficking weapons into the region, given their cross-border migratory patterns. CAR observes that “Commonalities among the weapons circulating on regional illicit markets may reflect the long-range movements of pastoralists in the subregion.”¹²⁶ One Nigerian arms dealer, who denied selling to Fulani militias, commented that “The Fulani herdsmen can move in and out of these countries with their cattle. They can buy and smuggle their own weapon themselves.”¹²⁷

The arms market is not only accessible to Fulani militants, but it is also relatively affordable- in Nigeria, the price of cattle is very high and the price of illegal arms is at its lowest yet, meaning that profits from sales of cattle can be traded in for weaponry and vehicles; contrastingly, agricultural products do not yield nearly as much profit, preventing farming communities from obtaining sufficient funds to purchase weapons for self-defense.¹²⁸

Arms smuggling among the radical Fulani militants is very likely occurring, as the arms dealer suggests. On a visit to Cameroon to visit with Fulani leaders, Ibrahim Abdullahi, an official with the Fulani organization Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeder’s Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), recounted how one Fulani leader took Abdullahi to a warehouse on the leader’s property where

¹²⁰ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

¹²¹ Matthias Nowak and André Gsell, “Handmade and Deadly: Craft Production of Small Arms in Nigeria”, *Small Arms Survey*, 2018,

¹²² Conflict Armament Research, “Nigeria’s Herder-Farmer Conflict: Domestic, regional, and transcontinental weapon sources”.

¹²³ *ibid.*

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Chioma Igbokwe, “Politicians are our biggest buyers of illegal arms –Suspects”, *The Sun*, June 8, 2019,

¹²⁸ All Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief, “Nigeria: Unfolding Genocide? An Inquiry by the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief”, June 2020

he stored stockpiles of advanced weaponry and guns. He later took Abdullahi to a nearby camp where young Fulani men received combat training from white men. The cache of weapons and training by men likely to be foreign mercenaries, points to a high level of organization.¹²⁹

The militants could also be acquiring weapons from criminal networks operating on regional trafficking routes. There is no shortage of illicit weapons in Nigeria, fueled not only by trafficking from other African countries, but Turkey as well. CAR uncovered evidence that weapons are flowing into Nigeria from Turkey, a disturbing element given Turkey's support for terrorism. Semi-automatic and pump-action shotguns involved in the conflict that were analyzed by CAR matched the types and brands shipped from Istanbul to Lagos in 2017, as part of a major trafficking network. CAR uncovered evidence that these weapons were trafficked into Nigeria even before 2017.¹³⁰

The flow of weapons from Turkey is a dangerous development. Recent cases of intercepted guns reveal the large scale of the smuggling. In May 2017, approximately 440 pump action guns hidden in containers of plaster of Paris powder were seized by Nigeria's Customs Service, inbound from Turkey.¹³¹ The confiscation came only three months after the Federal Operations Unit of Nigeria Customs Service had seized 661 pump action guns.¹³² Later, in October 2018, two Nigerian businessmen were indicted for smuggling 1,570 pump action guns into the country, forging customs documents to conceal that the shipment came from Istanbul.¹³³ Thousands of other guns likely slipped through customs unnoticed.

The use of sophisticated weaponry also points to financing of the attacks.¹³⁴ Bishop Wilfred Chikpa Anagbe is quoted as saying, "the Fulani tribesmen for the most part live in the forest and cannot afford the luxury of such sophisticated weapons – so who is funding them?"¹³⁵ Bishop Bagobiri, in an interview with Aid to the Church in Need in Spring 2017, suggested that, "[g]iven the sophisticated nature of the weapons used in the [Islamists'] operations, it is suspected that their kin in government and the military are able to supply these arms to them."¹³⁶

If these cash and weapons sources are not shut down, there will be no end to the violence.

vi. Land occupation

Another disturbing indication of the systematic nature of the attacks is the frequent occupation of land following an attack. Christian Solidarity Worldwide interviewed numerous survivors of Fulani attacks who say that they were forced off their land following an attack. CSW reported that in

¹²⁹ Sani Tukur, "Solution to Southern Kaduna crisis lies outside Nigeria – Fulani leader", *Premium Times Nigeria*, 4 March 2017.

¹³⁰ Conflict Armament Research, "Nigeria's Herder-Farmer Conflict: Domestic, regional, and transcontinental weapon sources".

Colin Freeman, "How weapons smuggled by Turkish criminals are fuelling a deadly herder-farmer conflict in the Sahel", *The Telegraph*, 29 January 2020.

¹³¹ Tribune, "Again, Customs discover container load of 440 pump action guns in Lagos + PHOTOS", *The Nigerian Voice*, 23 May 2017.

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ Onozure Dania, "Man arraigned over importation of 1,570 pump action rifles", *Vanguard*, 12 October 2018.

¹³⁴ See Kenya, para 122, where the Pre-Trial Chamber considered the large supply of petrol and the use of sophisticated weaponry to be "consistent with allegations that businessmen or politicians financed the violence or directly supplied vehicles, petrol or weapons which were to be used in the attacks."

¹³⁵ Rt. Rev. Philip Mounstephen, "Bishop of Truro's Independent Review for the Foreign Secretary of FCO Support for Persecuted Christians".

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

Plateau State, as of June 2018, over 54 communities had been occupied and renamed. This led to the displacement of 11,833 victims who were housed in 17 IDP camps. According to CSW, the majority of these camp residents were elderly, children, and women, including pregnant and nursing mothers.¹³⁷

Survivors of the killings in Agatu villages have also been displaced.¹³⁸ A police chief reported that Agatu villages have been “razed to the ground” following Fulani militant attacks, been emptied of their original inhabitants, and taken over by reportedly heavily armed Fulani herdsmen and 5,000 cattle.¹³⁹ It was estimated that as a result of the attacks in this community about 7,000 individuals have fled their homes.¹⁴⁰

Another example of occupation by Fulani is the situation in Daffo village, Bokkos LGA, in Plateau State.¹⁴¹ According to ICON’s investigations, from January to July 2018 Fulani systematically attacked and then occupied the village.¹⁴² An attack in March 2018 killed 40 villagers, destroyed 50 homes, and resulted in 5,000 displaced individuals.¹⁴³ Following a “Peace Plan” unveiling by President Buhari, residents returned only to be subject to another attack on May 23 which resulted in 35 deaths, more than 20 injuries, and over 7,000 individuals forced to abandon their homes.¹⁴⁴ Over 11,000 acres were taken over by herdsmen and their cattle.¹⁴⁵

ICON’s report found that two other states, Benue and Taraba have been subject to similar land grabs.¹⁴⁶ In total, it is estimated that over 134,028 acres of farmland have been taken over by Fulani and their cattle and has prevented over 120,000 farmers from making their living on their land.¹⁴⁷

Former police officer, Shaibu Ahmadu considered the Agatu massacres in February 2016 in Benue State as another iteration of Fulani expansion and domination over land. He explained, “the latest mass killing was the climax of an expansionist agenda that began years ago in Nassarawa State by the Fulanis. Earlier, communities like Tom-Anyiin, Tom-Ataan, Mbaya and Tombu in Buruku Local Government Area of the state have fallen to the Fulanis.”¹⁴⁸ Whilst in the past the herdsmen would attack, kill and disappear, this time with Agatu they appeared to have come with an occupation agenda.

Another local member of the Agatu tribe, identified only as Adejo, explained in March 2016 that most of the villages reattacked by Fulani militants the prior month were occupied by Fulani who traveled from Nasarawa with their cattle. As a result, native Agatu farmers were unable to return to the land, not even to bury those killed in the attacks. He said in reference to the Fulani, “They are coming in large numbers with their cows. The military is not stopping them. If we can go

¹³⁷ Christian Solidarity Worldwide, “Human Rights Situation in the Federal Republic of Nigeria”, June 2019.

¹³⁸ Punch Nigeria “Fulani herdsmen’s mindless Agatu Killings”, 13 March 2016.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ International Committee On Nigeria, “Nigeria’s Silent Slaughter Genocide in Nigeria and the Implications for the International Community”, June 2020.

¹⁴² *ibid.*

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Emmanuel Mayah, “SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere”, *Premium News*, 18 March 2016.

beyond here (Aila) to Abugbe, Ocholonya or Adana, you will see Fulani in combat jackets with sophisticated guns grazing their cows,” Adejo said.¹⁴⁹

VI. Evidence that there is a group or organizational policy

Not only are the attacks widespread and systematic, they are carried out pursuant to or in furtherance of a State or organizational policy to commit such attacks.¹⁵⁰

In its 2013 Report, the OTP stated that the “available information is insufficient to establish whether the attacks on the civilian population in central and northern states were isolated and/or spontaneous acts of violence, or were committed pursuant to a State or organizational policy.”¹⁵¹ According to the OTP, the “main constraint in establishing the existence of an organizational policy in the Nigerian context is the lack of information on alleged perpetrators.”¹⁵² Without this information, there is a lack of information on “the existence of an organization or a group implementing an implicit or explicit policy to attack a civilian population.”¹⁵³

But the OTP said that “this initial assessment may be revisited by the Office in the light of new facts or evidence that could enable the identification of specific leaders or organizations allegedly responsible for instigating such violence or the existence of an organizational policy.”¹⁵⁴

This report aims to fill in those gaps.

Policies do not need to be formally adopted and evidence of the existence of a policy is rare. For this reason, policies can be inferred from the coordinated manner in which the attacks occur, such that the attacks were not random.¹⁵⁵

The highly coordinated nature of the Fulani militant attacks, as well as their frequency are indicia of a policy. The use of sophisticated weapons, the coordinated travel of attackers, typically by motorcycle, the advanced warning before attacks and the other factors discussed in the previous section point to a well-coordinated campaign against Christian farming tribes.

i. Organizations Believed to Be Involved or to Have Knowledge of the Attacks

This report identifies several organizations and individuals who are believed to be involved in carrying out a policy of destruction against Christian farmer tribes or who are believed to have information about those involved.

An organization promoting a policy does not have to be a state-like organization but can be any private organizations that is capable of infringing basic human rights.¹⁵⁶ The following is a non-

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Article 7(2)(a), Rome Statute.

¹⁵¹ International Criminal Court Office of the Prosecutor, *Situation in Nigeria: Article 5 Report*, 5 August 2013, para. 61.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, para 62.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, para 62.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, para 13.

¹⁵⁵ See into p 237

¹⁵⁶ International Criminal Court, *ICC-01/09-02/11, Situation in the Republic of Kenya, In the Case of The Prosecutor V. Francis Kirimi Muthaura And Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta*, 7 March 2012.

[Note: The Pre-Trial Chamber reasoned that if the drafters of the Statute intended to exclude non-state actors from the Statute, they would not have used the term “organization.” para 92.]

exhaustive list devised by the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber detailing characteristics a court could take into account when making a case-by-case determination whether a group qualifies as an organization under the Rome Statute.¹⁵⁷

These include:

- “(i) whether the group is under a responsible command, or has an established hierarchy;
- (ii) whether the group possesses, in fact, the means to carry out a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population;
- (iii) whether the group exercises control over part of the territory of a State;
- (iv) whether the group has criminal activities against the civilian population as a primary purpose;
- (v) whether the group articulates, explicitly or implicitly, an intention to attack a civilian population;
- (vi) whether the group is part of a larger group, which fulfils some or all of the abovementioned criteria.”¹⁵⁸

Each of the groups listed here have leadership structures with an established hierarchy. Given their widespread membership among Fulanis, they have significant influence over Fulani herders, including in the Middle Belt and northern states. Although the groups exist to promote the interest of Fulanis, rather than an express purpose of causing harm to other ethnic and religious groups, the groups’ statements and actions manifest support of attacks on Christian farmer tribes.

In some cases, there are mixed messages, with the groups’ leadership calling for peace or condemning violence. But the existence of other statements in defense of the attacks calls for an investigation of how these organizations are involved in promoting a policy of destruction.

1. Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN)

The Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, also known as MACBAN, is an umbrella organization for Fulani cattle breeders in Nigeria. It is one of the primary associations for Fulani herdsmen, and it has an established leadership structure with group chapters across the country. The association’s leaders and spokesmen have admitted Fulani members’ involvement in the attacks and have released a number of statements downplaying the attacks or writing them off as reprisal attacks that the victimized communities brought upon themselves.

Samuel Ortom, the governor of Benue, has called for an investigation and prosecution of MACBAN for the destruction of Agatu communities.¹⁵⁹ President Buhari has been criticized for failing to acknowledge and condemn herdsmen attacks or question MACBAN for its statements regarding the herdsmen killings.¹⁶⁰

MACBAN has openly praised Governor Mallam Nasir El-Rufai of Kaduna state in his handling of the violence—a governor most farming communities criticize for leaving them vulnerable and for

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

[Note: The Chamber emphasized that these factors “do not constitute a rigid legal definition and do not need to be exhaustively fulfilled.” para 93.]

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Peter Duru, “Benue killings: We demand prosecution of leaders of Miyetti Allah —Gov Ortom”, *Vanguard*, 20 January 2018.

¹⁶⁰ Paul Obi, “Herdsmen Attacks: Tiv Diaspora Writes Buhari, Demands Action against MACBAN Leadership”, *This Day Live*, 24 April 2017.

being biased toward the attackers. However, the association has also released statements sympathizing with the victims and calling for peace. Due to the mixed messages disseminated by the group and the influential role it plays on Fulani members, we believe an investigation of this group is necessary to determine if its leadership has played any role in organizing or facilitating attacks.

MACBAN is believed to at least implicitly, if not explicitly, promote violence against Christian farmers. For example, MACBAN once claimed that 99 Fulani people had been killed in an area, and over 2,000 head of cattle had been stolen. Shortly after these assertions, “terrorists from Nasarawa State and Abuja” were “intercepted in two vehicles on 24th June, at Mai-ido village.”¹⁶¹ MACBAN’s reckless and incendiary allegations led to the deadly attacks on Chibwob, demonstrating either a disregard for the effect their statements would have on encouraging Fulani to avenge, or direct incitement.¹⁶²

Other MACBAN leaders have also admitted that members of their group have committed atrocities, arguing that there are bad eggs in the group and they want to weed them out.¹⁶³

MACBAN leaders who have made statements defending or excusing attacks include:

*Alhaji Haruna Usman Tugga – Chairman to Kaduna State Chapter of MACBAN.*¹⁶⁴

At a meeting of the Kaduna Chapter of MACBAN, Dr. Haruna Usman spoke about the killings of 17 people and the burning of two villages in the Godogodo Chieftdom, saying, “the Fulani are just revenging.”¹⁶⁵

With regard to the Fulani killing of six farmers, he is quoted as saying,

“Are Fulani crazy to just go and attack people? Did you ask the Godogodo people what they did to the Fulani? We already have 17 grazing reserves in Kaduna State since colonial times, and there is no dispute about that. What happened was that these people went and killed a Fulani Chief in one of the villages and burnt his house. The Fulani are just revenging.”¹⁶⁶

Usman’s comments suggest that he is privy to internal knowledge of the attacks such that he claims to know the motives of the attackers. By excusing attacks or seeking to explain the motives, rather than condemning the violence, he demonstrates his approval and perhaps even his encouragement.

Southern Kaduna Peoples’ Union has claimed Haruna Usman as “[a] local [accomplice] of the foreign terrorists” and has called for his arrest.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Christian Solidarity Worldwide, “At least 22 killed in Kaduna State, despite 24-hour curfew”, 13 July 2020.

¹⁶² *ibid.*

¹⁶³ Temitope Popoola, “Cattle breeders set up committee to catch Fulani criminals”, 2016, *Legit*,

¹⁶⁴ Seun Opejobi, “Kaduna herdsmen attack: Fulanis revenging killing of their Chief – Miyetti Allah”, *Daily Post*, 16 August 2016.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.* [Note: “Usman said Fulani herdsmen are not “crazy” to embark on aimless killings, stressing that they are avenging the death of their Chief who was allegedly killed in one of the villages.”]

¹⁶⁶ Luka Binniyat, “Kaduna Herdsmen Attack: They’re on vengeance mission- Miyetti”, *Vanguard*, 16 August 2016.

¹⁶⁷ Southern Kaduna Peoples’ Union (SOKAPU), “Governor El-Rufai’s Confessional Statement And The Colour Of Hypocrisy” [press release], *247ureports*, 8 December 2016.

Abdulhamid Musa – Zonal Chairman of MACBAN Zone III (Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN))

Abdulhamid Musa represented the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association at a press conference held with representatives of the Jema'a Foundation and Mobgal Fulbe Development Association on November 7, 2016.¹⁶⁸

Musa and the other leaders are reported to have acknowledged that recent bloodshed, including the murder of women, children, and elderly was carried out by Fulani militant herdsman, defending the actions as necessary to protect their rights to religious practice. Below is a statement by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN):

"In another press conference in Kaduna on November 7, 2016 Jem'a Foundatoin, Miyetti Allah and Mobgal Fulbe Development Association confirmed that Fulani and Hausa Muslims have been behind the ethnic cleansing and destruction of villages and houses of worship in Southern Kaduna. They claimed they had to do this to entrench their rights to practice Islam, alleging they were being marginalized in Southern Kaduna. Those who addressed the press were Abdullahi Hassan Mohammed, Ahmad M. Yandeh and Abdulhamid Musa. Again, on December 31, 2016, Dr. Ibrahim Abdullahi, the Assistant National Secretary of Miyetti Allah also echoed the same position that the Fulani were carrying out reprisal killings."¹⁶⁹

Ibrahim Abdullahi – Assistant National Secretary of MACBAN

Ibrahim Abdullahi is the assistant national secretary of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Association of Nigeria. He has worked with the governors of Kaduna, including El-Rufai, to pay Fulani militants in an attempt at appeasement. Abdullahi recounts how he was sent to Cameroon and Chad Republic by a former Kaduna governor to meet with Fulani leaders and offer them compensation in exchange for an agreement not to attack Christian farmers in southern Kaduna.¹⁷⁰ By doing so, Abdullahi was part of an operation that paid off suspected killers instead of bringing them to justice in an misguided attempt to end the violence.

By virtue of his involvement in this operation, Abdullahi is in possession of the names and means of locating suspected Fulani killers. He has not recommended the alleged murders for prosecution, contributing to impunity and undermining the rule of law. Providing financial assistance to suspected killers is a very troubling endeavor that likely emboldens and bankrolls further violence.

Other members that have not personally made suspicious comments but should be noted due to their leadership in MACBAN:

1. Alhaji Mafindi Danburam – Taraba State Chairman¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Leading Reporters, "ECWA Kaduna alleges desperate and well funded plans against Southern Kaduna Indigenes", 2016.

¹⁶⁹ Sam Eyoboka, Luka Binniyat, & Abdulwahab Abdulah, "UN wades into S-Kaduna kililngs as CAN replies Council of Imams you're hypocrites", *Vanguard*, 12 January 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Sani Tukur, "Solution to Southern Kaduna crisis lies outside Nigeria – Fulani leader", *Premium Times Nigeria*, 4 March 2017.

¹⁷¹ Nigeria Conflict Security Analysis Network (NCSAN), "Violent Conflict in Divided Societies: The Case Syudy of Violent Conflict in Taraba State (2013-2015)", *World Watch Monitor*.

2. Ardo Ahmadu Suleiman – Northwest Zonal Chairman¹⁷²
3. Baba Othman Ngelzarma – National Secretary¹⁷³
4. Garus Gololo – State Coordinator¹⁷⁴

2. Gan Allah Fulani Development Association of Nigeria (GAFDAN)

The Gan Allah Fulani Development Association of Nigeria is an umbrella organization that represents ethnic Fulani.¹⁷⁵ It is a recently formed organization, registered in 2016 and unlike the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, represents all ethnic Fulani, not just cattle herders.¹⁷⁶

GAFDAN has a seven-member Board of Trustees. In 2019, according to news reports the following seven individuals were on the Board:

1. Alhaji Saleh Bayeri – National Chairman (and former National Secretary of MACBAN)
2. Alhaji Murtala Nyako
3. Prof. Ango Abdullahi
4. Sulemain Yahubu Ebeti
5. Abubakar Abubakar
6. Ardo Seedu Baso
7. The Emir of Dutse, in Jigawa State

Alhaji Saleh Bayeri – National Chairman (and former National Secretary of MACBAN)

Bayeri has spoken in defense of Fulani militant attackers, saying the killings were acts of revenge. His statements as to the motive of the attacks suggest that he may know the identity of the attackers. His defense of the attackers serves to justify the killings within the Fulani extremist community, feeding the violence.

In an interview with the Premium Times published March 19, 2016, National Chairman Alhaji Saleh Bayeri “rose in defence of his kinsman, saying the February bloody conflict in Benue was a reprisal attack by his people against the Agatus who he accused of killing, in 2013, a prominent Fulani man.”¹⁷⁷ In the February massacre, 10 Agatu communities were destroyed and hundreds of men, women, and children were murdered by radical Fulani militant. According to Bayeri, the attacks were revenge for the 2013 murder of Shehu Abdullahi and Ardo Madaki and the theft of Abdullahi’s 200 cows by alleged Agatu and Tiv attackers.

His statements defending the heinous attacks suggests that he likely knows the attackers and may have supported the attack through active support or by failing to intervene to stop it.

¹⁷² Punch Nigeria, [“No one can stop us from grazing in the south- Fulani herdsmen”](#), 1 May 2016.

¹⁷³ Vanguard Nigeria, [“Our story, by Fulani herdsmen”](#), 1 May 2016.

¹⁷⁴ Ameh Comrade Godwin, [“Benue boils again as Fulani herdsmen kill 13 in Tiv communities”](#), *Daily Post*, 23 June 2016.

¹⁷⁵ Emmanuel Mayah, [“SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere”](#), *Premium News*, 18 March 2016.

¹⁷⁶ Abdullahi Hassan & Alhaji Saleh Bayeri, [“Insecurity: You can’t negotiate for Fulani, Bayeri, Ex-miyetti Allah scribe tells group”](#), *The Sun*, 7 July 2019.

¹⁷⁷ Emmanuel Mayah, [“SPECIAL REPORT: Inside Agatu killing field: blood on the streets, charred bodies everywhere”](#), *Premium News*, 18 March 2016.

3. Macina Liberation Front (*Front de Libération du Macina*; FLM)

The FLM has been included in this report as a group that should be monitored. This small Islamist terrorist organization operating in the Sahel region exploits poor Fulani people to join their forces. *“In its goals and methods, FLM resembles other Islamist terrorists operating in the Sahel and Sahara, such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). What makes the FLM different is the attempt to rally nomadic Fulani herdsman to its cause.”*¹⁷⁸

Their primary operations take place in Mali but by infiltrating one of the largest and widespread ethnic groups in Africa, it has potential to cause international destabilization.¹⁷⁹ Further, the infiltration of a group such as FLM would elevate even further the religious aspect of the conflict between the Fulani militants and Christian communities in Nigeria.¹⁸⁰ Precautionary measures are necessary to prevent their insurgency from spreading to Nigeria and fueling the religious and ethnic divides there.

4. Jema’a Foundation

Abdullahi Hassan Mohammed – of Jema’a Foundation

Abdullahi Hassan Mohammad represented the Jema’a Foundation at a press conference held with representatives of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders and Mobgal Fulbe Development Association on November 7, 2016.¹⁸¹

Mohammad and the other leaders are reported to have acknowledged that recent bloodshed, including the murder of women, children, and elderly, was carried out by Fulani herdsman, defending the actions as necessary to entrench their rights to practice Islam, alleging that they were being marginalized in southern Kaduna.¹⁸²

The Southern Kaduna People’s Union has identified Abdullahi Mohammed and Ahmad Yandeh as “local accomplices of the foreign terrorists” and has called for their arrest.¹⁸³

5. Mobgal Fulbe Development Association (MFDA)

Ahmad M. Yandeh of Mobgal Fulbe Development Association (MFDA)

¹⁷⁸ Kaley Fulton & Benjamin P. Nickels, “Africa’s Pastoralists: A New Battleground for Terrorism”, *Africa Center For Strategic Studies*, 11 January 2017.

¹⁷⁹ Critical Threats, “The Critical Threats Project releases a weekly update and assessment on the al Qaeda network”, 8 February 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Kaley Fulton & Benjamin P. Nickels, “Africa’s Pastoralists: A New Battleground for Terrorism”, *Africa Center For Strategic Studies*, 11 January 2017.

¹⁸¹ Leading Reporters, “ECWA Kaduna alleges desperate and well funded plans against Southern Kaduna Indigenes”, 2016.

¹⁸² Sam Eyoboka, Luka Binniyat & Abdulwahab Abdulah, “UN wades into S-Kaduna killings as CAN replies Council of Imams you’re hypocrites”, *Vanguard*, 12 January 2017.

¹⁸³ Southern Kaduna Peoples’ Union (SOKAPU), “Governor El-Rufai’s Confessional Statement And The Colour Of Hypocrisy” [press release], *247ureports*, 8 December 2016.

Ahmad Yandeh represented the Mobgal Fulbe Development Association at a press conference held with representatives of the Jema'a Foundation and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association on November 7, 2016.¹⁸⁴

Yandeh and the other leaders are reported to have acknowledged that recent bloodshed, including the murder of women, children, and elderly was carried out by Fulani herdsmen, defending the actions as necessary to entrench their rights to practice Islam, alleging that they were being marginalized in southern Kaduna.¹⁸⁵

The Southern Kaduna People's Union has identified Abdullahi Mohammed and Ahmad Yandeh as "local accomplices of the foreign terrorists" and has called for their arrest.¹⁸⁶

ii. Other statements evidencing policy

Ado Boderi

After the deadly massacres of the Agatu community in Benue state by Fulani militant attackers, Ardo Boderi, acting as spokesman for the Fulani, revealed that the atrocities were an apparent act of vengeance for the death of Fulani-owned cattle. At a stakeholders meeting organised by the Inspector General Of Police, IGP, Solomon Arase, Boderi claimed that over 10,000 cattle belonging to the Fulani were killed by locals.¹⁸⁷

Local news sources reported, "Ado Boderi, speaking for Fulani community in Benue State, said recently that the Agatu people triggered crisis after killing 10,000 cattle belonging to the Fulani community."¹⁸⁸

As an apparent spokesman for the Fulani, Mr. Boderi claims to know the motive for the deadly attack on Agatu villagers—the killing of cattle. His statements indicate he likely knows the identities of the attackers and was either involved in the planning and carrying out of the plan of attack, or did nothing to stop it. Eyewitnesses report that they did not see any dead cattle, only dead human bodies.¹⁸⁹ As he represents the local Fulani in Benue, it should be investigated as to whether these local members were involved in the attack in Agatu that killed 300-500 villagers at the end of February 2016 and the continued attacks in the area.

