

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

**Research Response Number:** NGA34830  
**Country:** Nigeria  
**Date:** 4 May 2009

Keywords: Nigeria – Enugu State – Ritualised killings – Christians – Black magic / “juju” – Police – Communal violence

This response was prepared by the Research & Information Services Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum. This research response may not, under any circumstance, be cited in a decision or any other document. Anyone wishing to use this information may only cite the primary source material contained herein.

---

**Questions**

- 1. Are there any reports of ritualised killings/murder in Enugu state, Nigeria? If so, who carries out the practice and for what reason(s)? Are there any reports of village councils and/or village kings ('igwe') implicated in such practices?**
- 2. Is there any information about Christians, or Christian groups being discriminated against or harmed by people who practice 'black magic/ "juju"' in Enugu State?**
- 3. Do the police or authorities investigate ritual killings (or violence associated with traditional practices)? Is there state protection for those who fear being a victim of such harm?**

**RESPONSE**

A search of the US Department of State's reports on human rights practices and international religious freedom in Nigeria since 1999 found only one reference to ritual killing, black magic or juju. In the 2006 US Department of State report on human rights practices it was noted that:

In November there were reports that at least five persons in Enugu State were mutilated and killed for ritual purposes by perpetrators who worked for local politicians (US Department of State 2007, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 1).

However, the UK Home Office's most recent country of origin information report for Nigeria provides information on traditional Nigerian religions and ritual killings, as do a number of reports from the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. A search of media sources also found many reports referring to ritual killings in Enugu State and neighbouring states in the south-east of Nigeria.

**1. Are there any reports of ritualised killings/murder in Enugu state, Nigeria? If so, who carries out the practice and for what reason(s)? Are there any reports of village councils and/or village kings ('igwe') implicated in such practices?**

A report from the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRBC) dated 6 April 1999 includes authoritative advice that "ritual murders are very common in southern Nigeria" and authoritative advice from other sources that "human sacrifice or ritual murder, is not common in Nigeria". According to the report:

Three professors stated in separate telephone interviews that they believe it unlikely that a human would be sacrificed to traditional gods in a public ceremony in present day Nigeria and that if it did occur it would be an isolated and unusual occurrence (31 Mar. 1999).

However, a professor at the Africana Studies and Research Centre at Cornell University stated that ritual murders are very common in southern Nigeria, but less so in northern Nigeria. He said that there was a recent discovery of dismembered body parts near the Lagos airport and that this was an indication of ritual murders whereby people are killed in order to take their body parts for the working of magic for personal interests. He described these occurrences as "rampant." However, the professor stated that public human sacrifices are not common and said that it would be "very unlikely" that a person of the Osu caste in the Igbo tribe would be given as a sacrifice to the gods. During the interview, human sacrifices were described as affairs involving the participation of the community in a formalized manner, while ritual murders were described as individual acts, often in consultation/participation with a shaman or witch doctor, designed to call on the favour of the gods for the individual.

...

Two other professors stated in separate telephone interviews on 31 March 1999 that the murder of people, whether it is referred to as human sacrifice or ritual murder, is not common in Nigeria. One is a Professor of English at Central Michigan University who specializes on West African traditional religions, while the other is a Professor of Anthropology and Afro-American Studies at Harvard University who has spent "a lot of time" in Nigeria. Both professors stated that there are a lot of rumours that circulate about ritual murders, but specific and documented cases are rare.

Nevertheless, a number of documented cases of ritual murder were found in the Lagos newspaper *Post Express*, but none found involving public human sacrifice. There was one report of a human sacrifice carried by AFP on 19 March 1998, in which 30 people from the Urhobo tribe who were reported to have been abducted by Ijaw persons and then "sacrificed to local gods" in "rituals... performed by the local chief priest." However, the Research Directorate was unable to find any reports of human sacrifice involving the Igbo tribe (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1999, *NGA31551.E – Nigeria: Follow-up to NGA16476.E of 12 April 1994 and NGA30813 of 7 January 1999 on whether ritual murders or human sacrifices still occur in Nigeria; whether Osu caste members of the Igbo tribe could be sacrificed at the burial of a High Chief; whether Osu members still suffer "discrimination"*, 6 April – Attachment 2).

An IRBC report dated 10 December 2002 reports as follows:

an associate professor of anthropology at Frank and Marshall College (FMC) provided the following insights:

...

