
World Watch Research

Mali:

Persecution Dynamics

December 2024



OpenDoors

Serving persecuted **Christians** worldwide

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December 2024

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Contents

World Watch List 2025 – Top 50.....	2
World Watch List 2025 – Ranks 51-78	4
Copyright, sources and definitions	5
Reporting period	5
Brief country details.....	5
Map of country	6
Dominant persecution engines and drivers.....	7
Brief description of the persecution situation.....	7
Summary of international obligations and rights violations.....	7
Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period	8
Specific examples of positive developments	8
Christian communities and how they are affected.....	8
Areas where Christians face most difficulties.....	9
Position on the World Watch List	9
Persecution engines.....	10
Drivers of persecution.....	11
The Persecution pattern	12
Pressure in the 5 spheres of life.....	13
Violence	17
5 Year trends.....	19
Gender-specific religious persecution / Female	21
Gender-specific religious persecution / Male	22
Persecution of other religious minorities	23
Trends Summary	23
Further useful reports.....	24
External Links	24

World Watch List 2025 – Top 50

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
1	North Korea	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	14.4	98	96	98	96	94
2	Somalia	16.5	16.7	16.6	16.6	16.7	11.1	94	93	92	91	92
3	Yemen	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	10.6	94	89	89	88	87
4	Libya	16.0	16.2	15.9	16.2	16.4	10.6	91	91	88	91	92
5	Sudan	14.1	14.2	15.5	14.9	15.3	16.1	90	87	83	79	79
6	Eritrea	14.6	14.9	15.5	15.9	15.9	12.2	89	89	89	88	88
7	Nigeria	13.5	13.9	14.6	14.9	14.5	16.7	88	88	88	87	85
8	Pakistan	13.6	13.9	15.0	15.0	12.9	16.7	87	87	86	87	88
9	Iran	15.0	14.6	13.5	15.9	16.5	10.9	86	86	86	85	86
10	Afghanistan	15.6	15.9	15.9	16.4	16.7	5.0	85	84	84	98	94
11	India	12.2	12.9	13.3	14.9	13.9	16.5	84	83	82	82	83
12	Saudi Arabia	15.2	15.3	14.8	15.8	16.6	3.3	81	81	80	81	78
13	Myanmar	12.6	11.1	13.5	14.1	12.9	16.5	81	79	80	79	74
14	Mali	11.1	10.1	14.7	13.0	15.2	15.6	80	79	76	70	67
15	China	13.2	10.1	12.8	14.6	16.1	11.1	78	78	77	76	74
16	Maldives	15.6	15.3	13.7	15.8	16.5	0.7	78	78	77	77	77
17	Iraq	14.2	14.4	14.3	14.8	13.9	6.1	78	79	76	78	82
18	Syria	13.5	14.4	13.9	14.4	14.3	7.0	78	81	80	78	81
19	Algeria	14.7	14.3	11.5	14.7	16.0	6.3	77	79	73	71	70
20	Burkina Faso	11.7	9.7	13.2	11.5	14.0	15.6	76	75	71	68	67
21	Morocco	13.2	13.8	11.6	12.9	14.3	8.3	74	71	69	69	67
22	Laos	11.8	10.7	13.5	14.1	13.9	9.8	74	75	68	69	71
23	Mauritania	14.6	14.2	13.8	14.2	14.2	2.8	74	72	72	70	71
24	Bangladesh	12.4	10.6	12.7	11.3	10.4	16.1	74	71	69	68	67
25	Uzbekistan	14.6	12.7	13.5	12.4	15.5	4.4	73	71	71	71	71
26	Cuba	13.2	8.5	13.9	13.3	15.1	9.1	73	73	70	66	62
27	CAR	10.3	8.6	13.9	9.6	14.0	15.6	72	70	70	68	66
28	Niger	9.4	9.6	14.5	7.7	14.6	15.7	72	70	70	68	62

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
29	Turkmenistan	14.3	12.3	13.6	13.9	15.3	1.5	71	70	70	69	70
30	Nicaragua	12.4	7.6	13.7	13.3	14.1	9.6	71	70	65	56	51
31	Mexico	11.7	9.0	12.5	11.8	11.0	14.6	71	68	67	65	64
32	Oman	14.5	14.1	10.9	13.8	14.1	3.0	70	69	65	66	63
33	Ethiopia	9.9	9.7	12.6	10.4	12.1	15.6	70	69	66	66	65
34	Tunisia	12.4	13.2	10.1	12.6	13.8	8.1	70	69	67	66	67
35	DRC	8.0	7.9	12.6	10.8	14.5	16.1	70	67	67	66	64
36	Bhutan	13.2	13.2	12.3	14.1	14.2	2.2	69	68	66	67	64
37	Mozambique	9.3	8.5	13.9	8.4	12.5	15.9	68	68	68	65	63
38	Kazakhstan	13.3	11.6	12.2	12.8	14.2	4.3	68	65	65	64	64
39	Tajikistan	14.1	12.7	12.7	13.2	13.7	1.9	68	66	66	65	66
40	Egypt	12.7	13.7	12.1	12.4	10.9	6.3	68	68	68	71	75
41	Qatar	14.2	14.2	10.5	13.2	14.4	0.7	67	67	68	74	67
42	Comoros	12.7	14.0	11.2	12.4	14.2	2.6	67	66	66	63	62
43	Cameroon	8.8	7.6	12.6	8.4	13.1	16.1	67	66	65	65	64
44	Vietnam	10.8	9.5	12.2	14.1	14.1	5.9	67	68	70	71	72
45	Turkey	13.0	11.7	11.7	13.2	11.5	5.4	67	64	66	65	69
46	Colombia	11.0	7.9	12.7	11.5	10.5	12.6	66	68	71	68	67
47	Kyrgyzstan	13.5	10.3	11.7	11.4	12.4	6.9	66	59	59	58	58
48	Brunei	14.8	14.8	10.8	10.8	14.0	0.6	66	66	65	64	64
49	Chad	11.0	8.2	10.2	9.9	10.3	15.9	65	61	58	55	53
50	Jordan	12.9	14.3	10.4	12.2	12.8	2.4	65	65	65	66	64