Nigerian Fulani and government leaders have denied local Fulani involvement in the attacks blaming foreigners or unknown criminals. However, we have heard directly from our Nigerian partners that victims of the attacks have recognized some attackers as Fulani men who they grew up with. These eye-witness accounts, along with statements such as those of Mr. Boderi, reinforce our belief that local Fulani radical militants are involved in the attacks and that they are organized, acting according to a policy of destruction against Christian farmers.

¹⁸⁴ Leading Reporters, "ECWA Kaduna alleges desperate and well funded plans against Southern Kaduna Indigenes", 2016.

¹⁸⁵ Sam Eyoboka, Luka Binniyat & Abdulwahab Abdulah, "UN wades into S-Kaduna killings as CAN replies Council of Imams you're hypocrites", *Vanguard*, 12 January 2017.

¹⁸⁶ Southern Kaduna Peoples' Union (SOKAPU), "Governor El-Rufai's Confessional Statement And The Colour Of Hypocrisy" [press release], *247ureports*, 8 December 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Peter Duru, "Breaking: Why we attacked Agatu – Fulani herdsmen", *Vanguard*, 4 March 2016.

¹⁸⁸ Taiwo-Hassan Adebayo, "Agatu Killings: State blames Boko Haram, not Fulani herdsmen", *Premium Times Nigeria*, 9 March 2016.

¹⁸⁹ Illia Djadi, "UPDATE: Hundreds killed in Nigeria attacks", *World Watch Monitor*, 11 March 2016.

Mallam Nasir El-Rufai

Mallam Nasir El-Rufai is governor of Kaduna State, one of the hardest hit states in the conflict. His actions towards to Christian farmer tribes in his state, especially the Adara tribe, demand further investigation. El-Rufai is accused of involvement in the murder of the Adara chief after the chief refused to go along with El-Rufai's plan to dismantle the Adara chiefdom.¹⁹⁰ He is also accused of showing bias in favor of the Fulani and inciting violence against the Adara by speaking publicly only about Fulani deaths, ignoring the deaths of Adara.

In an address to an American organization, the governor is reported to have said, "I got a report of the killing of about 66 Fulani at Maro in Kajuru Local Government. I think this is deliberately designed to cause a reprisal and destabilize the local government during elections."¹⁹¹ Yet it was his words that caused reprisal attacks by Fulani militants against Adara. Spokesman of the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union (SOKAPU), Yakuba Kuzamani, insists that El-Rufai's actions triggered more violence against the Adara: "[h]is earlier allegations that Adara natives had killed 66 Fulanis; a death toll he later increased to 130 has continued to open a floodgate for more 'reprisals' by terrorists over El-Rufai's allegation that is yet to be proven."¹⁹² Lamenting the apparent favoritism, Kuzamani explains, "[t]he governor is equally yet to go to the press with the statistics of the present attacks inflicted on the Adaras stating the ethnic nationalities of the victims. The terrorists are yet to be arrested."¹⁹³

While it's not unusual that a leader would speak about violence occurring in his jurisdiction, it is unusual to only mention casualties of one side of the conflict and neglect to mention the casualties suffered on the other side of the conflict, especially when those casualties appear to be higher. According to a domestic media report, "the unorthodoxy of the governor disclosure of the casualty figures prompted controversy with the Adara community who bore the brunt of the persistent attacks on the Kajuru communities, accusing the government of partiality in its treatment of victims of attacks in the community."¹⁹⁴

iii. Efforts to pay off the attackers: evidence of organizations pursuing a policy of destruction

A narrative that has been disseminated by influential Fulani members, including the ones above, asserts that the Fulani responsible for the incessant attacks are not native to Nigeria but come from surrounding countries. According to this narrative, while traveling through Nigeria, Fulani were caught in violence that occurred after the 2011 elections, and they are now coming back in revenge for the losses they sustained in 2011.

In separate accounts, Governor Mallam Nasir El-Rufai, Ibrahim Abdullahi of MACBAN, and General Martin Luther Agwai have admitted to tracking down perpetrators of the incessant attacks

¹⁹⁰ See Section X. Genocide of Adara

¹⁹¹ Ben Agande, "Kajuru killings: An eye for an eye," *Vanguard*, April 14, 2019, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/04/kajuru-killings-an-eye-for-an-eye/>.

¹⁹² Amos Tauna, "Kajuru killings: Adara people tell Buhari to declare state of emergency in Kaduna community," *Daily Post Nigeria*, March 13, 2019, <https://dailypost.ng/2019/03/13/kajuru-killings-adara-people-tell-buhari-state-emergency-kaduna-community/>.

¹⁹³ Amos Tauna, "Kajuru killings: Adara people tell Buhari to declare state of emergency in Kaduna community," *Daily Post Nigeria*, March 13, 2019, <https://dailypost.ng/2019/03/13/kajuru-killings-adara-people-tell-buhari-state-emergency-kaduna-community/>.

¹⁹⁴ Ben Agande, "Kajuru killings: An eye for an eye," *Vanguard*, 14 April 2019.

and paying them money as an attempt of appeasement.¹⁹⁵ All three individuals know the identities of alleged attackers, but instead of pursuing prosecution, they have sought to appease the attackers.

Shockingly, Governor El-Rufai has admitted to paying Fulani militants in an attempt to stop the violence. El-Rufai explained in an interview with the Premium Times Nigeria that he tracked down attackers who he says are from Niger, Cameroon, Chad, Mali, and Senegal, and told them that “there is a new governor who is Fulani like them and has no problem paying compensations for lives lost.”¹⁹⁶ According to El-Rufai, “one or two” asked for compensation. He then explained that “they [the attackers] have forgiven the death of human beings, but want compensation for cattle. We said no problem, some we paid.”¹⁹⁷ The offer to pay was not a one-off event, but a recurring, open offer. In a December 2016 interview, El-Rufai stated, “As recently as two weeks ago, the team went to Niger Republic to attend one Fulani gathering that they do every year with a message from me.”¹⁹⁸ These statements by the governor were recorded and reported by several news outlets.¹⁹⁹

Governor El-Rufai’s remarks are concerning for several reasons. First, he claims to have tracked down the perpetrators and paid them off for the damage done to them in 2011 that is supposedly fuelling their attacks. This indicates that he found the alleged attackers, yet he failed to prosecute these individuals who invaded the country and killed thousands of Nigerians. He furthermore did not release any names of these attackers nor the amount of federal funds used to pay them. His apparent approach of appeasement rather than prosecution has left local Kaduna communities feeling betrayed by their own governor. As mentioned previously in this report, MACBAN leaders have praised the governor for his handling of the violence in Kaduna.

El-Rufai’s actions and comments and actions strongly indicate that the Fulani militants attacking in the Middle Belt region are organized and acting pursuant to a policy. And by communicating directly with these groups, El-Rufai manifests a knowledge of these structures, if not complicity with their actions by failing to prosecute.

Despite his ‘paying off’ of the attackers, the killings have not stopped. Nevertheless, Governor El-Rufai has said that promoting self-defence from attacks is a punishable hate crime because it is the government’s position to defend, not the people’s.²⁰⁰ The Nigerian government has failed to protect victimized communities and to arrest and prosecute perpetrators, yet Governor El-Rufai has threatened the people with arrest if they resort to defending their own lives. He expects community members to forgive and move forward in peace, yet he refuses to provide justice through the legal system.

In reaction to the statements made by Governor El-Rufai, the Islamic Movement in Nigeria wrote a letter to the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union advising them to take the governor to the

¹⁹⁵ Dyepkazah Shibayan, “Agwai to el-Rufai: Compensate all parties, not only herdsman”, *The Cable*, 8 January 2017.

¹⁹⁶ Garba Muhammad, “Interview: Our actions to resolve Shiite IMN, Southern Kaduna crisis – El Rufai”, *Premium Times Nigeria*, 8 December 2016.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Amos Tauna, “Southern Kaduna Killings: Drag El-Rufai to ICC -Islamic Movement in Nigeria writes SOKAPU”, *Daily Post*, 11 December 2016.

²⁰⁰ Garba Muhammad, “Interview: Our actions to resolve Shiite IMN, Southern Kaduna crisis – El Rufai”, *Premium Times Nigeria*, 8 December 2016.

International Criminal Court.²⁰¹ The Islamic Movement in Nigeria accuse El-Rufai of funding the violence that Fulani militants are perpetrating in Kaduna State.²⁰² He has also received criticism from the Southern Kaduna People's Union who have demanded a confessional statement and his resignation due to his "biased, crass and deliberate ineptitude in stopping the killings."²⁰³ Further, the People's Union demanded to know the identity of the Fulani terrorists and the amounts that were paid to them by Governor El-Rufai.²⁰⁴ Others, such as Senator Shehu Sani, accused the Governor of using the federal allocation of the State to pay the Fulani militant attackers.²⁰⁵

The comments and actions of Governor El-Rufai, Ibrahim Abdullahi, and Gen. Agwi are strong indicators of an organizational structure among the Fulani militants. The payments made for the alleged purpose of preventing attacks would have no effect unless distributed among the would-be attackers or if the leaders ordered attackers to stand down, after having received the payment. The offer of payment presupposes some form of organizational structure among the Fulani militia(s). El-Rufai's words indicate the same. Explaining that the Fulani militant attacks are revenge for Fulani deaths and loss of cows during the post-2011 election, he said, "So many of these people were killed, cattle lost and they organised themselves and came back to revenge."²⁰⁶

The experience of Ibrahim Abdullahi also indicates an organizational structure with an established hierarchy. As a MACBAN official sent on an appeasement mission by El-Rufai, Abdullahi reports that during a trip to Cameroon to offer payments, he met with a Fulani militia leader and convinced him not to attack. The leader assured Abdullahi that he would speak to others in the community to convince them to do the same. By speaking with this one leader, the message was dispersed throughout the community.

Nevertheless, the peaceful assurances may have been smoke and mirrors. During the same trip, this same Fulani leader took Abdullahi to a warehouse on his property where he stored stockpiles of sophisticated weapons, then took his guest to a nearby camp where young Fulani men were given combat training by white men, likely foreign mercenaries. These weapons and training are further indicators of an organizational policy to attack Christian farmers, including in Southern Kaduna, for the stated motive of revenge.²⁰⁷

iv. Carrying out the policy

A policy of destruction exists and is being carried out in coordinated attacks across the Middle Belt. Below are two rare instances where suspects were captured after such an attack. We ask that the ICC investigate whether these suspects were properly charged and determine if further prosecution by the ICC is necessary.

²⁰¹ Southern Kaduna Peoples' Union (SOKAPU), "Governor El-Rufai's Confessional Statement And The Colour Of Hypocrisy" [press release], *247ureports*, 8 December 2016.

²⁰² Amos Tauna, "Southern Kaduna Killings: Drag El-Rufai to ICC -Islamic Movement in Nigeria writes SOKAPU", *Daily Post*, 11 December 2016.

²⁰³ Southern Kaduna Peoples' Union (SOKAPU), "Governor El-Rufai's Confessional Statement And The Colour Of Hypocrisy" [press release], *247ureports*, 8 December 2016.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Henry Umoru, "El-Rufai using Daduna's federal allocation to pay herdsmen – Shehu Sani", *Vanguard*, 6 December 2016.

²⁰⁶ Garba Muhammad, "Interview: Our actions to resolve Shiite IMN, Southern Kaduna crisis – El Rufai", *Premium Times Nigeria*, 8 December 2016.

²⁰⁷ Sani Tukur, "Solution to Southern Kaduna crisis lies outside Nigeria – Fulani leader", *Premium Times Nigeria*, 4 March 2017.

Ardo Ayuba Iliyasu

Iliyasu is believed to have coordinated an attack on Dori and Mesuma villages in Gashaka Local Government Area of Taraba State on Sunday, April 10, 2016. The police reported 15 killed, while residents put the number at 40 people killed, and several homes burned. The police reported that it was a coordinated attack by about 20 Fulani militants that began around 11:00 a.m. local time on Sunday morning. The police identified a 52-year-old man named Ardo Ayuba Iliyasu as the mastermind of the Dori and Mesuma villages attacks. The police commissioner said the suspect held a meeting of a large number of people in his house in Garbabi village just a few hours before the attacks began.²⁰⁸

The allegations against Iliyasu speak to a level of organization and coordination that is relevant to the contextual element of crimes against humanity.

Our contacts in Nigeria have stated that oftentimes those arrested are released once public outcry dies down. It should be ensured that Iliyasu has actually been brought to justice for orchestrating this attack.

v. Suspects arrested for attack on Nimbo community in Enugu State

A midnight raid on the Nimbo community in the Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area of Enugu State on April 25, 2016 left 20 villagers dead. The following five suspects- among upwards of 100 militant attackers- were arrested:

1. Mohammed Zurai
2. Ciroma Musa
3. Sale Adamu
4. Suleiman Laute
5. Haruna Laute

The suspects were arrested by the Inspector General of the Police's Intelligence Response Team based on credible intelligence gathered regarding the attack. A mobile phone and memory card recovered from one of the suspects contained a video recording of the massacre.²⁰⁹

VII. Genocide

There is mounting evidence that the violence in the Middle Belt states not only constitutes crimes against humanity, but also rises to the level of genocide.

In 2018, members of the House of Representatives declared a genocide in Plateau state, openly suggesting that the country's leadership was unwilling or unable to end the violence. Edward Pwajok, a representative from Plateau, stated: "It calls to question how eleven (11) villages could be attacked simultaneously without intervention by security operatives. Why would attack continue even after the Vice President and President of the country have visited. Are we beginning to see signs of a failed state."²¹⁰ From the lawmakers' perspective, "there appears to be a calculated agenda to kill, maim and displace the people in their numbers, adding that not less

²⁰⁸ Mohammed Mustapha, "Suspected Fulani herdsmen attack Taraba communities, kill 15", *Premium Times*, 12 April 2016.

²⁰⁹ Eniola Akinkuotu, "Herdsmen recorded video of Enugu massacre – Police", *Punch*, 26 May 2016.

²¹⁰ Lizzy Chirkpi, "House of Reps declares Plateau killings a genocide", *Order Paper*, 3 July 2018.

than 1000 people have been killed and property worth millions of naira destroyed by the herdsmen.” They called upon the security forces to stop the Fulani militant attacks, saying, “They should arrest, disarm, prosecute and jail the foot soldiers and their sponsors.”²¹¹

Genocide has not been included as part of the OTP’s preliminary assessment and was not included in its 2013 Article 5 report or any subsequent report. For this reason, Jubilee Campaign respectfully asks that genocide be included as part of the preliminary assessment, with consideration and recognition that *there is reasonable basis to believe that Fulani militia(s)/militants have committed genocide against predominantly Christian tribes. The case of the Adara and Agatu tribes are just two examples.*

Genocide targets a specific group—a “national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such.”²¹² The victims of the genocidal attacks carried out by Fulani militants are members of ethnic tribes, predominantly Christian, that support themselves by farming. They are settled, rather than nomadic, each with their own language, customs and close ties to the land. These are all characteristics that classify these victims as groups, similar to the objective facts that the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber in the *Al-Bashir* arrest warrant case used to identify victim groups for the purpose of genocide.²¹³ Similarly, the UN Darfur Commission identified the sedentary or nomadic character as one of the main distinctions between the victims and perpetrators in the situation in Darfur.²¹⁴ The victims are also predominantly Christian, which distinguishes them further from the majority Muslim Fulani. As this report explains below, the victims appear to be increasingly targeted as a religious group, in addition to being targeted as farmers, Agatu, Adara, Tiv, Berom, and other ethnic tribes in the area.

In addition, the group must be attacked and the perpetrator have the intent to destroy the group, in whole or in part. Given that most of the victim groups are small tribes, the attacks are destroying them through killing and displacement. This is especially the case for the Adara - whose chiefdom was taken away, chief murdered, and communities attacked - and for the Agatu - who have not only lost the lives of their tribe members, but have also lost villages to occupying Fulani. Further, as a group, Christians in the Middle Belt are under siege, with their churches destroyed, homes and businesses burned down, and lives taken. This is nothing other than a calculated attempt to destroy Christian farming tribes in the Middle Belt states.

i. Growing evidence of genocide

The Middle Belt violence is often cast as a struggle over resources, and in part, it is. But that is just one motive. Trends in the violence show that religion is a central motivating factor of the conflict that cannot be dismissed. Bishop Mountstephen of Truro, in his report on the growing violence in the Middle Belt prepared for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom government, observed that “The precise motives behind a growing wave of attacks by nomadic Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria’s Middle Belt has been widely debated, but targeted violence

²¹¹ Jerrywright Ukwu, “Agatu: Benue legislators blast President Buhari”, *Legit*, 2016.

²¹² Article 6, Rome Statute

²¹³ International Criminal Court Pre-Trial Chamber, ICC-02/05-01/09-3, *Decision on the Prosecution’s Application for a Warrant of Arrest against Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir*, 4 March 2009. [Note: See p 213 intro. The Pre-Trial Chamber pointed to objective facts such as “its own language, its own tribal customs and its own traditional links to its lands.”]

²¹⁴ United Nations Security Council, S/2005/60, *Letter dated 31 January 2005 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council*, 1 February 2005.

against Christian communities in the context of worship suggests that religion plays a key part, alongside other factors such as a clash of lifestyles exacerbated by climate change.”²¹⁵

It is significant and telling that the Fulani militants are attacking Christian churches, not just farming targets. The motive for an attack on a Christian farmer out in his field may be reasonably viewed through the lens of land competition. But what about an attack on Catholic priests?

The repeated attacks on churches, church leaders, and worshippers strongly suggest that the Fulani militants are motivated by religious hatred as well as an interest in land and resources. While there may be mixed motives behind the attacks, the ethno-religious animus is clearer every day.

Speaking in June 2018, Bishop Wilfred Chikpa Anagbe of Makurdi lamented the violence against Christians, noting that 11 churches in his diocese had been attacked and up to 100 Christians in the area had died up to that point in the year. In the opinion of the bishop and other Christians on the ground, “There is a clear agenda – a plan – to Islamise all of the areas that are currently predominantly Christian in the so-called Middle Belt of Nigeria.”²¹⁶ Bishop Anagbe continued, that both the Fulani radical militants and Boko Haram “are united in the same intention to Islamise the entire region.”²¹⁷

Not only do Fulani militants attack Christian targets, suggesting a religious motive, but the attackers’ conduct during attacks indicate that they are motivated by religion. Disturbingly, there are frequent reports of victims hearing Fulani militants yell jihadist phrases during attacks. For example, one man from Ancha reported that the Fulani attackers from Hayin Rukuba who murdered his pregnant wife shouted “‘Allahu Akbar, we have killed infidel, we need to kill more.” His wife, Margaret Wakili, was one of two women from Ancha killed in the attack.”²¹⁸

Amnesty International reports a similar account of Fulani attackers shouting ‘Allahu Akbar’ during an attack:

“A 35-year-old man from Dong Village, who survived five gunshot wounds, said he lost his younger brother in the attack. ‘I was at home lying down at around 6:30am when I heard that the Fulani were here [in Dong], so I ran out to see what was happening. I saw them; they had just finished attacking Lawaru Village and were approaching our village. The young men mobilized themselves and went to protect our village but when we saw their number and the type of weapons they had, I told the rest that we could not fight them with our spears. I told them to run, so we ran back to the village and told our people to start running. The attackers came and were shouting ‘Allahu Akbar’ as they attacked people and destroyed our homes.”²¹⁹

ii. Fulani militant attacks on Christians

Christian Association of Nigeria has reported that 500 churches have been destroyed in Benue State since 2011. In Taraba State, more than 100 churches were destroyed by Fulani militants in

²¹⁵ Rt. Rev. Philip Mounstephen, “Bishop of Truro’s Independent Review for the Foreign Secretary of FCO Support for Persecuted Christians”, 2019.

²¹⁶ “Herdsman want to eradicate Christians”, New Telegraph, 3 June 2018.

²¹⁷ *ibid.*

²¹⁸ World Watch Monitor, “Nigeria: Violence continues but government in denial, church leaders say”, 25 July 2019.

²¹⁹ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

2014 with over 200 churches abandoned out of fear of further attacks. In Wukari LGA of Taraba State, 65% of local churches were burnt and the entire population displaced.²²⁰ Further, it has been reported that over 500 Christians have been kidnapped in Kaduna state alone over the last four years and that churches have paid about 300 million Naira (US \$827,321) to Muslim Fulani herdsmen as ransom.²²¹

On a trip in 2017, Aid to the Church in Need received a report from locals showing that in the southern Kaduna Diocese of Kafanchan, 988 people had been killed since 2011. During that same period, 71 Christian-majority villages were destroyed, along with 2,712 homes and 20 churches.²²² There was a spike in Fulani militant violence against Christians in the diocese in late 2016, early 2017 including the April 2017 attack outside a church right before an Easter Vigil service, which claimed the lives of 12 people.²²³

Gunmen have attacked churches and killed or kidnapped priests and Christian religious leaders. For example, on 24 April 2018, Fulani militants attacked St. Ignatius' Church in Mbalom in Benue State, killing 17 church-goers and two priests during morning Mass.²²⁴ The governor of Benue State, Samuel Ortom, reacted, "The reverend fathers [Joseph Gor and Felix Tyolaha] were not farmers. They were not in the farm. The church where they were holding the Mass had no grass. The armed herdsmen have moved the narrative of the current crisis from search for grass to other obvious motives."²²⁵

The attack on St. Ignatius' Church was preceded by other attacks on Christians just days before. On 20 April 2018, 10 Christians were reportedly killed and many others injured by Fulani militants in an attack on the Saghev village in the Guma area of Benue State, according to the Benue governor's spokesman, Terver Akase. The attackers also torched homes, shops, and other property in the village. The spokesman is quoted, "This mindless attack was unprovoked, and we urge security agencies to arrest the herdsmen behind the killings for prosecution."²²⁶

On 19 April 2018, it was reported that Fulani militants killed 25 Christians and burned down 30 houses in Anyiin village, Benue State, according to survivor James Tsave.²²⁷ Earlier, on 10 April 2018, survivor Victor Aandooka reported that Fulani militants killed about 30 Christians in Gbeji village in Benue State's Ukum area. According to Victor Aandooka, the militants attacked a Catholic church, then burned down houses and shot villagers.²²⁸ It is estimated that in the first three weeks of April alone, 250 Christians were killed by Fulani militants in Benue State.²²⁹

The violence continued unabated and by the next April, attacks on Christians continued. For example, on 14 April 2019, Fulani militants attacked a Baptist church in Nasarawa State after a baby dedication ceremony, killing 17 people and wounding eight. Samuel Meshi, chairman of the

²²⁰ All Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief, *Nigeria: Unfolding Genocide? An Inquiry by the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief*, June 2020

²²¹ Male Marvin, "One pastor killed, another kidnapped in Nigeria", *UG Christian News*, 27 August 2019.

²²² Aid to the Church in Need, "Persecuted and Forgotten? A Report on Christians Oppressed for Their Faith 2015-17".

²²³ *ibid.*

²²⁴ The Catholic World Report, "Nigerian herdsmen kill 19 in Catholic church attack", 26 April 2018.

²²⁵ Adrian Blomfield, "The bloody cattle conflict pushing Nigeria to the edge of civil war", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 2018.

²²⁶ Morning Star News, "Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Gun Down Christians in Catholic Church in Nigeria", 25 April 2018.

²²⁷ *ibid.*

²²⁸ *ibid.*

²²⁹ *ibid.*

Akwanga Local Government Council, is quoted as saying, “these persons were killed in cold blood for just no reason.”²³⁰

In January 2020, a Fulani gunman arrived to the Abebe village in Keana Local Government of Nasarawa state at 10PM and shot a leader of Saint Augustine’s Catholic Church and his father.²³¹ A survivor said that the attack came as a “surprise as there has never been any form of misunderstanding between members of the community and the Fulani herdsmen residing in the area.”²³²

In April 2020, a pastor and three Christian Church members were killed in an attack in the village of Ngbra-Zongo of the Plateau State.²³³ The attack was carried out by 10 Fulani militants who were wearing all black and used the tribe’s dominant Hausa language to order the shooting.²³⁴ This attack followed a previous attack on two other Irigwe tribal villages which resulted in the ECWA church and Roman Catholic Church buildings being burned in Nkiendowro.²³⁵ A village nearby which had been subject to an attack by a large group of men carrying AK-47 assault rifles had alerted the police and military of the attackers’ presence, but no police arrived to defend those killed in the subsequent attacks.²³⁶

In a separate April 2020 attack by Fulani militants in Oshimili North Local Government Area of Delta State, the pastor of the Celestial Church of Christ was killed.²³⁷ It was reported that the militants, armed with rifles, attacked the church at about 8:30 p.m. when the pastor was meeting with members of the church in front of the church hall.²³⁸ Nine days following this attack, an Anglican priest, his wife, and his children were kidnapped by herdsmen at Issele-Mkpitime, Aniocha North Local Government Area at the Delta State.²³⁹

From 23 to 25 April 2020 Fulani militants killed 13 Christians and kidnapped 13 others.²⁴⁰ Those killed were members of the Evangelical Church Winning All, Catholic, Baptist, United Church of Christ in Nations, or Assemblies of God churches.²⁴¹ Five villages were attacked in Kaduna state and in addition to the killings and kidnappings more than 1,000 people were displaced from their homes.²⁴² It was reported that the militants who attacked Kujeni village on 23 April 2020 were accompanied by “assailants” who wore military uniforms.²⁴³ During the attack in Kabirasha village, after killing five Christians the Fulani militants burned houses, food stores, and vehicles.²⁴⁴

A Christian husband and wife were ambushed and attacked by Fulani militants in the Plateau state on 25 April 2020.²⁴⁵ The attackers had sticks, cutlasses, and rifles with them when they

²³⁰ *ibid.*

²³¹ David Odama, “Gunmen killed religious leader, 3 others in Nasarawa”, *Vanguard*, 21 January 2020.

²³² *ibid.*

²³³ Lawrence Zongo, “The Government is Silent: Fulani Militia Kills Christian Pastor and Burns Down School in Village Near Jos”, *Genocide Watch*, 10 April 2020.

²³⁴ *ibid.*

²³⁵ *ibid.*

²³⁶ *ibid.*

²³⁷ Festus Ahon, “Tension as suspected herdsmen kill Celestial Pastor in Delta”, *Vanguard*, 11 April 2020.

