HATE CRIMES AGAINST RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN INDIA

JAN–SEP 2026



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Association for Protection of Civil Rights

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In the first nine months of 2026, a Muslim or Christian in India was attacked, harassed, arrested, driven from home or killed because of their faith more than once a day, on average. And in one case in every three, the people who were meant to stop it took part.

322
hate crimes recorded, 1 Jan – 30 Sept 2026

54
people killed

1 in 3
incidents involved the police, army or officials

21
People died in police or army hands

20 of 30
killings where some or all attackers were still free

40
FIRs filed against the victims, not the attackers

WHAT THIS REPORT FINDS

- **The state joined in.** The police, army and administration took part in a third of all incidents: through 'encounter' killings, deaths in custody, demolitions and arrests of the victims.
- **Food and festivals set the timing.** Meat, cattle and festivals were the most common triggers, and violence rose sharply around Ramadan and Holi, the West Bengal election results, Bakra Eid and the Kanwar Yatra.
- **Being visible was dangerous.** A beard, a skullcap, a hijab or a Muslim name are recurring features in cases of physical assault, and mosques were the most frequently attacked property.
- **State-specific pattern of violence.** Uttar Pradesh had the most incidents and deaths; Bihar's mob violence was the deadliest per incident; West Bengal saw 34 attacks in four days after its election.
- **Almost no one was held to account.** In most killings someone responsible was still free. No police officer has been charged for any of the 21 deaths in police action.

THE 54TH

On 24 September, Saikun Khan, a 40-year-old farmer from Barawas in Rajasthan's Alwar district, went to buy a tube for his tyre. He was wearing a skullcap. Outside the Baroda Meo police station a man knocked him off his bike and crushed his head with a stone. A villager says the attacker shouted: 'Today I have killed one mulla, now I will kill more.' The police say there was no religious motive. Saikun Khan was the 54th person killed in this year's hate crimes. This report is about him, and the 53 others, and the hundreds who survived.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report is based on APCR's documentation of 322 hate crimes based on religious identity against Muslims and Christians between 1 January and 30 September 2026, in 24 states and union territories. The cases come from APCR's own records, fact-finding reports on West Bengal, the Kanwar Yatra and Bakra Eid, and Indian media and rights trackers. Every case was coded using APCR's hate crime form.

The report is written around what happened to people. Each chapter opens with a case, then explains the pattern behind it. The figures behind every statement are in the Data Annex at the end, along with the full list of those killed. Names of children and survivors of sexual violence are withheld throughout.

This is a record of what was reported, not a full count. Many hate crimes are never reported, and many that are reported are never followed up. The true numbers are higher.

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1. HOW HATE WORKS IN 2026

The 322 incidents in this report are not a scatter of isolated crimes. Read together, they show a system with four moving parts: a trigger, a crowd, the state, and the aftermath.

THE TRIGGER

Most incidents begin with something ordinary: a plate of biryani, a truck carrying cattle, a festival, a prayer said in the wrong place, a friendship across religions, or simply a beard or a skullcap; most of them invariably being symbols associated with religious identity in some form or another. **Meat and cattle** were the most common specific trigger, behind one in four incidents. **Festivals and processions** were behind one in five.

THE CROWD

More than a third of the incidents were carried out by a mob. Organised groups were named in about a quarter: the **Bajrang Dal**, **BJP members** and leaders, and the **VHP** most often. But not all cases involved strangers; the attackers in a significant number of incidents were neighbours, passers-by or strangers with no group behind them, which shows how far the hostility has spread.

THE STATE

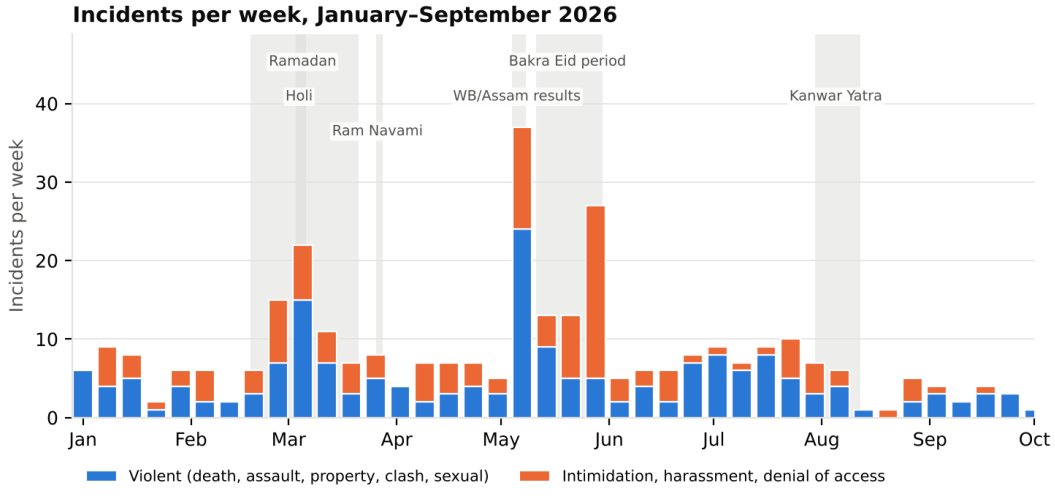
In one incident in three, a state body was directly involved. This includes both crimes of commission as well as omission. Examples range from encounter killings and custodial violence to harassment and persecution of victims of hate crime: 40 FIRs were filed against people who had themselves been attacked. And sometimes, as in West Bengal after the election, it was simply absent while mobs attacked.

THE AFTERMATH

Very few cases reached any accountability. In most killings someone responsible was still free at the last report, and no official has been charged for any death in police action. Most cases disappear from the news within days, before anyone is held to account.

THE CALENDAR

More than half of all incidents happened in three periods that cover just over a third of the year: Ramadan, Holi and Ram Navami in February and March; the West Bengal election results and Bakra Eid in May; and the Kanwar Yatra in late July and August. These dates are known months in advance.



Incidents per week. Shaded bands mark festivals and the West Bengal and Assam election results.

2. WHEN THE STATE TAKES PART

GHAZIABAD, UTTAR PRADESH · 1 AND 3 MARCH

Zeeshan, 22, and his brother Gulfam, 35, were carpenters from Amroha. After they were named as suspects in the stabbing of a YouTuber, the Chief Minister ordered 'strict action'. Within 48 hours both brothers were dead, killed in separate police 'encounters' in Ghaziabad.

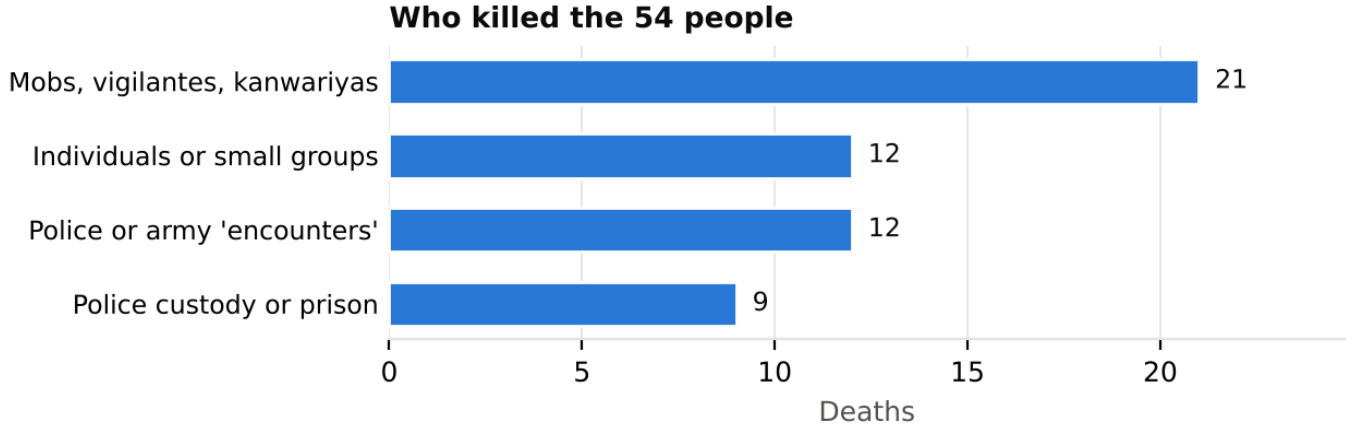
> ***"If my sons committed a crime, they should have been arrested and taken to court."***
> **— Buniyad Ali, their father**

Their deaths are part of the clearest pattern in this report: in 2026 the state was often a party to anti-minority violence, not just a bystander that failed to stop it. A police force, army unit, civic body or administration was directly involved in one incident in every three.