World Watch List 2025 – Ranks 51-78

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
51	Malaysia	12.8	13.7	11.7	12.4	11.2	3.0	65	64	66	63	63
52	Azerbaijan	13.3	10.2	9.6	12.2	13.7	5.6	65	60	59	60	56
53	Kenya	10.3	9.2	11.4	8.0	11.5	13.9	64	63	64	63	62
54	Nepal	12.2	10.6	9.5	12.6	12.3	5.9	63	62	61	64	66
55	Tanzania	9.3	10.8	10.3	8.6	8.7	15.4	63	62	63	61	58
56	Russian Federation	12.7	7.9	10.7	13.1	14.1	4.4	63	58	57	56	57
57	Djibouti	12.3	12.6	12.7	10.1	12.1	1.7	61	61	60	59	56
58	Kuwait	13.1	13.6	9.4	12.0	12.2	0.9	61	61	64	64	63
59	Indonesia	10.9	11.9	10.9	11.6	10.2	5.7	61	66	68	68	63
60	UAE	13.3	13.4	9.5	11.3	12.8	0.6	61	61	62	62	62
61	Sri Lanka	12.7	8.7	11.5	11.5	8.5	7.6	60	60	57	63	62
62	Palestinian Territories	13.1	13.3	10.3	10.7	12.1	0.2	60	60	60	59	58
63	Burundi	7.6	7.8	9.4	9.8	9.7	14.6	59	57	55	52	48
64	Rwanda	9.4	7.7	9.0	10.4	12.1	9.4	58	58	57	50	42
65	Honduras	7.9	4.7	11.7	7.3	9.9	13.1	55	55	53	48	46
66	Togo	9.2	6.7	10.4	7.1	11.5	9.3	54	52	49	44	43
67	Bahrain	12.0	13.2	8.6	11.3	8.5	0.6	54	55	55	57	56
68	Guinea	10.3	7.5	8.3	8.3	10.5	8.9	54	52	48	43	47
69	Ukraine	6.8	5.0	7.8	12.5	13.5	7.2	53	44	37	37	34
70	Angola	6.8	6.7	8.1	11.5	11.4	8.3	53	52	52	51	46
71	Venezuela	6.3	4.4	11.1	10.0	10.8	9.6	52	53	56	51	39
72	Uganda	8.1	5.0	7.4	6.7	8.8	16.1	52	52	51	48	47
73	Ivory Coast	12.0	6.5	8.7	5.9	8.0	9.6	51	44	44	42	42
74	Lebanon	11.5	10.1	7.0	6.2	6.7	7.2	49	48	40	35	34
75	Gambia	8.3	8.2	8.9	8.8	8.9	4.4	48	47	44	44	43
76	South Sudan	5.7	4.4	7.0	6.3	8.1	15.6	47	46	46	43	43

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2025	Total Score WWL 2024	Total Score WWL 2023	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021
77	Belarus	9.9	3.7	5.0	10.8	14.1	3.1	47	46	43	33	30
78	Philippines	9.2	6.6	6.6	6.1	5.7	8.5	43	40	32	34	26

Copyright, sources and definitions

World Watch Research has divided up the previously named Full Country Dossier into two separate documents:

- [Background country information](#) (published annually in summer)
- Persecution dynamics (published annually in January).

These documents are the property of World Watch Research (WWR), the research department of Open Doors International. They include data and analysis based around Open Doors World Watch List (WWL) and statistical information on world religions, Christian denominations and people groups prepared by the World Christian Database (WCD). Highlighted links in the text can be found written out in full at the end of each document under the heading “External links”. These documents may be used and distributed free of charge, but please always acknowledge the source as: © Open Doors International.

The definition of persecution used in WWL analysis is: “Any hostility experienced as a result of one’s identification with Christ. This can include hostile attitudes, words and actions towards Christians”. This broad definition includes (but is not limited to) restrictions, pressure, discrimination, opposition, disinformation, injustice, intimidation, mistreatment, marginalization, oppression, intolerance, infringement, violation, ostracism, hostilities, harassment, abuse, violence, ethnic cleansing and genocide.

The latest update of WWL Methodology can be found on the research pages of the Open Doors website: <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-documentation/>.

Reporting period

The WWL 2025 reporting period was 1 October 2023 - 30 September 2024.

Brief country details

Mali: Population (UN estimate for 2024)	Christians	Chr%
24,016,000	542,000	2.3

Zurlo G A and Johnson T M, eds., World Christian Database, Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed May 2024

Mali: Religious context	Number of adherents	%
Christians	542,000	2.3
Muslim	21,219,000	88.4
Hindu	0	0.0
Buddhist	0	0.0
Ethnic religionist	2,223,000	9.3
Jewish	0	0.0
Bahai	1,600	0.0
Atheist	560	0.0
Agnostic	28,900	0.1
Other	1,100	0.0
<i>OTHER includes Chinese folk, New religionist, Sikh, Spiritist, Taoist, Confucianist, Jain, Shintoist, Zoroastrian.</i>		

Zurlo G A and Johnson T M, eds., World Christian Database, Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed May 2024

Map of country



Dominant persecution engines and drivers

Mali: Main Persecution engines	Main drivers
Islamic oppression	Non-Christian religious leaders, Violent religious groups, Citizens (people from the broader society), including mobs, One's own (extended) family
Organized corruption and crime	Organized crime cartels or networks
Clan oppression	Ethnic group leaders
Dictatorial paranoia	Government officials

Engines and Drivers are listed in order of strength. Only Very strong / Strong / Medium are shown here.

Brief description of the persecution situation

In Mali, the extreme persecution of Christians has rendered many regions uninhabitable for them, with survival even for a single day being nearly impossible. Jihadist groups, traffickers and organized crime syndicates operate with impunity, exacerbating the chaos and violence. Since the radical Islamic groups took control of the northern regions in 2012, the situation has only worsened. Churches have been destroyed, Christians displaced, and those returning under police protection still face imminent threats from jihadists. The danger has spread further south, and evangelical missionaries and converts from Islam are particularly vulnerable to attacks and abductions. Converts face additional violence and ostracization from their families and communities, while the volatile security situation severely limits NGO operations.

Summary of international obligations and rights violations

Mali has committed to respect and protect fundamental rights in the following international treaties:

1. [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights \(ICCPR\)](#)
2. [International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights \(ICESCR\)](#)
3. [Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment \(CAT\)](#)
4. [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women \(CEDAW\)](#)
5. [Convention on the Rights of the Child \(CRC\)](#)

Mali is not fulfilling its international obligations by regularly violating or failing to protect the following rights of Christians:

- Christian converts are killed on the spot if their conversion is discovered or merely suspected (ICCPR Art. 6)
- Christians are targeted and killed by extremist groups on the basis of their faith (ICCPR Art. 6)
- Christians are harassed and targeted for wearing religious symbols (ICCPR Art. 18)
- Christian converts are tortured and pressured to recant their conversion from Islam (ICCPR Arts. 7 and 18)

- Christian parents cannot raise their children according to their religious values (ICCPR Art. 18 and CRC Art. 14)
- Christians face harassment and violence if they discuss their faith or engage in proselytization (ICCPR Arts. 18 and 19)

Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period

- **Severe levels of violence:** Christians in Mali face severe violence from jihadist groups linked to al-Qaeda and the Islamic State group.
- **Churches destroyed:** Numerous churches have been burned down, and many Christians have been displaced from their homes.
- **Constant threats:** Even with police protection, returning Christians live under the constant threat of attack.
- **Targeted attacks:** Evangelical missionaries and converts from Islam are particularly vulnerable to abduction, violence and social ostracization.