²³⁸ *ibid.*

²³⁹ *ibid.*

²⁴⁰ M. J., “Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria”, *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

²⁴² *ibid.*

²⁴³ *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*

ambushed the couple.²⁴⁶ Both survived the attack but noted that the hospital bill for the husband's injury was especially a burden as they have been living in a displaced camp for five years since the Fulani militants had attacked their community in 2015.²⁴⁷

On 2 May 2020, two Christians farmers were killed in a Fulani attack on Saghev and Ukusu villages.²⁴⁸ After this attack, the troops recovered two AK-47 rifles, four magazines, and 65 rounds of 7.62 mm ammunition.²⁴⁹ Four Christians were ambushed and killed by Fulani militants near Miango County's Kwall village on 3 May 2020.²⁵⁰ The victims were between 24 years old and 26 years old and were all members of Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA).²⁵¹ Following this attack, on May 5, Fulani militants shot and wounded Reverend Bayo Famonure, a Christian leader, and his family. The pastor and his family members were asleep in their home - which is on the property of the Christian high school Messiah College - when they were shot by the armed herdsmen.²⁵² The Christian school itself had previously been attacked in February of 2014.²⁵³

On May 6th two Christians were killed in an attack by Fulani militants in the village of Tarkende village.²⁵⁴

On the evening of 7 May 2020 Fulani militants broke into the home of a Roman Catholic family in the predominantly Christian Nkietohu village of Plateau State, killing a 32-year-old mother and her 60-year-old mother in law.²⁵⁵ At the time she was shot, Lami David had her two year old child wrapped on her back.²⁵⁶ She was found lying in a pool of her own blood behind her house where she had tried to run away, and the child was unharmed.²⁵⁷ Her husband, who had been in another room with their three other children, was able to flee safely despite being pursued by a gunman.²⁵⁸ The family are parishioners of the area's Church of Immaculate Conception.²⁵⁹

On 1 May 2020, 17 men, women, and children living in primarily Christian communities of Kaduna state were killed by Fulani militants.²⁶⁰ The victims of these attacks were mostly young children and the elderly.²⁶¹ One attack took place in the village of Gonan Rogo, where Jonathan Yakubu, his wife, and the couple's three children aged 13 and under were hacked to death. Six others were injured during this attack.²⁶² Another attack took place nearby and a newly-married mother

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

²⁴⁸ The Christian Voices, "[Herdsmen Kill 12 Christians, Kidnap One in Attacks in Benue State Nigeria](#)", May 2020.

²⁴⁹ On May 2nd, two Christians farmers were killed in a Fulani attack on Saghev and Ukusu villages.²⁴⁹ Four Christians were ambushed and killed by herdsmen near Miango County's Kwall village on May 3rd.²⁴⁹

²⁵⁰ M. J., "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria](#)", *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

²⁵¹ *ibid.*

²⁵² *ibid.*

²⁵³ *ibid.*

²⁵⁴ The Christian Voices, "[Herdsmen Kill 12 Christians, Kidnap One in Attacks in Benue State Nigeria](#)", May 2020.

²⁵⁵ M. J., "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria](#)", *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*

²⁶¹ Douglas Burton, "[Gunmen kill 28 in back-to-back attacks in Nigeria](#)", *Zenger News*, 19 May 2020.

²⁶² M. J., "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria](#)", *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

was shot dead.²⁶³ Five others were found dead in this attack, including 6-year-old John Paul who had been hacked to death by Fulani militants.²⁶⁴

On 12 May 2020, four Christians were killed in Tse-Haaga village in Benue state.²⁶⁵ Consistent with other attacks, Fulani militants invaded the village riding on four motorbikes. They attacked four members of the village and injured three others.²⁶⁶ That same day, Fulani militants abducted two members of a Catholic church in Zanga Tama of Giwa County in Kaduna state.²⁶⁷ The individuals abducted were Amina Yakubu, the former secretary of the Women's Fellowship group of St. Ann's Catholic Parish, and Ayuba Arkin Noma Udoji, who was a member of the parish.²⁶⁸ Two days later, the attackers returned and ambushed the village with guns and machetes.²⁶⁹ Another attack took place in Mikhayla village in Kaduna state on 12 May 2020, resulting in the death of eleven Christians.²⁷⁰

In Kaduna State on 6 May 2020, armed Fulani militants killed two Christians in an attack on predominantly Christian village of Ungwan Anjo.²⁷¹ Four churches in the village were closed, almost all of the houses were burnt down, and all Christians reportedly fled.

In a string of attacks from 19 to 24 May 2020, Fulani militants attacked Idazau, Etissi, Bakin Kogi, Dutsen, Gora, UN Gora, Pushu Kallah, and Magunguna villages in Kaduna State.²⁷² These attacks left 5 dead, 78 injured, and 51 missing.²⁷³ Further, 607 houses were destroyed and 231 cows were rustled.²⁷⁴ Churches were leveled to the ground, including the Catholic Church in Idazau, the ECWA in Etissi, the ECWA in Bakin Kogi, and the ECWA in Magunguna.²⁷⁵

On 3 June 2020, Fulani militants attacked primarily Christian village Tudu-Koka Avong, killing nine and injuring others.²⁷⁶ The attack started at 5:45 am when the armed gunmen entered into homes killing women and children and started fires in multiple households.²⁷⁷ Most killed were members of Assemblies of God, Baptist, Catholic, and Evangelical Church Winning All churches.²⁷⁸ Further two children were injured in the attack and seven other Christians abducted at gunpoint.²⁷⁹

ECWA pastor Bulus Bayi was shot by Fulani militants during an attack on June 12th while he was working on his farm in Sabon Gari Gusawa village.²⁸⁰

²⁶³ *ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

²⁶⁵ The Christian Voices, "[Herdsmen Kill 12 Christians, Kidnap One in Attacks in Benue State Nigeria](#)", May 2020.

²⁶⁶ *ibid.*

²⁶⁷ M. J., "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria](#)", *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*

²⁷⁰ Douglas Burton, "[Gunmen kill 28 in back-to-back attacks in Nigeria](#)", *Zenger News*, 19 May 2020.

²⁷¹ M. J., "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria](#)", *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

²⁷² Sahara Reporters, "[Again, Fulani Herdsmen Attack Southern Kaduna Communities, Kill Five, Displace Others](#)", 25 May 2020.

²⁷³ *ibid.*

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*

²⁷⁶ International Christian Concern, "[Fulani Militants Kill Nine in Christian Village in Nigeria](#)", 5 June 2020.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*

²⁷⁸ M. J., "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 13 Christians, Kidnap 13 Others in Kaduna State, Nigeria](#)", *International Christian Response*, 5 May 2020.

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*

²⁸⁰ Morning Star News, "[Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Kill 11 Christians in Attack in North-Central Nigeria](#)", 22 July 2020.

From 9 to 12 July 2020, 20 Christians were killed in attacks by Fulani militants on the villages of Chibuak and Kigudu in Kaduna state.²⁸¹ Regarding these attacks, Rev. Aaron Tanko, an area Roman Catholic priest stated that “Christians here are at the mercy of Fulani herdsmen, as these herdsmen are always well-armed, and they invade our communities and kill Christians at will.”²⁸² Another attack on July 12 left two Christians killed in Anguwan Audu.²⁸³

On 17 July 2020, Fulani militants attacked Doka Avong village killing five Christians.²⁸⁴ Among those killed were 3-year-old Faith Shagari and 6-year-old Dorcas Shagari.²⁸⁵ Another attack took place that same day in Mai-Ido village, where four Christians were killed and 10 Christians were kidnapped.²⁸⁶

Another attack took place on July 19th when Fulani militants attacked predominantly Christian Kukum Daji at 10:35 p.m.²⁸⁷ The attack left 18 Christians dead and 31 wounded, and took place during a wedding reception. The attackers reportedly were heavily armed with guns.²⁸⁸

On 20 July 2020, a Fulani militant attack in Kaduna left 11 Christians dead. Over 50 armed Fulani militants attacked the Gora Gan village at about 7 pm.²⁸⁹ They set dozens of houses on fire and additionally injured several other Christians. Further, 500 or more Christians were displaced as a result of this attack.²⁹⁰

Further reports from Adamawa State reveal that “It is a religious war (...) when they are coming they are shouting ‘Allah u Akbar;’ they have an Islamic flag and they want to take the land as their own.”²⁹¹ Dr. Obadiah Mailafia, the former deputy Governor of the Nigerian Central Bank and former Nigerian Presidential Candidate, has stated that the Fulani militants are implementing principles of Islamic warfare in their attacks on Christian farming communities.²⁹² Additionally, “the herdsmen militias seem to have complete mastery of the classic weapons of Islamic warfare... They maim and kill men, women and children indiscriminately and in the most gruesome manner imaginable. The idea is that the victims get so frustrated that they would sue for peace - under any terms.”²⁹³

iii. Genocide against the Adara

Fulani militants have carried out genocidal massacres against many tribes in the Middle Belt and northern states, but the case of the Adara is a startling one, as the tribe in the northwest of Kaduna State is suffering acutely in the conflict. Although there is a history of communal violence in the region, Fulani militant raids against the Adara tribe have increased significantly as of late. These raids have resulted in deaths, injury, and the loss of homes and livelihoods. The Adara accuse

²⁸¹ *ibid.*

²⁸² *ibid.*

²⁸³ *ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*

²⁹¹ All Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief, *Nigeria: Unfolding Genocide? An Inquiry by the UK All-Party Parliamentary Group for International Freedom of Religion or Belief*, June 2020

²⁹² *ibid.*

²⁹³ *ibid.*

the Kaduna State governor Nasir El-Rufai, an ethnic Fulani, of being biased against them and in favor of the extremist Fulani attackers. They accuse him of failing to protect them, failing to hold attackers accountable, and for threatening their very existence.

The Adara have not only suffered brutal attacks and kidnappings by Fulani militants, they have been persecuted by Governor El-Rufai, who dissolved their chieftdom and imposed a Muslim emir. These and other actions are direct threats to the continued existence of the Adara tribe.

The Southern Kaduna Peoples Union has expressed alarm at the rising number of attacks against Adara, including the following in Kajuru LGA:

- Ungwar Barde in Maro ward was attacked on 10 February 2019 by Fulani militants, resulting in the death of 10, including a pregnant woman. The village was attacked again on 10 March 2019, with 17 killed.²⁹⁴
- Karamai village was attacked on 26 February 2019 by Fulani militants, leading to the deaths of 38 victims and 40 homes burned to the ground.²⁹⁵
- A few weeks later, on 10 March 2019, Inkirimi and Dogonnoma villages were attacked by Fulani militants and 52 people were killed, 100 houses burned.²⁹⁶

Alheri Bawa Magaji, a representative of the Adara tribe and daughter of a tribal elder, stated that from February to mid-April 2019, about 400 Adara people - mostly women, children, and the elderly - were killed in Fulani militant raids. About 13,000 others were displaced.²⁹⁷ She said, “[W]e have 2-month-old babies, 6-month-old babies, babies in the bellies torn from their mothers wombs and slaughtered like animals.”²⁹⁸ Magaji’s father became tribal leader of the Adara community after the Adara chief, Dr. Maiwada Garadima, was kidnapped and murdered in October 2018. Her father was among the elders detained for 103 days on false accusations that they were involved in a reprisal attack that left 66 Fulani dead in February 2019. They were eventually released.

The current crisis of the Adara accelerated with the brutal kidnapping and murder of the Adara’s leader, Dr. Maiwada Galadima, in October 2018 by unknown assailants.²⁹⁹

In a disturbing development, if shown to be true, Sahara Reporters published an exclusive story on 6 May 2019, in which a trusted source claimed that Dr. Galadima was killed because he resisted Governor El-Rufai’s plan to restructure the local government in Kajuru—his plan to abolish the Adara Traditional Council and establish the Kajuru Emirate in its place.³⁰⁰ Allegedly, when Dr. Galadima found out what the Governor had made this change without his knowledge, he opposed the idea “due to the fact that the Adara Chieftdom is dominated by an indigenous Christian population and therefore could not be described as an emirate or appointed an Emir.”³⁰¹

²⁹⁴ Amos Tauna, “Kajuru killings: Adara people tell Buhari to declare state of emergency in Kaduna community”, *Daily Post*, 13 March 2019.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Onize Ohikere, “Nigerian Christians seek U.S. Intervention”, *World News Group*, 18 June 2019.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Premium Times Nigeria, “How kidnappers abducted traditional ruler, wife, killed four aides—Police”, 21 October 2018.

³⁰⁰ Sahara Reporters, “Exclusive: How Kajuru Monarch Galadima Was Killed For Refusing To Give up Stool After Visiting El-Rufai”, 6 May 2019.

³⁰¹ *ibid.*

It was reported that local chiefs did not find out about the Governor's plan - published in the Kaduna State of Nigeria Gazette No.21 Vol 52 - until after Dr. Galadima was murdered.

After discovering the plan, Dr. Galadima, "fearing the annihilation of his indigenous group, appealed to the Governor to change his mind because it does not reflect the will of Adara people."³⁰² Soon after, Dr. Galadima was taken captive, and a ransom was demanded. Yet the chief was murdered after the delivery of the ransom, allegedly in the presence of the courier delivering the ransom.³⁰³ The ransom was paid in vain. The Sahara Reporters' source said that the chief's kidnappers told him before they killed him: "Even if they pay your ransom, we will still kill you; that is the order we have."³⁰⁴

This statement of Dr. Galadima's kidnappers that they had an order to kill him, even if a ransom was paid, is a disturbing revelation that is evidence of a targeted assault on the Adara tribe. The murder of the Adara chief and destruction of his chieftdom reveal a concerted effort to destroy the tribe. By abolishing the chieftdom of the second largest ethnic group in the state, the Governor severely weakened their legal standing and their political position as a group.

Awemi Duo Maisamari, President of the Adara Development Association, commented, "It beats our imagination why Adara as the second largest tribe in the State do not deserve a Chieftdom. But ironically, mini-Hausa/Fulani communities are given Chieftdoms with names and nomenclatures of their choice. This is a major, unnecessary and unparalleled affront to the soul of the Adara nation."³⁰⁵ Dr. Galadima recognized the grave danger a local government restructuring posed to his people, and feared that it would annihilate them. According to the Sahara Reporters' source, the chief's murder was directly tied to his resistance to the governor's plan. While there is no direct evidence at this time to tie El-Rufai himself to the death of the chief, there are certainly strong circumstantial connections warranting further investigation by the Office of the Prosecutor.

This circumstantial link is strengthened in light of El-Rufai's decision to imprison journalist Stephen Kefas soon after he shared on Facebook the Sahara Reporters article detailing the events leading up to the murder of Dr. Galadima. According to Sahara Reporters, "[s]ources reveal that Kefas who has been very critical of Governor Nasir El-Rufai is to be transferred to Kaduna in the morning based on 'orders from above'."³⁰⁶

The imprisonment of Kefas is unfortunately another example of a growing trend in Nigeria of government suppression of free expression.³⁰⁷ Kefas is among a growing group of journalists, academics, and activists who have been detained due to their criticism of the government.³⁰⁸ The fact that Kefas was taken into custody almost immediately after re-posting an article tying El-Rufai to the kidnap and murder of Dr. Galadima is telling in and of itself. El-Rufai, by shutting Kefas in a cell, aimed to silence him. A group called "Citizens for Steven Kefas" campaigned for his

³⁰² *ibid.*

³⁰³ Ben Agande, "How Kaduna traditional leader was killed in the presence of the ransom bearer", *Vanguard*, 28 October 2018.

³⁰⁴ Sahara Reporters, "Exclusive: How Kajuru Monarch Galadima Was Killed For Refusing To Give up Stool After Visiting El-Rufai", 6 May 2019.

³⁰⁵ Amos Tauna, "Kasawan Mugani crisis: Adara people accuse El-Rufai of causing killings in Kaduna", *Daily Post*, 8 January 2019.

³⁰⁶ Sahara Reporters, "Breaking: Police Arrest Kajuru Journalist Stephan Kefas for Re-Posting Article on Facebook", 8 May 2019.

³⁰⁷ Rudolf Ogoo Okonkwo, "Nigeria has been quietly crushing press freedom—but now the world is watching", *Quartz*, 9 December 2019.

³⁰⁸ *ibid.*

release, saying, “[w]e want Nigeria and the world to know that Kaduna State has become a centre of intimidation, harassment, and human rights violations.”³⁰⁹ They continued, “[w]e have come from different ethnic, religious and political backgrounds to draw the world’s attention to the grim situation of citizen Kefas. As of Monday, October 7, 2019, he has spent 139 days in Kaduna Prison without bail for criticizing Governor El-Rufai.”³¹⁰

The murder of Dr. Garadima sent shockwaves through the Adara community and Kaduna State. Awemi Duo Maisamari, president of the Adara Development Association, argued that the Kaduna State government was to blame for creating an environment in which ethnic relations were so deteriorated that the murder of the Adara chief became not only a possibility, but a reality. The Adara Development Association “has alleged that the subtle and overt acts of favouritism and differential treatments shown to Hausa Fulani against the natives in the area by the state government are contributing in no small measure to the deterioration of ethno-religious harmony.”³¹¹ Therefore, the association made “a passionate appeal to the federal and Kaduna State governments to urgently address the lapses for the interest of all.”³¹²

The government’s failure to protect civilians has left the Adara vulnerable to kidnapping and attack. Mercy Maisamari is a member of the Adara tribe who was kidnapped by Fulani militants.³¹³ She said that the kidnappers came to her parents’ home asking for her father, an elder of the tribe. The militants kidnapped her, her siblings and her mother, forcing them to walk 12 hours to the militant camp. They were held captive for 11 days until her father paid the ransom. After the militants beat her father, the whole family was released. But their troubles weren’t over yet. Later, the government arrested her father, a tribal elder, and nine other elders over the death of 66 Fulani in a suspected reprisal attack by Adara in February 2019. The elders were held for over 100 days before being released without charges. Mercy decried the apparent bias and difference between the poor treatment of the Adara, compared with the favoritism of the Fulani in Kaduna State: “Our people were killed, but nobody said anything about it, not even the media. But [in response to the killing of 66 Fulani persons] they arrested our elders, and locked them up for 105 days, without any proof that they did this thing.”³¹⁴

Mercy highlighted the failings of the government to bring culprits to justice, with the Kaduna State governor allegedly paying the militants to stop the kidnappings rather than properly arresting and prosecuting them. She said, “I just wonder how [the Nigerian government says] they can’t get these people to arrest them.” You find out that the government are trying to negotiate with the kidnappers, to pay them to stop kidnapping people. How? How do they agree to negotiate when they can always arrest these people?”³¹⁵

While the Adara suffer from disproportionately more attacks, media reports indicate that indeed there have been reprisal attacks by the Adara against the Fulani. The perpetrators of these crimes must be brought to justice, just as any other person guilty of such atrocities. But what is concerning in this situation is that the government appears to be more motivated to arrest or prosecute

³⁰⁹ Sahara Reporters, “El-Rufai Intimidating Journalist Stephen Kefas, Still In Detention After 189 Days – Group Accuses Governor”, 8 October 2019.

³¹⁰ *ibid.*

³¹¹ Amos Tauna, “Kasawan Mugani crisis: Adara people accuse El-Rufai of causing killings in Kaduna”, Daily Post, 8 January 2019.

³¹² *ibid.*

³¹³ Carmel Kokoogey, “3 Nigerian Women Beg for US to Help Stop Persecution of Christians”, *The Daily Signal*, 1 July 2019.

³¹⁴ *ibid.*

³¹⁵ *ibid.*

members of the Adara community, while Fulani perpetrators of crimes against the Adara are not brought to justice. And in at least the case of the Adara leaders, the prolonged detention of the tribe's leaders on what was likely to be little or no evidence was a threat to the tribe's continued existence. Following on the heels of the kidnap and murder of their chief, and the abolition of their chieftdom, the mass incarceration of the tribal elders was yet another blow to the tribe itself, calculated to weaken the unique ethno-religious community of the Adara.

The government of El-Rufai appears to be biased against the Adara, failing to hold Fulani culprits of kidnappings and murder to account. Tribe elder Awemi Duo Maisamari explained,

"In July, 2017 a suspected Fulani criminal was beaten by a mob of farmers and he eventually died. Some persons from our community were accused, one was arrested, detained and eventually tried in court. Some known Fulani people threatened a reprisal attack after the death of the suspected criminal. But when about 8 of our people were killed in the reprisal attack that later happened, no Fulani suspect was arrested and tried. We suspect that this sort of bias has become the standard practice of the Kaduna state government."³¹⁶

He continued, describing the double standard,

"In most incidents, there are now arrests or administrative actions targeted primarily at our people. The coded message here is that it matters to government only when it is our people that are rightly or wrongly the suspects. But when it is the other way round, it hardly matters."³¹⁷

Yakubu Kuzamani, spokesman for the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union, (SOKAPU), an organization representing 53 ethnic nationalities in Southern Kaduna, also decried the perceived government's lack of fairness, stating, "we are traumatized that Kaduna state government can quickly arraign Adara elders over alleged killing of 66 Fulani; an allegation that is still unproven, but cannot arraign those responsible for the killing of 117 Adara natives."³¹⁸

A local journalist commented that "it is not easy to unravel how the attacks started" but that what has brought special attention to the current conflict has been the governor's handling of the situation, and what many Adara have seen as his bias in favor of the Fulani.³¹⁹

There is one incident that is representative of the Adara's concern about bias against them. In an address to American organization the International Republican Institute, the governor is reported to have said, "I got a report of the killing of about 66 Fulani at Maro in Kajuru Local Government. I think this is deliberately designed to cause a reprisal and destabilize the local government during elections."³²⁰ It's not unusual that a leader would speak about violence occurring in his jurisdiction. But what is unusual is only mentioning casualties on one side of the conflict and neglecting to mention the casualties suffered on the other side of the violence, especially when those casualties appear to be higher. According to a domestic media report, "the unorthodoxy of the governor disclosure of the casualty figures prompted controversy with the Adara community who bore the

³¹⁶ Amos Tauna, "Kasawan Mugani crisis: Adara people accuse El-Rufai of causing killings in Kaduna", Daily Post, 8 January 2019.

³¹⁷ *ibid.*

³¹⁸ *ibid.*

³¹⁹ Ben Agande, "Kajuru killings: An eye for an eye", *Vanguard*, 14 April 2019.

³²⁰ *ibid.*

brunt of the persistent attacks on the Kajuru communities, accusing the government of partiality in its treatment of victims of attacks in the community.”³²¹

Further, the governor’s comments may very well have sparked further retaliation against the Adara. Yakuba Kuzamani, spokesman of the Southern Kaduna Peoples Union (SOKAPU), argues that El-Rufai’s actions have triggered more violence against the Adara: “[h]is earlier allegations that Adara natives had killed 66 Fulanis; a death toll he later increased to 130 has continued to open a floodgate for more ‘reprisals’ by terrorists over El-Rufai’s allegation that is yet to be proven.”³²² Lamenting the apparent favoritism, Kuzamani explains, “[t]he governor is equally yet to go to the press with the statistics of the present attacks inflicted on the Adaras stating the ethnic nationalities of the victims. The terrorists are yet to be arrested.”³²³

For all of El-Rufai’s admonitions against violence and his assurance that “[w]e will also not shy away from applying the law to anyone found complicit in the violent communal conflicts, irrespective of their status, religion, ethnicity or political persuasions,” the Adara remain deeply skeptical.³²⁴ The violence continues, with scores of lives lost, little or no protection or justice from the government, posing an existential threat to the Adara tribe.

VIII. Gravity and Complementarity

In addition to falling within the court’s jurisdiction, potential cases must be admissible under Article 17 of the Rome Statute before the OTP will open an investigation.³²⁵ Admissibility requires an assessment of complementarity and gravity. Complementarity concerns whether there have been investigations and prosecutions domestically. The lack of national proceedings is sufficient to make a case admissible.³²⁶

If national proceedings have taken place, the OTP will assess whether the investigations and prosecutions are undermined by the government’s unwillingness or inability to carry them out. Unwillingness is marked by an intent to shield a person from criminal responsibility, by unjustified delays, or where the proceedings are not impartial or carried out in such a way as to bring the suspect to justice. In contrast, inability to investigate or prosecute speaks to a substantial or total collapse of the national judicial system that prevents the government from carrying out its proceedings, such as gathering evidencing or capturing the accused.³²⁷ If there is evidence that the government is unable to unwilling to investigate and prosecute, it would be appropriate for the ICC to intervene.

³²¹ *ibid.*

³²² Amos Tauna, “Kasawan Mugani crisis: Adara people accuse El-Rufai of causing killings in Kaduna”, Daily Post, 8 January 2019.

³²³ *ibid.*

³²⁴ Ben Agande, “Kajuru killings: An eye for an eye”, *Vanguard*, 14 April 2019.

³²⁵ The PTC in *Kenya* made clear that the admissibility assessment at the start of an investigation “refers to the admissibility of one or more *potential* cases within the context of a ‘situation.’” [See: International Criminal Court Pre-Trial Chamber, *Decision Pursuant to Article 15 of the Rome Statute on the Authorization of an Investigation into the Situation in the Republic of Kenya*, ICC-01/09, 31 March 2010, para. 182]

³²⁶ International Criminal Court, The Office of the Prosecutor, “Policy Paper on Preliminary Examinations”, 1 November 2013.

³²⁷ *ibid.*

The second part of the admissibility question is gravity. A potential case must be sufficiently serious to justify the involvement of the ICC.³²⁸ When evaluating the gravity of a situation, the OTP looks at the scale of the crimes, their nature, the means used to carry them out, and their impact. Scale includes a consideration of the number of victims, the physical and psychological damage caused by the crimes, or the impact of the crimes over time and a geographical area. The nature of crimes considers the specific elements of alleged crimes, such as killings and rapes. The manner of commission looks at how the crimes were executed, the extent to which the crimes were systematic or carried out in furtherance of a plan, or involved the abuse of power, as well as the vulnerability of the victims and any motives of discrimination.

Both prongs of the admissibility test are met. The situation of Fulani militant violence is gravely serious and deteriorating daily. The growing number of victims, the devastating impact of the crimes, especially on women and children, the systematic nature of the attacks, and the targeting of specific communities are just some indicators of the gravity of the situation. There is no time to lose.

Further, domestic authorities are unwilling or unable to investigate and prosecute the Fulani militants responsible for the crimes against humanity and genocide detailed in this and other reports. In fact, the Nigerian government was chastised by the Court of Justice of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in a February 26, 2019 ruling for failing to protect the Agatu community from Fulani militant destruction and for failing to hold the perpetrators accountable.