The main thing to remember is that kings partake of the divinities in this region and are important ritual practitioners; any igwe is also the head of the royal cult - and his ancestors are invoked on behalf of the entire town. Most northern Igbo kingships are

not hereditary in a simple sense, however. There are kingly clans whose male members are eligible for kingship, and then there are kingmaker clans, whose elders have the task of “discovering” the new king during the interregnum. This is a process that is part-divination – and ofos might well be involved – and part hard-nosed indigenous politics...

[Y]ou see a lot of variation – as with most Igbo ritual – from town to town (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2002, *NGA39797.E – Nigeria: The Igwe of Nnewi-Chi; links to the Ofo shrine in Nkwo-Nnewi; the name of the ruler, rituals practised, and the tradition for selecting a chief*, 10 December – Attachment 3).

An article dated 23 August 2004 from *The News* reports a police raid of a shrine in Anambra State and reports at length on ritual killings at that shrine and elsewhere amongst Igbo communities. The article makes the following specific reference to a shrine in Enugu State:

The Enugu Police Command, last year, similarly, raided an Odo deity in Neke, Isiuzo council area, discovering more than 30 human skulls. With mass protests and legal battles by Christians in the community and beyond, the use of human heads to worship the Odo shrine in Neke seemed to have stopped (Elesho, R. and Aham, U. 2004, ‘Nigeria: Gory Rituals’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: *The News*, 23 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/200408161580.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009 – Attachment 4.

An IRBC report dated 22 July 2005 provides considerably more detailed information on the prevalence of ritual murder and human sacrifice in Nigeria, reporting as follows:

An associate professor and chair of the Department of Anthropology at Franklin and Marshall College, who has written extensively on socio-cultural issues in Nigeria and recently published an article entitled “‘Diabolical Realities’: Narratives of Conspiracy, Transparency and ‘Ritual Murder’ in the Nigerian Popular Print and Electronic Media,” described the difference between ritual murder and human sacrifice as follows:

“Ritual murder” is actually a legal category, a holdover from the British colonial days that can be prosecuted under Nigerian law. It refers to the killing of human beings for ritual purposes (one of which might be characterized as human sacrifice). ... Ritual murder covers all delicts that relate to the murder of people and the use of human parts for any magical purpose, whereas in sacrifice the killing of a person to mollify deities is the point. A sacrifice seems more central to religious practice and even more dignified in some sense than what “ritual murder” is meant to cover (12 July 2005).

During a telephone interview with the Research Directorate, a professor at the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University, who holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Jos, Nigeria, described the difference between human sacrifices and ritual murders (31 Mar. 1999). The professor explained that human sacrifices involve the participation of the community in a formalized manner, while ritual murders are individual acts, often performed following consultation or with the participation of a shaman or witch doctor, and are designed to call the favour of the gods onto an individual (Professor 31 Mar. 1999).

### **Perpetrators and Victims of Ritual Murders**

The associate professor said that there is much speculation regarding the main perpetrators behind the majority of ritual murders, but suspects that both the wealthy elites and the “poor, ignorant peasants” profit from these practices (12 July 2005).

In a 28 February 2000 telephone interview with the Research Directorate, a Lagos-based lawyer and director of the civil rights group Constitutional Rights Project explained that ritual murders are not usually associated with any particular group. He said that ritual killings are perpetrated mainly by “native doctors who have been involved in this since time immemorial, mostly through traditional cultic practices that have nothing to do with modern-day cults (see also UN 30 June 2005). He added that those who perform ritual murders are individuals working for their own profit (Lawyer 28 Feb. 2000).

In an interview with representatives of the Danish Immigration Service and the British Home Office during their joint fact-finding mission to Nigeria, Muhammad Sani Usman, chief administration officer of the National Human Rights Commission (Nigeria), said that ritual killings are sometimes performed as an act of intimidation which may be related to local elections or control of people and money and which have also been linked to human trafficking (Denmark Jan. 2005, 11).