Specific examples of positive developments

Significant progress has been made towards political stability with the approval of a new constitution in June 2023, paving the way for planned elections in 2024, which are crucial for a return to civilian rule and improved governance ([World Bank Mali Overview/Political situation, 31 December 2023](#)). However, the military leaders' promise to restore civilian rule, with a start date in March 2024 and elections in February 2024 has not materialized ([Reuters, 1 April 2024](#)).

The lifting of economic sanctions by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has facilitated Mali's re-engagement with regional partners, fostering better economic prospects. GDP growth is expected to reach 3.7% in 2024 and the extreme poverty rate is expected to fall to 20.8% ([World Bank Mali Overview, last updated 7 October 2024](#)).

In November 2023, Roman Catholic priest Hans-Joachim Lohre was released after being kidnapped in November 2022. At the time of his abduction, he was on his way to hold a church service in Bamako when armed men intercepted his vehicle ([CNA, 27 November 2023](#)).

The main Christian denomination in Mali is the Roman Catholic Church but there are many Protestant church communities too. Christians are mainly located in major cities, especially around the Bamako area. Those Christians who live outside the major cities face extreme danger even as civil servants (e.g. as teachers).

Christian communities and how they are affected

Communities of expatriate Christians: Expatriate Christians are not forced into isolation in Mali and so this category is therefore not included in WWL scoring and analysis.

Historical Christian communities: Of the 2.3% of Malians who are Christian, the majority belong to historical Christian communities. These include Roman Catholic churches and a significant number of Protestant denominations. Those living in the southern part of the country enjoy freedom of religion in relative terms in comparison to their counterparts in the north. Nevertheless, although the degree

and intensity of the threat of attacks by Islamic militants is greater in the north than in the south, those in the south also have to face threats of attack and kidnapping.

Converts to Christianity: Christians with a Muslim background are mainly to be found among the Bozo and the Dogon, but there are also converts living elsewhere in the country. In addition to the threat from Islamic militants that most Malian Christians face, it is converts to Christianity who additionally face varying degrees of pressure from their family members, relatives and neighbors to renounce Christianity.

Non-traditional Christian communities: Mali has a small number of Charismatic and Pentecostal churches mainly found in the southern part of the country. Due to their style of worship and their likelihood to be more engaged in evangelism, such communities are likely to draw the ire and hostility of society at large.

Areas where Christians face most difficulties

Christians experience most difficulties for their faith in the areas where jihadists and armed Fulani groups are active in [the north and the north-eastern](#) part of the country (IRIN, 20 November 2015). To some extent, there are small pockets of intense persecution in the southern part of the country as well.

Position on the World Watch List

Mali: World Watch List	Points	WWL Rank
WWL 2025	80	14
WWL 2024	79	14
WWL 2023	76	17
WWL 2022	70	24
WWL 2021	67	28

Mali’s overall score rose by 1 point in WWL 2025, following a significant 3-point increase in WWL 2024 and a 6-point surge in WWL 2023. Over the past five years, the country’s score has steadily climbed, starting at 67 in WWL 2021 and reaching 80 by WWL 2025. This increase is primarily due to mounting pressure, with violence consistently scoring above 15.0 points over this period. The country faces a deteriorating situation (particularly concerning security), with a weakened, corrupt and anti-Western government that perceives certain Christian groups as being affiliated with foreign influences.

Successive military coups—in August 2020 and May 2021—highlight the instability as the government struggles to contain jihadist expansion, particularly in regions outside major urban centers where militant groups exert significant influence, providing services and recruiting young people. The involvement of Russian (Wagner) mercenaries, now branded as Africa Corps and under Russian Defense Forces, who support the military junta, has intensified civilian hardships, including for Christians. While these Russian forces are credited with effectiveness against jihadists, their presence

has also endangered civilians, adding extreme pressure in the *Community* and *Church spheres of life*. Economic challenges and security gaps have fueled organized crime and corruption, further complicating the environment.

Persecution engines

Mali: Persecution engines	Abbreviation	Level of influence
Islamic oppression	IO	Very strong
Religious nationalism	RN	Not at all
Ethno-religious hostility	ERH	Not at all
Clan oppression	CO	Strong
Christian denominational protectionism	CDP	Not at all
Communist and post-Communist oppression	CPCO	Not at all
Secular intolerance	SI	Not at all
Dictatorial paranoia	DPA	Medium
Organized corruption and crime	OCC	Very strong

The scale for the level of influence of Persecution engines in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. For more information see WWL Methodology.

Islamic oppression (Very strong)

Mali has been dominated by Islam for centuries (in a mostly moderate form). However, in April 2012, Islamists (mostly Wahhabis) set up a strict Sharia regime in the north, destroying churches and other Christian buildings. The Church in southern Mali also faces an increasing influence of Wahhabi groups and as a result, Islamic radicalization and hostility towards Christians is growing.

Organized corruption and crime (Very strong)

The country is situated in the Sahel region of West Africa where there are vast desert and arid areas that are difficult to control. Criminal gangs use this as an opportunity to expand their activities for transporting illegal substances to Western Europe. Most criminal organizations have allied themselves with radical Islamic groups and persecute Christians. The former Tuareg rebel forces have now basically become criminal operators.

Clan oppression (Strong)

Although most of the Malian population are Muslims, they still mix their Islamic beliefs with several forms of witchcraft and sorcery. The current Wahhabi movement is trying to 'purify' Islam from such traditional practices. Many Malian Christians also combine tribal practices with Christian beliefs. Most tribal or ethnic leaders in the remote parts of the country are hostile towards Muslims or Christians

who oppose such practices and there have been clashes between tribal leaders and Christians in some instances.

Dictatorial paranoia (Medium)

While there has been a blatant dereliction of duty from government officials to protect Christians from persecution, the issue of *Dictatorial paranoia* as an engine has come to light in recent years, especially after the most recent coup. In this context, virtually any Christian group that seeks security or protection under the law is seen as a threat to the military regime's power.

Drivers of persecution

Mali: Drivers of Persecution	IO	RN	ERH	CO	CDP	CPCO	SI	DPA	OCC
	VERY STRONG			STRONG				MEDIUM	VERY STRONG
Government officials								Medium	
Ethnic group leaders				Strong					
Non-Christian religious leaders	Very strong								
Violent religious groups	Very strong								
Citizens (people from the broader society), including mobs	Strong								
One's own (extended) family	Strong								
Organized crime cartels or networks									Very strong

The scale for the level of influence of Drivers of persecution in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. Please note that "-" denotes "not at all". For more information see WWL Methodology.