Members of the Agatu community brought a complaint against the Nigerian government and its officials, claiming a violation of their human rights - including right to life and property rights - for losses sustained from Fulani militant attacks. The government tried to deflect the claims, arguing that the mass killings and destruction of properties were “ethnic/tribal attacks” for which they had no liability. The Court rejected this contention, finding that the government failed to protect the Agatu community. The motives for the killings, such as ethnic or tribal conflicts, had no bearing on the government’s responsibility to protect and to seek justice. The Court held that “since the Court has no records that the Respondent took prompt action to arrest the mayhem and conducted an impartial, prompt and independent investigation into the series of attacks and killings carried out by the Fulani militants in the community of the Applicants, the Court finds the Respondent is in violation of their obligation to protect the affected members of the Agatu communities.”³²⁹

Accordingly, the Court ordered the government to “investigate the mass killings and destruction of properties in the alleged Agatu communities of Benue State, identify and prosecute the perpetrators and redress the victims thereof.”³³⁰

The Fulani militant attacks on Agatu communities were absolutely devastating. Mrs. Angele Dikongue Atangana, the representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to Nigeria and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), remarked that the attacks left the area “in total ruin.”³³¹ She added that she had never seen that level of destruction in her 20 years of humanitarian work.³³²

³²⁸ *ibid.*

³²⁹ Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), ECW/CCJ/JUD/06/19, 26 February 2019.

³³⁰ *ibid.*

³³¹ Levinus Nwabughigogu, Peter Duru and Abiodun Alade, “Nigeria: Agatu in Total Ruin – UN”, *Vanguard*, 3 April 2016.

³³² Christian Solidarity Worldwide, “Ten villages under siege by Fulani herders”, 7 April 2016.

Yet, despite the destruction, there were no investigations or prosecutions. Governor of Benue state, Samuel Ortom, criticized President Buhari for failing to investigate and prosecute the killings and destruction. Ortom called “for the arrest of those we fingered to have masterminded the killings” who he identified as “the leadership of Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore,” who were still walking free at the time his remarks were published.³³³ This is a common story across the region. A report from Amnesty International recounted how “victims told Amnesty International that they recognised some of their attackers” and that “communities have also sent reports to authorities and in some cases provided information about attacks.” Unfortunately, however, “in many cases, no arrests were made.”³³⁴ In some cases, the government has declined to prosecute, preferring to pay off the perpetrators instead, such as is the case with Governor El-Rufai of Kaduna state. By sending messengers to the attackers with his offer of appeasement, he demonstrated he knew how to track down and locate the accused but refused to prosecute them.

IX. Conclusion

An ICC investigation and prosecution of the Fulani militant attackers in Nigeria serves the best interests of justice. Since the OTP opened its preliminary assessment of the situation in 2010, the Fulani militant violence has increasingly grown both deadly and systematic, and there is increasing evidence that the attacks are genocidal. The alleged crimes are grave, and local authorities have time and time again proven unwilling to end the violence or hold the perpetrators to account. Continued impunity threatens the security of not only the Middle Belt and northern states of Nigeria, but of the whole country and the broader region. Agnes Callamard, UN Special Rapporteur for Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, underscored the threat to security posed by impunity in Nigeria: “the absence today of accountability functionality is on such a scale that pretending this is anything short of a crisis is a major mistake. It is a tragedy for the people of Nigeria. Unchecked, its ripple effects will spread throughout the sub-region if not the continent, given the country’s central economic, political and cultural leadership role.”³³⁵

The information presented here is just a sampling of the evidence available, all of which support a reasonable basis that Fulani militants have committed crimes against humanity and genocide—crimes within the jurisdiction of the ICC - and that such cases would be admissible. There is no time to lose in the face of mounting evidence and the OTP must act now to open an investigation.

³³³ Peter Duru, “Benue killings: We demand prosecution of leaders of Miyetti Allah —Gov Ortom”, *Vanguard*, 20 January 2018.

³³⁴ Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria”, 2018.

³³⁵ Agnes Callamard, United Nations Special Rapporteur for Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, “End of visit statement of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions on her visit to Nigeria”, 2 September 2019.

X. Appendices

2018

Civilian Fatalities Caused by Fulani Militants

Data source: Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED).

acleddata.com.

Total Fatalities 1,581

Event date	Event type	Event type (sub)	Actor	Victim	Victim (sub)	State	LGA	Village	Source	Notes	Fatalities
24-Dec-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Niger)	Benue	Logo	Gaambetiev	Concise News	24 December. Herdman attacked Ukemberagya, Gaambe-Tiev community and killed one civilian.	1
22-Dec-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Niger)	Benue	Logo	Ugba	Nigeria Punch	22 December (on or around). Herdsman killed four farmers in Tse-Dzungwe, Logo L.G.A.	4
18-Dec-18	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Oshimili South	Asaba	Daily Post (Nigeria)	18 December. Fulani herdsman abducted the former Commissioner for Brace Commission, Chris Onogba, on his way to Asaba	0
4-Dec-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Teachers (Nigeria)	Osun	Obokun	Esa Oke	Nigeria Punch	04 December. Fulani abducted eight staff members of the Osun State College of Technology in Esa Oke. They also shot and killed one man who tried to escape as they blocked the road leading from the school. The abductees were later released.	1
2-Dec-18	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ndakwa East	Asaba Okpai	Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 December. Herders abducted an employee of an oil company in Okpai while traveling on the Ughelli-Asaba highway.	0
2-Dec-18	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ndakwa West	Utagba Uno	Niger Delta Watch	On December 2, in Utagba Uno town, an armed Fulani group kidnapped a local chief and his house help for unknown reasons. He later escaped but nothing has been heard about the house help.	0
24-Nov-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli North	Ughelli	Vanguard (Nigeria)	24 November. Pastoralist militia attempted to rape a woman tending to her farm in Edjokota (no coordinates available). When the woman's husband approached the farm, the assailants shot and killed him.	1
20-Nov-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Katsina	Safana	Gora	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	20 November. Pastoralists attempted to invade a farm in Gora, when the owner resisted and killed him.	1
6-Nov-18	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Delta	Ethiopo East	Abraka	Vanguard (Nigeria)	06 November. Four priests were abducted by suspected Fulani while traveling through Abraka. They were later freed and suspected perpetrators were arrested.	0
5-Nov-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli South	Urhobo Camp	Vanguard (Nigeria)	05 November (on or before- no date provided). A woman in Ewu Urhobo approached two pastoralists about their livestock grazing on her land. They responded by attacking her with daggers and machetes before she fled.	0
5-Nov-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli South	Urhobo Camp	Vanguard (Nigeria)	05 November (on or before- no date provided). Pastoralist militia attempted to rape a woman in Ewu-Urhobo. When she resisted they attacked her with a machete. She later died from the injuries.	1
4-Nov-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Lafia	Lafia	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	04 November. Fulani attacked the convoy of the Chief of the Udegge chiefdom, Alhaji Bala Usman while he was traveling in Nasarawa.	0
3-Oct-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Ariri	Vanguard (Nigeria)	03 October. Suspected herders attacked the village of Ariri, killing 19 people. Coordinates are approximate (based on reports that Ariri is located within/near Miango).	19
2-Oct-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Riyom	Jol	Vanguard (Nigeria); Sun (Nigeria)	02 October. Suspected herders killed 13 civilians during an attack on Jol. Several others were wounded during the attack.	13
29-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Riyom	Jol	Vanguard (Nigeria)	29 September. Fulani attacked hamlets in Jol. One person was killed during the attacks.	1
13-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bolki	Sun (Nigeria)	13 September. Armed herders attacked Gon, Nzumosu, Bolki, Nyanga, and Bukuto villages in Numan. Bolki was burned during the attack. A total of 18 civilians were reportedly killed during the attacks. The fatalities were disaggregated between the five locations (6 for Bolki, Bukuto, and Gon; 5 for Nyanga and Nzumosu).	4

13-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Nzumosu	Sun (Nigeria)	13 September. Armed herders attacked Gon, Nzumosu, Bolki, Nyanga, and Bukuto villages in Numan. A total of 18 civilians were reportedly killed during the attacks. Nzumosu was set on fire during the attack. The fatalities were disaggregated between the five locations (4 for Bolki, Bukuto, and Gon; 3 for Nyanga and Nzumosu). The coordinates are approximate, based on location within Numan district and proximity to Bolki.	3
13-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Nyanga	Sun (Nigeria)	13 September. Armed herders attacked Gon, Nzumosu, Bolki, Nyanga, and Bukuto villages in Numan. A total of 18 civilians were reportedly killed during the attacks. The fatalities were disaggregated between the five locations (4 for Bolki, Bukuto, and Gon; 3 for Nyanga and Nzumosu). The coordinates are approximate, based on location within Numan district and proximity to Bolki.	3

13-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Gon	Sun (Nigeria)	13 September. Armed herders attacked Gon, Nzumosu, Bolki, Nyanga, and Bukuto villages in Numan. A total of 18 civilians were reportedly killed during the attacks. The village of Gon was also burned. The fatalities were disaggregated between the five locations (4 for Bolki, Bukuto, and Gon; 3 for Nyanga and Nzumosu). The coordinates are approximate, based on location within Numan district and proximity to Bolki.	4
13-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bukuto	Sun (Nigeria)	13 September. Armed herders attacked Gon, Nzumosu, Bolki, Nyanga, and Bukuto villages in Numan. A total of 18 civilians were reportedly killed during the attacks. The fatalities were disaggregated between the five locations (4 for Bolki, Bukuto, and Gon; 3 for Nyanga and Nzumosu). The coordinates are approximate, based on location within Numan district and proximity to Bolki.	4
6-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Nding	Punch	06 September. An armed group of Fulani attacked the village of Nding Suisut, killing two.	2
4-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Ropp	Punch	04 September. Fulani killed five at a mining site near Gana-Ropp in Barkin Ladi.	5
2-Sep-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Jos South	Du	Daily Independent (Nigeria); Punch	02 September. Fulani attacked Lopandet Dwei in Du district of Jos South, resulting in 11 confirmed fatalities. Other sources reported 14 fatalities.	11
29-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	PDP: Peoples Democratic Party	Adamawa	Numan	Bare	Vanguard (Nigeria)	29 August. PDP Chairman Charles Chrisanthus was killed by members of an armed Fulani group in Bare. Police reportedly arrested suspects.	1
28-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Foron	Guardian	28 August. A Fulani militia attacked the village of Abonong, killing a pastor, his wife and their three children, as well as two other residents. The assailants also burned homes and a church in the village. Cattle and other goods were also stolen	7
28-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Wereh	Punch	28 August. Armed Fulani attacked the village of Wereh, killing three civilians. The coordinates are approximate.	3
22-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bokkos	Bokkos	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Around 22 August, a herder killed a man in Sha community, Bokkos Local Government Area of Plateau State.	1
19-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Nding	Premium Times (Nigeria)	On 19 August, Fulani militia killed 3 people in Ndin and Haipang villages, at Barkin-Ladi Local Government Area, Plateau.	3
19-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Barkin Ladi	Premium Times (Nigeria)	On 19 August, Fulani militia killed 3 people in Ndin and Haipang villages, at Barkin-Ladi Local Government Area, Plateau.	3
18-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Riyom	Riyom	Premium Times (Nigeria)	On 18 August, Fulani militias killed 2 people in Shonong and Kwi villages of Riyom, Plateau.	2
18-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Riyom	Kwi	Premium Times (Nigeria)	On 18 August, Fulani militia killed 2 people in Shonong and Kwi villages of Riyom, Plateau.	2
10-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Daily Trust (Nigeria)	10 August. Suspected Fulani militia kills three Irigwe people in Zanwra community in Bassa LGA.	3
4-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Kunini	Vanguard (Nigeria)	On 4 August, as a reprisal for police intervention the day before, herders militia attacked the Kunini village, Taraba, killing 8 people, setting houses on fire.	8
3-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Nigeria Punch; Daily Trust (Nigeria)	02-03 August. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians at the Zanwra area of Jebbu - Miango in Bassa LGA, killing 3 Irigwe people (coded across 2 events).	1
2-Aug-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Nigeria Punch; Daily Trust (Nigeria)	02-03 August. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians at the Zanwra area of Jebbu - Miango in Bassa LGA, killing 3 Irigwe people (coded across 2 events).	2
31-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Edo	Owan East	Afuze	PM News	31 July. Gunmen suspected to be Fulani herdsmen allegedly attacked a farmer at his farm at Ubunke-Ivbiaro, in Owan East local government area of Edo State. The attackers hit the farmer with a machete and inflicted deep cuts on his head.	0
17-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ardo-Kola	Iware	Vanguard (Nigeria)	17 July. The Taraba State Police Command has confirmed the death of six persons following attack on Iware Market by suspected herdsmen in Ardo-Kola Local Government Area of the state.	6
10-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Fufore	Wakka	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	10 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	4
10-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Fufore	Ugbakka	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	10 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
10-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Mayo-Belwa	Mayo Lope	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	10 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5

10-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Mayo-Belwa	Yojjin	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	10 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
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10-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Fufore	Bujun	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	10 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Bunzum	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Bamga	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Mayo-Belwa	Yojjin	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Gojefa	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Budon	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Fufore	Wakka	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	4
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Anguwan Bishop Yotti	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Mayo-Belwa	Mayo Lope	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bujum Waya	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Fufore	Bujun	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojjin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bujum Yashi	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Sabonlayi	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5

9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Todung	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Fufore	Ugbakka	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Mayo Lope, Yojin, Bujun, Ugbakka, and Wakka (all coordinates approx.) in Mayo-Belwa LGA, killing 48 residents and destroying houses. The attack began during the night-time hours of 09 July, and was believed to have continued into the following morning.	5
9-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bujum Kasuwa	Sun (Nigeria)	09 July. Fulanis attack Gojefa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi and Bujum Kasuwa villages in Numan Local Government area of Adamawa State (all coordinates approx) as well as Anguwan Bishop Yotti (coordinates approx), Todung (coordinates approx), Budon (coordinates approx), Bunzum (coordinates approx) and Bamga Dutse in the border areas of Taraba State. An estimated 50 fatalities.	5
4-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Logo	Tombo	Nation (Nigeria); Sun (Nigeria)	04 July. Suspected Fulani herdsmen killed three farmers in Tse-Tyodugh (other sources describe the town as Tombo), Logo Local Government Area of Benue State.	3
4-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Guyuk	Guyuk	Local Source; Sun (Nigeria)	04 July. Five people were killed in an attack by armed herdsmen in Kola community, Guyuk Local government Area of Adamawa State. Several other reported injuries and property destruction. A secondary report claims "two scores" killed.	5
1-Jul-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Sabon Angwa	Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 July. Fulani militias attacked Sabon Angwa (coordinates approx) location in Barkin Ladi, killing six and destroying, buildings, a church and farmlands.	6
30-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Jos South	Bukuru	Vanguard (Nigeria)	30 June. Suspected Fulanis attack Kangan area of Jos South, killing one person and stealing cattle.	1
27-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bare	Nigeria Punch	27 June. Suspected Fulanis attacked Bare village in the Numan Local Government of Adamawa State, killing two people and inflicting 29 others with various degrees of injury.	2
24-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Ruku	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	24 June. Known multi-day attack by Fulanis in Ruku, Rakok, Kok and Razat villages. Total death toll in attacks around 23 June 86 initially, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June.	10
24-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Razat	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	24 June. Known multi-day attack by Fulanis in Ruku, Rakok, Kok and Razat villages. Total death toll in attacks around 23 June 86 initially, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June.	10
24-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Rakok	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	24 June. Known multi-day attack by Fulanis in Ruku, Rakok, Kok and Razat villages. Total death toll in attacks around 23 June 86 initially, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June.	10
24-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Kok	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	24 June. Known multi-day attack by Fulanis in Ruku, Rakok, Kok and Razat villages. Total death toll in attacks around 23 June 86 initially, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June.	10
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Mangu	Gindiri	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11

23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Ruku	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Kura Falls	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Kakuruk	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Gnar	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Gindi Akwati	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Kafi Abu	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11

23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Nekan	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Kufang	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Razat	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	11
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Rakok	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	10
23-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Kok	AFP; AP; Nigeria Punch; Vanguard (Nigeria)	23 June, on or about. Fulanis carry out a large scale attack on various Plateau locations in Mangu, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs over multiple days. 86 initially believed dead, then raised to 200, with many other injuries and 50 houses burnt. The victims were mainly Berom farmers. Fatalities from location to location vary depending on the source - total spread over total number of events on 23 and 25 June. Locations attacked included Exland/Gindin Akwati, Ruku (known multi-day attack), Nghar, Kura Falls and Kakuruk (coordinates approx), as well as Rakok, Kok and Razat villages in Ropp district (all approx coordinates; believed multi day attacks), Kafi Abu, Nekan and Kufang (coordinates approx) and Gindiri.	10
22-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Demsa	Dowaya	Nigeria Punch	22 June. Fulanis attack Dowaya village in Demsa during the evening hours. 18 dead, plus injuries.	18
20-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Barkin Ladi	Vanguard (Nigeria)	20 June. Four people including a 10 years old boy were killed at Kai village, Barkin Ladi local government area of Plateau State by Fulani attackers.	4
14-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Oturkpo	Tseaudu	Vanguard (Nigeria)	14 June. Fulanis attack Tse Audu Amo, kill one civilian.	1
13-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Keana	Nigeria Tribune	13 June. Fulani attackers kill four Tivs during an attack on Antsa village of Kwara district in Keana Local Government Area of Nasarawa State.	4
12-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tombo	Vanguard (Nigeria)	12 June. Fulanis attack Tombo ward of Logo LGA, killing two brothers. The attack was followed by a second attack nearby.	2
12-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	12 June. Following an attack in Tombo ward, Fulanis attack Tse Audu Amo-Tombo ward and Iortumbur Atov at Tse Akombo, Logo LGA, killing one civilian.	1
12-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Obi	Obi	Local Source	12 June. A farmer was killed by Fulani herdsmen while another victim went missing following an attack on Gada-Biu village, Obi LGA.	1
10-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Kwal	Nigeria Punch	10 June. No fewer than two persons have been killed by suspected Fulani herdsmen during an attack on Irigwe chieftdom, near Kwal in the Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State.	2

10-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Protestant Christian Group (Nigeria)	Osun	Iwo	Iwo	Nigeria Punch	10 June. Fulanis kidnap a Methodist preacher and two others along the Iwo-Osogbo in Osun road.	0
6-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Doma	Doma	Local Source	06 June, on or about. A 40-year-old man identified as Daniel Eka was murdered by a herdsman who was grazing on his farm in Agyema, Doma. It was reported that the herder killed the man with a machete on his farm. Exact date unknown.	1
6-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Local Source	06 June. "Some" Irigwe people were killed by Fulani herdsmen in Bassa. Exact fatality number not known (unknown coded as 10).	10
6-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	Sun (Nigeria)	06 June. Fulanis attack Tse Igbur in Logo LGA, killing one civilian and injuring many. The attack was coordinated with a second attack in Guma. A second report from the same source claims 13 dead between the two areas (8 in Guma)	5
6-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Sun (Nigeria)	06 June. Fulanis attack Tse Shan in Saghev, Guma LGA killing eight civilians. The attack was coordinated with a second attack in Logo. A second report from the same source claims 13 dead between the two areas.	8
4-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Takum	Takum	Local Source	04 June. Gunmen, suspected to be Fulani herdsmen attacked Dinyina, in Takum LGA community, killing 5 people in the attack.	5
4-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	AFP	04 June. Fulanis attack Yelwata, Guma LGA, killing two civilians.	2
3-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Ukum	Tseaondo	Guardian	03 June. Suspected herdsmen in the early hours invaded Tse-Adough settlement of Yaav ward, Turan District in Kwande council area of Benue State, killing 10 people and injuring 15 others.	10
3-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Aniocha North	Issele-Uku	Vanguard (Nigeria)	03 June. Fulanis attack a family of five at a farm near Issele-Uku. No casualties.	0
2-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Kwande	Tseduygh	Local Source	02 June. 19 farmers were killed when Fulani herdsmen attacked Tsedyugh. It was reported that the herders burnt many houses, foodstuffs and personal belongings. Several farms were destroyed.	19
2-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Gashit	Sun (Nigeria)	02 June. Fulani militia attacks Kura Falls community in Gashish District of Barkin-Ladi Local Government Area of Plateau State on 02/06. The attack was a continuation of an attack in the area the previous day. Three fatalities reported.	2
1-Jun-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Gashit	Twitter	01 June. Fulani militia attacks Kura Falls community in Gashish District of Barkin-Ladi Local Government Area of Plateau State on 01/06. The attack continued into the following day. Three fatalities reported over two days.	1
31-May-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Barkin Ladi	Sun (Nigeria)	31 May, on or before. The Berom ethnic nationality in Plateau state has accused Fulani herdsmen of raping and killing women in various communities in Riyom, Jos South and Barkin-Ladi Local Government Areas of the state. Date(s) not provided by the source. No secondary confirmation. Fatality numbers not given (10 fatalities spread over three events).	3
31-May-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Plateau	Riyom	Riyom	Sun (Nigeria)	31 May, on or before. The Berom ethnic nationality in Plateau state has accused Fulani herdsmen of raping and killing women in various communities in Riyom, Jos South and Barkin-Ladi Local Government Areas of the state. Date(s) not provided by the source. No secondary confirmation. Fatality numbers not given (10 fatalities spread over three events).	3
31-May-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Berom Ethnic Group (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Plateau	Jos South	Bukuru	Sun (Nigeria)	31 May, on or before. The Berom ethnic nationality in Plateau state has accused Fulani herdsmen of raping and killing women in various communities in Riyom, Jos South and Barkin-Ladi Local Government Areas of the state. Date(s) not provided by the source. No secondary confirmation. Fatality numbers not given (10 fatalities spread over three events).	4
31-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Anyiin	Vanguard (Nigeria)	31 May. Fulanis attacked and killed two travellers in Mbazar community between Anyiin and Akwana in Logo local government area of Benue state.	2
29-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Ropp	Sun (Nigeria)	29 May. Fulanis attack Ropp village during the morning hours. One civilian dead.	1
28-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Gashit	Sun (Nigeria)	28 May. Fulanis attack Gashish (Gashit) village. Two civilians dead.	2
27-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Catholic Christian Group (Nigeria)	Taraba	Jalingo	Jalingo	Sun (Nigeria)	27 May. Fulanis attack a Catholic Church in Jalingo. A priest "narrowly escaped death."	0
26-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Anyiin	Vanguard (Nigeria)	26 May, on or about. Two civilians were killed by suspected Fulanis "at the weekend" on Anyiin Road, at Tse Adendem village, on their way to Anyiin town.	2
26-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	26 May, on or about. Suspected Fulanis were reported to have attacked Tse Shitenger in Uvir council ward of Guma Local, killing a civilian and abducting another. The attack occurred "at the weekend."	1
25-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ekiti	Ado Ekiti	Ado-Ekiti	Local Source	25 May. 3 travellers were killed by Fulani herders in Ado-Ekiti. 2 of the victims were travelling in a commercial bus while the 3rd victim was travelling in a private car.	3
23-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Barkin Ladi	Sun (Nigeria)	23 May. Fulanis attack Rambuu village in Barkin-Ladi over two days. Four deaths reported.	2
22-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Barkin Ladi	Sun (Nigeria)	22 May. Fulanis attack Rambuu village in Barkin-Ladi over two days. Four deaths reported.	2
17-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	Sun (Nigeria)	17 May. Fulanis attack Logo LGA, kill three.	3
16-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Teachers (Nigeria)	Benue	Makurdi	Makurdi	Local Source	16 May. Fulanis attack Makurdi, killing six civilians, including two teachers.	6

16-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Teachers (Nigeria)	Benue	Gwer East	Aliade	This Day (Nigeria)	16 May. Suspected Fulanis kidnap six teachers in Ikpayongo, Gwer LGA. The bodies of the six were discovered nearby several days later.	6
15-May-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ebonyi	Onicha	Isu	Vanguard (Nigeria)	15 May. A member of a Fulani group sexually assaulted a 14 year-old in Umufi community of Anioma-Isu, in Onicha Local Government Area of the state.	0
15-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Kabba/Bunu	Kabba	This Day (Nigeria)	15 May. A forestry operator has been killed by Herdsmen in Apaa Agbede in Kabba/Bunu Local Government Council of the state.	1
13-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Kogi	Ijumu	Iyara	This Day (Nigeria)	13 May. 10 Tiv are killed in a Fulani attack on Ilai and Ido-Gbede villages of Ijumu Local Government Area.	10
9-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Numan	Sun (Nigeria)	09 May. Fulanis attack Nega village of Numan Local Government Area of Adamawa State, killing eight.	8
9-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ussa	Lissam	Local Source	09 May. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians in Ukwen village of Ussa LGA. 22 civilian casualties were reported.	22
5-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	Gwaska	Nation (Nigeria); Guardian (Nigeria)	05 May. Fulanis attacked Gwaska village in Birnin Gwari Local Council of Kaduna State, killing 45 (raised to 71 later in the week) persons and burning the village. Police deployed 3 mobile units to the area in response to the attack.	71
4-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	04 May. Fulanis attack civilians in Iye during the evening hours. Soldiers stationed in nearby Gbajimba heard the gunfire, and responded. Upon arrival the soldiers opened fire on the attackers and repelled them. Casualties not known.	0
4-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Nigeria Tribune	3-4 May. pastoralists attack civilians in the Azara and Kardako villages in Awe LGA, killing one person and destroying property. 1 death coded across 4 events.	0
4-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Awe	Azara	Nigeria Tribune	3-4 May. pastoralists attack civilians in the Azara and Kardako villages in Awe LGA, killing one person and destroying property. 1 death coded across 4 events.	0
3-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Nigeria Tribune	3-4 May. pastoralists attack civilians in the Azara and Kardako villages in Awe LGA, killing one person and destroying property. 1 death coded across 4 events.	1
3-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Awe	Azara	Nigeria Tribune	3-4 May. pastoralists attack civilians in the Azara and Kardako villages in Awe LGA, killing one person and destroying property. 1 death coded across 4 events.	0
3-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Bolki	Daily Trust (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	03 May. Fulanis attack and kill 15 civilians in four Numan LGA: Bang, Nyanga, Bonki and Nzomosu. The villages were "completely razed." This Day reports 30 dead among the towns.	7
3-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	Numan	Vanguard (Nigeria); Daily Trust (Nigeria)	03 May. Fulanis attack and kill 15 civilians in four Numan LGA: Bang, Nyanga, Bonki and Nzomosu. The villages were "completely razed." This Day reports 30 dead among the towns.	8
1-May-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 May. Suspected Fulanis reportedly invaded Tse-lyortyer, Yelwata in Guma local government area of Benue state, killing six persons and injuring scores.	6
28-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ekiti	Ado Ekiti	Ado-Ekiti	Local Source	28 April. Fulani militants attack a bus along the Ado-Ekiti road to Ekole-Ekiti, kidnapping some, injuring others and leaving one fatality.	1
28-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Oyo	Ibarapa North	Igangan	Local Source	28 April. Fulani militias attack and kill a farmer in Isale Oga, Igangan, Ibarapa North, Oyo State.	1
27-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Gwer West	Agagbe	Vanguard (Nigeria)	27 April. Eight persons are feared dead after suspected herdsmen (Fulani) invaded Agagbe community, Gwer West Local Government Area of Benue State.	8
26-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Refugees/IDPs (Nigeria)	Benue	Logo	Tsevi	Sun (Nigeria)	26 April. Seven internally displaced persons (IDPs) taking refuge at the African Church and LGSEA Primary School, Mondo, were killed in Ukemberagya, Gaambe-Tiev, Logo Local Government Area of Benue State. Fulanis suspected.	7
25-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Keana	Kadarko	Local Source	25 April. An employee with the information communications technology (ICT) department of the University of Agriculture, Makurdi, was killed by herdsmen during broad day light while coming from Abuja, near Kadarko.	1
25-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Gwer West	Naka	Local Source	25 April. 8 persons were killed by Fulani Herdsmen when the herders invaded several villages (not named) in Gwer West in the early hours of the day. It was reported that the herders also set the villages ablaze.	8
25-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	25 April. Fulanis attack Tse-Umenge, Mbadwen council ward, Mbakpase, Saghev council ward and Tse-Ali, Mbawa council ward in Guma LGA over two days; 39 dead. Tse-Ali had been attacked by Fulanis over the weekend as well. Military forces captured a suspect in the following days; the attack may have had an association with Boko Haram, but describes the attackers as "militia herdsmen."	19
24-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Guardian (Nigeria)	27 April. Fulanis attack the Tiv village of Ihuman in Awe LGA, killing seven.	7
24-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	24 April. Fulanis attack Tse-Umenge, Mbadwen council ward, Mbakpase, Saghev council ward and Tse-Ali, Mbawa council ward in Guma LGA over two days; 39 dead. Tse-Ali had been attacked by Fulanis over the weekend as well. Military forces captured a suspect in the following days; the attackers may have had an association with Boko Haram, but describes the attackers as "militia herdsmen."	20