Media sources report that traditional healers use body parts to strengthen the power of charms used to cure ailments or protect their clients from misfortunes (BBC 17 Mar. 2005; *ibid.* 16 Oct. 2001). The associate professor suggests that there are those who “actually enact these supposed rituals in a desperate attempt to gain (more) wealth and power” (12 July 2005). As part of an income generation scheme, people reportedly commit murders in order to sell victims’ body parts to these traditional healers (Associate Professor 12 July 2005; BBC 17 Mar. 2005). British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News reported that Jacob Wakfan, a 35-year old Nigerian man, confessed to murdering his friend in order to sell his body parts, namely the penis and tongue, for use in witchcraft rituals (17 Mar. 2005).

...

### **Prevalence**

Academics, human rights activists and media sources say that ritual murders are common throughout Nigeria (Associate Professor 12 July 2005; *Post Express* 25 Oct. 2000; Denmark Jan. 2005, 20; BBC 17 Mar. 2005; *Christian Today* 20 May 2004; AFP 20 Nov. 2000; UN 30 June 2005). The associate professor said that the attention given by the Nigerian press to the issue of ritual killings suggests that it is a phenomenon which is “fairly widespread from south to north, east to west [and that]...[t]here are some places where it is supposedly endemic (parts of the Igbo areas, Benin/Bendel State, wherever the government bureaucrats are located...)” (12 July 2005). The Research Directorate found numerous media reports of ritual killings carried out in various Nigerian states, including Anambra, Ogun, Bauchi, Enugu, Imo, Kano, Oyo, Delta, Ondo, and Lagos between 2000 and 2005 (AFP 20 Nov. 2000; *ibid.* 26 Aug. 2003; *This Day* 8 Dec. 2003; *ibid.* 1 Feb. 2003; *ibid.* 20 Aug. 2004; *ibid.* 17 Sept. 2004; *Vanguard* 24 June 2002; *ibid.* 9 Mar. 2005; *ibid.* 18 Feb. 2005; *Daily Champion* 21 Sept. 2004).

### **Reaction by Government Authorities**

Several of the media reports mentioned above refer to police investigations, post-mortems, arrests, and interrogations of those suspected of ritual killings (*Vanguard* 24 June 2002; *ibid.* 9 Mar. 2005; *This Day* 8 Dec. 2003; *ibid.* 1 Feb. 2003; *ibid.* 20 Aug. 2004; AFP 20 Nov. 2000) as well as the imposition of a curfew in Enugu State (*This Day* 8 Dec. 2003). As well, *Vanguard*, a Nigerian daily, reported that the OgwashiUku High Court in Delta State handed down the death sentence to three people convicted of the ritual killing of an albino infant boy (18 Feb. 2005).

In a highly publicized case, over 30 priests were arrested on 4 August 2004 after 50 mutilated bodies and 20 skulls were found in the forests near the Okija shrines in Anambra State (UN 30 June 2005; *Daily Champion* 2 Dec. 2004; *This Day* 19 Aug. 2004). The priests were accused of committing human sacrifices and using body parts for ritual purposes (UN 30 June

2005). The priests were released on bail in December 2004 (*Daily Champion* 2 Dec. 2004), while the results of an enquiry into the case, originally launched by the government following their arrests, is pending (*This Day* 1 June 2005).

One of the most widely known cases of ritual killings occurred in Owerri, Imo State in 1996 (*This Day* 2 Aug. 2002; *ibid.* 24 Jan. 2003). As a result of what is known as the “Otokoto saga” after the alias of one of the convicted murderers, Chief Vincent Duru, seven people were sentenced to death by hanging for the ritual killing of an 11-year-old boy and for “masterminding the secret killing of many others” (*ibid.*).

When asked how effective the authorities are in investigating ritual murders, the associate professor provided the following response:

In the past, there have been few arrests - but a lot of splashy press coverage. In the Otokoto “Saga,” however, there were some quite important people arrested, several of whom were executed. According to published reports, there have been a few, other cases where arrests have been made as well. But mostly the idea of ritual murder sits there and people fear it, not least because they think the police and courts have been co-opted by the wealthy murderers (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, *NGA100384.E – Nigeria: Prevalence of ritual murder and human sacrifice (March 2000-July 2005)*, 22 July – Attachment 5).

An article dated 6 February 2008 in *This Day* is one of several in the past two years mentioning reports of newborn babies being “sold for rituals” in Enugu State:

reports from NAPTIP Zonal offices especially Enugu indicted several homes and discovered camps where pregnant teenagers are kept until delivery with their babies illegally adopted or sold for rituals” (Oyedale, D. 2008, ‘Nigeria: Naptip Raises Alarm on Sale of Babies’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: *This Day*, 6 February <http://allafrica.com/stories/200802060516.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009 – Attachment 6).