Drivers of Islamic oppression

- **Violent religious groups (Very strong):** The main drivers of Islamic oppression in Mali are militant Islamic groups such as al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) who are active mainly in the northern part of the country but also conduct attacks and kidnappings in southern regions. Segments of the population influenced by the radical and intolerant teaching of Wahhabism are also drivers of persecution and especially target Christians with a Muslim background.
- **Non-Christian religious leaders (Very strong):** In some areas where jihadists are operating, Muslim religious leaders teach the same radical sentiment. These religious leaders provide a plat-

form for the jihadists to have a strong presence in the community.

- **Citizens (people from the broader society) (Strong):** Society in general does not see Christianity positively. This is particularly true in the case of converts.
- **Family (Strong):** This varies from family to family. However, it is common for extended family members to exert pressure and use violence against family members who decide to leave Islam for the Christian faith.

Drivers of Organized corruption and crime

- **Organized crime networks (Very strong):** There are several criminal organizations operating in Mali. The country's geographical situation with its vast desert and arid areas has helped the expansion of these organizations. These criminal networks give the jihadists the means and method to stay afloat. It is through this driver that they finance their operations.

Drivers of Clan oppression

- **Ethnic group leaders (Strong):** Many ethnic tribal leaders (such as Tuareg tribal leaders) are involved in the persecution of Christians, often in combination with *Islamic oppression*. Tuareg and Fulani group leaders oppose any advance of Christianity in Mali. A country expert states: "Indigenous ethnic communities with minority Christian numbers have complained of persecution by Fulani and Tuareg herders who they accuse of destroying their farms and means of subsistence, including the looting of food stores, as well as maiming and killing them and burning their houses." Traditional animist tribal leaders in the south are also hostile toward Christians and attempt to prevent the advancement of Christianity. They especially target Christian groups that try to remove elements of African traditional beliefs from Christian expressions of faith.

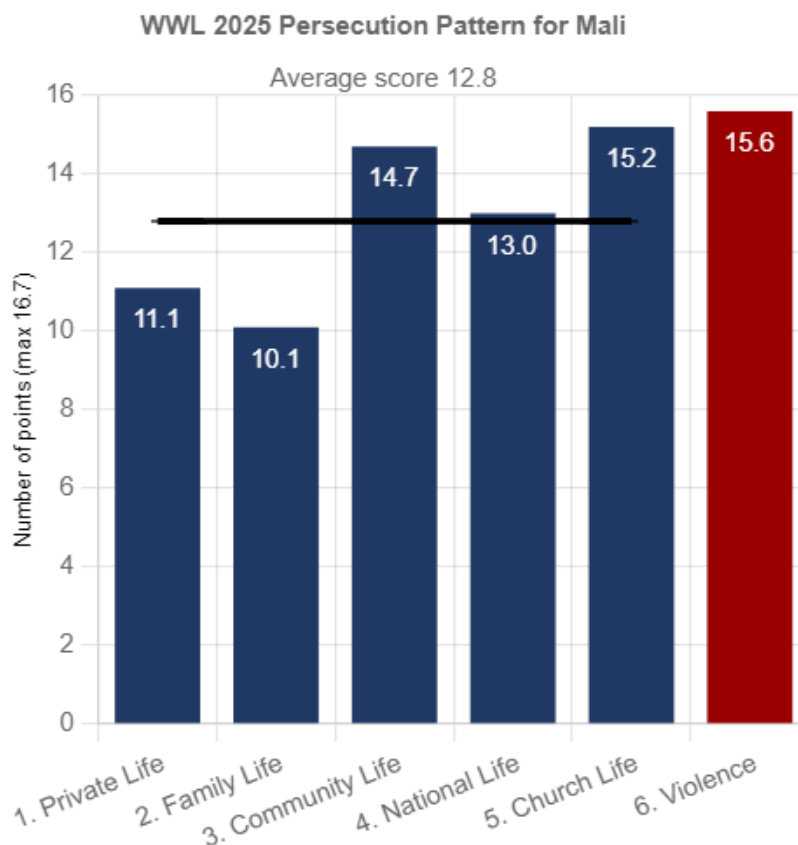
Drivers of Dictatorial paranoia

- **Government officials (Medium):** In the last two years, there has been an increasingly visible anti-Christian/anti-Western sentiment among some government officials. These officials speak out against Christians who try to bring to public attention cases of injustice and atrocities committed in the country. These officials label Christian groups doing that as 'pro-French'. This label is dangerous in the current political discourse in the country.

The Persecution pattern

The WWL 2025 Persecution Pattern for Mali below shows:

- The average pressure on Christians in Mali is very high at 12.8 points, as in WWL 2024.
- Pressure is strongest and at an extreme level in the *Church sphere* (15.2 points) and the *Community sphere* (14.7 points). The ongoing violence and the absence of rule of law in many parts of the country have compounded the pressure, allowing extremist groups to target churches and Christian communities with little to no consequence.
- The level of violence against Christians is extreme, with a score of 15.6 points, as in WWL 2024. The persistent attacks by jihadist groups further intensify the hostile environment, creating a climate of fear and insecurity for Christians.



Pressure in the 5 spheres of life

In each of the five spheres of life discussed below, four questions have been selected from the WWL 2025 questionnaire for brief commentary and explanation. The selection usually (but not always) reflects the highest scoring elements. In some cases, an additional paragraph per sphere is included to give further information deemed important. To see how individual questions are scored on a scale of 0-4 points, please see the “WWL Scoring example” in the WWL Methodology, available at: <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-documentation/>.

Pressure in Block 1 / Private sphere

Block 1.1: Conversion has been opposed, forbidden, or punishable, including conversion from one type of Christianity to another. (3.00 points)

In Mali, religious conversions pose significant risks, particularly for individuals from Muslim backgrounds. Jihadist groups, driven by a rigid ideological commitment to eradicating non-believers, foster an environment of ultra-conservatism, where religious tolerance is increasingly scarce, particularly towards converts. Meanwhile, non-convert Christians also face immense pressure to convert to Islam.

Block 1.4: It has been risky for Christians to reveal their faith in written forms of personal expression (including expressions in blogs and Facebook etc.). (3.00 points)

The reach of Islamic extremists affects critical aspects of daily life, including education, property ownership, and access to healthcare, leaving Christians marginalized and unable to practice their faith

freely. Even online, expressing religious beliefs through blogs or social media carries significant risks, as jihadists tighten control over territories and suppress Christian expression.

Block 1.5: It has been risky for Christians to display Christian images or symbols. (3.00 points)

Christians face grave risks for openly displaying religious symbols or images associated with their faith. Under the enforcement of strict Sharia law by jihadist groups, many are forced to conceal their beliefs, often adopting an outward appearance of non-religiosity or seeking refuge in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. In areas dominated by extremist influence, Christian-owned properties, schools and health centers have been targeted and destroyed, further erasing visible expressions of faith.