KILLING

Twenty-one people died in state hands. Twelve were shot in police action or 'encounters', nine of them in Uttar Pradesh, including Zubair Ahmad and Sameer Khan, whom police themselves said had no criminal record. Nine died in police custody or prison: Anish, a 34-year-old vegetable-market worker, after being picked up on his way to work in Delhi; Zaheer Shaikh, 70, in Ahmedabad after a cow-slaughter arrest; and three undertrials who died in jail.

> ***"My son was completely fine when he left home. Police beat him to death."***
> **— Anish's mother, Delhi**



Who killed the 54 people

PUNISHING THE VICTIMS

The state also acted through the law, against the people who had been attacked. Forty FIRs were filed against victims. After a police-accompanied cattle raid in Surat, 22 Muslim men were arrested. Muslims were arrested for an iftar in Shravasti, for breaking the Ramadan fast on a boat in Varanasi and for praying in an empty house in Bareilly. After a protest in Kolkata, 13 of the 14 people arrested were Muslim. In Assam, three young men were jailed for creating a WhatsApp group to organise a protest, even though they had asked the police for permission.

> ***"People from other communities are not being arrested. But we are Muslims."***
> **— Fathers of the three young men jailed in Lakhimpur, Assam**

DEMOLITION AND 'BULLDOZER JUSTICE'

Despite the Supreme Court guidelines of 2024, demolition by administrative agencies continues to be used in many places as a weapon of enforcing collective punishment. The family home of a Muslim accused in Uttam Nagar was partly demolished days after a Holi killing. A century-old mosque inside the Saharanpur Collectorate was razed before dawn. Part of Ujjain's Shahi Masjid and Delhi's Madina Masjid were knocked down for road-widening, and 73 Muslim families in Goalpara were evicted on 24 hours' notice.

Hate crime in India today cannot be understood only as a spontaneous outbreak of violence by private people that the state fails to prevent. In a third of cases, a state party was implicated either through its discriminatory actions or through the wilful failure to act.

3. MEAT, CATTLE AND LIVELIHOODS

GODDA, JHARKHAND · NIGHT OF 7–8 JANUARY

Pappu Ansari, 45, was accused of stealing cattle. His family says a crowd in Matihani village stripped him, identified him as Muslim and attacked him with axes, sticks, arrows and a chisel. He died of his injuries. He leaves five children.

Meat and cattle were the single most common trigger of violence against Muslims in 2026, behind one in four incidents and eleven deaths. Two kinds of attacker meet here.

The first is the vigilante. Self-styled cow protectors stopped vehicles, beat drivers and traders and, at times, killed. Tanveer Salam drowned in a stream in Ramban while escaping men who chased him, though he had written permission to carry his cows. Jalilur Rahman, a cattle trader in Tripura, phoned his family while a mob beat him. Two men were lynched in Assam's Sonitpur the day after the Chief Minister promised 'zero tolerance' on cattle smuggling.

The second is the state, enforcing the same agenda through orders and raids. Meat shops were shut along the Kanwar Yatra routes across Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. Cattle markets were forced to close in West Bengal. Muslim women were arrested for cooking beef at home in Kaushambi and Rewa, and the National Security Act was used against two men in Mhow. In nearly half of all meat and cattle incidents, the police or administration were involved.

> ***"We will fight until our last breath."***
> **— Gau Raksha Dal leader after members beat two Muslim cattle traders in Karnal, Haryana**

The cost is economic as well as physical. Biryani sellers, meat sellers, cattle traders and drivers lost their income whether a mob attacked them or an order shut them down, and often one followed the other. In Vrindavan a vigilante made a biryani seller close his stall; in Baheri a chicken-biryani shop near the Kanwar route was bulldozed after a Bajrang Dal complaint.

4. FESTIVALS AS FLASHPOINTS

MIRA ROAD, THANE · 25–27 MAY

Days before Bakra Eid, residents of a Mira Road housing society objected to goats kept for sacrifice. More than a hundred Bajrang Dal members gathered outside, recited the Hanuman Chalisa and clashed with Muslim residents. After a BJP MLA said goats would have to be 'answered with pigs', activists tried to bring a pig to the gate. Within a day, BJP leaders had pressed the BMC to cancel sacrifice permissions in other Mumbai societies.

Religious festivals produced one in five incidents in 2026, and the data shows a striking difference between Muslim and Hindu festivals.

Muslim festivals were met with restriction. Around Bakra Eid alone, APCR documented 46 incidents in 19 days: permissions withdrawn, the Hanuman Chalisa recited during Eid prayers in Kalyan, protests against Eid prayers at the Taj Mahal, and cattle markets sealed. In Bareilly, the Urs-e-Ala Hazrat, one of north India's largest Muslim gatherings, was rescheduled and ordered to serve only vegetarian food because it clashed with the Kanwar Yatra. Almost all the incidents linked to Muslim festivals were intimidation, and none was fatal.

Hindu festivals and processions were instead occasions for assertion, and more often for violence. Holi led to a killing in Ghazipur and a clash in Shahjahanpur; Ram Navami processions led to clashes in Garhwa, where those arrested were paraded in handcuffs, and to the looting and burning of about 40 Muslim shops in Murshidabad. During the Kanwar Yatra, Azeem, a pickup driver, was beaten into a coma after his vehicle hit an auto carrying kanwariyas, and died days later.

The festival calendar is the most reliable predictor of risk in this dataset. Every major spike in 2026 followed a festival or an election result.

5. AFTER THE VOTE: WEST BENGAL

GOSANIMARI, COOCH BEHAR • 4 MAY

As election results came in, a procession chanting 'Jai Shri Ram' reached the mosque at Gosanimari. A Muslim man who stood in its defence was killed.

Over the next four days, APCR's fact-finding documented 34 incidents across eight districts of West Bengal, 30 of them aimed at Muslims. At least ten mosques were attacked, from Cooch Behar to Barasat and Raicha. A Hindu mob vandalised 15 Muslim homes in Nandina and Abutra. Muslim-run hotels and meat shops were attacked and demolished, bulldozer processions moved through Kolkata's Muslim hawkers' areas, cattle markets were forced shut, and roads and parks with Muslim names were renamed.

West Bengal's pattern is almost the opposite of Uttar Pradesh's. Here the violence was carried out by crowds celebrating a political victory, and the state was largely absent: a state body was involved in only three of the state's 42 incidents. The targets were the visible signs of Muslim presence: mosques, Muslim businesses and Muslim names on the map.

The months that followed brought other kinds of pressure: the new government's drive to 'deport' alleged infiltrators, a death in police custody in Cooch Behar, and a wave of attacks on Christian prayer meetings.

6. THE DANGER OF BEING VISIBLE

KOLKATA · 24 SEPTEMBER

Three theology students from Aliah University, wearing skullcaps, were stopped by two men on a scooter near Taltala. They were slapped and punched, threatened with death and called 'jihadi'. They say a local leader warned them not to file a complaint.

In about 120 incidents, the trigger was nothing more than being identifiable as Muslim or Christian: a beard, a skullcap, a hijab or burqa, a Muslim name, an Urdu class, a Bengali accent. Muslim women were stopped from wearing the hijab at a college in Howrah. A niqab-wearing advocate was barred from a hospital ward in Mumbai. In Telangana a BJP leader slapped a school principal for teaching Urdu, and the police then booked the principal.

Two practices recur. The first is forced chanting: Muslims made to say 'Jai Shri Ram' at gunpoint in Beawar, on the road in Sultanpur, on the way home from prayers in Jalgaon. It turns identity into a test of submission.

> ***"We are Hindus, we will kill you Muslims."***
> **— Attackers of three Muslim labourers who asked for their wages, Beawar, Rajasthan, as quoted in the complaint**

The second is the label 'Bangladeshi'. It turns a Bengali-speaking Muslim citizen into a suspected foreigner, and in 2026 it came before beatings, a killing and mass expulsions. Manjur Alam Laskar, a migrant embroidery worker from West Bengal, was beaten to death in Andhra Pradesh. His brother said he was targeted 'on suspicion of being Bangladeshi because he was a Bengali-speaking Muslim'.

7. THE FIGHT OVER SACRED SPACE

SAHARANPUR, UTTAR PRADESH • 5 SEPTEMBER

Before dawn, under heavy police deployment, bulldozers demolished a two-storey mosque inside the District Collectorate complex, a Waqf-registered building with records going back to 1911. The case began with a complaint by a former Bajrang Dal convener.

Mosques were the most frequently attacked property in 2026. Mosques, mazars, Eidgahs and graveyards came under attack from three directions.

- **Mobs:** West Bengal's post-poll violence, the Tura Jama Masjid in Meghalaya, a mosque set on fire during Ramadan in Palwal, a graveyard vandalised in Delhi's Wazirabad.
- **Claims that a mosque stands on a temple:** The Hindu Raksha Dal's protest at Darul Uloom Deoband claiming a Shiva temple lies beneath it; tension at the Kamal Maula mosque in Dhar.
- **The state and its allies:** Demolitions in Saharanpur, Ujjain, Shalimar Bagh and Turkman Gate, justified as anti-encroachment or road-widening; a madrasa razed in Pitampura by a crowd led by a BJP MLA.