The UK Home Office’s most recent country of origin report on Nigeria includes references to reports from the IRBC and the following report:

19.09 A report by Leo Igwe, published by Earthward, in 2005 added:

“Generally, ritual killing is a common practice in Nigeria. Every year, hundreds of Nigerians lose their lives to ritual murders, also known as head-hunters. These head hunters [sic] go in search of human parts – head, breast, tongue, sexual organs – at the behest of witchdoctors, juju priests and traditional medicine men who require them for some sacrifices or for the preparation of assorted magical portions [sic]. Recently, there have been several reported cases of individuals who were kidnapped, killed or had their bodies mutilated by ritualists in Nigeria (UK Home Office 2008, *Country of Origin Information Report: Nigeria*, 5 December, section 19.05-19.10 – Attachment 7).

Further links to information relating to ritualised killings are provided in a previous RRT Research Response dated 23 August 2007 (RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response NGA32240*, 23 August – Attachment 8).

**2. Is there any information about Christians, or Christian groups being discriminated against or harmed by people who practice ‘black magic/ “juju”’ in Enugu State?**

An IRBC report dated 12 June 2000 cites information from a representative of Ebonyi State (which borders Enugu State) that “it can pose serious complications if the son is a committed Christian and the coronation is truly pagan, and the son refuses to be crowned”:

The Special Representative for the Ebonyi State Government of Nigeria also wrote the following with respect to the rituals accompanying the installation of an Eze:

It is impossible to give any general guidelines to rituals. They vary most considerably from village/town to village/town. Many of the rituals can be paganistic such as: taken oaths with idols, masquerading with “spirits of the dead” and many acts that are definitely non-Christian. Most born again Christians would find it impossible to participate in any truly traditional coronation. In a few villages they compromise and it is done under the church.

In a situation where the title is inherited, for instance to a first son, it can pose serious complications if the son is a committed Christian and the coronation is truly pagan, and the son refuses to be crowned. In a more traditional society such Christian refuseniks were ostracised or even killed. In any case it can create a real social trauma or stigma in which the refusenik can end up in exile, out of social stigma, or in the more serious cases, for fear of death or injury for committing an abomination (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, *NGA34530.E – Nigeria: Succession practices for the “Eze” (king) within the Amakor-Nanka community in Anambra State, including whether it is hereditary to the eldest son; rituals performed in the succession ceremonies and whether they could be considered unacceptable for a Christian to perform; consequences to an individual for refusing to accept succession and state protection available*, 12 June – Attachment 9).

An IRBC report dated 27 September 2000 refers to advice on possible conflict between Christianity and “largely secular rituals... associated with eze titles”:

The following information was provided by an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale who has conducted research in the Igbo speaking region of Nigeria...

In response to a question about the ceremonial rituals associated with assuming the title of “eze,” and possible conflicts that Christians may experience, the Assistant Professor wrote:

While I am not an expert on eze related customs and rites I can say that they vary geographically and also vary depending on the type of eze title involved. It has been estimated that the Igbo are 90% Christian but these Christians range from evangelical [sic] “born agains” to the many “nominally” Christian Igbos who rarely attend church. Virtually every denomination of Christianity is present in Igboland including many West African denominations that incorporate indigenous practices. Many Igbo Christians see little conflict between Christianity and such largely secular rituals as those associated with eze titles. Many fundamentalist denominations, however, consider virtually all indigenous Igbo culture to be demonic and forbid their members to have anything to do with it.

When asked about the recourses available to an individual who does not want to serve as “eze” he wrote:

While Igbo traditionalists reject the fundamentalist view of Igbo culture they take a live-and-let-live attitude. I can't imagine anyone ever being “forced” to take an eze title because it is an honor, not an obligation. An eze is a leader and if an heir proves inadequate, a substitute is chosen. A father might pressure his son to assume the role

but others in the lineage would be likely to support the son's petition to abdicate (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, NGA35586.E – *Nigeria: Follow-up to NGA34530.E of 12 June 2000 on the succession practices for the "eze" (king)*, 27 September – Attachment 10).