24-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Benue	Gwer East	Aliade	Vanguard (Nigeria); Daily Trust (Nigeria)	23 or 24 April. Fulanis attack St. Ignatius Catholic Church, Ukpok-Mbalom (Ayar-Mbalom), Gwer East Local Government Area, killing two priests and 17 congregants. The attackers also burned down area homes and destroyed food. Vanguard indicates the attack occurred on 23 April.	19
23-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Aniocha North	Onicha-Olona	Sun (Nigeria)	23 April, on or before. Fulanis kill a farmer in Onicha-Olona in Aniocha North Local Government Area of Delta State on or before 23/04.	1
21-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	21 April. Suspected Fulanis attack Tse-Abi, Tse-Ginde, Tse-Peviv, Tse-Ikyo, Agenke and Gbenke communities of Unzughul, Saghev in Guma LGA on the evening of 20 April and the morning of 21 April. 31 believed dead.	16
20-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	20 April. Suspected Fulanis attack Tse-Abi, Tse-Ginde, Tse-Peviv, Tse-Ikyo, Agenke and Gbenke communities of Unzughul, Saghev in Guma LGA on the evening of 20 April and the morning of 21 April. 31 believed dead.	15
19-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Anyiin	Vanguard (Nigeria)	19 April, on or about. Suspected Fulanis attack an area between Iorza and Joota, along Anyiin-Gbeji road in Logo LGA, killing a civilian. The Fulanis had also established a road block. Exact date not known.	1
19-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Agasha	This Day (Nigeria)	19 April. A Fulani attack on Agasha community in Guma LGA causes 10 deaths.	10
18-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Vanguard (Nigeria)	18 April. Suspected Fulanis attack and kill four civilians in Jebbu-Miango village, Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State.	4
18-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Aniocha North	Onicha-Olona	Vanguard (Nigeria)	18 April. Fulanis attack Onicha-Olona, killing a farmer.	1
17-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	17 April. Suspected Fulanis killed the village head of Chembe settlement in Ukemberagya/Tswarev ward of Gaambe-Tiev, Logo local government area of Benue state.	1
15-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Doma	Doma	Sun (Nigeria)	14-15 April. Fulanis attacks several villages in Obi, Awe, Doma and Keana LGAs, killing at least 78 "[over] the weekend."	19
15-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ndokwa East	Umuachi-Afor	Vanguard (Nigeria)	15 April. Fulanis attack and kill five travellers at Umuachi-Afor.	5
15-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Sun (Nigeria)	14-15 April. Fulanis attacks several villages in Obi, Awe, Doma and Keana LGAs, killing at least 78 "[over] the weekend."	20
15-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Obi	Obi	Sun (Nigeria)	14-15 April. Fulanis attacks several villages in Obi, Awe, Doma and Keana LGAs, killing at least 78 "[over] the weekend."	20
15-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Keana	Sun (Nigeria)	14-15 April. Fulanis attacks several villages in Obi, Awe, Doma and Keana LGAs, killing at least 78 "[over] the weekend."	19
15-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Lafia	Lafia	Local Source	15 April, on or about. 5 people were killed in an attack by herdsmen in Lafia. Exact date not known.	5
12-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Makurdi	Makurdi	AFP	12 April. Fulani militia attacks Agboughul, outside of Makurdi. Three deaths reported.	3
12-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kwara	Moro	Oloworu	Vanguard (Nigeria)	12 April. Suspected Fulanis attack and kill a civilian in Olowu village in Malete, Moro Local Government Area of Kwara on or before 12/04.	1
12-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Ukum	Tse Akanga	Vanguard (Nigeria)	12 April. 56 are dead in Fulani attacks on Gbeji town of Tsaav ward, Tse-Akaanya and Tse-Hitiyo of Lumbuv council ward of Ukum LGA.	28
12-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Buruku	Ukum	Vanguard (Nigeria)	12 April. 56 are dead in Fulani attacks on Gbeji town of Tsaav ward, Tse-Akaanya and Tse-Hitiyo of Lumbuv council ward of Ukum LGA.	28
12-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Wukari	Wukari	Sun (Nigeria); Guardian (Nigeria)	11-12 April. 51 are dead following a Fulani attack on Jandeikyula village in Wukari Local Council of Taraba State. The attack occurred on either 11/04 or 12/04.	51
11-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	11 April. Fulani militia attacked Igbovour Mbavuur, in Logo Local Government, killing 1 or 2 farmers.	1
11-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Ukum	Zaki Biam	Vanguard (Nigeria)	11 April. Fulani militia attacks Jande-Ikyura in Ukum Local Government Area, killing 22. Following or during the attack, militia mobilized and killed three of the attackers.	22
11-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Obi	Obi	Nation (Nigeria)	11 April. Fulani gunmen attacked Kadarko town in Obi local government area of the state and killed four people. Several people were also injured in the attack.	4
10-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Doma	Doma	Local Source	10 April. A 29-year-old man was killed by herdsmen along a road in Doma LGA. It was reported that the man was killed while he was conveying two women to another location with his motorcycle.	1
10-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Local Source	10 April. 1 person was killed by Fulani herdsmen when the herders opened fire on some people at Udela village, Awe LGA. It was reported that many people were injured in the attack.	1
10-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Ukum	Zaki Biam	Premium Times (Nigeria); AFP	10 April. Fulani militia attacked Gbeji Village in Ukum Local Government Area. Seven deaths reported.	7
10-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Anambra	Oyi	Nteje	Vanguard (Nigeria)	10 April. A civilian woman has allegedly been raped and murdered in her farmland at Nteje in Oyi Local Government Area of Anambra State by persons suspected to be herdsmen.	1
9-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Kadarko	This Day (Nigeria)	09 April. Fulanis attack and kill four Tiv civilians in Kadarko.	4
8-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Anambra	Oyi	Nteje	Local Source	08 April. Fulanis raped and killed a woman in Nteje. The attack is believed motivated my land.	1
7-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Bali	Bali	Guardian (Nigeria)	04-07 April. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians in Pasa village of Bali LGA, killing 4 people. 4 coded across 4 days of attacks.	1

7-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Aloshi	This Day (Nigeria)	07 April. Fulanis attack and kill two Tiv farmers in Aloshi.	2
6-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Bali	Bali	Guardian (Nigeria)	04-07 April. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians in Pasa village of Bali LGA, killing 4 people. 4 coded across 4 days of attacks.	1
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Jema'a	Jemaa	Nigeria Tribune	05 April. Fulanis attack and kill two on the road to Kafanchan, Jemaa LGA.	2
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Agasha	Nation (Nigeria)	05 April. Fulanis attack Agasha, Guma LGA, killing two Tiv farmers and injuring three.	2
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Bali	Bali	Guardian (Nigeria)	04-07 April. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians in Pasa village of Bali LGA, killing 4 people. 4 coded across 4 days of attacks.	1
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Donga	Donga	This Day (Nigeria)	05 April. Fulanis attack Utile in Donga Local Government Area, killing 5.	5
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Gwer West	Enger	Daily Trust (Nigeria); This Day (Nigeria)	05 April. Suspected herdsmen attacked the four communities of Mbapupuu, Mbapa, Mbachphphon, and Enger all in Agagbe district of Gwer West LGA during the early morning hours. 10-18 believed dead.	5
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Gwer West	Agagbe	Daily Trust (Nigeria); This Day (Nigeria)	05 April. Suspected herdsmen attacked the four communities of Mbapupuu, Mbapa, Mbachphphon, and Enger all in Agagbe district of Gwer West LGA during the early morning hours. 10-18 believed dead.	5
5-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Sabon-Gari	Samaru	Nigeria Tribune; Daily Trust (Nigeria)	05 April. Suspected Fulanis attack Samaru. The village head and five others reported dead. In a conflicting account, the Nigerian Tribune reports that attack took place at Sarari village in Chikun LGA.	6
4-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Kogi	Koton Karifi	Local Source	04 April. Two Fulani herdsmen identified killed a civilian in Koton Karifi. It was reported that the victim was killed by the assailants without any provocation.	1
4-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Takum	Takum	Vanguard (Nigeria)	04 April. Fulanis attack Mbiya village in Takum Local Government Area, killing four.	4
4-Apr-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Bali	Bali	Guardian (Nigeria)	04-07 April. Fulani pastoralists attack civilians in Pasa village of Bali LGA, killing 4 people. 4 coded across 4 days of attacks.	1
29-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Edo	Ovia North East	Odighi	Local Source	29 March. A pastor of the Church of God mission was abducted and killed by Fulani herdsmen while working on his farm in Odighi, Ovia LGA. He was killed after being accused of killing a cow. Another person was also killed by the attackers.	2
29-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Jema'a	Bakin Kogi	This Day (Nigeria)	29 March. Suspected herdsmen attacked Bakin Kogi, Kaninkon chiefdom, killing 6. The attacks came in two waves; the first at 1000hrs and second at 1100hrs. Reasons are unclear.	6
28-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Edo	Ovia North East	Odighi	Vanguard (Nigeria)	28 March. A church pastor is abducted by suspected Fulani in in Odighi community, Ovia North-East LGA, and then killed when their demands for ransom were not met. The body of the victim was found on 3 April.	1
25-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	25 March. Fulanis attack farmers at Tse-Semaka and Olegobiudu villages in Guma and Agatu LGAs on 25 March, causing five deaths.	2
25-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Agatu	Obangedde	Vanguard (Nigeria)	25 March. Fulanis attack farmers at Tse-Semaka and Olegobiudu villages in Guma and Agatu LGAs on 25 March, causing five deaths.	3
22-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Jos South	Bukuru	Vanguard (Nigeria)	22 March. A Fulani attack on Dong community in Jos South caused three deaths.	3
22-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	22 March. Fulanis attack Branch Umenger, in Guma local government area of Benue State, killing two and destroying houses.	2
17-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ughelli North	Uwheru	Local Source	17 March. 4 farmers on a fishing expedition were attacked and killed by herdsmen in Uwheru, Ughelli North. Other farmers sustained gun injuries.	4
17-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Edo	Ovia North East	Odigietue	Local Source	17 March. Fulani herdsmen attacked Odigietue community and killed 2 people.	2
16-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Edo	Esan South East	Ugboha	Vanguard (Nigeria)	16 March. Five are killed in a pair of Fulani attacks in Ugboha, Esan South East LGA and Odigietue in Ovia North East. Twelve other injuries.	3
16-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Edo	Ovia North East	Odigietue	Vanguard (Nigeria)	16 March. Five are killed in a pair of Fulani attacks in Ugboha, Esan South East LGA and Odigietue in Ovia North East. Twelve other injuries.	2
15-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Takum	Muji	Local Source	15 March. 5 people were killed during attacks on three villages of Takum LGA (Muji, Kando-coordinates approx, Kpashimbe-coordinates approx) by Fulani herdsmen. Three women were also abducted.	1
15-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Local Source	15 March. A 23-year-old man was beheaded by Fulani herdsmen in Miango.	1
15-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ussa	Kpashimbe	Local Source	15 March. 5 people were killed during attacks on three villages of Takum LGA (Muji, Kando-coordinates approx, Kpashimbe-coordinates approx) by Fulani herdsmen. Three women were also abducted.	2
15-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Takum	Kando	Local Source	15 March. 5 people were killed during attacks on three villages of Takum LGA (Muji, Kando-coordinates approx, Kpashimbe-coordinates approx) by Fulani herdsmen. Three women were also abducted.	2
15-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ussa	Lissam	Local Source	15 March. A man was killed by Fulani herdsmen during an attack in Yanghtu, Ussa LGA.	1
14-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Jos South	Bukuru	Premium Times (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	14 March. Unidentified persons (later suspected to be Fulani) attacked Dong location in Jos South, firing weapons and destroying houses. Vanguard reported 25 dead in an article published a week later.	25
14-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Dekina	Dekina	Guardian (Nigeria); Sun (Nigeria)	14 March. Fulanis attacks several villages in Dekina and Omala LGAs (villages not named) on 14/03. 32 dead (later raised to 50) among the two areas. Hundreds displaced following the violence.	25

14-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Omala	Abajikolo	Guardian (Nigeria); Sun (Nigeria)	14 March. Fulanis attacks several villages in Dekina and Omala LGAs (villages not named) on 14/03. 32 dead (later raised to 50) among the two areas. Hundreds displaced following the violence.	25
13-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Jos North	Jos	Vanguard (Nigeria)	13 March or before. Fulanis attack and kill a Irigwe civilian in or around the Rafiki area of Plateau. The attack led to a wider clash between Fulanis and Irigwe militia on 14 March. The date of the attack is not known; described as "the other day" in a source referencing the 14 March battle.	1
13-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	13 March. Fulanis kill three civilians in two separate attacks in Guma LGA. The first attack took place near Yelwata killing two and injuring a third. The second attack took place in Tse-Origo, killing one.	3
12-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	12 March. Seven are killed and one injured in a Fulani attack on Hirshi.	7
12-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ebonyi	Izzi	Izi	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	12 March. Suspected Fulanis attack Onunwakpu community of Izzi. Four deaths reported. The attack may have led to clashes with local militia in the following days.	4
12-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Kanke	Kwal	Vanguard (Nigeria)	12 March. Fulanis attack Dundu area of Kwal during the evening hours. 25 reported dead.	25
9-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bokkos	Daffo	Twitter; Vanguard (Nigeria)	09 March. Five women, four men and an infant are dead following an attack on several villages in Daffo District of Bokkos. The villages effected were Ngakudung, Farunhai, Mhorok, Ganda and Warrem-Hotom. Also hit were Maidunna and Josho. The attackers wore a black uniform and had sophisticated weapons. The attackers were later suspected to be Fulani when the death toll was revised to 16 on 11/03. Residents claim 25 dead.	16
8-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Miangou	Twitter; AFP; Premium Times (Nigeria)	08 March. Five are dead following an attack on Nzharuvu community (near Miango) of Basa Local Government Area on the evening of 08/03. Fulanis suspected.	5
6-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Takum	Takum	Sun (Nigeria)	06 March. Two are dead following a Fulani attack on Adada and Many villages of Takum LGA. Fatalities split between events.	1
6-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Donga	Manyu	Sun (Nigeria)	06 March. Two are dead following a Fulani attack on Adada and Many villages of Takum LGA. Fatalities split between events.	1
5-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Idoma Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Benue	Okpokwu	Okpoga	Guardian (Nigeria); Daily Trust (Nigeria)	05 March. 24 are dead in a Fulani attack on the Idoma village of Omsu in Okpokwu LGA. The Guardian claims 26 dead, The Daily Independent, 30.	24
4-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ethiope East	Abraka	Vanguard (Nigeria)	04 March. Herdsmen have chopped off the fingers and toes of a farmer in Abraka, Delta State, for trying to stop them from grazing their herd on his farm.	0
4-Mar-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Vanguard (Nigeria)	04 March. No fewer than five persons were killed in an attack on Umenge village in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State by suspected herdsmen on 04/03.	5
24-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Lokoja	Kapu	This Day (Nigeria)	Suspected Fulani herdsmen at the weekend allegedly ambushed and killed a 15-year-old boy at Guchidan village of Kupa district, Lokoja Local Government Area of Kogi State.	1
24-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Makurdi	Mbalagh	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Property destruction: Fulanis ransacked Mbatocho Chile, an island (presumably in the Benue River) close to Benue State Government House, at Mbalagh council ward. Property reported destroyed. 5,000 displaced. The attack began on 24/02, but continued until at least 28/02.	0
21-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ethiope East	Abraka	Vanguard (Nigeria)	One dead and a second wounded in a Fulani attack on Abraka.	1
20-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Mopa-Muro	Mopa	This Day (Nigeria)	Some suspected herdsmen have invaded the farmland of late Chief Silas Daniyan, SBD Farms Limited in Mopa, killing one person and carted away 99 cows from the farm.	1
13-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ondo	Akure South	Akure	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Fulani militants attack areas of Akure on 13/02, casing a number of people to flee. Machete injuries reported.	0
12-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Ankpa	Ankpa	This Day (Nigeria)	A 45-year-old man has been killed by Fulanis after invading his farmland and destroying other farm produce in Ankpa Local Government Areal of Kogi State. The incident occurred on Monday evening at Uferance Emekuku.	1
10-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Jema'a	Bakin Kogi	Guardian	Fulanis attack Bakin Kogi village on 10/02 or 11/02, kill four.	4
10-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Oyo	Iseyin	Iseyin	Vanguard (Nigeria)	A farmer is attacked and killed by Fulanis in Iseyin on 10/02.	1
10-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Guardian	Fulanis attack Zangwra village on 10/02, kill three.	3
8-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Shelleng	Libu	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	The corpse of a man from Gomba community of neighbouring Demsa Local Government Area was sighted [in Libu] and the people of Gomba claimed that the deceased was killed by a Fulani. Gomba militia later mobilized, attacking and killing two Fulanis, possibly civilians. A general clash between the two groups followed, which caused at least five deaths and destroyed several buildings in the town.	1
8-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Anyiin	Premium Times (Nigeria)	Suspected Fulanis attacks Anyiin, Logo LGA. Five reported wounded.	0
8-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ughelli North	Unenurhie	Vanguard (Nigeria)	A least seven persons were reportedly shot at by gunmen suspected to be herdsmen along the Unenurhie community axis of the East-West road of Delta State. Injuries reported but no deaths.	0

7-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack the communities of Agwatashi, Obi, Agyaragu and Doma in the southern senatorial zone of the state "over the course of" last week" (source dated 12/02). 20 reported deaths among the towns.	5
7-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Lafia	Agyaragu Gofa	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack the communities of Agwatashi, Obi, Agyaragu and Doma in the southern senatorial zone of the state "over the course of" last week" (source dated 12/02). 20 reported deaths among the towns.	5
7-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Doma	Doma	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack the communities of Agwatashi, Obi, Agyaragu and Doma in the southern senatorial zone of the state "over the course of" last week" (source dated 12/02). 20 reported deaths among the towns.	5
7-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Keana	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack the communities of Agwatashi, Obi, Agyaragu and Doma in the southern senatorial zone of the state "over the course of" last week" (source dated 12/02). 20 reported deaths among the towns.	5
5-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Sun (Nigeria)	Fulani militia attack Waku Village in Guma Local Government Area, killing two and injuring others.	2
3-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Song	Song	Sun (Nigeria)	Fulanis again attack several communities in Song LGA (the first attack being on 01/02), killing five civilians. Local militia in Simba responded, killing four Fulani.	5
3-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Igbo Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Benue	Logo	Ugba	Local Source	03 Feb. A prominent Igbo trader was killed by Fulani herdsmen who were on rampage in Logo LGA.	1
1-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Gassol	Wuro Jam	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Unknown gunmen suspected to be Fulani herdsmen attack and killed four persons in Ngutsen village of Wurojam ward in Gassol local government area of Taraba state. An eye witness spoke to Vanguard on phone said the attackers arrived the village at about 9 pm on Thursday.	4
1-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Oyo	Akinyele	Moniya	Nigeria Tribune	Fulanis attack Opabunmi village in Akinyele LGA, killing a mother and her child.	2
1-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Gassol	Mutum Biyu	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack Dan-Anacha settlement on either 01/02 or 02/02, killing six. The source claims 32 have been killed in Taraba State since the beginning of the year; other source number vary.	6
1-Feb-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Wukari	Wukari	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack Amande Jembe on either 01/02 or 02/02. Five civilians reported dead. The source claims 32 have been killed in Taraba State since the beginning of the year; other source number vary.	5
31-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	Birnin Gwari	Guardian (Nigeria)	Seven persons have been feared killed and several homes razed at Kaguru village of Udawa ward in Birnin Gwari Local Council of Kaduna during a midnight raid by suspected Fulani herdsmen. "Scores" injured.	7
30-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	NURTW: National Union of Road Transport Workers	Ondo	Akure South	Akure	Vanguard (Nigeria)	A Fulani stabs and kills a NURTW bus driver in Akure following a verbal argument.	1
30-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Kadarko	Daily Independent (Nigeria); AFP	Gunmen suspected to be cattle herders killed at least seven Tiv farmers in Kadarko. A second source claims 12 dead.	7
29-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Guardian (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack Nkiedoro, Rafin Bauna and another unnamed village in Bassa LGA in response to a military air strikes against Fulani locations in Adamawa State. Four deaths among the three villages.	1
29-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	This Day (Nigeria)	Suspected herdsmen attacked Tse-Torkula, a Tiv community in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State. "Scores" injured.	0
29-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Keana	Kadarko	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Suspected Fulanis attack Kadarko, killing seven.	7
29-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Igwara	Guardian (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack Nkiedoro, Rafin Bauna and another unnamed village in Bassa LGA in response to a military air strikes against Fulani locations in Adamawa State. Four deaths among the three villages.	1
29-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Rafin Bauna	Guardian (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack Nkiedoro, Rafin Bauna and another unnamed village in Bassa LGA in response to a military air strikes against Fulani locations in Adamawa State. Four deaths among the three villages.	2
28-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Sun (Nigeria)	Two persons were killed in an ambush by suspected Fulani herdsmen in Ariri and Tafi-Gene villages of Jebu-Miango in Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State. One of the two may have been beheaded.	2
28-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Taraba	Wukari	Wukari	This Day (Nigeria)	A Tarab State lawmaker escapes with injury following an attack on Gidin Dorowa, in suburban Wukari. A farmer was killed in a similar attack the previous day.	0
27-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Nation (Nigeria)	Three civilians are killed in a Fulani attack on rural Bassa LGA at a location known as Huke.	3
27-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Edo	Akoko-Edo	Igarra	Guardian (Nigeria)	Suspected Fulani attackers shoot and kill a bus driver in Igarra. The perpetrator was later arrested. Several youths gathered at the police station which held the suspect, demanding the police release the perpetrator to face their "jungle justice."	1
27-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Wukari	Wukari	This Day (Nigeria)	A farmer is killed in a Fulani attack on Gidin Dorowa, in suburban Wukari.	1
26-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Local Source	26 January. 3 persons were killed and over 12 houses burnt during attack by Fulani herdsmen in Huke village, Miango District.	3