Block 1.9: It has been risky for Christians to meet with other Christians. (2.75 points)

In areas under extremist control, opportunities for Christians to meet for worship and fellowship are sharply curtailed, with Christians often facing hostility and surveillance. The destruction of Christian institutions, including schools and health centers, has further deepened their isolation, limiting spaces for community interaction.

Pressure in Block 2 / Family sphere

Block 2.9: Children of Christians have been harassed or discriminated against because of their parents' faith. (3.50 points)

The challenges faced by Christians in Mali extend beyond individual hardships, deeply impacting family life and affecting all denominations. The rise of jihadist groups has severely disrupted the social fabric, leading to the closure and destruction of Christian schools. The jihadist influence thus limits access to faith-based education and fosters an environment where children of Christian parents face discrimination and harassment. The complex interplay of these factors shapes the broader landscape of family life in Mali for Christians.

Block 2.3: Christians have been hindered in celebrating a Christian wedding for faith-related reasons. (3.00 points)

The challenges Christians face in celebrating traditional Christian weddings, due to the oppressive environment created by Islamic pressures, clan dynamics, and organized crime, highlight the broader constraints on their private and family lives. These restrictions not only impede their ability to observe key religious practices but also force them to adapt or forgo important traditions, reflecting the profound impact of persecution on their faith and daily existence.

Block 2.7: Parents have been hindered in raising their children according to their Christian beliefs. (3.00 points)

Christian families in Mali face profound challenges, particularly over the past decade, as the rise of jihadist groups has significantly disrupted their way of life. These forces have severely restricted their ability to practice and pass down their faith, particularly through limiting access to Christian education, as they have closed and destroyed many schools aligned with the Christian faith. Thus, Christians seeking to raise their children according to Christian values face profound challenges and doing so can put their children at significant risk.

Block 2.12: Christian spouses of non-Christians have been excluded from the right or opportunity to claim custody of the children in divorce cases. (3.00 points)

Christians in Mali, particularly converts, face significant challenges concerning inheritance and child custody. Those who choose to convert to Christianity frequently forfeit their rights to claim custody of their children, even infants. This is strictly enforced by community leaders and family members, reflecting deep-rooted societal pressures.

Pressure in Block 3 / Community sphere

Block 3.1: Christians have been harassed, threatened or obstructed in their daily lives for faith-related reasons (e.g. for not meeting majority religion or traditional dress codes, beard codes etc.). (3.75 points)

In the current hostile political climate, particularly in the northern, eastern and western regions, Christians face relentless harassment, threats and systemic obstruction. Converts and openly practicing Christians are frequently targeted, enduring exclusion from communal resources, denial of equal treatment, and intimidation aimed at silencing their faith. The dominance of jihadist groups intensifies this marginalization, restricting their involvement in public life and deepening their isolation within the community.

Block 3.3: Christians have been under threat of abduction and/or forced marriage. (3.75 points)

Christians face the severe threat of abduction and forced marriage; this is particularly the case for converts. In the northern, eastern and western regions, extremist groups exacerbate female Christians' vulnerability by subjecting them to abduction and coercion into marriages, intensifying their suffering.

Block 3.4: Christians been hindered in sharing community resources because of their faith (e.g. clean drinking water). (3.75 points)

Christians in many parts of the country are often regarded as second-class citizens. Especially in the northern, eastern and western regions of the country, Christians face a harsh reality of systematic denial of access to essential community resources, often including such vital resources as clean drinking water.

Block 3.5: Christians have been put under pressure to take part in non-Christian religious ceremonies or community events. (3.75 points)

Christians in the northern, eastern and western regions of the country are frequently forced to participate in non-Christian religious ceremonies and community events against their will.

Pressure in Block 4 / National sphere

Block 4.8: Christians have been hindered in expressing their views or opinions in public. (3.75 points)

Christians in Mali face profound challenges in expressing their views publicly. The ongoing jihadist conflict, coupled with the geopolitical complexities of the junta's realignment away from Western powers, creates an environment where their voices are further suppressed. The government's focus on opposing external influence has diverted attention from addressing the growing jihadist threat, leaving extremist forces to expand unchecked. This relentless advance not only highlights deep security

failures but also undermines the prospects of promised democratic reforms. Within this volatile landscape, Christians and other marginalized groups encounter heightened repression and shrinking spaces for freedom of expression.

Block 4.1: The Constitution (or comparable national or state law) limits freedom of religion as formulated in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (3.50 points)

In Mali, the legal framework and its implementation significantly undermine fundamental religious freedoms. Christians are often perceived as second-class citizens or, in some cases, as agents of Western influence. Over the past decade, there has been a marked contraction of space for Christians to practice their faith openly. The registration of churches, the right to worship, and other related freedoms have been heavily restricted.

Block 4.5: Christians have been discriminated against when engaging with the authorities (local administration, government, army, etc.) for faith-related reasons. (3.50 points)

Christians in Mali frequently encounter discrimination when engaging with authorities: Requests for permits to construct churches, organize religious events, or establish schools are often met with delays, denials or excessive bureaucratic hurdles that are rarely imposed on other groups. In regions dominated by jihadist influence, Christians are viewed with suspicion, and their appeals for protection or support are often disregarded. This systemic bias further marginalizes Christians, restricting their access to justice and equal treatment across administrative and institutional structures.

Block 4.9: Christian civil society organizations or political parties have been hindered in their functioning or forbidden because of their Christian convictions. (3.50 points)

Christian civil society organizations in Mali face significant challenges, being targeted by both jihadist groups and government authorities. Jihadists actively attack and dismantle these organizations, viewing them as a threat to their agenda. Simultaneously, the government monitors their activities closely, often perceiving them as agents of Western influence, which adds another layer of scrutiny and suspicion. Christian organizations must navigate this complex and hostile environment, balancing their humanitarian and faith-driven missions against the risk of abduction, particularly for their workers, and other forms of persecution.

Pressure in Block 5 / Church sphere

Block 5.3: Christian communities have been hindered in building or renovating church buildings or in claiming historical religious premises and places of worship which had been taken from them earlier. (3.75 points)

The plight of Christians in Mali has become increasingly dire due to the escalating influence of jihadist groups, which severely obstructs their ability to build, renovate or reclaim church buildings and historical places of worship. These extremist elements systematically target and destroy churches, drastically reducing available space for congregational worship and religious activities. Church leaders, crucial to their communities' spiritual well-being, face significant barriers to mobility, impeding their ability to oversee construction projects or advocate for the reclamation of historical religious sites.