The previously mentioned article dated 23 August 2004 from *The News* which reported on ritual killings amongst Igbo communities includes the following mention of “mass protests and legal battles by Christians” in relation to a shrine in Enugu State:

The Enugu Police Command, last year, similarly, raided an Odo deity in Neke, Isiuzo council area, discovering more than 30 human skulls. With mass protests and legal battles by Christians in the community and beyond, the use of human heads to worship the Odo shrine in Neke seemed to have stopped (Elesho, R. and Aham, U. 2004, ‘Nigeria: Gory Rituals’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: The News, 23 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/200408161580.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009 – Attachment 4.

An article dated 8 April 2008 reports in detail regarding a “royal father... recently abducted by unknown assailants from his palace at Umuchukwu following a feud between minority traditional worshippers and the majority Christian population in the community” (Edike, T. 2007, ‘Nigeria: Igbo Monarch – How I Was Seized By Gunmen, Taken Away in Car Booth [sic]’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: Vanguard, 8 April <http://allafrica.com/stories/200704080132.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009 – Attachment 11).

### **3. Do the police or authorities investigate ritual killings (or violence associated with traditional practices)? Is there state protection for those who fear being a victim of such harm?**

The previously quoted paragraph of the article dated 23 August 2004 from *The News*, refers to a raid by the Enugu Police, and suggests a causative relationship between “legal battles ... in the community and beyond” and an apparent cessation of “the use of human heads to worship the Odo shrine” (Elesho, R. and Aham, U. 2004, ‘Nigeria: Gory Rituals’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source The News, 23 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/200408161580.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009 – Attachment 5.

The previously mentioned IRBC report of 22 July 2005 made the following observations regarding the response of the authorities to violence associated with ritual practices, with references to Enugu State and other states of south-eastern Nigeria:

#### **Reaction by Government Authorities**

Several of the media reports mentioned above refer to police investigations, post-mortems, arrests, and interrogations of those suspected of ritual killings (*Vanguard* 24 June 2002; *ibid.* 9 Mar. 2005; *This Day* 8 Dec. 2003; *ibid.* 1 Feb. 2003; *ibid.* 20 Aug. 2004; AFP 20 Nov. 2000) as well as the imposition of a curfew in Enugu State (*This Day* 8 Dec. 2003). As well, *Vanguard*, a Nigerian daily, reported that the OgwashiUku High Court in Delta State handed down the death sentence to three people convicted of the ritual killing of an albino infant boy (18 Feb. 2005).

In a highly publicized case, over 30 priests were arrested on 4 August 2004 after 50 mutilated bodies and 20 skulls were found in the forests near the Okija shrines in Anambra State (UN 30 June 2005; *Daily Champion* 2 Dec. 2004; *This Day* 19 Aug. 2004). The priests were accused of committing human sacrifices and using body parts for ritual purposes (UN 30 June 2005). The priests were released on bail in December 2004 (*Daily Champion* 2 Dec. 2004),

while the results of an enquiry into the case, originally launched by the government following their arrests, is pending (*This Day* 1 June 2005).

One of the most widely known cases of ritual killings occurred in Owerri, Imo State in 1996 (*This Day* 2 Aug. 2002; *ibid.* 24 Jan. 2003). As a result of what is known as the “Otokoto saga” after the alias of one of the convicted murderers, Chief Vincent Duru, seven people were sentenced to death by hanging for the ritual killing of an 11-year-old boy and for “masterminding the secret killing of many others” (*ibid.*).

When asked how effective the authorities are in investigating ritual murders, the associate professor provided the following response:

In the past, there have been few arrests – but a lot of splashy press coverage. In the Otokoto “Saga,” however, there were some quite important people arrested, several of whom were executed. According to published reports, there have been a few, other cases where arrests have been made as well. But mostly the idea of ritual murder sits there and people fear it, not least because they think the police and courts have been co-opted by the wealthy murderers (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, *NGA100384.E – Nigeria: Prevalence of ritual murder and human sacrifice (March 2000-July 2005)*, 22 July – Attachment 5).

An article dated 13 March 2008 reported efforts by the police in response to killings for “suspected ritual purposes” in Enugu State, but also indicated that “the kidnap and killings have not abated notwithstanding the arrests made so far”:

Worried about the incessant killings of young girls and ladies for suspected ritual purposes, in Inyi, Enugu Ezike, Enugu State, which led to mass protest by women in the community, the State Police Command is now combing the town in search of those behind the heinous crime.