Prayer itself became contested. Muslims were arrested for praying in an empty house in Bareilly and on a road in Rampur. A Chief Minister said namaz would 'not be permitted on the streets'. The message, repeated across states, is that Muslim worship is acceptable only where it cannot be seen.

8. WHERE PEOPLE ARE KILLED

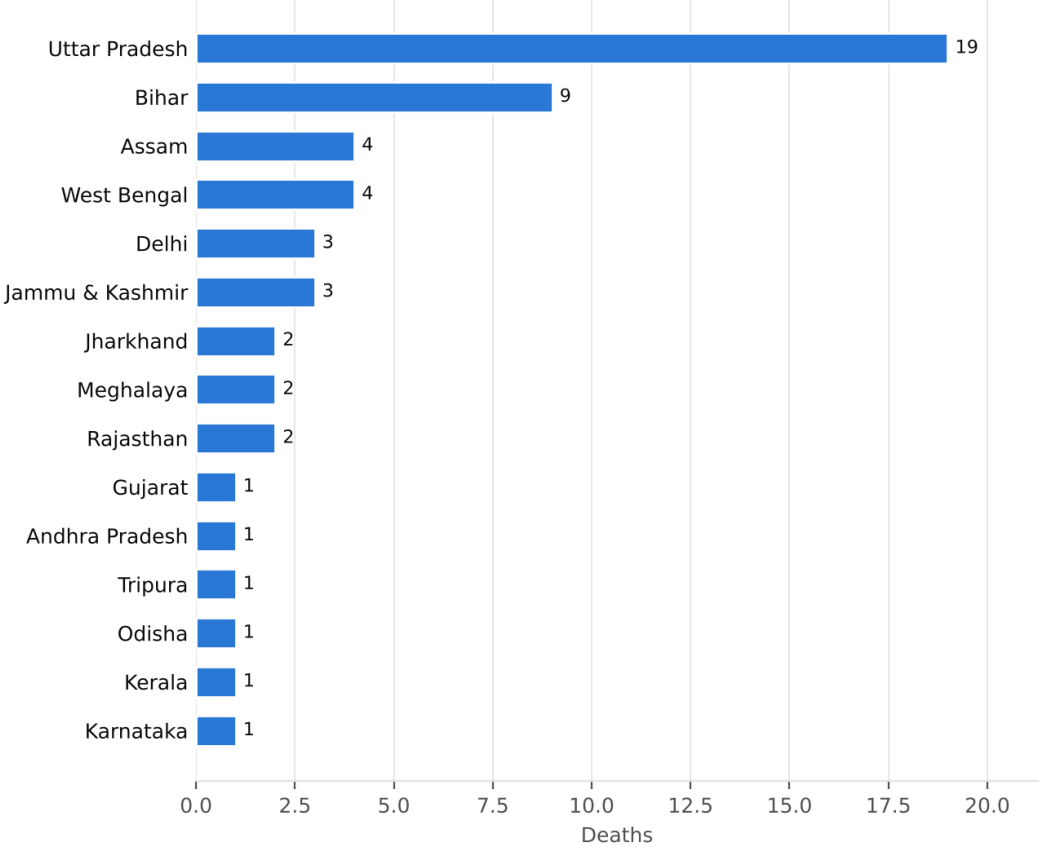
ROHTAS, BIHAR · 24 MARCH

Hasan Raza Khan, 32, was tied up, dragged along a state highway and beaten to death in public view, reportedly over a land dispute. The attack was filmed. Six days later, after continued threats from accused who were still free, his wife also died.

The 54 deaths in 2026 fall into two distinct geographies.

In the east, in Bihar, Jharkhand, Assam and Tripura, most killings were mob lynchings over cattle, alleged theft or petty disputes. Bihar had only 18 incidents but nine deaths: half of its incidents were killings, the highest rate in the country. Six of the year's 15 lynchings took place there, including that of Islam Nadaf, 66, beaten in his own home in Madhubani. The state was rarely involved, and families repeatedly said police were slow to register their complaints.

In Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and parts of Assam, killings were more often carried out by the state, in 'encounters' and in custody. Uttar Pradesh recorded 19 deaths, more than any other state; nine were in police 'encounters'. In Jammu and Kashmir, all three deaths involved security forces, including Arif Hussain, an auto driver shot dead at a police checkpoint.



Deaths by state or union territory

Among the dead were four children, the youngest an 11-year-old girl, and five people aged 60 or over. Where their work was known, most made their living on the road or in the market: drivers, cattle traders, labourers.

9. CHRISTIANS AND THE CONVERSION CHARGE

SUKMA, CHHATTISGARH · 31 MAY

More than 25 Christians, including a pastor and his pregnant wife, were attacked during a prayer meeting in Sadrapal village. Up to 30 were injured, at least five seriously.

Christians were targeted in 15 incidents in 2026, and an accusation of religious conversion runs through almost all of them. Prayer meetings were raided in Dehradun, Karnataka and Kolkata. Pastors were arrested in the middle of a sermon in Ballia and after an Easter service in Guna. In Kanker, more than 180 Christian families across 32 villages were cut off from water and daily-wage work for weeks and pressured to 'accept Hinduism'.

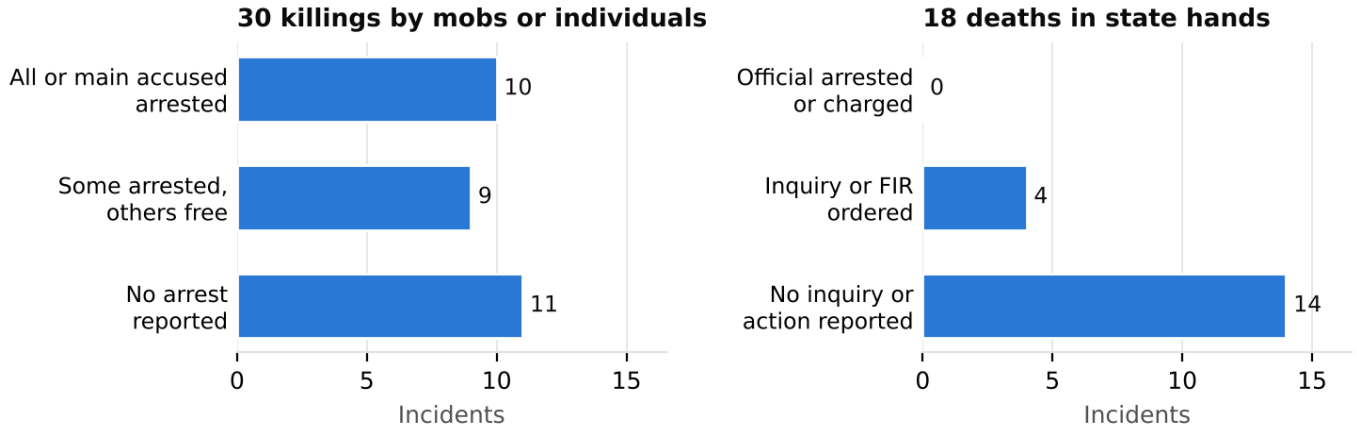
Anti-conversion laws provide both the accusation and the means to act on it: in most of these cases, the police arrested Christians on the complaint of the Bajrang Dal or VHP. After the change of government in West Bengal, attacks on Christians there rose sharply: India Hate Lab counted 60 between May and September, including women publicly humiliated in Barrackpore.

10. NO ONE HELD TO ACCOUNT

BAREILLY, UTTAR PRADESH · NIGHT OF 26 APRIL

Maulana Tousif Raza Mazhari, a 30-year-old imam from Kishanganj, was returning by train from an Urs when he phoned his wife. Men were beating and abusing him, he said, and no one was helping. The next morning he was found dead beside the tracks. The post-mortem recorded that all his ribs were fractured. Police first called it an accident. A murder case against unknown persons was registered only after his wife complained, and no one has been arrested.

Tousif Raza's case is typical of what follows a hate crime in India.



What happened after the killings, as last reported

- **Killers go free.** Of 30 killings by mobs or individuals, all the main accused were arrested in only 10. In 20, some or all of those responsible were still free at the last report; in 11, no arrest was reported at all.
- **The state is not investigated.** No police officer or soldier has been charged for any of the 21 deaths in state hands. In just four cases was an inquiry or FIR ordered, and in the most prominent, the custodial death of Zaheer Shaikh, it took a Supreme Court order, and the FIR still names no one.
- **Delay and reversal.** In at least five killings, police were slow to register the crime or acted first against the victim. Azeem, beaten into a coma by kanwariyas, was himself charged with attempted murder before his attackers were arrested.
- **The victim in the dock.** Forty FIRs were filed against victims: more than the number of attacks by private individuals that led to any arrest at all.