Block 5.8: Christian preaching, teaching and/or published materials have been monitored. (3.75 points)

The increasing influence of jihadist groups has intensified the scrutiny and surveillance of Christian preaching, teaching and the content of Christian materials. The pervasive threat from extremist elements has also made the distribution of religious materials an exceedingly risky endeavor. This intensified monitoring of Christian activities is part of a broader strategy by jihadist groups to dismantle Christian presence, stripping away religious freedom and undermining the social fabric of the nation.

Block 5.11: Pastors or other Christian leaders (or their family members) have been special targets of harassment for faith-related reasons. (3.75 points)

Pastors and other Christian leaders, along with their family members, are frequently singled out as specific targets of harassment in Mali. Jihadist groups view them as symbolic representatives of Christianity and actively seek to intimidate, abduct, or harm them to suppress the faith and send a broader message to the community. Families of these leaders are often subjected to threats, ostracism, and surveillance, amplifying the pressure on Christian leaders to abandon their roles. In some cases, local authorities and community members, under extremist influence, contribute to this harassment by obstructing their activities or denying them basic protections.

Block 5.14: Openly selling or distributing Bibles (or other Christian materials) has been hindered. (3.75 points)

Openly selling or distributing Bibles and other Christian materials in Mali is fraught with challenges. In regions dominated by jihadist groups, such activities are strictly prohibited and can result in severe penalties, including threats, violence and abduction. Even in areas outside direct jihadist control, societal pressures and hostility toward Christian practices make public distribution risky. Distributors often face harassment, boycotts, or accusations of proselytizing, which can escalate to physical repercussions.

Violence

Violence is defined in WWL Methodology as the deprivation of physical freedom or as bodily harm to Christians or damage to their property. It includes severe threats (mental abuse). The table is based on reported cases as much as possible, but since many incidents go unreported, the numbers must be understood as being minimum figures. The following points should be considered when using the data provided in the Block 6 table:

1. Some incidents go unreported because the Christians involved choose not to speak about the hostility being faced.

Possible reasons for this may be:

- *Doing so would expose them to more attacks. For example, if a family member is killed because of his/her faith, the survivors might decide to keep silent about the circumstances of the killing to avoid provoking any further attacks.*
- *In some circumstances, the reticence to pass on information may be due to the danger of exposure caused by converts returning to their previous faith.*
- *If persecution is related to sexual violence - due to stigma, survivors often do not tell even their closest relatives.*
- *In some cultural settings, if your loved one is killed, you might be under the obligation to take revenge. Christians not wishing to do that, may decide to keep quiet about it.*

2. Other incidents go unreported for the following possible reasons:

- Some incidents never reach the public consciousness, because no one really knows about it; or the incident is simply not considered worth reporting; or media coverage is deliberately blocked or distorted; or media coverage is not deliberately blocked, but the information somehow gets lost; or the incidents are deliberately not reported widely for security reasons (e.g. for the protection of local church leaders).
- In situations where Christians have been discriminated against for many years, armed conflict can make them additionally vulnerable. Christians killed in areas where fighting regularly takes place are unlikely to be reported separately. Examples in recent years have been Sudan, Syria and Myanmar.
- Christians who die through the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care (due to long-term discrimination) are unlikely to be reported separately. Christians are not always killed directly; they can be so squeezed by regulations and other oppressive factors that they die – not at once, but in the course of years. This often includes the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care, or exclusion from government assisted socio-economic development projects. These numbers could be immense.

3. The use of symbolic numbers:

- In cases where it has been impossible to count exactly, a symbolic round figure (10*, 100* etc.) is given and indicated with an asterisk. A symbolic number of 10* could in reality even be 100 or more but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 100* could go well over 1000 but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 1,000* could go well over 10,000 but, again, the real number is uncertain. The same applies for symbolic numbers 10,000*, 100,000* and 1,000,000*: Each could indicate much higher numbers, but WWL chooses to be cautious because the real number is uncertain.

Mali: Violence scores per Block 6 question in questionnaire	WWL 2025	WWL 2024
6.1 How many Christians have been killed for faith-related reasons (including state sanctioned executions)?	47	10 *
6.2 How many churches or public Christian properties (schools, hospitals, cemeteries, etc.) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	53	10 *
6.3 How many Christians have been detained for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.4 How many Christians have been sentenced to jail, labor camp, sent to psychiatric hospital as punishment, or similar things for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.5 How many Christians have been abducted for faith-related reasons (including Christians missing in a persecution context)?	100 *	10 *
6.6 How many Christians have been raped or otherwise sexually harassed for faith-related reasons?	100 *	10 *
6.7 How many cases have there been of forced marriages of Christians to non-Christians?	10 *	10 *
6.8 How many Christians have been otherwise physically or mentally abused for faith-related reasons (including beatings and death threats)?	1000 *	1000 *

Mali: Violence scores per Block 6 question in questionnaire	WWL 2025	WWL 2024
6.9 How many houses of Christians or other property (excluding shops) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	1000 *	100 *
6.10 How many shops or businesses of Christians have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	1000 *	100 *
6.11 How many Christians have been forced to leave their homes or go into hiding in-country for faith-related reasons?	1000 *	1000 *
6.12 How many Christians have been forced to leave the country for faith-related reasons?	100 *	100 *

5 Year trends

The following three charts show the levels of pressure and violence faced by Christians in the country over the last five WWL reporting periods.