Already, a good number of suspects, mainly native doctors and accomplices have been arrested by the State Police Command. But following reports that so many people from the village have fled to neighbouring towns on the allegations that the kidnap and killings have not abated notwithstanding the arrests made so far, the Police have sent in crack detectives to fish out the likely suspects (Ugwoke, F. 2008, ‘Nigeria: Killings – Chime, Police Hunt for Ritualists’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: *This Day*, 13 March <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803130199.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009 – Attachment 12).

A non-government organisation called the Enugu Youths Vanguard reportedly expressed disappointment regarding “the shoddy manner in which the state Police command was allegedly handling the suspected ritual murder” of a youth in the Awgu Local Government area of Enugu State, according to an article published in *This Day* on 20 September 2008 (Ugwoke, F. 2008, ‘AAGM: Murder – Group Demands Prosecution of Ex-LG Boss’, *This Day*, 20 September – Attachment 13).

No further information specifically regarding state protection available to those who fear harm stemming from traditional practices was found amongst the sources consulted.

## List of Sources Consulted

### Internet Sources:

#### **Government Information & Reports**

UK Home Office <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk>

US Department of State website <http://www.state.gov>



## **United Nations**

UNHCR website <http://www.unhcr.ch/>

## **Non-Government Organisations**

Amnesty International website <http://www.amnesty.org/>

Human Rights Watch website <http://www.hrw.org/>

## **International News & Politics**

*Africa Confidential* <http://www.africa-confidential.com>

*AllAfrica Global Media* <http://allafrica.com>

## **Topic specific**

Enugu State website <http://www.enugustate.gov.ng/>

## **Search Engines**

Copernic search engine <http://www.copernic.com/>

## Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

MRT-RRT Library Catalogue

## **List of Attachments**

1. US Department of State 2007, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006*, March.
2. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1999, *NGA31551.E – Nigeria: Follow-up to NGA16476.E of 12 April 1994 and NGA30813 of 7 January 1999 on whether ritual murders or human sacrifices still occur in Nigeria; whether Osu caste members of the Igbo tribe could be sacrificed at the burial of a High Chief; whether Osu members still suffer “discrimination”*, 6 April. (REFINFO)
3. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2002, *NGA39797.E – Nigeria: The Igwe of Nnewi-Chi; links to the Ofo shrine in Nkwo-Nnewi; the name of the ruler, rituals practised, and the tradition for selecting a chief*, 10 December. (REFINFO)
4. Elesho, R. and Aham, U. 2004, ‘Nigeria: Gory Rituals’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: The News, 23 August <http://allafrica.com/stories/200408161580.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009.
5. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, *NGA100384.E – Nigeria: Prevalence of ritual murder and human sacrifice (March 2000-July 2005)*, 22 July. (REFINFO)
6. Oyedale, D. 2008, ‘Nigeria: Naptip Raises Alarm on Sale of Babies’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: This Day, 6 February <http://allafrica.com/stories/200802060516.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009.
- 7.
8. UK Home Office 2008, *Country of Origin Information Report: Nigeria*, 5 December, section 19.05-19.10.

9. RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response NGA32240*, 23 August.
10. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, *NGA34530.E – Nigeria: Succession practices for the “Eze” (king) within the Amakor-Nanka community in Anambra State, including whether it is hereditary to the eldest son; rituals performed in the succession ceremonies and whether they could be considered unacceptable for a Christian to perform; consequences to an individual for refusing to accept succession and state protection available*, 12 June. (REFINFO)
11. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2000, *NGA35586.E – Nigeria: Follow-up to NGA34530.E of 12 June 2000 on the succession practices for the “eze” (king)*, 27 September. (REFINFO)
12. Edike, T. 2007, ‘Nigeria: Igbo Monarch – How I Was Seized By Gunmen, Taken Away in Car Booth [sic]’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: Vanguard, 8 April <http://allafrica.com/stories/200704080132.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009
13. Ugwoke, F. 2008, ‘Nigeria: Killings – Chime, Police Hunt for Ritualists’, *AllAfrica Global Media*, source: This Day, 13 March <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803130199.html> – Accessed 28 April 2009.
14. Ugwoke, F. 2008, ‘AAGM: Murder – Group Demands Prosecution of Ex-LG Boss’, *This Day*, 20 September. (FACTIVA)