25-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Vanguard (Nigeria)	At least three people were killed in central Plateau state when Fulani herders attacked Jebu-Bassa, a farming village of Irigwe people.	3
25-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	Fulanis kill a police officer and set a farmer alight in Guma LGA on 25/01. The farmer was wounded and taken to a hospital. It is believed each attack was separate and in different areas of the LGA.	0
25-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Miango	Nigeria Tribune; Daily Independent (Nigeria)	Three persons were killed (later raised to 5), several injured and property destroyed by Fulani gunmen in Jebbu-Miango community in Bassa Local Government area of the state.	5
24-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Ogun	Egbado North	Yewa Mata	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack farmers in Yewa community "last week" (source dated 27/01). Two deaths reported.	2
22-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Irigwe Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Daily Trust (Nigeria)	Five people have been killed in attack and a counter-attack between Irigwe and Fulani youths in Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State. Sources within Bassa said the residents found Monday evening the corpse of three Irigwe youths alleged to have been killed by Fulani herders. Two Fulani youths were equally killed around Kamarun Chawai on Tuesday by youths believed to be Irigwe.	3
21-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli North	Ovwori	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Suspected Fulanis attack Ovwori community, raping a woman and injuring three others. The attack is believed to be a reprisal for earlier violence.	0
21-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Bachama Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Numan	Numan	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Some people have been reported killed and many homes destroyed in a violent reprisal attacks in Numan Local Government Area in Adamawa State between Fulani and Bachama communities. The suspected Fulani herdsmen who invaded Kikon village in the early hours of Sunday shooting sporadically while most villagers were asleep. The Bachama soon after retaliated, launching counter-attacks on Dowayan-waja and Lure villages "burning everything in sight." Three dead in each attack.	3
20-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Barkin Ladi	Local Source	20 January. Fulanis attack and kill a civilian in Majankhai village, Barkin Ladi.	1
19-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ogun	Imeko-Afon	Imeko	Nigeria Tribune	Suspected Fulanis attack and kill a farmer in Imeko. Date of the attack is not known - source dated 19/01.	1
19-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	Onicha-Olona	Nigeria Tribune	19 January. A farmer is attacked and killed and a woman is raped by Fulani attackers in Onicha-Olona.	1
18-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Ekiti	Ido-Osi	Orin	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Suspected Fulanis attack Tiv civilians, killing a pregnant woman and injuring others.	1
17-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Okpokwu	Okpoga	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack locations in three Benue LGAs (Guma, Logo and Okpokwu), killing five total. Exact place names not provided.	2
17-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack locations in three Benue LGAs (Guma, Logo and Okpokwu), killing five total. Exact place names not provided.	1
17-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack locations in three Benue LGAs (Guma, Logo and Okpokwu), killing five total. Exact place names not provided.	2
17-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Gassol	Gassol	Nation (Nigeria)	Six are killed in a Fulani attack on Gassol on either 16/01 or 17/01.	6
17-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ibi	Ibi	Nation (Nigeria)	No fewer than nine people were killed in separate Fulani attacks in Gishiri, Dooshima and Danwaza villages of Taraba State. The attacks occurred over two days, 16/01 and 17/01. It is not known which attacks occurred on each day.	3
17-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Wukari	Wukari	Nation (Nigeria)	Eleven are killed in a Fulani attack on Wukari on either 16/01 or 17/01.	11
16-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Gassol	Gassol	Local Source	16 January. Six are killed in a Fulani attack on Gassol. The attack lasted over two days: 16/01 and 17/01.	3
16-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ibi	Ibi	Sun (Nigeria)	Armed Fulani men attacked Karmen community in Ibi Local Government Area of Taraba State. In the attack a local traditional ruler was reportedly killed. There is some dispute to the date; either 15/01, 16/01, 17/01.	1
16-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Lau	Donadda	Nation (Nigeria)	Two people were killed on 16/01 when Fulani gunmen attacked Donnada village in Lau Local Government area	2
16-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Wukari	Gishiri River	Nation (Nigeria)	No fewer than nine people were killed in separate Fulani attacks in Gishiri, Dooshima and Danwaza villages of Taraba State. The attacks occurred over two days, 16/01 and 17/01. It is not known which attacks occurred on each day.	3
16-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Ibi	Kauyen Danwaza	Nation (Nigeria)	No fewer than nine people were killed in separate Fulani attacks in Gishiri, Dooshima and Danwaza villages of Taraba State. The attacks occurred over two days, 16/01 and 17/01. It is not known which attacks occurred on each day.	3
15-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	Bassa	Local Source	15 January, on or about. A youth was killed by Fulani herdsmen during an attack in Bassa LGA.	1
15-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Doma	Doka	Local Source	15 January, on or about. Fulanis attack the Uhime and Angyo communities at Doka. Four deaths reported.	4
13-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	Dangaji	Sun (Nigeria)	13 January. Suspected Fulanis attacked Dangaji and Ungwan Gajere villages of Birnin-Gwari LGA over two days, leaving 10 dead. All coordinates approx.	2
13-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	Ungwan Gajere	Sun (Nigeria)	13 January. Suspected Fulanis attacked Dangaji and Ungwan Gajere villages of Birnin-Gwari LGA over two days, leaving 10 dead. All coordinates approx.	3

12-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	Ungwan Gajere	Sun (Nigeria)	12 January. Suspected Fulanis attacked Dangaji and Ungwan Gajere villages of Birnin-Gwari LGA over two days, leaving 10 dead. All coordinates approx.	3
12-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	Dangaji	Sun (Nigeria)	12 January. Suspected Fulanis attacked Dangaji and Ungwan Gajere villages of Birnin-Gwari LGA over two days, leaving 10 dead. All coordinates approx.	2
8-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Hausa Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Edo	Akoko-Edo	Oja	Nation (Nigeria)	Five Fulani attackers injured the hand of a Hausa farmer after a refusal to provide food. Date not entirely clear, source marked 08/01.	0
7-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Vanguard (Nigeria)	07 January. Fulanis attack Awe community, three reported deaths.	3
6-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tse Akombo	Vanguard (Nigeria)	06 January. Fulanis attack Tse Akombo, Tse Vii and Tse Agule villages of Logo LGA over two days. 16 dead, including a village head of one of the communities. (All Coordinates approx)	3
6-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tse vii	Vanguard (Nigeria)	06 January. Fulanis attack Tse Akombo, Tse Vii and Tse Agule villages of Logo LGA over two days. 16 dead, including a village head of one of the communities. (All Coordinates approx)	3
6-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tse Agule	Vanguard (Nigeria)	06 January. Fulanis attack Tse Akombo, Tse Vii and Tse Agule villages of Logo LGA over two days. 16 dead, including a village head of one of the communities. (All Coordinates approx)	2
6-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Bachama Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Taraba	Lau	Lau	Vanguard (Nigeria)	At least twelve (a figure later raised to 55) are dead following a series of tit-for-tat attacks between Fulanis and Bachama groups in Lau LGA. The violence began on 05/01 when Bachama militias attacked three Fulani settlements at Donadda, Babagasa and Katibu. Fulanis retaliated the following day, attacking the Bachama village of Robi.	14
5-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tse Akombo	Vanguard (Nigeria)	05 January. Fulanis attack Tse Akombo, Tse Vii and Tse Agule villages of Logo LGA over two days. 16 dead, including a village head of one of the communities. (All Coordinates approx)	3
5-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tse vii	Vanguard (Nigeria)	05 January. Fulanis attack Tse Akombo, Tse Vii and Tse Agule villages of Logo LGA over two days. 16 dead, including a village head of one of the communities. (All Coordinates approx)	2
5-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Tse Agule	Vanguard (Nigeria)	05 January. Fulanis attack Tse Akombo, Tse Vii and Tse Agule villages of Logo LGA over two days. 16 dead, including a village head of one of the communities. (All Coordinates approx)	3
4-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Ondo	Akure South	Akure	Vanguard (Nigeria)	Fulanis attack and kill a woman, destroy her farm in Adodoye on 04/01.	1
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Keana	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	03 January. Fulani militia allegedly kill three Tiv farmers in Keana LGA. It was reported the farmers organized a militia following the attacks on civilians to resist the attackers. It is not clear if the militias were successful. A fourth victim is reported by the source, though the details leading to his death are not provided. The locations of the attacks were Tse Kwaghtser-Tunga settlement, Kuduku, Nyashashu, Obosidoma and Kaambe - Jangaru (all coordinates approx).	1
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Kuduku	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	03 January. Fulani militia allegedly kill three Tiv farmers in Keana LGA. It was reported the farmers organized a militia following the attacks on civilians to resist the attackers. It is not clear if the militias were successful. A fourth victim is reported by the source, though the details leading to his death are not provided. The locations of the attacks were Tse Kwaghtser-Tunga settlement, Kuduku, Nyashashu, Obosidoma and Kaambe - Jangaru (all coordinates approx).	1
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Nyashashu	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	03 January. Fulani militia allegedly kill three Tiv farmers in Keana LGA. It was reported the farmers organized a militia following the attacks on civilians to resist the attackers. It is not clear if the militias were successful. A fourth victim is reported by the source, though the details leading to his death are not provided. The locations of the attacks were Tse Kwaghtser-Tunga settlement, Kuduku, Nyashashu, Obosidoma and Kaambe - Jangaru (all coordinates approx).	1
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Obosidoma	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	03 January. Fulani militia allegedly kill three Tiv farmers in Keana LGA. It was reported the farmers organized a militia following the attacks on civilians to resist the attackers. It is not clear if the militias were successful. A fourth victim is reported by the source, though the details leading to his death are not provided. The locations of the attacks were Tse Kwaghtser-Tunga settlement, Kuduku, Nyashashu, Obosidoma and Kaambe - Jangaru (all coordinates approx).	0
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	This Day (Nigeria)	One person was killed in Mbayar Yandev Council Ward of Guma Local Government Area in Benue State by Fulani attackers on 03/01.	1
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Gaambetiev	Local Source	03 January. Three people were killed by gunmen suspected to be herdsmen in Gaambetiev.	3
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	Tse Kwaghtser-Tunga	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	03 January. Fulani militia allegedly kill three Tiv farmers in Keana LGA. It was reported the farmers organized a militia following the attacks on civilians to resist the attackers. It is not clear if the militias were successful. A fourth victim is reported by the source, though the details leading to his death are not provided. The locations of the attacks were Tse Kwaghtser-Tunga settlement, Kuduku, Nyashashu, Obosidoma and Kaambe - Jangaru (all coordinates approx).	1
3-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ugba	This Day (Nigeria)	Fulanis attacked Anyii in Logo LGA on 03/01. Outcome not known.	0

2-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ayilamo	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
2-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Turan	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
2-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Tom-Atar	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
2-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Umenge	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
2-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Akor	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
2-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ngambe-Tiev	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	02 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	7
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Awe	Awe	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	01 January. A Tiv man is macheted to death by suspected Fulanis at Gidan Wurji (coordinates approx) in Awe Local Government Area while moving his farm produce to Awe town. A second victim was gunned down along Awe-Tunga road (coordinates approx) in the same area later in the day. Two others were killed at Bakin Kortaa (coordinates approx), a border settlement which is about 12 kilometres from the Benue/Nasarawa border.	1
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Awe	Bakin Kortaa	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	01 January. A Tiv man is macheted to death by suspected Fulanis at Gidan Wurji (coordinates approx) in Awe Local Government Area while moving his farm produce to Awe town. A second victim was gunned down along Awe-Tunga road (coordinates approx) in the same area later in the day. Two others were killed at Bakin Kortaa (coordinates approx), a border settlement which is about 12 kilometres from the Benue/Nasarawa border.	2
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ayilamo	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Turan	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Tom-Atar	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Umenge	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umenge and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Awe	Gidan Wurji	Daily Independent (Nigeria)	01 January. A Tiv man is macheted to death by suspected Fulanis at Gidan Wurji (coordinates approx) in Awe Local Government Area while moving his farm produce to Awe town. A second victim was gunned down along Awe-Tunga road (coordinates approx) in the same area later in the day. Two others were killed at Bakin Kortaa (coordinates approx), a border settlement which is about 12 kilometres from the Benue/Nasarawa border.	1

1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	Akor	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umeng and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6
1-Jan-18	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	Ngambe-Tiev	Nation (Nigeria); Vanguard (Nigeria)	01 January. Fulanis attack six Benue communities (Tom-Atar, Umeng and Akor villages in Guma, and Ayilamo, Turan, Ngambe-Tiev in Logo Local Government Area) over two days. 73 reported dead the following week. Eight of the suspected assailants were soon after arrested. 40,000 displaced. All coordinates approx.	6

Total Fatalities 1,581

2019

Event date	Event type	Event type (sub)	Actor	Victims	State	LGA	Location	Notes	Fatalities
28-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Dutsin-Ma	Maisani	On 28 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Maisani and abducted 2 residents.	0
28-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Dutsin-Ma	Darawa	On 28 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Darawa and abducted 1 resident.	0
28-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Dutsin-Ma	Dutsin Ma	On 28 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Madagu, Gefen Kubewa and Farar Kasa in Dutsin-Ma LGA (no locations found, coded as Dutsin Ma) and rustled livestock.	1
28-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Kurfi	Kurfi	On 28 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tamawa and Jallawa in Kurfi LGA (no location found, coded as Kurfi) and abducted 1 resident. Cattle was stolen.	0
27-Dec-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Zamfara	Zurmi	Zurmi	On 27 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Jagbada in Zurmi LGA (no location found, coded as Zurmi) and rustled sheep and cows. Nigerian Armed Forces intervened and killed 1 militia fighter	1
26-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Gassol	Gassol	On 26 December, Fulani militias attacked the Tiv community of Gonori village in Gassol LGA (no location found, coded as Gassol) and killed 2 residents. 6 were injured.	2
23-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kebbi	Wasagu/Danko	Wasagu	On 23 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Shagel and Yar Kuka villages in Danko/Wasagu LGA (no locations found, coded as Wasagu). 2 residents were killed in the attack.	2
15-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	Issele Mkpitime	On 15 December 2019 (or around), suspected Fulani militias abducted a catholic priest in Issele-Mkpitime.	0
14-Dec-19	Battles	Armed clash	Islamic State (West Africa) and/or Boko Haram - Jamatu Ahli is-Sunnah lid-Dawatai wal-Jihad	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Borno	Ngala	Fuye	On 14 December 2019, Fulani militias engaged Boko Haram in a gun battle outside Fuye village, after BH attempted to attack the community and got repelled. 19 Fulani and 1 BH fighter were killed.	20
12-Dec-19	Battles	Armed clash	Ebenebe Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Anambra	Awka North	Amago-Ebenebe	On 12 December 2019 (or around), members of the Ebenebe Communal Militia clashed with Fulani militias over the destruction of crops in the area.	0
7-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ogun	Abeokuta North	Imala	On 7 December 2019, a Fulani militia killed a farmer in Imala community in a dispute over grazing land.	1

5-Dec-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Hausa Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Guri	Guri	On 5 December 2019, Fulani and Hausa militias clashed at Bodala Fulani settlement in Guri LGA (no location found, coded as Guri) over a misunderstanding. One person was killed.	1
4-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	Kukoki	On 4 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kukoki, shot in the air and abducted the village head and six other members of the community. Cattle and sheep were rustled.	0
2-Dec-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ekiti	Ise Orun	Asolo	On 2 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias destroyed a rice plantation in Asolo and chased away farmers.	0
1-Dec-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Hong	Holma	On 1 December 2019, suspected Fulani militias attacked Holma and killed two residents. 20 houses were destroyed in the attack.	2
28-Nov-19	Strategic developments	Agreement	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Yola North	Bole	On 28 November 2019, Fulani militias and local farmers signed a peace agreement in Bole community for a peaceful co-existence in the area.	0
23-Nov-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Shuwa Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Hong	Shuwa	On 23 November, Fulani militias attacked Shuwa-kala'a, met resistance from local Shuwa militias and engaged in a gun battle. An unreported number of fighters on both sides were killed. Unknown number of fatalities coded as 3.	3
21-Nov-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kaura	Kaura	On 21 November, suspected Fulani militias killed two farmers in Tsonje (approx. position). The attack is believed to be a reprisal on the killings occurred in the previous week.	2
17-Nov-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Zamfara	Gummi	Karaye	On 17 November, suspected Fulani militias attacked Karaye and killed 14 residents. Ten civilians were injured. The attack is believed to be a reprisal on the Nov 3 attacks of Yansakai on Fulanis in the area.	14
16-Nov-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	Issele-Uku	On 16 November, suspected Fulani militias attacked a teacher and his daughter on the Issele-Uku/Ubule-Uke road in Aniocha North LGA. The teacher got injured and the daughter abducted. This is a different attack from a similar attack in the same area.	0
16-Nov-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	Issele-Uku	On 16 November, suspected Fulani militias attacked travelers on the Issele-Uku/Ubule-Uke road in Aniocha North LGA. The driver was shot, while four passengers were abducted. This is a different attack from a similar attack in the same area.	1
15-Nov-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kaura	Agban	On 15 November 2019 (or around), suspected Fulani militias attacked and killed four residents of Marbar Agban in Kagoro chieftdom.	4
11-Nov-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kaura	Kaura	On 11 November (or around), suspected Fulani militias killed a resident of Tsonje (approx. position)	1
1-Nov-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Kiri Kasamma	Lyo	01 November 2019. Following the attack on a police officer in Kirikasamma LGA, Fulani militias set ablaze Lyo village.	0
1-Nov-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Jigawa	Kiri Kasamma	Kiri Kasamma	01 November 2019. Suspected Fulani militants shot a police officer and farmer in Kirikasamma (no location reported, coded as Kirikasamma) using arrows and bows. Both victims survived the attack.	0
30-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kebbi	Bunza	Bangalasa	30 October. A suspected Fulani militia killed a farmer at his farm in Bangalasa.	1
27-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Udi	Eke	27 October. Suspected Fulani militias attacked civilians in Eke and injured two residents.	0

27-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Niger	Shiroro	Shiroro	27 October. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Beri Kargo, Shema Anguwan Makaranta in Shiroro LGA (all previous locations unfound, collectively coded as Shiroro) and Gini villages. Three residents in undisclosed locations were killed and three people abducted. About 1200 cattle were rustled. Fatalities split between two events.	2
27-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Niger	Shiroro	Gini	27 October. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Beri Kargo, Shema Anguwan Makaranta in Shiroro LGA (all previous locations unfound, collectively coded as Shiroro) and Gini villages. Three residents in undisclosed locations were killed and three people abducted. About 1200 cattle were rustled. Fatalities split between two events.	1
17-Oct-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Jibia	Jibia	17 October 2019. Suspected Fulani militias invaded Kadobe in Jibia LGA (no location found, coded as Jibia) and rustled cows and cattle.	0
15-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Imo	Owerri West	Amakohia	15 October 2019. Suspected Fulani militants attacked and injured a hunter in Amakohia-Ubi.	0
13-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	13 October (or around) 2019. Suspected Fulani militias attacked a women in Gboogyo in Guma LGA (no location found, coded as Gbajimba) and cut off her arm.	0
13-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Kiri Kasamma	Marma	13 October 2019. Suspected Fulani militias attacked three farmers in Gubusu community in Marma district (no location found, coded as Marma) and injured them with arrows.	0
12-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Miangou	12 October 2019. Fulani militias killed a civilian on the Hukke-Ancha road in Miango LGA (no location found, coded as Miango).	1
7-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Sokoto	Tureta	Tarana Mahuta	07 October. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Tarana Mahuta and Bagurba (no location found, coded as Tureta), killed an unreported number of residents and rustled cattle. Fatalities coded as 3 and split between two events.	1
7-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Sokoto	Tureta	Tureta	07 October. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Tarana Mahuta and Bagurba (no location found, coded as Tureta), killed an unreported number of residents and rustled cattle. Fatalities coded as 3 and split between two events.	2
4-Oct-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Akwa Ibom	Ukanafun	Nkek	04 October. Fulani militias killed a farmer in Nkek over grazing land.	1
28-Sep-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	Pan Dongari	28 September (or around). Suspected Fulani militias rustled cattle in Lamba Waya in Pan Dongari community.	0
28-Sep-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Niger	Rafi	Kusheriki	28 September (or around). Suspected Fulani militias in Kusheriki ambushed a team of local militias and Police officers on their way to Lamba Waya. Seven militias and one police officer were killed in the battle.	8
23-Sep-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Miangou	23 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Hukke in Miango District of Bassa LGA (no geo location known, coded as Miango) and killed three residents. Among them the village head.	3
22-Sep-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Adamawa	Numan	Shafrau	22 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Shaforo and Kudumti and got engaged in a gun battle with NAF. Two people were killed and six injured. Fatalities split between two events.	1

22-Sep-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Adamawa	Numan	Kadamti	22 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Shaforo and Kudumti and got engaged in a gun battle with NAF. Two people were killed and six injured. Fatalities split between two events.	1
18-Sep-19	Battles	Armed clash	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli North	Uvwiamuge	18 September. Suspected Fulani militias clashed with Police forces during an operation against kidnappers in Uvwiamuge. One police officer killed.	1
17-Sep-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Igabi	Sabon Birni	17 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Gardin Gine in Sabon Birni LGA (no geo location known, coded as Sabon Birni), killed three residents and rustled cattle. The was the second of a similar attack in the area on Sept 14.	3
14-Sep-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Chikun	Udawa	14 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked a small settlement near Udawa, killed six people and rustled cattle.	6
14-Sep-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Igabi	Sabon Birni	14 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Katsira Tsauna in Sabon Birni LGA (no geo location known, coded as Sabon Birni) and killed three residents. Three people sustained gunshot wounds.	3
8-Sep-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Nding	08 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Nding and killed two residents. Five people were injured.	2
4-Sep-19	Battles	Armed clash	Igbi Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Birni Kudu	Iggi	04 September. Farmers of Iggi and Fulani militias clashed over land ownership in the area. One person was killed and several injured.	1
4-Sep-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Foron	04 September. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Vat village in Foron District (no geo location known, coded as Foron). The assailants killed two residents and stole 120 cattle and 100 sheep.	2
1-Sep-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Katsina	Batsari	Batsari	01 September (or around). Police forces engaged a Fulani militia in a gun battle at Tashar Kadanya in Batsari LGA (no location known, coded as Batsari) and prevented an attack on the village.	0
30-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Riyom	Ataka	30 August. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Ataka and killed five residents. Two people are missing and 25 houses torched.	5
28-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Kurfi	Wurma	28 August. Suspected Fulani militia abducted women from Wurma. Information on the number of abductees range from 15 to 50.	0
21-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	Foron	On August 21st, Fulani pastoralists attacked the village of Vat in Foron district (Plateau state, coordinates for Foron used at prec2), burning several houses. It is unclear whether there are casualties.	0
21-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Enugu East	Emene	On August 21st, a pregnant Igbo lady was killed by suspected Fulani pastoralists at or near Emene (Enugu state).	1
18-Aug-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Unidentified Armed Group (Nigeria)	Zamfara	Maru	Dan Sadau	On August 18th, Fulani pastoralists killed an armed bandit (coded as UAG) at Kango village in the area of Dan Sadau (Zamfara state, coordinates used at prec2). They brought the bandit's rifle to the governor as proof of their commitment to the peace process.	1

18-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Oyo	Akinyele	Araro	On August 17th or 18th, Fulani pastoralists were reported to have raided Araro (Oyo state), injuring seven civilians with machete attacks, whilst destroying farms and stealing money. Note that local police - whilst acknowledging skirmishes in the area - have denied that seven people were injured by machetes, although local doctors have supported the claims that at least three people were wounded by bladed weapons.	0
8-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Akwa Ibom	Mkpat Enin	Mkpat Enin	08 August. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Obio Nso in Mkpat Enin LGA (no geo location known, coded as Mkpat Enin), killed a resident and left other with injuries.	1
5-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Awgu	Agbogugu	05 August. Suspected Fulani militias abducted a local traditional ruler and his wife close to Agbogugu.	0
5-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Anambra	Awka South	Awka	05 August (or around). A worker at a school was attacked by Fulani militias after he asked them to leave the school premises that they used for grazing.	0
2-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Federal Capital Territory	Abuja Municipal	Abuja	02 August. A suspected Fulani militia attacked a student hostel at the University of Abuja and injured residents.	0
1-Aug-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Awgu	Ihe	01 August. A catholic priest was shot and killed by a suspected Fulani militia on the Ihe-Agbudu Road in Awgu LGA.	1
31-Jul-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Batsari	Nahuta	31 July. Two women in Nahuta were kidnapped by a suspected Fulani militia.	0
31-Jul-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Katsina	Batsari	Batsari	31. July. Suspected Fulani militias rustled cattle and attacked villages in Batsari LGA and killed three residents. The communities are: Garin Labo, Bakon Zabo (two deaths) Ajasu and Zamarawar (one death). No coordinates available, coded as Batsari.	3
26-Jul-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Katsina	Safana	Baure	26 July. Gunmen, suspected to be Pastoralists, attacked Baure and Garin Baure villages but were repelled by NAF and chased into Rugu forest. 500 livestock were recovered.	0
26-Jul-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Katsina	Safana	Safana	26 July. Gunmen, suspected to be Pastoralists, attacked Baure and Garin Baure (no coordinates available, located in the Safana LGA) villages but were repelled by NAF and chased into Rugu forest. 500 livestock were recovered.	0
24-Jul-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Yorro	Kona	24 July (or around). Suspected Fulani militias attacked 17 farming settlements within Kona community and took over grazing land in the area. An undisclosed number of farmers were killed.	3
14-Jul-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ogun	Odeda	Alabata	14 July. Two suspected Fulani militias stabbed and killed a farmer in Alabata community.	1
14-Jul-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Oshimili North	Ibusa	14 July (or around). Suspected Fulani herdsman killed a farmer in Ibusa community.	1
7-Jul-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	Issele-Uku	07 July (or around). Suspected Fulani militias attacked an orphanage in Issele-Uku, and destroyed parts of the building and a car.	0
3-Jul-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Imo	Ohaji/Egbema	Obokofia Plantation	03 July. Fulani militias entered Obokofia village after a dispute over grazing land and shot in the air. Crops were destroyed.	0
28-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ekiti	Ido-Osi	Orin	28 June. Suspected Fulani Militias killed a farmer in Orin Ekiti.	1

27-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ogun	Odeda	Seriki	27 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Seriki and injured the village head.	0
25-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kogi	Kogi	Koton Karifi	25 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Koton-Karfi and Onzo communities. Seven residents were killed. Fatalities split between two events.	4
25-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kogi	Kogi	Onzo	25 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Koton-Karfi and Onzo communities. Seven residents were killed. Fatalities split between two events.	3
17-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Ardo-Kola	Sunkani	17 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Janibanbu in Ardo-Kola LGA and killed six residents.	6
16-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Ardo-Kola	Sunkani	16 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Tudiri village (no coordinates available; located in Ardo-Kola LGA).	0
16-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Jalingo	Jalingo	16 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Kasuan Baila area of Jalingo town. Houses were looted and one person killed.	1
14-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Nkanu West	Agbani	14 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked a commercial minibus on the Agbani-Ugbawka road and abducted three women.	0
12-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Osun	Irewole	Ikire	12 June. Suspected Fulani militias attacked civilians on the Ibadan-Ife highway at Ikire. One person killed.	1
6-Jun-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Federal Capital Territory	Abuja Municipal	Orozo	06 June (or around). Fulani militias attacked Orozo in the outskirts of Abuja.	0
27-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Nakai Danwai	27 May. Suspected Fulani militias attacked Nakai Danwai (approx. position) and killed six people.	6
25-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Anambra	Anambra East	Aguleri	25 May. Fulani militias attacked farmland in Mkpu Nanndo Otu community in Anambra East LGA and killed three farmers.	3
21-May-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Kogi	Dekina	Dekina	21 May. Police forces got engaged in a gun battle with Fulani militias in Ulaja (Dekina LGA). A police officer and a local vigilante were killed in the fight.	2
20-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha South	Ubulu-Uku	20 May (or around). Fulani militias attacked a Ubulu-Uke community and killed a resident.	1
18-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kogi	Yagba East	Ogga	18 May. A farmer was killed by suspected Fulani militias in Ogga community.	1
9-May-19	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Benue	Gwer West	Agagbe	09 May. Nigerian Armed Forces got engaged in a gun duel with Fulani militias at Azoom riverbank, near Agagbe, and seized weapons.	0
8-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Jalingo	Abare	08 May. Fulani militias attacked the communities of Murbai (five fatalities - approx. position), Sembe (six fatalities - approx. position), Kisbap (approx. position) and Yawai Abare in the outskirts of Jalingo town.	0
8-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Jalingo	Kisbap	08 May. Fulani militias attacked the communities of Murbai (five fatalities - approx. position), Sembe (six fatalities - approx. position), Kisbap (approx. position) and Yawai Abare in the outskirts of Jalingo town.	0
8-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Jalingo	Murbai	08 May. Fulani militias attacked the communities of Murbai (five fatalities - approx. position), Sembe (six fatalities - approx. position), Kisbap (approx. position) and Yawai Abare in the outskirts of Jalingo town.	5