5 Year trends: Average pressure

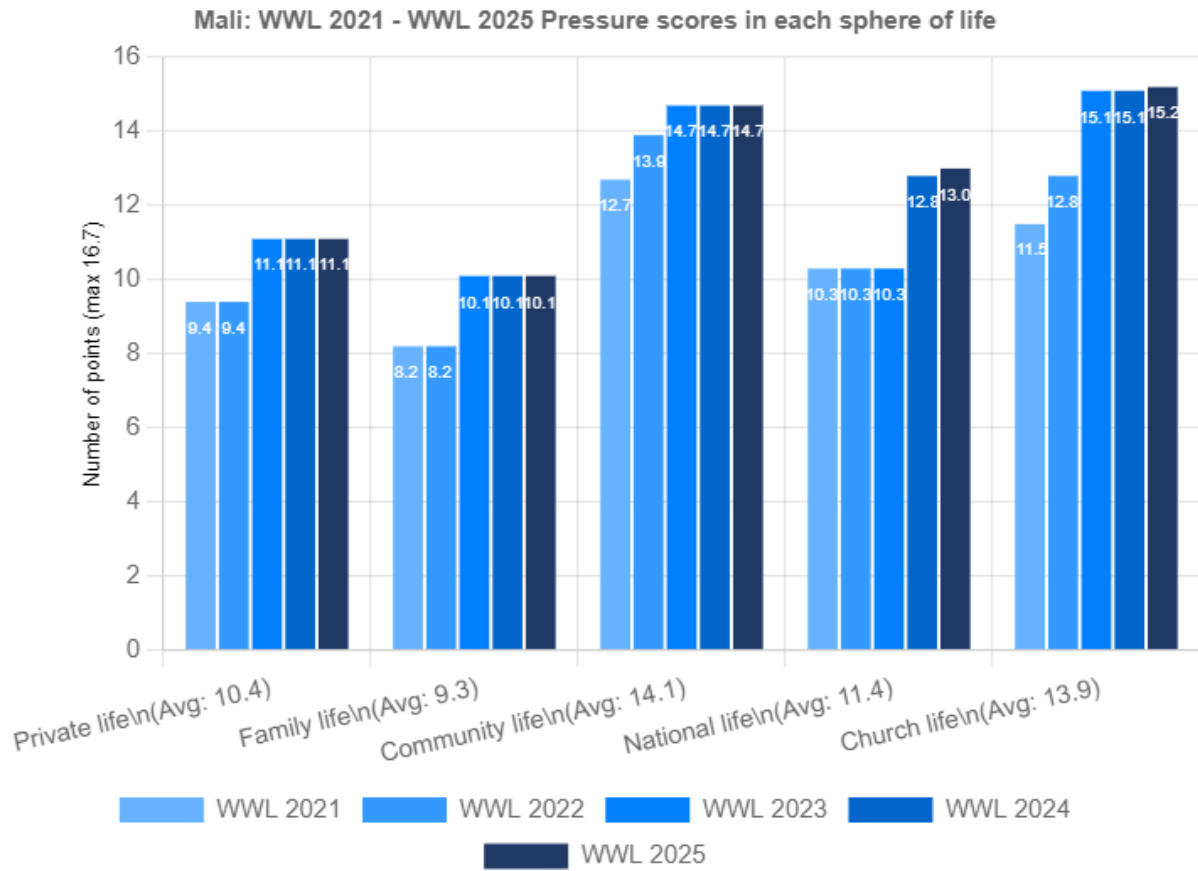
Mali: WWL 2021 - WWL 2025	Average pressure over 5 Spheres of life
2025	12.8
2024	12.8
2023	12.3
2022	10.9
2021	10.4

In the period WWL 2021 - WWL 2024, the average pressure scores reveal a continuous increase. This then levelled off in WWL 2025, where the score stabilized at 12.8. The growing influence of jihadist groups has intensified this pressure, with Christians increasingly losing their foothold and, in many cases, unable to return to their historical communities. This trend reflects the deepening impact of jihadist expansion, which has eroded Christian presence and security in the region.

5 Year trends: Pressure in each sphere of life

The chart below shows that scores in most spheres of life have leveled off, except in the *National sphere*, where an increase can be observed over the last two reporting periods. The five-year average reveals that the *Community sphere* holds the highest score, at 14.1 points, followed closely by the *Church sphere* with 13.9 points. The pressure that began intensifying over the past decade has now

taken deep root, leading to Christians increasingly losing their place in Malian society—a country once considered a model of democracy in Africa.



5 Year trends: Violence against Christians



The above graph shows that violence in Mali consistently scores at least 15 points, reaching its peak in WWL 2024 and WWL 2025 with a score of 15.6 points. The five-year average stands at 15.3, indicating

an extremely high level of violence. This trend reflects the compounded impact of armed jihadist groups, organized crime, corruption, and the influence of other persecution engines, creating an environment where Christians are exposed to violence with impunity.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Female

Mali	Female Pressure Points Most frequently recorded PPs: WWL 2019 - WWL 2024
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abduction Enforced religious dress code Forced marriage Forced out of home – expulsion Violence – death Violence – physical Violence – psychological Violence – sexual

Mali has been battling a situation with an Islamist insurgency and with military rulers, who seized power in coups in 2020 and 2021 and who teamed up with Russia’s Wagner mercenary group in 2021. There has been a resurgence of attacks by Islamic militants since late 2019, within a broader context of instability. Mali is experiencing political upheaval and escalating security concerns which have exacerbated trends of conflict-related sexual violence, in particular in the northern and central regions. There has been rising concern over the activities of the Russian mercenaries in Mali, particularly in regard to the use of violence against women to spread terror among populations ([Reuters, 8 August 2023](#)).

The UN warns that sexual violence by Mali’s troops and their foreign security partners is “systematic” ([Reuters, 8 August 2023](#)). There has been a spike in the number of cases of conflict-related sexual violence, despite underreporting owing to stigma, insecurity and the constraints placed on humanitarian access, compounded by the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic ([UN, Mali, 30 March 2021](#)).

The proliferation of illicit small arms and a surge of intercommunal violence has propelled civilian displacement, making women and girls more vulnerable to trafficking ([UN, Mali, 30 March 2021](#)). Militant groups kidnap girls and sometimes even married women, in order to attempt to forcibly ‘marry’ or ‘remarry’ them to some of their members, a life of sexual slavery. Whilst this does not affect Christian girls alone, it is considered a common tactic used by Islamic militants to spread Islam, and is a widely feared threat for female Christians. A country expert commented: “In many places, Christian girls are being pushed into marriages with Muslim men on a large scale because of the rise of radical Islam and a lack of security.”

Despite national laws protecting women and girls, traditional and cultural practices as well as gender norms mean that Christian women are especially vulnerable within the Islamic culture. They experience social rejection and when facing persecution, the children suffer repercussions of whatever befalls their parents. When parents are separated, or fathers are killed or some other loss of subsistence income occurs, some Christian girls feel they have no option but to survive by prostitution

which also increases their vulnerability to human trafficking. Widows are particularly vulnerable to this.

In Mali, female converts to Christianity are most vulnerable to pressure and violence for their faith. They are exposed to harassment and threats, sexual abuse, physical violence and even killings. A country expert described a situation where a woman in Bamako was subject to death threats from her husband because of her conversion to Christianity. The situation escalated when he tried to kill her with his car.

Single female converts will likely be forcibly married to a Muslim, in order to reduce the shame brought upon the family. Those that converted after getting married face forced divorce and the possibility of losing their children. This is particularly common in northern Mali. Women have also reportedly been expelled from their homes. Even where it is tolerated that they live in the vicinity, they may not be supported or fed, making them extremely vulnerable. Although there are national laws that protect women and girls in general, traditional and cultural practices and gender norms make women more vulnerable to such treatment. Indeed, the human rights violations associated with Mali’s political insecurity and insurgency occur within a context of structural gender inequality and harmful social norms, with 89% of women and girls between 15 and 49 years of age having undergone female genital mutilation ([UN, Mali, 30 March 2021](#)). and 54% of girls being married before the age of 18 ([Girls Not Brides Mali](#), accessed 17 December 2024).