For non-fatal assaults and attacks on property the picture is bleaker still: an arrest was reported in barely one case in eight. Part of the gap is a gap in reporting. Most hate crimes vanish from the news within days. That silence is itself part of the pattern: without follow-up, there is no pressure for justice.

THOSE WE LOST

Fifty-four people were killed in the hate crimes documented in this report. These are eight of their stories. The full list is in the Data Annex.

SAIKUN KHAN, 40 · ALWAR, RAJASTHAN · 24 SEPTEMBER

A farmer from Barawas, he was wearing a skullcap when a man knocked him off his bike outside the Baroda Meo police station and crushed his head with a stone. Witnesses say the attacker had come out of the police station. Police call the accused mentally disturbed and deny any religious motive. His brother alleges an officer offered money to call it an accident.

AZEEM, 24–28 · HAPUR, UTTAR PRADESH · 31 JULY

A pickup driver from Moradabad, he hit a parked auto carrying kanwariyas near Garhmukteshwar. He was dragged out and beaten into a coma, reportedly in front of a police officer, and died four days later in a Delhi hospital. The first FIR was against him, for attempted murder. His attackers were arrested two weeks after the assault.

MAULANA TOUSIF RAZA MAZHARI, 30 · BAREILLY, UTTAR PRADESH · 26 APRIL

An imam from Kishanganj in Bihar, he called his wife from a train to say he was being beaten and no one was helping. He was found dead by the tracks with every rib broken. Police called it an accident. His wife's complaint turned it into a murder case, still unsolved.

ZAHEER SHAIKH, 70 · AHMEDABAD, GUJARAT · 19 MAY

Arrested in a cow-slaughter case, he died in Vejalpur police custody a day later. Before he died he named the police officers he said had beaten him. His family says his beard was pulled and his diabetes medicine withheld. The High Court refused to order an FIR; it took the Supreme Court to order one, and it names no suspect.

MOHAMMAD UMARDEEN · NAND NAGRI, DELHI · 17 FEBRUARY

His 15-year-old son was surrounded on his way home from tuition, abused with anti-Muslim slurs and beaten. When Umardeen came to his son's rescue, one of the group came out of a house with a pistol and shot him in the chest. Only the shooter has been arrested.

HASAN RAZA KHAN, 32 · ROHTAS, BIHAR · 24 MARCH

He was tied up, dragged along a highway and beaten to death in front of onlookers, and the killing was filmed. Of the eight people named, four had been arrested by April. Six days after his death, his wife, still being threatened by the accused, also died.

PAPPU ANSARI, 45 · GODDA, JHARKHAND · 8 JANUARY

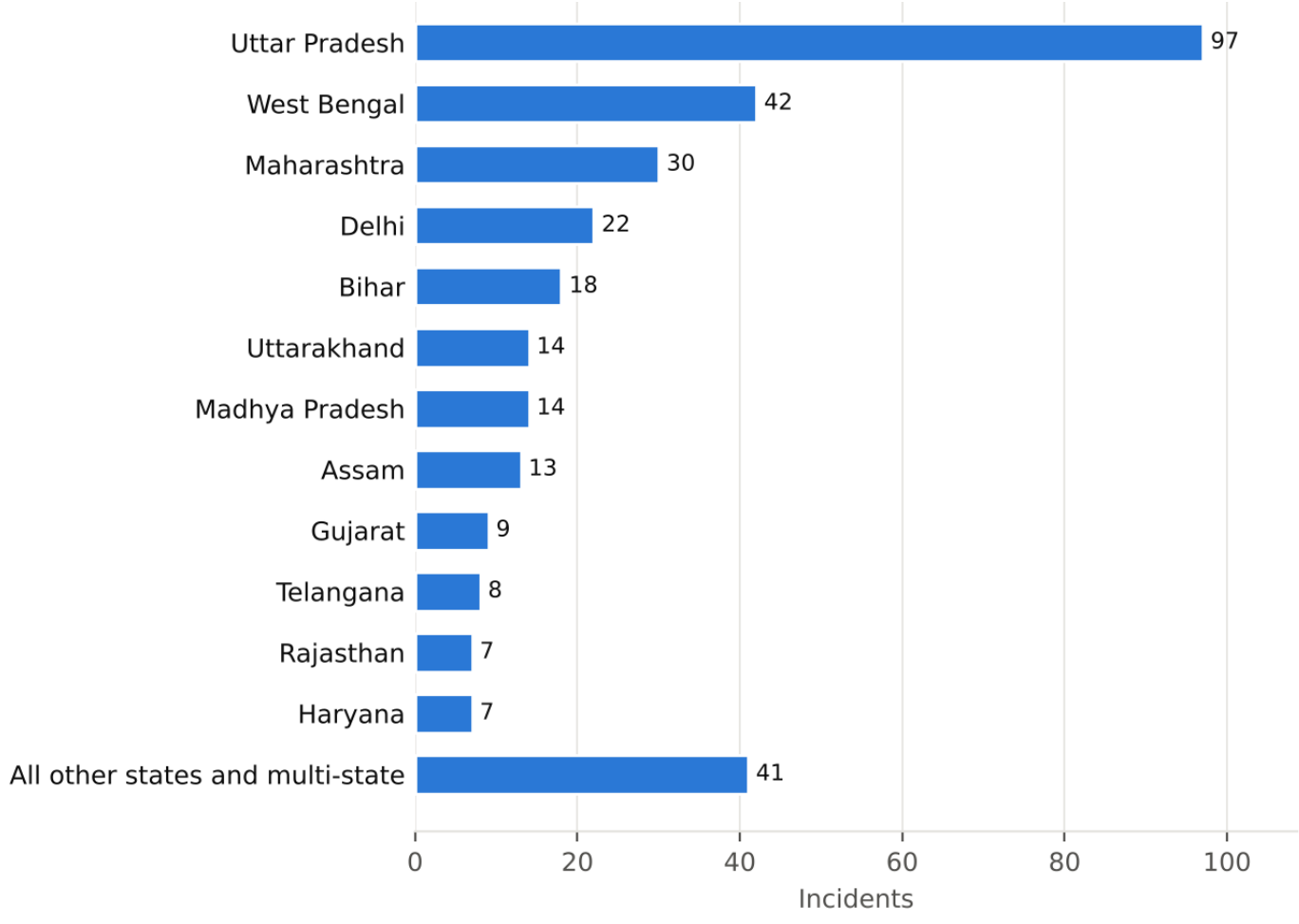
Accused of cattle theft, he was beaten to death by a mob in Matihani village. His family says he was stripped and identified as a Muslim before the attack, carried out with axes, arrows and a chisel. He leaves five children.

JALILUR RAHMAN · KHOWAI, TRIPURA · 2 SEPTEMBER

A cattle trader, he was collecting animals he had bought when a crowd called him a thief and beat him before dawn, breaking his limbs. He phoned his family during the attack. His wife, Lilufa Begum, says the attackers also took about ₹70,000 and his phone. No arrest has been confirmed.

STATE BY STATE

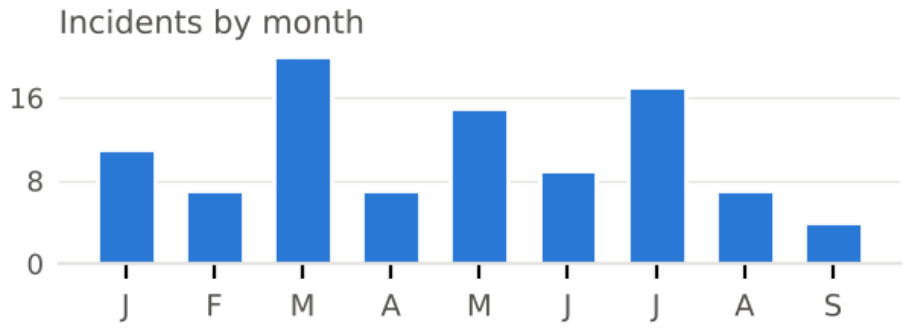
The five states with the most incidents, one page each, for journalists, lawyers and activists working in them.



Incidents by state or union territory

Uttar Pradesh

INCIDENTS	SHARE OF TOTAL	DEATHS	MOB INVOLVED	STATE ACTOR INVOLVED	FIRS AGAINST VICTIMS
97	30%	19	17	47	21



PATTERN

The state with the most incidents and deaths, and the clearest example of the state taking part in the violence. Nearly half the incidents involved a state actor: 'encounter' killings, deaths in custody, arrests for praying, cooking beef or criticising leaders, and demolitions. Incidents were spread across 38 districts, with clusters in western Uttar Pradesh. Hindu festivals and processions, especially the Kanwar Yatra and Holi, were frequent flashpoints.