8-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Jalingo	Sembe	08 May: Fulani militias attacked the communities of Murbai (five fatalities - approx. position), Sembe (six fatalities - approx. position), Kisbap (approx. position) and Yawai Abare in the outskirts of Jalingo town.	6
7-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Benin)	Ogun	Imeko-Afon	Iwoye	07 May: Farmers from Benin were attacked by Fulani militias on Nigerian territory. The attack happened in the border area of the Benin district of Idigry (position coded for Iwoye on Nigerian territory). Two farmers were killed.	2
5-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Imo	Owerri North	Uratta	05 May: Fulani militias shot and killed a resident at Uratta who tried to stop their cattle from grazing in the area. Another civilian got wounded by a machete.	1
3-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ogun	Imeko-Afon	Igbogbo	03 May (or around). A civilian was shot by Fulani militias in Iwoye while attempting to hinder their cattle to drink from a stream in the community.	1
3-May-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Ogun	Imeko-Afon	Igbogbo	03 May (or around). Police forces were ambushed by Fulani militias in Iwoye in an attempt to arrest the murderer of the civilian in the earlier incident on that day. Two police officers and one civilian were killed in the gun battle.	3
2-May-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Girei	Girei	02 May: Fulani Militias attacked Murposa, Bankam and Wuro Hausa villages in Girei LGA. Five people were killed.	5
24-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Rivers	Oyigbo	Obigbo	24 April: IPOB accused Fulani militias of having killed a leading member in Obigbo	1
17-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Numan	Bolki	17 April: Fulani pastoralist militia killed 15 and left 3 wounded in late night attack on Adamawa communities in Bolki, Bolon, Bujum and Numan towns. They also burned down several houses. Fatalities distributed over 4 locations.	4
17-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Demsa	Bolon	17 April: Fulani pastoralist militia killed 15 and left 3 wounded in late night attack on Adamawa communities in Bolki, Bolon, Bujum and Numan towns. They also burned down several houses. Fatalities distributed over 4 locations.	4
17-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Numan	Numan	17 April: Fulani pastoralist militia killed 15 and left 3 wounded in late night attack on Adamawa communities in Bolki, Bolon, Bujum and Numan towns. They also burned down several houses. Fatalities distributed over 4 locations.	3
17-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Numan	Bujum Kasuwa	17 April: Fulani pastoralist militia killed 15 and left 3 wounded in late night attack on Adamawa communities in Bolki, Bolon, Bujum and Numan towns. They also burned down several houses. Fatalities distributed over 4 locations.	4
11-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taraba	Wukari	Vaase	11 April. A combined force of Fulani and Jukun militias attacked Vaase village and killed 10 people.	10
9-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Ethiopia East	Abraka	09 April. Fulani militias attacked farmers along the Benin-Abraka road and killed four people.	4
7-Apr-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Kogi	Omala	Bugana	07 April. Fulani militias attacked Bugana and engaged in a battle with Police forces and the local militia. Three police officers and three local militias killed.	6

6-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Anambra	Anambra West	Nzam	06 April (or around). Suspected Fulani militias attacked three small farmer camps (Agweopia, Iyigbu and Iyinkolo) in Anambra West LGA, killed six civilians, raped women and injured 30 residents.	6
2-Apr-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Logo	Gaambetiev	02 April. Fulani militias attacked Mondo village in Gaambetiev area. Five residents killed	5
27-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kogi	Omala	Abejukolo	27 March. Suspected Fulani militias killed three farmers on the Abejukolo-Bagana road	3
23-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Akwanga	Mante	On 23 March 2019, Fulani militias raped and killed a woman near Merte (Mante) and Nendem villages.	1
23-Mar-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Akwanga	Mante	23 March (or around). Fulani militias burned down houses in Merte (Mante) and Nendem following an earlier attack on a Fulani settlement	0
23-Mar-19	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Akwanga	Akwanga	23 March (or around). Fulani militias burned down houses in Merte (Mante) and Nendem (geo code 2) following an earlier attack on a Fulani settlement	0
20-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Ezeagu	Ezeagu	20 March. Fulani militias killed a secretary of the LGA who was returning from a peace meeting on a community road in Ezeagu LGA	1
19-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	19 March. Fulani militias attacked Tse loreleegeb in Guma LGA and killed 10 residents	10
12-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	Kyamara	12 March. Two residents of Kyamara, Kajuru, were killed in an attack by Fulani Militias (approx coordinates used based on location likely close to border between Kajuru and Chikun LGAs).	2
11-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	Inkirimi	11 March. Fulani militias killed 52 people in Dogonoma and Inkirimi, Kajuru (approx coordinates used based on location likely close to border between Kajuru and Chikun LGAs). Fatalities split between both locations.	26
11-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	Anguman Gamu	11 March. Fulani Militias killed 46 people in Anguman Gamu, Kajuru (approx coordinates used based on location likely close to border between Kajuru and Chikun LGAs).	46
11-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	Dogonoma	11 March. Fulani militias killed 52 people in Dogonoma and Inkirimi, Kajuru (approx coordinates used based on location likely close to border between Kajuru and Chikun LGAs). Fatalities split between both locations.	26
11-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Chikun	Ungwan Gora	11 March. Several residents of Ungwan Gora, Chikun, were injured in an attack of Fulani Militas on their village (approx coordinates used based on location likely close to border between Kajuru and Chikun LGAs). About 43 houses were set ablaze.	0
10-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Chikun	Gidan Barde	10 March. Fulani militias killed 16 civilians in Barde village.	16
2-Mar-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Gwer West	Agagbe	02 March. Fulani militias in military uniforms killed 16 residents of Agagbe community.	16
22-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Umenge	22 February. Suspected pastoralist militias blocked the road between Umeng and Tokpande and injured over 10 civilians with machetes. Several persons declared missing	0
20-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	20 February. Fulani militias attacked Iye village in Guma LGA. Two residents were killed and several went missing	2

20-Feb-19	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Benue	Makurdi	Makurdi	20 February. A patrol of Nigerian Military Forces in Makurdi encountered a group of pastoralist militias that opened fire. Soldiers responded, leaving two killed. Military confirmed the incident, but denied any death toll.	0
20-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Agatu	Obangedde	20 February. Fulani militias attacked Ebete community in Agatu LGA and killed 16 people	16
13-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Enugu	Udi	Afa	13 February. Pastoralist militia attacked a Technical Secondary School in Afa, killed one person and abducted a Catholic cleric.	1
13-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Ekiti	Ido-Osi	Ido Ekiti	13 February. A farmer was killed by Fulanis on his farm between Ayegbaju and Ido Ekiti	1
12-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Ika South	Ndemili	12 February. Herdsman killed two farmers and wounded four in Ndemili. The farmers were ambushed on their way to the Fulani camp, where they wanted to ask the Fulanis to leave the community. Their bodies were found the following day	2
11-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Gbajimba	11 February. Herdsman attacked Tse-Kyoon village in Guma LGA and killed two people	2
10-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli South	Effurun Tor	10 February. Suspected herdsman stormed Effurun-Tor, killed two people and attacked the local palace	2
10-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	Kajuru	10 February. Gunmen, believed to be Fulanis, attacked the Adara community in Angwan Barde (Kajuru LGA) and killed 11 people (many farmers).	11
4-Feb-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Akumba	04 February (or around). Herders attacked The Taavaan in Mbadvern (near Akumba) and killed several people. Unknown fatalities.	3
4-Feb-19	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	Tom-Atar	04 February. Pastoralist militia stormed Tom-Atar community and encountered resistance from a patrol team of the Nigerian Military Forces. Three herders were killed in the battle	3
31-Jan-19	Battles	Armed clash	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Delta	Ndokwa East	Umuachi-Ator	31 January. Herdsman ambushed a Police patrol in Umuachi-Ator and killed a police officer. Police team searched for herders that were engaged in kidnapping activities.	1
19-Jan-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Demsa	Bare	19 January. Hundreds of suspected armed pastoralists attacked Bare village, burning all the houses, including the catholic seminar. No casualties.	0
12-Jan-19	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Delta	Ughelli North	Ohoro	12 January. A fisherman was shot dead by a herder in Agadama community	1
7-Jan-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Anam Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Anambra	Anambra East	Umueze-Anam	07 January. Herders and Farmers clashed in Anam community. Before military forces arrived at the scene, one herder was killed.	1
5-Jan-19	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Abba-Omega Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Ebonyi	Onicha	Abba Omega	01 May (or around). Fulani militias and Abba Omega Communal militias clashed at Abba Omega over the destruction of crops. Gunshots were heard during the fight and two people sustained injuries.	0

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Event date	Event type	Event type (sub)	Actor	Victims	Associated Victims	State	LGA	Notes	Fatalities
12-Nov-20	Explosions/Remote violence	Air/drone strike	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kaduna North	On 12 November 2020, Nigerian Airforce troops conducted air strikes against Fulani herdsmen at the Kwiambana Forest area of Kaduna State following a distress call about rustled cattle and livestock. Several fatalities reported. Unknown fatalities coded at 3.	3
11-Nov-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Teachers (Nigeria); Labour Group (Nigeria)	Ondo	Owo	On 11 November 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked and shot at the vehicle of the Bursar of Rufus Giwa Polytechnic along the Water Works/Upemen Road (Owo LGA, Ondo). No reported fatalities.	0
7-Nov-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Labour Group (Nigeria)	Lagos	Ikeja	On 7 November 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked the Lagos Fire and Lagos State Emergency Management Agency at the Kara axis of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway (Ikeja LGA, Lagos). The Lagos state emergency team was deployed to tackle a tanker explosion in the vicinity. Unknown reason for attack. Reported property damage. No reported fatalities.	0
7-Nov-20	Explosions/Remote violence	Air/drone strike	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kaduna North	On 7 November 2020, Nigerian Airforce troops conducted air strikes against Fulani herdsmen in Kaduna State, killing several militiamen. Several fatalities coded as 3.	3
31-Oct-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Refugees/IDPs (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	On 31 October 2020, Fulani militia ambushed and attacked civilian IDPs near Kallah (Kajuru LGA, Kaduna), killing one and injuring the other. Unknown reason for attack.	1
28-Oct-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Teachers (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Anambra	Dunukofia	On 28 October 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen abducted a female professor of the Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University and an unidentified young man on the Enugwu-Agidi-Nawgu Road (Dunukofia LGA, Anambra). Reason for abduction unknown.	0
26-Oct-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 26 October 2020, Fulani militia attacked two residents of Kwakwa village near the outskirts of the village (Zango-Kataf LGA, Kaduna), killing one and injuring the other. Unknown reason for attack.	1
14-Oct-20	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Enugu	Uzo-Uwani	On 14 October 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen destroyed crops and set a ablaze farm settlements at Efu-Ozara and Ugwu-Iga in the Ukpabi Nimbo village area (Uzo-Uwani, Enugu).	0
7-Oct-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	Around 7 October 2020 (as reported), Fulani herdsmen attacked farmers in Ncha Village (Bassa LGA, Plateau), killing two. The attack was a reprisal attack over the casualties the herdsmen suffered after they were repelled by military personnel while attempting to raid and attack Kpachudu Village.	2
5-Oct-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Riyom Communal Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Riyom	On 5 October 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked residents of Wereng community (Riyom LGA, Plateau), killing at least five residents, including a traditional ruler and injuring several others.	5
1-Oct-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Kaduna	Kaduna North	On 1 October 2020, Fulani herdsmen invaded Mando in Kaduna town (Kaduna LGA, Kaduna), abducting three people including a Nigerian Army Captain. Property damage also reported. Reason for abduction not known.	0
28-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Zamfara	Maru	On 28 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked residents of Kanoma village (Maru LGA, Zamfara), abducting 5 people including a director with the state ministry of health. Reported injuries. Unknown reason for attack.	0
28-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Katsina	Safana	Around 28 September 2020 (as reported), Fulani herdsmen attacked and looted Danyegaya village (Safana LGA, Katsina), rustling cattle but were repelled by the Nigerian military. Reported injuries. Unknown reason for attack.	0
26-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria); Catholic Christian Group (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	On 26 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen abducted a Catholic priest and his three workers at his farm between Isele-Uku (Aniocha North LGA, Delta) and Issele Mkpitime (Aniocha North LGA, Delta). All four victims were later released. No information about whether ransom was paid.	0

23-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Miners (Nigeria)	Plateau	Riyom	On 23 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked local miners at Jol (Riyom LGA, Plateau), injuring nine. Unknown reason for attack.	0
23-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Jigawa Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Gwiwa	On 23 September 2020, police officers, with local militiamen, clashed with a Fulani militia at Gwiwa (Gwiwa LGA, Jigawa), recovering arms and ammunition. Two local militiamen reportedly killed.	2
20-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 20 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked Tse Apera village (Guma LGA, Benue). Multiple sources report fatalities ranging from 2 to 5 and at least 5 injuries. Unknown reason for attack.	2
20-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	OPC: Oodua Peoples Congress	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Oyo	Olorunsogo	On 20 September 2020, OPC militia clashed with suspected Fulani herders at Old Oyo National Park (Olorunsogo LGA, Oyo). Local militiamen handed over no fewer than three herders to security forces. Reported injuries.	0
19-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Madamuwa Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Guri	On 19 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen clashed with local militiamen at Madamuwa (Guri LGA, Jigawa), killing one and injuring twenty. Event connected to farmer-herder conflict. Two suspects arrested.	1
17-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Katsina	Malumfashi	On 17 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked residents of Yanteba village (Malumfashi LGA, Katsina), killing five farmers. Attack was a reprisal attack.	5
17-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Dekina	On 17 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked customers at Royal Garden Relaxation Spot in Egume (Dekina LGA, Kogi), killing one and abducting three. The three kidnapped victims were later released after a collective ransom was paid.	1
14-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Lafia	On 14 September 2020, Nigerian troops clashed with suspected Fulani herdsmen along the forest boundary between Benue and Nasarawa States (Lafia LGA, Nasarawa), destroying their camp. Reported injuries.	0
13-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria); Farmers (Nigeria)	Ogun	Ewekoro	On 13 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen raped a 16-year old girl in Afofowola (Ewekoro LGA, Ogun) after robbing her family. Policemen arrested two suspects in connection to the event. No reported fatalities.	0
11-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 11 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen invaded and looted Manyi-Mashin village in Atyap Chiefdom (Zango-Kataf LGA, Kaduna), killing two residents. Material damage also reported.	2
9-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Yamadaga Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	On 9 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen clashed with farmers at Yamadaga village located near Kadarko (Keana LGA, Nasarawa). Event related to the farmer-herder conflict. Two reported fatalities.	2
8-Sep-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Kurmin Masara Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Zangon Kataf	Around 8 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen and local militia men clashed in Kurmin Masara (Zangon Kataf LGA, Kaduna). Reason for clash related to farmer-pastoralist conflicts. Two reported fatalities.	2
8-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Zangon Kataf	On 8 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked residents at Gora Zagwaza Village (Zangon-Kataf LGA, Kaduna), killing one, injuring another, and kidnapping three.	1
8-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kauru	On 8 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked residents of Kitsarapang village in Kaura (Kaura LGA, Kaduna). One reported fatality and two injuries.	1
8-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 8 September 2020, Fulani herdsmen ambushed and assaulted three farmers in Zamandabo Ward in Atyap Chiefdom (Zango-Kataf LGA, Kaduna). One reported fatality and two injuries.	1
6-Sep-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 6 September 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked residents of Adara community in Kajuru (Kajuru LGA, Kaduna), killing three residents and taking at least seven hostage.	3

28-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Kaduna	Chikun	On 28 August 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen invaded Mararaba Rido (Chikun LGA, Kaduna), and kidnapped four people, including one police officer (assumed off-duty). Unknown reason for attack. Three of the victims were later found dead.	3
24-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Labour Group (Nigeria)	Enugu	Udenu	On 24 August 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen kidnapped a businessman in Eha-Amufu (Isi-Uzo LGA, Enugu).	0
24-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Langtang North	On 24 August 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked Zernadade and Tanlang villages (Langtang North LGA, Plateau), killing ten residents.	10
20-Aug-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Kaduna Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 20 August 2020, Fulani Ethnic Militias clashed with a communal militia in Zango-Kataf LGA (Kaduna). No fatalities and/or injuries reported.	0
18-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zangon Kataf	On 18 August 2020, Fulani Ethnic Militias invaded Unguwan Gankon village in Gora ward (Zangon Kataf LGA, Kaduna), killing two and burning at least seven houses in reprisal attacks against the community.	2
17-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kachia	On 17 August 2020, Fulani Ethnic Militias attacked and killed a farmer along the Kaduna - Kachia road (Kachia LGA, Kaduna).	1
16-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kachia	On 16 August 2020, Fulani Ethnic Militias attacked and looted Bugai village (Kachia LGA, Kaduna), injuring six. Multiple sources report fatalities ranging from 4 to 5.	4
16-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 16 August 2020, Fulani Ethnic Militias ambushed a commercial vehicle in Maro (Kajuru, Kaduna), abducting at least one. Multiple sources report fatalities ranging from 1 to 4. Unknown reason for attack.	1
7-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 7 August 2020, a Fulani militia attacked Juji community in Chikun LGA (Chikun, Kaduna). No reported injuries and/or fatalities.	0
6-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	Around 6 August 2020, Fulani militia attacked five communities in Atyp Chiefdom (Zango-Kataf LGA, Kaduna), burning property and injuring several residents. Multiple sources report fatality numbers ranging from 21 to 33. Eight suspected militias were arrested and their weapons recovered by the Nigerian Military.	21
3-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Kokona	On 3 August 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked and injured three farmers in Ninkoro village (Kokona LGA, Nasarawa).	0
3-Aug-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Toto	On 3 August 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked Umaish (Toto LGA, Nasarawa), looting and killing six residents.	6
30-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Barkin Ladi	On 30 July 2020, suspected Fulani militia attacked a family in Gashish (Barkin Ladi LGA), killing one and injuring one.	1
27-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Langtang North	On 27 July 2020, Fulani militia attacked Zernadade and Tanlang villages in Langtang North LGA (Plateau), killing ten.	10
27-Jul-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	On 27 July 2020, Fulani militia attacked farmers in Miago community (Bassa LGA, Plateau), but were repelled by the Nigerian military and police force. One fatality reported.	1
24-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Jema'a	On 24 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Zikpak, Ungwan Masara in Fantsuam area of Jema'a LGA (Kaduna) and Maraban Kgoro in Kaura LGA. 9 residents were killed. Fatalities split between 2 events.	4
24-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Jema'a	On 24 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked and killed at least twelve people in Kafanchan (Jema'a LGA).	12
24-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kaura	On 24 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Zikpak, Ungwan Masara in Fantsuam area of Jema'a LGA and Maraban Kgoro in Kaura LGA (Kaduna). 9 residents were killed. Fatalities split between 2 events.	5
23-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 23 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Magayaki in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) and killed 7 residents.	7

21-Jul-20	Battles	Armed clash	Owelu Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Imo	Owerri North	On 21 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias clashed with communal militias at Owelu (Owerri North LGA, Imo). The Fulani were forced to withdraw.	0
21-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kauru	On 21 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Fari in Kauru LGA (Kaduna) and killed 3 residents.	3
20-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	On 20 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Magani and Tungan-Bako in Rafi LGA (Niger), abducted residents, mostly farmers, looted the villages and rustled cattle.	0
20-Jul-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Private Security Forces (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	On 20 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias clashed with police and private security guards during an attack on a hospital in Barkin Ladi (Barkin Ladi LGA, Plateau). Militiamen killed a security guard and injured a police officer.	1
20-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	On 20 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Magani and Tungan-Bako in Rafi LGA (Niger), abducted residents, mostly farmers, looted the villages and rustled cattle.	0
20-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zangon Kataf	On 20 July 2020, Fulani herdsmen attacked Gora Gan (Zango-Kataf LGA, Kaduna) and killed 8 residents.	8
19-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kaura	On 19 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kukum Daji (Kaura LGA, Kaduna) and killed between 18 and 21 residents. About 30 people were injured.	18
18-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 18 July 2020, suspected Fulani militia killed eleven people in Zangon Kataf LGA (Kaduna).	11
14-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Nasarawa	Akwanga	On 14 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked family members of the former Minister of Information in Gudi (Akwanga LGA, Nasarawa). An NIS (Nigerian Immigration Service) officer was killed and 2 people kidnapped.	1
12-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 12 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Surubu and Ungwan Audu in Zangon Kataf LGA (Kaduna), killed 1 resident, injured others and burnt the villages.	1
11-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zangon Kataf	On 11 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kigudu (Zangon Kataf LGA, Kaduna) and killed 12 residents.	12
10-Jul-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Taraba	Wukari	On 10 July 2020, Nigerian Armed Forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias near Arufu (Wukari LGA, Taraba) and killed 2 militiamen. The militias were allegedly involved in a previous attack on Chambe in Benue State.	2
10-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	On 10 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Chambe in Logo LGA (Benue) and killed 2 residents.	2
10-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zango-Kataf	On 10 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Chibwob in Zangon Kataf LGA (Kaduna), killed 7 residents and burnt 20 houses.	7
10-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Zangon Kataf	On 10 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Sabon Kaura (Zangon Kataf LGA, Kaduna) and killed 15 people.	15
6-Jul-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Private Security Forces (Nigeria)		Benue	Logo	On 6 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias clashed with and killed 2 private security guards watching livestock near Ayilamo (Logo LGA, Benue).	2
5-Jul-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	On 5 July 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a farmer at Mararaban Kajuru (Kajuru LGA, Kaduna).	1
3-Jul-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Udege Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Nasarawa	Nasarawa-Eggon	Around 3 July 2020 (as reported), suspected Fulani militias clashed with communal militias from Mararaba Udege in Nasarawa LGA (Nassarawa). 6 people were killed and 2 injured.	6
29-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Zadawa Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Bauchi	Misau	On 29 June 2020, Fulani militias and farmers from Zadawa (Misau LGA, Bauchi) clashed over land. 9 people were killed and 6 injured.	9
28-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Bakai Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Katsina	Kankara	On 28 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bakai (Kankara LGA, Katsina), overpowered local militias, killed 9 residents and rustled cattle.	9

25-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	On 25 June 2020, Nigeria Military Forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias around Torkula (Guma LGA, Benue), killed 2 militiamen and seized weapons.	2
24-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 24 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Torkula (Guma LGA, Benue) and injured 2 residents.	0
23-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 23 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Unguwar Ali, about 10km away from Faskari (Faskari LGA, Katsina), killed 1 resident and rustled 150 cows.	1
23-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Katsina	Batsari	On 23 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Karare (Batsari LGA, Katsina), looted the village, rustled cattle and abducted the daughter of the village head and another resident. No fatalities and/or injuries reported.	0
22-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Dandume	On 22 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Maikwama (Dandume LGA, Katsina) and killed 3 residents. Cattle was rustled and the village looted.	3
21-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Buduru Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Garki	On 21 June 2020, farmers and Fulani militias clashed in Buduru in Garki LGA (Jigawa) over the alleged destruction of farmland. 1 Fulani was killed.	1
21-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Jugawa Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Jigawa	Guri	On 21 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias clashed with farmers in Jugawa in Guri LGA (Jigawa). 3 people were killed.	3
20-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Zamfara	Maru	On 20 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ruwan Tofa (Maru LGA, Zamfara), killing between 10 and 15 residents and rustled cattle.	10
18-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Niger	Shiroro	On 18 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Zhazhayidna, Kpayituko, Iboru, Ndayinkwo, Mbokwo, Kudodo and Affarpi in Shiroro LGA (Niger), killed 1 resident, injured 6 and kidnapped 2. 150 cattle were rustled.	1
16-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	On 16 June 2020, Nigerian Armed Forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias at Gyungwu Armua in Guma LGA (Benue). 2 Fulani militiamen were killed and 1 injured.	2
15-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ebonyi	Onicha	On 15 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a villager in Ezube-Amankpuma village, Okawu community in Onicha LGA (Ebonyi).	1
14-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Kamban-Malul Communal Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bokkos	On 14 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kamban-Malul in Daffo District of Bokkos LGA (Plateau), killing the village head and another person.	2
14-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Lata Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Kwara	Pategi	On 14 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias and local communal militias clashed in the village of Lata in Pategi LGA (Kwara). 1 person was killed and several injured in the clash that was prompted by accusations of riding motorcycles in a dangerous manner.	1
13-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Rivers	Eleme	On 13 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked and injured a farmer in Ogale (Eleme LGA, Rivers).	0
13-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Imo	Oguta	Around 13 June 2020 (as reported), suspected Fulani militias killed a farmer in Obudi Agwa (Oguta LGA, Imo) over grazing land.	1
6-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Benue	Guma	On 6 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Torkula, Kponko and Kaseyo all in Mbadwem Council Ward of Guma LGA (Benue). Nigerian Armed Forces repelled the attack and chased the Fulani militias. Information on fatalities among residents range from 3 to 12.	3
6-Jun-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Tyowem Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Kwande	Around 6 June 2020 (as reported), suspected Fulani militias clashed with farmers of Tyowem community in Kwande LGA (Benue). 3 Fulani were killed and 7 people are missing.	3
4-Jun-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 4 June 2020, suspected Fulani militias Uhur and Torkula (Guma LGA, Benue), killing 5 people in Uhur.	5
31-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Private Security Forces (Nigeria)	Imo	Aboh-Mbaise	On 31 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a private security guard on his way home in Umuanyuma community in Aboh Mbaise LGA (Imo).	1