As a result of the traumatizing pressure and violence that Christian women and girls face, families and communities are weakened.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Male

Mali	Male Pressure Points Most frequently recorded PPs: WWL 2019 - WWL 2024
	Abduction Denied access to social community/networks Forced divorce Military/militia conscription/service against conscience Violence – death Violence – physical Violence – psychological

As violent militant attacks continue in a volatile manner across Mali, Christian men and boys are particularly subject to death-threats and violent, physical attacks because of their faith. They are subject to numerous forms of intolerance, discrimination and violent hostilities including forced recruitment into armed groups and torture. Church leaders are also closely monitored and face strict restrictions on movement within remote communities. Targeted attacks on Christian homes and businesses are effectively being used to impoverish families. For men, especially Christian leaders, this dire situation is exacerbated by the targeted social rejection and constant violent harassment of their families. A country expert commented that "children, and others who are associated with Christian leaders, are targeted." Many have been forced to flee as a result. Converts face the greatest level of persecution in this regard and married males may additionally be forcibly divorced by their wives.

Within the context of widespread poverty and [ongoing violence](#) in one of Africa's poorest nations, men and boys are exposed to recruitment by jihadist groups where, according to reports, they will be forcibly converted to Islam (Human Rights Watch, 27 October 2022). They may also be abducted by such groups and killed. Those living in rural and remote areas in northern parts of the country are especially vulnerable to forced recruitment into violent groups. This has a devastating effect on their families and fellow Christians who are traumatized by such persecution. In an attempt to protect Christian boys, they may be separated from their parents and moved to safer areas, but this creates other challenges. Whilst divorce is not a common practice, country experts report that when a man converts from Islam to Christianity, their families force the spouse to leave them. Non-convert Christians can even be killed for marrying converts: According to one report, a Christian man was killed by militants for his faith and for marrying an ex-Muslim.

The loss of Christian men and boys financially weakens families, as males are the primary providers in Mali. It also weakens the health of the Church in Mali, making the Christian communities more vulnerable and fragile.

Persecution of other religious minorities

Those adhering to indigenous traditional belief systems also form a religious minority in Mali. Although historically such beliefs have co-existed with Islam, with the rise of more militant and intolerant versions of Islam, that coexistence has been seriously challenged. The jihadists have also gone to the extent of holding mass lectures for the people.

Shiite citizens have faced discrimination from adherents of Sunni Islam.

According to the US State Department ([IRFR 2023 Mali](#)):

- "On August 31 [2023], authorities sentenced Adama Fomba, also known as Bahfa, an adherent of Kemetism [a neo-pagan religion], to five years in prison for an offense of a religious nature. Authorities arrested Fomba in 2022 after a video circulated on social media allegedly showing him insulting Islam."
- In February [2023], a Bamako court sentenced the national leader of Kemetism, Fakoly Doumbia, to one year in prison with eight months suspended, for "offenses of a religious nature capable of causing disturbance to public order." Doumbia and five others were detained in 2022 after Doumbia criticized MARCC Minister Mahamadou Kone for condemning a video on social media showing Mamadou Dembele, an adherent of Kemetism, stepping on a Quran.

Trends Summary

1) Islamic militancy remains a major challenge

Over the past decade, the Sahel region, including Mali, has faced acute insecurity due to various jihadist groups. Following the fall of Gaddafi in Libya, rebel groups, including the powerful Tuareg-led Azawad National Liberation Movement (MNLA), have contributed to the region's turmoil. The growing influence of militant Islam and Wahhabism thus continues to be a significant challenge in Mali. Despite the now defunct peace-deal signed in 2015, Islamic militants have remained active and pose a persistent threat. The Malian military leaders struggle to establish control in various parts of the country. The situation remains dire.

2) Continued governance crises

Mali has experienced a series of governance crises, with coups in 2012, 2020 and 2021 destabilizing the nation. The influence of military leaders and the presence of Russian mercenaries have further complicated the situation. The approval of a new constitution in June 2023 only brought dashed hopes for improved governance and stability, when February 2024 elections were postponed indefinitely by the military leaders. Development of political stability is crucial for creating an environment where the Christian presence in the north of Mali can eventually be rebuilt.

3) Geopolitical shifts and external influences

Mali's geopolitical landscape is shifting as it distances itself from traditional Western partners like France. The call for the withdrawal of French troops and UN peacekeeping forces, alongside the increased involvement of the Russian Wagner group (now referred to as Russia's Africa Corps), marks a significant change in alliances. While these shifts bring challenges, they also highlight Mali's efforts to assert its sovereignty.

4) Transnational trafficking, persecution, and its impact on governance and security in Mali

A significant trend in Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso has been the existence of a network that spans across many Sub-Saharan countries, facilitating trafficking in people, precious minerals and other illicit commodities, including narcotics. Those involved in these trafficking operations have exacerbated challenges to the rule of law and governance in the region. The active involvement of jihadist groups further complicates the situation. Money these groups earn from trafficking is used to buy weapons, which are then used for both persecution and to bolster their military power.

Further useful reports

Further background information per country and a selection of in-depth reports and smaller articles are available on the Research & Reports pages of the Open Doors website:

- <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-background/>
- <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/>.
- [Africa - Recent upsurge in military coups - September 2023](#)

External Links

- Copyright, sources and definitions: Background country information - <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/wwl-background/>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cat.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Rights of the Child - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>
- Specific examples of positive developments: World Bank Mali Overview/Political situation, 31 December 2023 - <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mali/overview>

- Specific examples of positive developments: Reuters, 1 April 2024 - <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/mali-political-parties-request-elections-after-junta-shuns-transition-promise-2024-04-01/>
- Specific examples of positive developments: World Bank Mali Overview, last updated 7 October 2024 - <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mali/overview>
- Specific examples of positive developments: CNA, 27 November 2023 - <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/256111/german-missionary-priest-released-a-year-after-being-abducted-in-mali>
- Areas where Christians face most difficulties: the north and the north-eastern - <http://newirin.irinnews.org/dataviz/2015/11/20/map-of-conflict-in-mali-2015>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: (Reuters, 8 August 2023). - <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/malis-troops-foreign-partners-target-women-spread-terror-un-report-2023-08-08/>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: (UN, Mali, 30 March 2021). - <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/countries/mali/>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: UN, Mali, 30 March 2021 - <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/countries/mali/>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: UN, Mali, 30 March 2021 - <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/countries/mali/>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: Girls Not Brides Mali - <https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/learning-resources/child-marriage-atlas/regions-and-countries/mali/>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Male description: ongoing violence - <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/27/mali-coordinated-massacres-islamist-armed-groups>
- Persecution of other religious minorities: IRFR 2023 Mali - <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-report-on-international-religious-freedom/mali/>
- Further useful reports: Africa - Recent upsurge in military coups - September 2023 - <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/research-reports/reports/africa-recent-upsurge-in-military-coups>