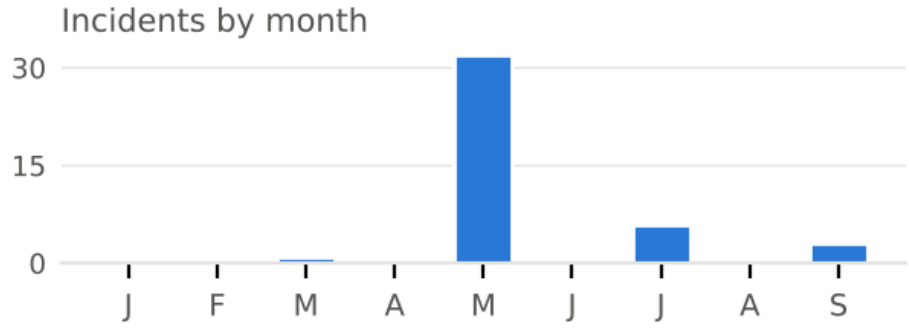
- **Main categories:** Intimidation/Harassment (43), Physical Assault (24), Violence Causing Death (15)
- **Main contexts:** Visible identity (52), Food / cattle (24), Festivals (24)
- **Districts with most incidents:** Ghaziabad (8), Muzaffarnagar (7), Agra (6), Bareilly (6), Meerut (6), Mathura (5)
- **Groups most often named:** Bajrang Dal (8), Bharatiya Janata Party (6), Hindu Extremist (5)
- **State bodies most often involved:** Police (37), District administration (10), Revenue officials (2)

CASE

Zeeshan, 22, and his brother Gulfam, 35, carpenters from Amroha, were named as suspects in the stabbing of a YouTuber on 26 February. Days after the Chief Minister ordered 'strict action', both were killed in separate police 'encounters' in Ghaziabad, on 1 and 3 March. Their father, Buniyad Ali, said: 'If my sons committed a crime, they should have been arrested and taken to court.' No independent inquiry has been reported.

West Bengal

INCIDENTS	SHARE OF TOTAL	DEATHS	MOB INVOLVED	STATE ACTOR INVOLVED	FIRS AGAINST VICTIMS
42	13%	4	26	3	0



PATTERN

A burst of mob violence after the BJP's election win, with the state almost absent. Thirty of the state's 42 incidents happened between 4 and 7 May, aimed at mosques, Muslim homes, Muslim-run shops and hotels, cattle markets and places with Muslim names. Mobs were involved in most incidents, and only three involved a state actor. Attacks on Christians followed later in the year.

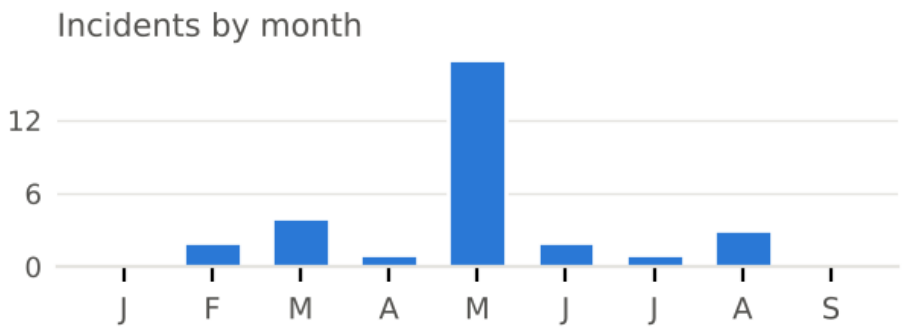
- **Main categories:** Attack on Property (18), Intimidation/Harassment (12), Physical Assault (7)
- **Main contexts:** Visible identity (22), Places of worship (11), Food / cattle (8)
- **Districts with most incidents:** Cooch Behar (9), North 24 Parganas (9), South 24 Parganas (7), Kolkata (6), Howrah (4), Murshidabad (3)
- **Groups most often named:** Bharatiya Janata Party (4), Bajrang Dal (2), Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1)
- **State bodies most often involved:** Police (3), Paramilitary (1), State government (1)

CASE

As results came in on 4 May, a procession chanting 'Jai Shri Ram' attacked the mosque at Gosanimari in Cooch Behar. A Muslim man was killed defending it. Over the next three days APCR documented 33 more incidents across eight districts, including attacks on at least 10 mosques and 17 Muslim homes.

Maharashtra

INCIDENTS	SHARE OF TOTAL	DEATHS	MOB INVOLVED	STATE ACTOR INVOLVED	FIRS AGAINST VICTIMS
30	9%	0	10	11	2



PATTERN

No deaths, but a dense cluster of intimidation around Muslim religious practice, above all Bakra Eid. Elected representatives (BJP MLAs, a minister and corporators) led protests against animal sacrifice, and civic bodies withdrew permissions under that pressure. Mumbai and Thane account for most incidents.

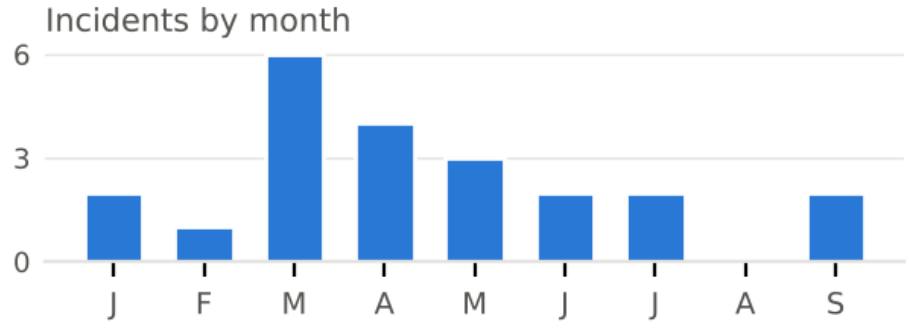
- **Main categories:** Intimidation/Harassment (23), Physical Assault (4), Attack on Property (1)
- **Main contexts:** Festivals (17), Food / cattle (15), Visible identity (13)
- **Districts with most incidents:** Mumbai (11), Thane (7), Dhule (2), Pune (2)
- **Groups most often named:** Bharatiya Janata Party (8), Bajrang Dal (3), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (2)
- **State bodies most often involved:** Police (4), Elected Governing Body such as Panchayat or Municipal Corporation (3), District administration (2)

CASE

At Poonam Cluster 1, a housing society on Mira Road, residents objected to goats kept for Bakra Eid. On 25–26 May more than 100 Bajrang Dal members gathered outside, recited the Hanuman Chalisa and clashed with Muslim residents. After a BJP MLA said goats should be 'answered with pigs', activists tried to bring a pig to the site. The goats were moved away, and the BMC went on to cancel sacrifice permissions in other societies.

Delhi

INCIDENTS	SHARE OF TOTAL	DEATHS	MOB INVOLVED	STATE ACTOR INVOLVED	FIRS AGAINST VICTIMS
22	7%	3	7	9	2



PATTERN

Incidents in the capital range from demolitions by civic bodies (Turkman Gate, Uttam Nagar, Jaitpur, the Madina Masjid in Shalimar Bagh) to a death in police custody, two killings and attacks on visibly Muslim people in public places. Delhi also records incidents involving journalists, students and travellers at railway stations.

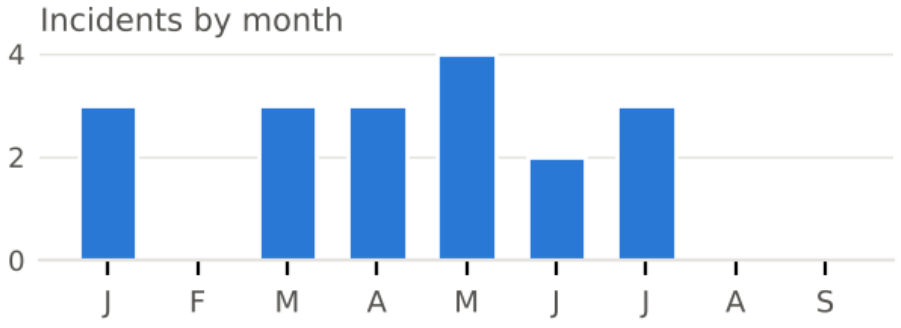
- **Main categories:** Attack on Property (6), Intimidation/Harassment (6), Physical Assault (5)
- **Main contexts:** Visible identity (18), Places of worship (3), Festivals (2)
- **Groups most often named:** Bharatiya Janata Party (1), Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1), Bajrang Dal (1)
- **State bodies most often involved:** Police (6), Elected Governing Body such as Panchayat or Municipal Corporation (4), Delhi Development Authority / civic authorities (1)

CASE

On 17 February, Mohammad Umardeen's 15-year-old son was surrounded near a school in Nand Nagri, abused with anti-Muslim slurs and beaten. When Umardeen arrived, one of the group came out of a house with a pistol and shot him in the chest. He was declared dead at GTB Hospital. Only the shooter has been arrested.