31-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Oyo	Akinyele	On 31 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ikereku, Pade, Olanla and Babalola in Akinyele LGA (Oyo). 3 farmers in Olanla were killed.	0
31-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Oyo	Akinyele	On 31 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ikereku, Pade, Olanla and Babalola in Akinyele LGA (Oyo). 3 farmers in Olanla were killed.	0
31-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Oyo	Akinyele	On 31 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ikereku, Pade, Olanla and Babalola in Akinyele LGA (Oyo). 3 farmers in Olanla were killed.	3
31-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	PDP: Peoples Democratic Party	Nasarawa	Obi	On 31 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Itkpa in Obi LGA (Benue) and killed 13 people, among them the local PDP chairman.	13
30-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 30 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Maseri in Sheri ward of Faskari LGA (Katsina) and killed 3 residents. Other villages attacked in the same ward were Yan Nasarawa, Unguwar Alhaji Babba and Unguwar Kanya. Reports on fatalities range from 3 to 13	3
29-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Ondo	Akoko North West	On 29 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a farmer in Oyin Akoko in the Akoko North West LGA (Ondo).	1
29-May-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ika North East	On 29 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias abducted 4 travelers on the Lagos-Asaba Road in Boji Boji Owa in Ika North-East LGA (Delta).	0
28-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 28 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Unguwar Gizo, Maigora, Mai Ruwa, and Sabon Layin Galadima in Faskari LGA, as well as Machika in Sabuwa LGA (Katsina). Reports on fatalities range from 13 to 15. Cattle was rustled in the attacks. Fatalities split between 4 events.	4
28-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Sabuwa	On 28 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Unguwar Gizo, Maigora, Mai Ruwa, and Sabon Layin Galadima in Faskari LGA as well as Machika in Sabuwa LGA (Katsina). Reports on fatalities range from 13 to 15. Cattle was rustled in the attacks. Fatalities split between 4 events.	3
28-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 28 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Unguwar Gizo, Maigora, Mai Ruwa, and Sabon Layin Galadima in Faskari LGA as well as Machika in Sabuwa LGA (Katsina). Reports on fatalities range from 13 to 15. Cattle was rustled in the attacks. Fatalities split between 4 events.	3
28-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 28 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Unguwar Gizo, Maigora, Mai Ruwa, and Sabon Layin Galadima in Faskari LGA as well as Machika in Sabuwa LGA (Katsina). Reports on fatalities range from 13 to 15. Cattle was rustled in the attacks. Fatalities split between 4 events.	3
27-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Katsina	Dutsin-Ma	On 27 May 2020, Police attacked a camp of suspected Fulani militias in Fasada in Dutsinma LGA (Katsina), killed 2 Fulani and rescued abductees. Rustled cattle was seized.	2
23-May-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 23 May 2020, about 50 suspected Fulani militias attacked Yankara (Faskari LGA, Katsina), kidnapped 2 residents and rustled cattle.	0
21-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 21 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefi towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	1
21-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 21 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefi towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	1
21-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 21 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefi towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	1

20-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 20 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	1
20-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 20 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
20-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 20 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
19-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 19 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
19-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 19 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
19-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 19 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
18-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 18 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
18-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 18 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
18-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 18 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked settlements around Kallah, Libere and Gefe towns in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) on 4 consecutive days. At least 20 residents were reported killed. Fatalities split between 12 events.	2
17-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Oshimili North	On 17 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ibusa (Oshimili North LGA, Delta), killed 3 residents and looted the community.	3
17-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 17 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bilbis and Hayin Gadar Daudawa in Faskari LGA (Katsina). Cattle was rustled and houses burnt.	0
17-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 17 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bilbis and Hayin Gadar Daudawa in Faskari LGA (Katsina). Cattle was rustled and houses burnt.	0
17-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Niger	Shiroro	On 17 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Nankuna, Nansa, Eburo and Lagodo in Erena District of Shiroro LGA (Niger). 5 people were killed. Victims reported the sighting of helicopter that is believed to be linked to the attacks.	5
16-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	On 16 May 2020, police forces with support of local communal militias clashed with suspected Fulani militias at Karaya Mahanga as well as Bakachi and Mekujeri in Rafi LGA (Niger). 9 Fulani were killed. Fatalities split between 2 events.	5
16-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	On 16 May 2020, police forces with support of local communal militias clashed with suspected Fulani militias at Karaya Mahanga as well as Bakachi and Mekujeri in Rafi LGA (Niger). 9 Fulani were killed. Fatalities split between 2 events.	4
16-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Lamurde	On 16 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Mbemun in Lamurde LGA (Adamawa) and razed 50 houses. Cattle was rustled.	0
16-May-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Enugu	Enugu North	On 16 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias kidnapped a woman at Eziam Nike in Enugu East LGA (Enugu).	0

14-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Faskari	On 14 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Yankara (Faskari LGA, Katsina) and killed 1 resident. 8 were reported injured.	1
13-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 13 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Makyali in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna). At least 7 residents were reported killed.	7
12-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	On 12 May 2020, Nigerian Armed Forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias around Agasha (Guma LGA, Benue), after the militiamen attacked the village on the previous day. 4 Fulani were killed.	4
12-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 12 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bakin-Kogi, Idanu and Doka in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna). 1 civilian was killed. Fatality split between 2 events.	1
12-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 12 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Doka, Bakin-Kogi and Idanu in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna). 1 civilian was killed. Fatalities split between 2 events. A further 15-17 residents were killed when Fulani militias attacked Gonan Rogo in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna).	15
12-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 12 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tse-Haaga in the Mbabai ward of Guma LGA (Benue). Information on fatalities range from 3 to 4.	3
12-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Benue	Logo	On 12 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a group of worshippers (assumed Christian) carrying out a vigil in Tomatar Iwendyer in Loko LGA (Benue) and killed 1 woman.	1
12-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	On 12 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bolki and Gon (Numan LGA, Adamawa), killing 2 residents, setting houses ablaze and looting the villages. Fatalities split between two events.	1
12-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	On 12 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bolki and Gon (Numan LGA, Adamawa), killing 2 residents, setting houses ablaze and looting the villages. Fatalities split between two events.	1
11-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 11 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Agasha (Guma LGA, Benue) and killed 2 residents.	2
9-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	On 9 May 2020, Tiv and Fulani militias clashed in Kadarko District of Giza Development Area, in Keana LGA (Nasarawa) after an argument between Tiv farmers and Fulani that resulted in an injury. 2 people were killed.	2
8-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Gwer West	On 8 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Imande and Gbaange-Tongov in Gwer West LGA (Benue). Eight residents were killed in Imande and one in Gbaange-Tongov. Injuries were reported at both locations.	9
8-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Karakkai Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Zamfara	Bungudu	On 8 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Karakai (Bungudu LGA, Zamfara) to rustle cows, but were engaged in a gun battle by a local communal militia. 3 Fulani were killed and 2 handed over to Military Forces.	3
7-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Katsina	Batsari	On 7 May 2020, about 200 suspected Fulani militias attacked Tsugunni, Yandaka, Salihawar Duba, Garin Goje, Watangadiya and Dutse Maizane villages in Batsari LGA (Katsina). 1 resident of Garin Goje was killed, while 3 residents of Dutse Maizane were injured. Cows and sheep were rustled.	1
7-May-20	Battles	Armed clash	Okpanam Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Delta	Oshimili North	On 7 May 2020, communal militias from Okpanam (Oshimili North LGA, Delta) searched for abducted residents and engaged in an armed clash with suspected Fulani militias. 2 communal militiamen were killed.	2
6-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 6 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tarkende in Guma LGA (Benue) and killed 2 residents.	2
6-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Katsina	Sabuwa	On 6 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a village in Sabuwa LGA (Katsina), killed 5 residents and rustled cattle. The Head of Danmusa LGA and his son in Sabuwa LGA (Katsina).	5
6-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Barkin Ladi	On 6 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias shot a pastor, his wife and 2 children at Gana Ropp (Barkin Ladi LGA, Plateau). The victims survived the shooting.	0

5-May-20	Strategic developments	Looting/property destruction	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Makurdi	On 5 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias stole about 43 cows from the Federal University of Agriculture in Makurdi (Makurdi LGA, Benue).	0
5-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Taxi Drivers (Nigeria)	Ogun	Abeokuta South	On 5 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a minibus on the Abeokuta-Ayetoro (Abeokuta South LGA, Ogun) road and killed the driver.	1
2-May-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Gwer West	On 2 May 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Imande in Gwer West LGA (Benue), killing 2 residents and injuring another 2.	2
30-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Gwer West	On 30 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked and injured a farmer at Imande in Gwer West LGA (Benue) over an argument about grazing land.	0
26-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Niger	Shiroro	On 26 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Erena in Shiroro LGA (Niger), killed 2 residents, injured several others and rustled about 2000 cows.	2
25-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ebonyi	Ohaozara	On 25 April 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias shot and killed a resident of Umueke in Ohaozara LGA (Ebonyi) in an argument between both parties. 4 residents were injured.	1
25-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 25 April 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias attacked Kikwari in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna), killed 3 residents and looted and burnt down the village.	3
25-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Kujeni Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	On 25 April 2020, a communal militia from Kujeni in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna) clashed with suspected Fulani militias. 12 communal militiamen were abducted.	0
24-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria); Farmers (Nigeria)	Anambra	Ayamelum	On 24 April 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias kidnapped a woman from Austin Farms in Anaku (Anambra West LGA, Anambra) and looted her home.	0
24-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kaduna	Kajuru	On 24 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kujeni and Makyal in Kajuru LGA (Kaduna). One resident was killed, two injured and 25 houses burnt in Kujeni. A farmer was killed in Makyal.	2
22-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha South	On 22 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a farm in Issele-Azagba (Aniocha North LGA, Delta) and killed the manager and a watchman.	2
20-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ondo	Idanre	On 20 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ala (Idanre LGA, Ondo), robbed and assaulted the residents.	0
20-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Ezinihite Mbaise Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Akwa Ibom	Itu	On 20 April 2020, local militias from Ezinihite Mbaise LGA in Imo clashed with Fulani militias and rustled cows.	0
20-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Gidigori Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Niger	Rafi	On 20 April 2020, local militias from Gidigori in the Kuseriki ward of Rafi LGA (Niger) launched a reprisal attack on gunmen, assumed to be Fulani militias, who had invaded the village on April 19. 5 local militias were killed and the community was looted again.	5
20-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Guma	On 20 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tse Vambe in Mbawa ward of Guma LGA (Benue) and beheaded a farmer. Residents were injured and houses were set ablaze.	1
19-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ondo	Akure South	On 19 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Adejuba in Akure South LGA (Ondo) over disputed grazing land.	0
19-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ondo	Akure South	On 19 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ijojo in Akure South LGA (Ondo) over disputed grazing land.	0
19-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Ondo	Akure North	On 19 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Adewole, Olotin and Olondan in Akure North LGA (Ondo) over disputed grazing land.	0
19-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kachia	On 19 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Awake in Kachia LGA (Kaduna) and killed 2 residents. 1 person was injured.	2
19-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Unguan Magaji Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kauru	On 19 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Unguan Magaji village in Kamaru Chawai Ward of the Kauru LGA (Kaduna), killed 5 residents and burnt 36 houses. Youth militias from the community mobilized and tried to defend their	6

								area, resulting in 1 death among Fulani militias.	
19-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Niger	Rafi	On 19 April 2020, armed gunmen, assumed to be Fulani militias, attacked Gidigori and neighbouring settlements in the Kushenki ward of Rafi LGA (Niger) and killed 2 residents. Cattle was rustled and the village looted.	2
18-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Delta	Aniocha North	On 18 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias abducted a priest from his farm in Issele-Mkpitima (Aniocha North LGA, Delta).	0
16-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Benue	Makurdi	On 16 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tse Igba in Makurdi LGA (Benue) and killed 1 farmer. Several residents were injured.	1
16-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kachia	On 16 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ungwan Maigoro (Kachia LGA, Kaduna) and killed 2 residents.	2
16-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kogi	Omala	On 16 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked the following villages in Omala LGA of Kogi state: Agbenema- lfe, Agabifo, Ajichekpa, Opada, Ofejiji, Ajiolo and Ajodoma. Residents were forced to flee and leave their communities.	0
15-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Edo	Ovia North East	On 15 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed 2 farmers in Odighi (Ovia North East LGA, Edo)	2
14-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	On 14 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Hrwa village in the Kwall district of Bassa LGA (Plateau). Information on fatalities range from 9 to 10 residents. The village was burnt and looted.	9
13-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Igbale Communal Group (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Oyo	Ibarapa Central	On 13 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias abducted the wife and daughter of a local monarch in Igbale village of Igbo Ora community (Ibarapa Central LGA, Oyo State). They were released later.	0
13-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Agatu	On 13 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed and beheaded 2 civilians between Obagaji and Ologba in Agatu LGA (Benue).	2
11-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bokkos	On 11 April 2020, a group of 4 suspected Fulani militiamen attacked and killed a farmer in Daffo (Bokkos LGA, Plateau). 1 of the assailants was found dead in the house of the farmer on the next day. It is unclear how the second man died	2
10-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Delta	Oshimili North	On 10 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a church in Ibusa (Oshimili North LGA, Delta) and killed the pastor.	1
9-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Oshimili South	On 9 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a resident in a suburb in Asaba (Oshimili South LGA, Delta) as a revenge for a killed cow.	1
9-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Kogi	Omala	On 9 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a woman on her way from Agbenema-lfe to Agabifo in Omala LGA (Kogi).	1
7-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bassa	On 7 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Gbra-Zongo in the Irigwe area of Bassa LGA (Plateau) and killed 4 residents, among them the local pastor. Houses in the community were burnt.	4
7-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Okpanan Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Delta	Oshimili North	On 7 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a housing estate in Okpanam (Oshimili North LGA, Delta) and engaged in a gun battle with police and local militias. One civilian was killed.	1
5-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-) Security and Civil Defence Corps		Benue	Guma	On 5 April 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias killed a member of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corp in Guma LGA (Benue) during the handing over of cows belonging to the pastoralists.	1

4-Apr-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Agbenema Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Kogi	Omala	On 4 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a group of local hunters from Agbenema in Omala LGA (Kogi), but were repelled by the group.	0
3-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Women (Nigeria)	Enugu	Udi	On 3 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias raped a woman in Umulungbe (Udi LGA, Enugu).	0
1-Apr-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	On 1 April 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Ancha in Bassa LGA (Plateau), killing 3 residents, injuring 2 and destroying property.	3
31-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 31 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Komo in Chikun LGA (Kaduna) and killed 6 residents.	6
30-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Former Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Kaduna	Jema'a	On 30 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Jagindi (Jemaa LGA, Kaduna), killing the former district head and his brother. His wife sustained injuries. The victims were involved in a peace meeting in the community.	2
26-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Giwa	On 26 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kuduru (Chikun LGA, Kaduna), rustled cows, destroyed property and killed 3 residents.	3
25-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Ondo	Ose	On 25 March 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias killed 3 farmers in Arimoggia (Ose LGA, Ondo). Residents of the village left the community.	3
24-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bassa	On 24 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kperie and Gbra Zongo in Kwal community (Bassa LGA, Plateau) and killed 5 residents, including 2 women.	5
22-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kajuru	On 22 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a group of hunters around Mararanban Afogo (Kajuru LGA, Kaduna) and killed 1.	1
21-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Kwande	On 21 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Diz-naav in Kwande LGA (Benue) and killed 1 resident. 3 residents were injured.	1
19-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Imo	Ihite/Uboma	On 19 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a farmer in Lowa (Ihite-Uboma LGA, Imo).	1
19-Mar-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Katsina	Dutsin-Ma	On 19 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Karo and Garangamawa in Dutsinma LGA (Katsina) and rustled cattle. Nigerian Armed Forces engaged them in clashes, resulting in one death among Fulani militias. Fatalities split between 2 events.	1
19-Mar-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Katsina	Dutsin-Ma	On 19 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Karo and Garangamawa (Dutsinma LGA, Katsina) and rustled cattle. Nigerian Armed Forces engaged them in clashes, resulting in one death among Fulani militias. Fatalities split between 2 events.	0
18-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 18 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Manini (Chikun LGA, Kaduna) and killed 2 residents.	2
17-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 17 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kugosi and Kajari (Chikun LGA, Kaduna) and killed 3 residents. Fatalities split between 2 events.	2
17-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 17 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kugosi and Kajari (Chikun LGA, Kaduna) and killed 3 residents. Fatalities split between 2 events.	1
13-Mar-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Yansakai Militia		Zamfara	Gusau	On 13 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Katsira in Gusau LGA (Zamfara) and engaged in a gun battle with Yansakai militias. Reports on Yansakai fatalities range between 4 and 11.	4
13-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 13 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Chongu in Guma LGA (Benue) and killed residents. Unknown number of fatalities coded as 3.	3
13-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 13 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tyohembe in Guma LGA (Benue) and killed 2 residents. An unreported number of residents were injured.	2
13-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 13 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Tse Ayev in Guma LGA (Benue) and killed 5 residents. An unreported number of residents were injured.	5
11-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Kaura	On 11 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Zangang Attakar in Kaura LGA (Kaduna), killing two residents and injuring another.	2

10-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Private Security Forces (Nigeria)	Ondo	Ondo West	On 10 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed an off-duty private security guard in Ondo (Ondo East LGA, Ondo).	1
10-Mar-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Benue	Kwande	On 10 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias clashed with security forces (assumed police) when they attempted to attack Waya (Kwande LGA, Benue).	0
9-Mar-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Bayelsa	Yenagoa	On 9 March 2020, suspected Fulani invaded a plot of land in Yenagoa (Yenagoa LGA, Bayelsa) and fought with a police officer. In the process, a gunshot was accidentally shot by the officer and injured him.	0
8-Mar-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Sokoto	Sabon Birni	On 8 March 2020, Nigerian Armed Forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias in Tara (Sabon Birni LGA, Sokoto). Two militiamen were arrested in the encounter.	0
7-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	PDP: Peoples Democratic Party	Rivers	Port-Harcourt	On 7 March 2020, a former governorship candidate of the PDP was abducted, and later killed, by suspected Fulani militias in Port Harcourt (Port Harcourt LGA, Rivers).	1
5-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Sexual violence	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Mbanyiar Communal Group (Nigeria); Women (Nigeria)	Adamawa	Mubi North	On 5 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Mbanyiar in the Mbawa ward of Guma LGA (Benue), looted the village, raped women and attacked the district head.	0
4-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Aniocha South	On 4 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed 3 people and abducted 7 in Issele-Azagba (Aniocha North LGA, Delta).	3
3-Mar-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Kwande	On 3 March 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Waya (Kwande LGA, Benue) and killed 4 residents. The community was forced to flee.	4
24-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Benue	Guma	On 24 February 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias attacked Tse-Keleke and New City in Guma LGA (Benue), injuring an unreported number of residents. The community was forced to flee.	0
23-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Aniocha South	On 23 February 2020, a suspected Fulani militia attacked Issele-Azagba (Aniocha North LGA, Delta) and killed 1 resident. 1 person was also abducted.	1
21-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Plateau	Mangu	On 21 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked a palace guard in his home Alohom in Mangu LGA of Plateau and killed him.	1
19-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Niger	Rafi	On 19 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Madaka (Rafi LGA, Niger), abducted residents and rustled cattle.	0
19-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Adamawa	Numan	On 19 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Bang in Numan LGA in Adamawa, killed 2 residents and burnt houses.	2
18-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Edo	Ovia North East	On 18 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Owan (Ovia North East LGA, Edo) and killed 2 residents.	2
16-Feb-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Niger	Mariga	On 16 February 2020, Police and military forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias in Muchiya Kaji (Manga LGA, Niger). 3 Fulanis and 1 police officer were killed. 2 officers sustained gunshot wounds.	4
15-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ughelli North	On 15 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias staged a third day of attacks on Uwherhu (Ughelli North LGA, Delta) and killed 2 residents.	2
14-Feb-20	Battles	Armed clash	Military Forces of Nigeria (2015-)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Niger	Mariga	On 14 February 2020, Police and military forces clashed with suspected Fulani militias in Dankolo (Mariga LGA, Niger). 3 Fulanis were killed.	3
14-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ughelli North	On 14 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias staged a second day of attacks on Uwherhu (Ughelli North LGA, Delta) and killed 4 residents.	4
13-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ughelli North	On 13 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Uwherhu (Ughelli North LGA, Delta) and killed 2 residents.	2
11-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Ughelli North	On 11 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Afesere (Ughelli North LGA, Delta) and killed 1 resident. 1 resident was abducted.	1

5-Feb-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Delta	Aniocha South	On 5 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Issele-Azagba (Aniocha South LGA, Delta), killed 1 resident and abducted another.	1
4-Feb-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Delta	Oshimili North	On 4 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked 4 police officers at a checkpoint on the Ugbolu-Illah road (Oshimili North LGA, Delta). 1 police officer died.	1
3-Feb-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Kakangi Communal Militia (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	On 3 February 2020, suspected Fulani militias clashed with militias from Kakangi community (Birnin Gwari LGA, Kaduna) over stolen cattle. 6 members of the Kakangi militia were killed.	6
3-Feb-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Police Forces of Nigeria (2015-)		Edo	Ovia North East	On 3 February 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias attacked police officers in Ovuode (Ovia North East LGA, Edo, no location found, coded as Okada). 1 officer was killed and 1 injured.	1
29-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	PDP: Peoples Democratic Party	Benue	Makurdi	On 29 January 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias attacked the Benue State Governor at his farm in Adeke on the Makurdi-Naka road (no location found, coded as Makurdi). Military forces later arrived at the scene, without report of a clash.	0
29-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Benue	Ado	On 29 January 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias killed 1 member of the state's Livestock Guard in Ado LGA and abducted 1 (Ado LGA, Benue, no location reported coded as Igumale).	1
28-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Ogun	Egbado North	On 28 January 2020 (or around), suspected Fulani militias attacked and killed a farmer around Oja Odan (Yewa North LGA, Ogun). The son of the victim was injured.	1
28-Jan-20	Battles	Armed clash	Kwatas Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pastoralists (Nigeria)	Plateau	Bokkos	On 28 January 2020, militias from Sabon Bariki in Kwatas area (Bokkos LGA, Plateau) clashed with Fulani militias. 4 people were killed and houses burnt.	4
27-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kwara	Asa	On 27 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked travelers on the Ogbomoso - Ilorin Expressway at Ote (Asa LGA, Kwara) and killed a movie actor.	1
26-Jan-20	Battles	Armed clash	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Pangri Communal Militia (Nigeria)	Tiv Ethnic Group (Nigeria)	Taraba	Bali	On 26 January 2020, a conflict over grazing land in Pangri (Bali LGA, Taraba) resulted in a clash between Fulani militias and Pangri militias of the Tiv community. 3 people were killed.	3
26-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Bokkos	On 26 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kwatas (Bokko LGA, Plateau) and killed 14 residents.	14
25-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Niger	Shiroro	On 25 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kudodo, Galapai, Dnakpala, Makera, and Dnalgwa, Amale, Tunga and Adunu (Shiroro LGA, Niger, no locations found, coded as Shiroro) . 11 residents were killed and 300 cattle rustled.	11
25-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Edo	Ovia North East	On 25 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a farmer in Owan (Ovia North East LGA, Edo).	1
7-Nov-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Labour Group (Nigeria)	Lagos	Ikeja	On 7 November 2020, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked the Lagos Fire and Lagos State Emergency Management Agency at the Kara axis of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway (Ikeja LGA, Lagos). The Lagos state emergency team was deployed to tackle a tanker explosion in the vicinity. Unknown reason for attack. Reported property damage. No reported fatalities.	2.108104947
20-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Christian Group (Nigeria)	Nasarawa	Keana	On 20 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Abebe (Keana LGA, Nasarawa; no location found, coded Keana) and killed four residents. Among them the local church leader. Several others sustained gunshot injuries.	4
17-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Farmers (Nigeria)	Kogi	Igalamela-Odolu	On 17 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed a farmer in Oforachi (Igalamela-Odolu LGA, Kogi) in presence of unarmed police officers.	1
12-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Edo	Owan West	On 12 January 2020, Fulani militias killed a 11 year old resident of Sobe who was on search for fire wood.	1
10-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Taraba	Wukari	On 10 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias killed 2 people on the Anyiin-Kente and Tseke-Wukari road.	2

10-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Abduction/forced disappearance	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	Government of Nigeria (2015-)	Ogun	Remo North	On 10 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias kidnapped the Vice Chairman of Remo North Local Government Area on the Fidiwo-Ipara road (Remo North LGA, Ogun). The victim was rescued and the kidnappers arrested.	0
8-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Plateau	Mangu	On 8 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Kulben village in Kombun District of Mangu LGA (no location found, coded as Kombun) and killed at least 12 residents. Information on fatalities range between 12 and 13. Fatalities coded as 12.	12
6-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Birnin-Gwari	On 6 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Badna, Zankoro, Rumana and the following villages in Chikun LGA: Hayin Damisa, Unguwan Badole, Badimi, Kuderu, Unguwan Doma (no locations found, coded as Chikun). In Birnin Gwari LGA, the villages of Rumana Gbagyi and Malomo were targeted (no locations found, coded as Birnin Gwari). In the attacks, 35 people were killed and 58 were abducted. Fatalities split between 5 events.	7
6-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 6 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Badna, Zankoro, Rumana and the following villages in Chikun LGA: Hayin Damisa, Unguwan Badole, Badimi, Kuderu, Unguwan Doma (no locations found, coded as Chikun). In Birnin Gwari LGA, the villages of Rumana Gbagyi and Malomo were targeted (no locations found, coded as Birnin Gwari). In the attacks, 35 people were killed and 58 were abducted. Fatalities split between 5 events.	7
6-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 6 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Badna, Zankoro, Rumana and the following villages in Chikun LGA: Hayin Damisa, Unguwan Badole, Badimi, Kuderu, Unguwan Doma (no locations found, coded as Chikun). In Birnin Gwari LGA, the villages of Rumana Gbagyi and Malomo were targeted (no locations found, coded as Birnin Gwari). In the attacks, 35 people were killed and 58 were abducted. Fatalities split between 5 events.	7
6-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 6 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Badna, Zankoro, Rumana and the following villages in Chikun LGA: Hayin Damisa, Unguwan Badole, Badimi, Kuderu, Unguwan Doma (no locations found, coded as Chikun). In Birnin Gwari LGA, the villages of Rumana Gbagyi and Malomo were targeted (no locations found, coded as Birnin Gwari). In the attacks, 35 people were killed and 58 were abducted. Fatalities split between 5 events.	7
6-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)		Kaduna	Chikun	On 6 January 2020, suspected Fulani militias attacked Badna, Zankoro, Rumana and the following villages in Chikun LGA: Hayin Damisa, Unguwan Badole, Badimi, Kuderu, Unguwan Doma (no locations found, coded as Chikun). In Birnin Gwari LGA, the villages of Rumana Gbagyi and Malomo were targeted (no locations found, coded as Birnin Gwari). In the attacks, 35 people were killed and 58 were abducted. Fatalities split between 5 events.	7
2-Jan-20	Violence against civilians	Attack	Fulani Ethnic Militia (Nigeria)	Civilians (Nigeria)	APC: All Progressives Congress; Muslim Group (Nigeria)	Kogi	Kogi	On 2 January 2020, about 100 suspected Fulani militias attacked Tawari, burnt buildings and killed residents, among them the local Imam and the APC leader. Information of fatalities range from 15 to 23. Fatalities coded as 15.	15