Bihar

INCIDENTS	SHARE OF TOTAL	DEATHS	MOB INVOLVED	STATE ACTOR INVOLVED	FIRS AGAINST VICTIMS
18	6%	9	13	2	0



PATTERN

Few incidents but the highest death rate of any state: half of its incidents were killings, mostly by mobs over minor disputes, accusations of theft or communal abuse. The state was rarely involved, and families repeatedly said the police were slow to act. Incidents were spread across 12 districts.

- **Main categories:** Violence Causing Death (9), Intimidation/Harassment (5), Physical Assault (3)
- **Main contexts:** Visible identity (13), Food / cattle (4), Festivals (2)
- **Districts with most incidents:** Madhubani (3), Patna (2), Rohtas (2), Siwan (2), Sitamarhi (2)
- **Groups most often named:** Hindu Extremist (1)
- **State bodies most often involved:** Police (2), Prison authorities (1)

CASE

On 24 March, Hasan Raza Khan, 32, was tied up, dragged along a state highway in Rohtas and beaten to death in public view, reportedly over a land dispute. The attack was filmed. Eight people were named; four had been arrested by early April. His wife died six days later after continued threats from the accused who were still free.

DATA ANNEX

The annex sets out the figures behind every statement in the report: numbered findings that can be cited directly, the tables and charts, the full list of those killed, the method, and complete cross-tabulations by state, context and category.

HOW TO READ THE FIGURES

This document analyses the 322 hate crimes against Muslims and Christians recorded in APCR's 2026 dataset for 1 January to 30 September 2026. Each incident has been coded with APCR's 32-question hate crime form. The analysis uses three of those questions as its main lenses: the state or union territory where it happened (Q6), the context of the incident (Q12) and its category (Q8). Other answers (mob presence, state actors, FIRs, outfits, deaths) are used to explain the relationships between the three.

Points to keep in mind when reading the numbers

- **One category, several contexts.** Every incident has exactly one category (Q8), but can have several contexts (Q12). Context totals therefore add up to more than the number of incidents.
- **The 'visible identity' fallback.** The form's context list has no option for police action, post-election violence or being called 'Bangladeshi'. In 69 incidents the closest option, 'Attacking Visible Religious Symbols/ Identity', was chosen and the real trigger written in Q31. Where this matters, the analysis reports both the recorded figure (190) and the figure for incidents where identity was the actual trigger (121).
- **Documentation density.** 72 incidents come from APCR's three event reports (West Bengal post-poll violence, the Kanwar Yatra and Bakra Eid). These reports recorded smaller acts, such as renamed roads and civic orders, one by one. Their months, states and categories are therefore denser than the rest of the dataset; May alone has 93 incidents.
- **Under-reporting.** The dataset covers what was reported in the media and documented by APCR. It is not a full count of hate crimes in India, and states with weaker local reporting are likely to be undercounted.

Annex 1. Those killed: the full list

Fifty-four people were killed in the hate crimes recorded between January and September 2026: 53 Muslims, and Kajal, a Hindu woman killed by her brothers along with her Muslim partner, Arman. They are listed here in the order they died. Children and survivors of sexual violence are not named. Ages and occupations are given where they were reported.

NO.	NAME	AGE	DATE	PLACE	WHAT HAPPENED	KILLED BY
1	Kalamuddin	Elderly	5 Jan	Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh	Madrasa manager; died after alleged police assault and threats for bribes	Police
2	Pappu Ansari	45	7–8 Jan	Matihani, Godda, Jharkhand	Beaten to death by a mob over a cattle-theft accusation	Mob
3	Sheikh Makandar Mohammad	35	14 Jan	Balasore, Odisha	Mason helping transport cattle; beaten and forced to chant 'Jai Shri Ram'	Mob (cow vigilantes)
4	Arman	–	18 Jan	Umri Sabzipur, Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh	Hacked to death with his Hindu partner by her brothers	Partner's brothers
5	Kajal (Hindu)	–	18 Jan	Umri Sabzipur, Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh	Killed by her brothers with her Muslim partner, Arman	Her brothers
6	Manjur Alam Laskar	–	24 Jan	Komarolu, Prakasam, Andhra Pradesh	Bengali migrant embroidery worker; beaten to death after being called 'Bangladeshi'	Unidentified attackers
7	Boy (name withheld)	15	26 Jan	Hapla, Katihar, Bihar	Adivasi Muslim boy beaten to death by a mob after a bike collision	Mob
8	Mohammad Umardeen	35–41	17 Feb	Nand Nagri, Delhi	Shot while rescuing his son from a mob using anti-Muslim slurs	Member of a mob
9	Roshan Khatoon	–	28 Feb–1 Mar	Amhi, Madhubani, Bihar	Tied to a pole and beaten while fasting; died in hospital	Mob led by village head's son
10	Abdul Salam	65	1 Mar	Jhagarua, Darbhanga, Bihar	Killed with an iron rod after objecting to communal abuse	Three neighbours
11	Zeeshan	22	1 Mar	Loni, Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh	Carpenter; killed in a police 'encounter'	Police
12	Aamir	28	2 Mar	Bhiwadi, Rajasthan	Pickup driver shot in the head; family says Bajrang Dal men rammed his truck	Cow vigilantes (alleged)
13	Gulfam	35	3 Mar	Indirapuram, Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh	Carpenter, Zeeshan's brother; killed in a police 'encounter'	Police
14	Aas Muhammad	60	8 Mar	Chadipur, Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh	Shot soon after release from custody over a Holi dispute	Neighbour (accused)
15	Name not reported	–	11–12 Mar	Chibinang, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya	Bengali Muslim man killed in violence over the district council polls	Mob
16	Name not reported	–	11–12 Mar	Chibinang, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya	Bengali Muslim man killed in violence over the district council polls	Mob
17	Hasan Raza Khan	32	24 Mar	Muradabad village, Rohtas, Bihar	Tied, dragged along a highway and beaten to death on video	Mob
18	Rashid Ahmad Mughal	28	31 Mar	Arahama, Ganderbal, Jammu & Kashmir	Commerce post-graduate killed in a disputed army 'encounter'	Army

NO.	NAME	AGE	DATE	PLACE	WHAT HAPPENED	KILLED BY
19	Tanveer Salam	–	12 Apr	Bishleri stream, Ramban, Jammu & Kashmir	Chased while carrying dairy cattle with permission; drowned escaping	Cow vigilantes
20	Anish	34	20 Apr	Jahangirpuri police station, Delhi	Vegetable-market worker; died in police custody	Police
21	Maulana Tousif Raza Mazhari	30	26 Apr	Near Bareilly railway tracks, Uttar Pradesh	Imam beaten on a train; found dead by the tracks	Unidentified attackers
22	Boy (name withheld)	16	30 Apr	Trilokpuri, Delhi	Stabbed by a group shouting anti-Muslim slurs	Mob
23	Name not reported	–	4–7 May	Gosanimari, Cooch Behar, West Bengal	Killed while protecting a mosque in post-election violence	Mob
24	Islam Nadaf	66	12 May (died 21 May)	Ludgama, Madhubani, Bihar	Beaten in a mob attack on his home	Mob
25	Zubair Ahmad	–	12 May	Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh	Killed in a police 'encounter'; no prior criminal record	Police
26	Sameer Khan	–	12 May	Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh	Killed in a police 'encounter'; no prior criminal record	Police
27	Zubair	31	14 May	Meerut, Uttar Pradesh	Shot dead by the UP Special Task Force	Police
28	Zaheer Shaikh	70	19 May	Vejalpur, Ahmedabad, Gujarat	Died in police custody after a cow-slaughter arrest	Police
29	Name not reported	–	22 May	Bhalukpong area, Sonitpur, Assam	Lynched over suspected cattle theft, the day after the CM's 'zero tolerance' call	Mob
30	Name not reported	–	22 May	Bhalukpong area, Sonitpur, Assam	Lynched over suspected cattle theft, the day after the CM's 'zero tolerance' call	Mob
31	Raja Mohammad	–	24 May	Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh	Killed in a police 'encounter'	Police
32	Momin	–	24 May	Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh	Killed in a police 'encounter'	Police
33	Khairul Ali	–	25 May	Nagaon, Assam	Shot dead by police	Police
34	Shahzad Ali	25	30 May	Shivrajpur, Siwan, Bihar	Cook; taken from home, tied to a tree and beaten to death	Mob
35	Irshad Alam	53	June	Gopalganj jail, Bihar	Died days after being jailed; family alleges bribe demands and 'terrorist' slurs	Police / prison
36	Abdul Qadir	–	12 Jun	Bengaluru Central Prison, Karnataka	Undertrial of 18 years; died after court-ordered treatment was not given	Prison
37	Boy (name withheld)	12	19 Jun	Bhantabari, Sitamarhi, Bihar	Found murdered, face smashed with bricks; motive not established	Group of about 10
38	Anas alias Ayan	19	18 Jun (died 26 Jun)	Bhawanipur, Sambhal, Uttar Pradesh	Dragged from a car at gunpoint and beaten after a children's cricket dispute	Armed group
39	Adil	26	c. 25 Jun	Muzaffarnagar jail, Uttar Pradesh	Undertrial; died five days after entering jail	Prison
40	Teenager (name withheld)	Teen	29 Jun	Loni, Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh	Beaten with rods after his bike grazed a car	Car occupants

NO.	NAME	AGE	DATE	PLACE	WHAT HAPPENED	KILLED BY
41	Noor Hossain Sheikh	42	1 Jul	Cooch Behar, West Bengal	Died in a police lock-up after a BSF–police detention	Police / BSF
42	Girl (name withheld)	11	4–5 Jul	Baruipur, South 24 Parganas, West Bengal	Raped and murdered; bias motive not reported	Private accused
43	Montu Mia	52	4–5 Jul	Sitalkuchi, Cooch Behar, West Bengal	Cattle handler found dead under a bridge; family blames cow vigilantes	Cow vigilantes (alleged)
44	Mustafaizul Rahman	–	13 Jul	Kushinagar, Uttar Pradesh	Shot dead by the UP Special Task Force	Police
45	Arif Hussain	30	17 Jul	Bhaderwah, Doda, Jammu & Kashmir	Auto driver shot dead by police at a night checkpoint	Police
46	Jamil Akhtar	–	17 Jul	Sitamarhi, Bihar	Auto driver beaten to death after a parking argument	Four men
47	Siyad	29	25 Jul	Kerala, Kerala	Bus driver; died after an alleged police beating	Police
48	Badsha Ali	–	27 Jul	Udalguri jail, Assam	Undertrial found dead in jail	Prison
49	Azeem	24–28	31 Jul (died 4 Aug)	Brijghat, Hapur, Uttar Pradesh	Pickup driver beaten into a coma by kanwariyas after a collision	Mob (kanwariyas)
50	Md Emroz	32	4 Aug	Chatra, Jharkhand	Lynched by 100–150 villagers over an unverified accusation	Mob
51	Name not reported	–	5 Aug	Shamli, Uttar Pradesh	Shot dead by police	Police
52	Jalilur (Jalil) Rahman	40–46	2 Sep	Bagber, Khowai, Tripura	Cattle trader beaten to death by a mob that called him a thief	Mob
53	Naushad Ahmad	40–43	15 Sep	Najibabad, Bijnor, Uttar Pradesh	Government school teacher shot outside his school; accused cited 'love jihad'	Individual
54	Saikun Khan	40	24 Sep	Outside Baroda Meo police station, Alwar, Rajasthan	Farmer in a skullcap; head crushed with a stone	Individual

Those killed, 1 January – 30 September 2026

Annex 2. Numbered findings

A1. THE DATASET AT A GLANCE

MEASURE	FIGURE
Incidents recorded	322
States and union territories with at least one incident	24 (plus 3 multi-state or unlocated rows)
Incidents targeting Muslims / Christians / both	307 / 14 / 1
Deaths	54 in 48 incidents
of which in police or army 'encounters'	12 in 9 incidents
of which in police custody or prison	9 in 9 incidents
of which by mob lynching	17 in 15 incidents
Incidents involving a mob	121 (38%)
Incidents with a state actor involved (Q28)	119 (37%); police in 81
FIR filed: yes / no / unconfirmed	108 / 97 / 117
FIRs filed against the victims themselves	40 (37% of all FIRs)
Incidents with an outfit named (Q27)	87 (27%)
Muslims / Christians victimised (where counted)	488 / 90
Minors / senior citizens / adult women victimised (where counted)	48 / 9 / 26

Table 1. Headline figures

1. **Scale.** APCR's dataset records 322 hate crimes against religious minorities in the first nine months of 2026, an average of about 8 a week, and 54 deaths. 95% of incidents targeted Muslims.
2. **One in three involved the state.** A state actor was actively involved in 119 incidents (37%), most often the police (81). Of the 54 deaths, 21 (39%) occurred in police or army 'encounters' (12) or in police custody or prison (9).
3. **Victims were prosecuted.** Of the 108 incidents where an FIR was filed, 40 (37%) were FIRs against the victims, not the attackers. For 117 incidents (36%) it could not be confirmed whether any FIR exists.
4. **Mobs.** 121 incidents (38%) were carried out by a mob. 15 were mob lynchings, killing 17 people.

A2. THE HUMAN TOLL

WHO KILLED THEM	DEATHS
Mobs (including cow vigilantes and kanwariyas)	21
Individuals or small groups (neighbours, relatives, unidentified attackers)	12
Police or army, in 'encounters'	12
Police custody or prison	9
Total	54

Deaths by type of perpetrator

OCCUPATION OR STATUS OF THOSE KILLED	DEATHS
Labourer / worker	6
Driver	5
Cattle trader / transporter	5
Minor / student	4
Undertrial prisoner	3
Religious institution staff	1
Religious functionary	1
Teacher	1
Farmer	1
Occupation not reported	27

Who the dead were, where reported

5. **Fifty-four lives.** The hate crimes recorded in 2026 killed 54 people, 53 of them Muslim. 4 were children (aged 11 to 16) and 5 were aged 60 or over.
6. **Who killed them.** Mobs killed 21 people and individuals or small groups killed 12. The other 21 died in the hands of the state: 12 in police or army 'encounters' and 9 in custody or prison.
7. **Who they were.** Where the victim's work was reported, most were people whose living kept them on the road or in the market: 5 drivers, 5 cattle traders and handlers, and 6 workers and labourers, 16 in all. The dead also include an imam, a madrasa manager, a school teacher, a farmer and 3 undertrial prisoners.
8. **Beyond the dead.** Where the number of victims was reported, at least 488 Muslims and 90 Christians were attacked, harassed, arrested or displaced. They include 48 children, 26 adult women and 9 senior citizens. These are minimum figures: many reports give no number. The single largest group was 25 Muslim minors detained and beaten after the Kadapa stone-pelting in May.
9. **Driven from home.** At least 83 Muslim families were driven from their homes: 73 evicted in five Goalpara villages on 24 hours' notice, and all 10 Muslim families of a village in Gariaband after a mob attacked their homes (India Persecution Tracker). Families also fled Betul after their shops were torched, and up to 100 families left Uttam Nagar before Eid after threats of 'Holi with blood' (India Persecution Tracker).
10. **Mass detention and expulsion.** Two state actions affected people on a scale the incident count cannot show. After the 22 July militant attack in Anantnag, more than 2,500 people were detained across Kashmir. West Bengal's Chief Minister claimed 4,800 'deportations' of alleged infiltrators in the government's first month, and Assam says it 'sent back' 1,679 people in two years. Each is counted as one incident in this dataset.

A3. STATE

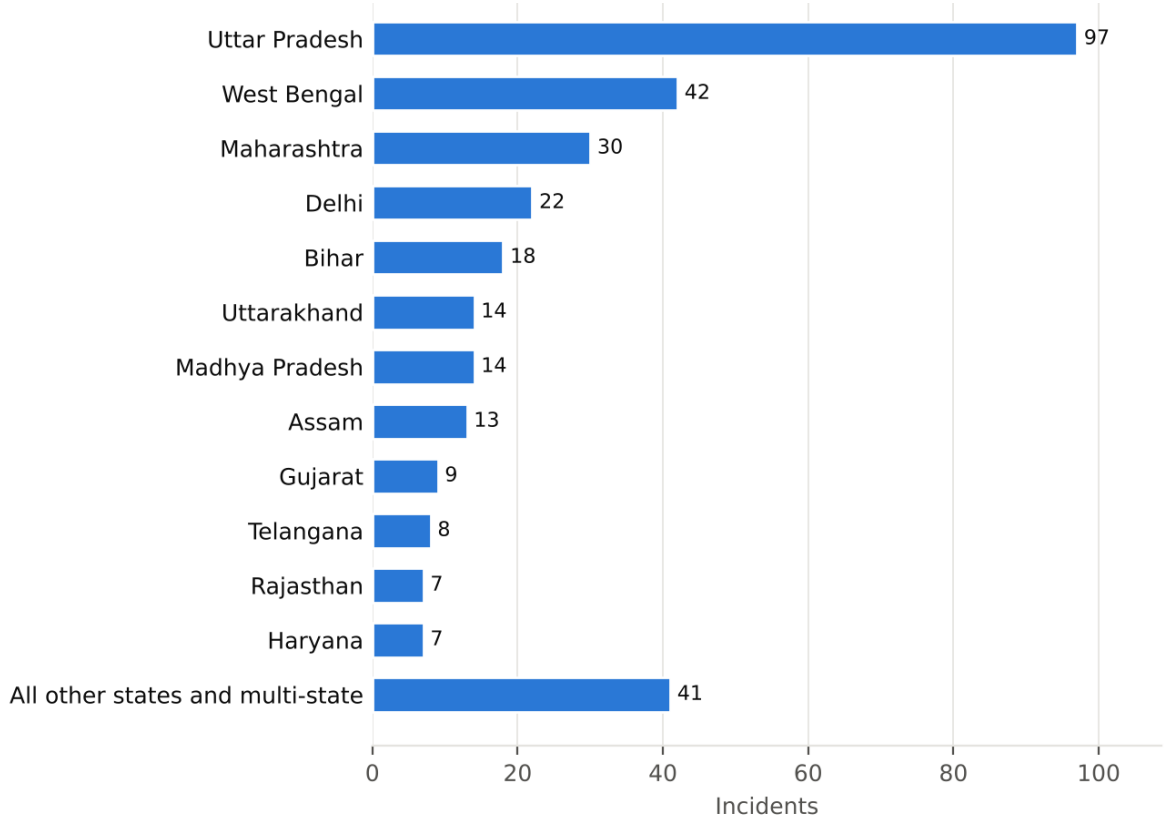


Figure 1. Incidents by state or union territory

STATE / UT	INCIDENTS	SHARE	DEATHS	MOB	STATE ACTOR	FIR VS VICTIMS	MOST COMMON CATEGORY	MOST COMMON CONTEXT
Uttar Pradesh	97	30%	19	17	47	21	Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
West Bengal	42	13%	4	26	3		Attack on Property	Places of worship
Maharashtra	30	9%		10	11	2	Intimidation/ Harassment	Festivals and processions
Delhi	22	7%	3	7	9	2	Attack on Property	Visible religious identity
Bihar	18	6%	9	13	2		Violence Causing Death	Visible religious identity
Uttarakhand	14	4%		6	3		Physical Assault	Visible religious identity
Madhya Pradesh	14	4%		6	10	5	Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
Assam	13	4%	4	6	7	2	Physical Assault	Non-veg food / cattle
Gujarat	9	3%	1	2	6	1	Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
Telangana	8	2%		2	3	1	Attack on Property	Visible religious identity
Rajasthan	7	2%	2	3	2		Violence Causing Death	Visible religious identity
Haryana	7	2%		4	3	3	Physical Assault	Non-veg food / cattle

STATE / UT	INCIDENTS	SHARE	DEATHS	MOB	STATE ACTOR	FIR VS VICTIMS	MOST COMMON CATEGORY	MOST COMMON CONTEXT
Odisha	5	2%	1	5			Physical Assault	Visible religious identity
Chhattisgarh	5	2%		3	1		Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
Karnataka	5	2%	1	1	2	1	Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
Jammu & Kashmir	5	2%	3		4	1	Violence Causing Death	Non-veg food / cattle
Tripura	3	1%	1	3			Physical Assault	Visible religious identity
Jharkhand	3	1%	2	3	1		Violence Causing Death	Visible religious identity
Himachal Pradesh	3	1%		1			Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
Andhra Pradesh	3	1%	1		1	1	Violence Causing Death	Visible religious identity
Not Verifiable	2	1%		1	1		Intimidation/ Harassment	Visible religious identity
Meghalaya	2	1%	2	2			Violence Causing Death	Visible religious identity
Punjab	1	0%					Intimidation/ Harassment	Festivals and processions
Multiple states	1	0%			1		Intimidation/ Harassment	Non-veg food / cattle
Assam and West Bengal	1	0%			1		Denial of Access to Public Space	Visible religious identity
Arunachal Pradesh	1	0%					Intimidation/ Harassment	Festivals and processions
Kerala	1	0%	1		1		Violence Causing Death	Visible religious identity

Table 2. Incidents by state. 'Most common context' uses identity only where it was the actual trigger.

11. **Concentration.** Five states account for 209 incidents (65%): Uttar Pradesh (97), West Bengal (42), Maharashtra (30), Delhi (22) and Bihar (18).
12. **Uttar Pradesh.** Uttar Pradesh alone records 97 incidents (30%) and 19 deaths (35%). Its profile is defined by the state: a state actor was involved in 47 of its incidents (48%), the police in 37, and 21 of the dataset's 40 FIRs against victims were filed there. Nine of its 19 deaths were in police 'encounters' and two in custody.
13. **West Bengal.** West Bengal ranks second with 42 incidents, but its pattern is the opposite of Uttar Pradesh's. Mobs were involved in 26 (62%) and a state actor in only 3. Attack on Property is its largest category (18), and 30 incidents were part of the violence that followed the BJP's election win on 4–7 May.
14. **Maharashtra.** Maharashtra's 30 incidents caused no deaths. 23 (77%) were intimidation or harassment, most of them around Bakra Eid: protests against animal sacrifice, cancelled permissions and pressure from BJP legislators and corporators.
15. **Bihar is the most lethal.** Bihar's 18 incidents caused 9 deaths, half of all its incidents. Six of the dataset's 15 mob lynchings happened in Bihar. Mobs were involved in 13 of its incidents (72%), and a state actor in only 2.
16. **Where the state is most present.** Among states with at least seven incidents, the share involving a state actor is highest in Madhya Pradesh (10 of 14), Gujarat (6 of 9), Assam (7 of 13) and Uttar Pradesh (47 of 97). It is lowest in West Bengal (3 of 42) and Bihar (2 of 18).

17. **Delhi.** Delhi's 22 incidents are split across property attacks (6), harassment (6) and assault (5). Its property attacks are largely state demolitions: Turkman Gate, Uttam Nagar, Jaitpur and the Madina Masjid in Shalimar Bagh.

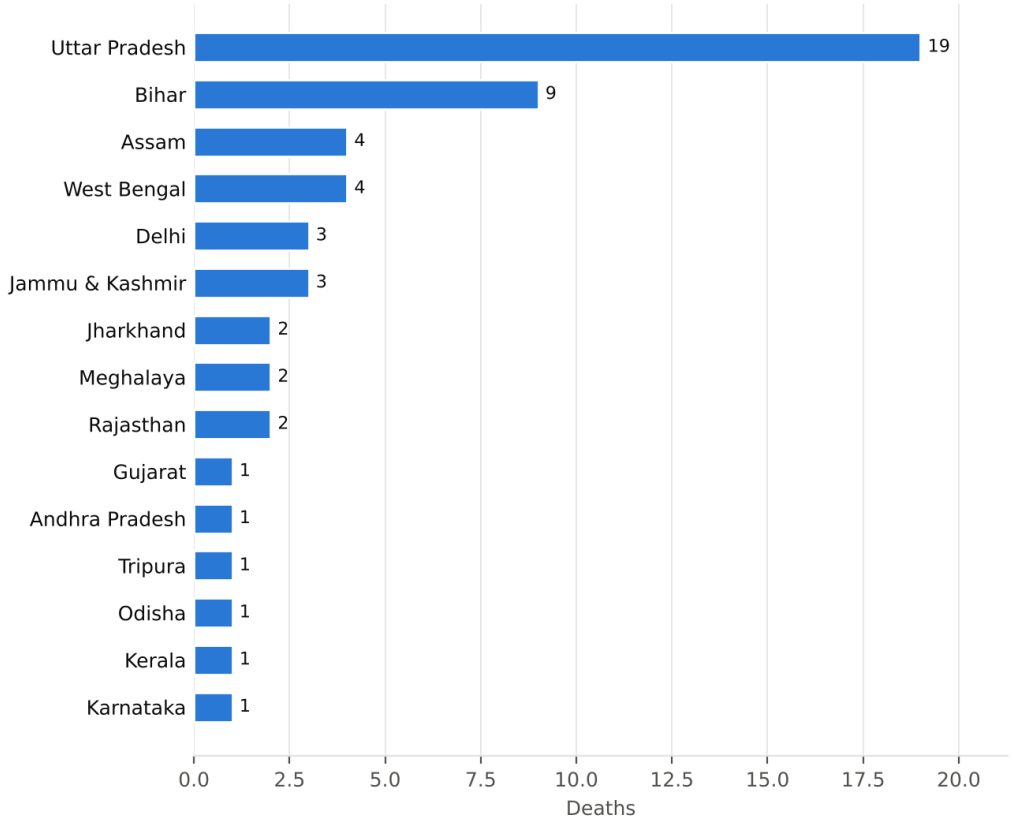


Figure 2. Deaths by state or union territory

18. **Deaths are spread wider than incidents.** Deaths were recorded in 15 states. After Uttar Pradesh (19) and Bihar (9), Assam, West Bengal (4 each), Delhi and Jammu & Kashmir (3 each) record the most. In Jammu & Kashmir all three deaths involved security forces.

A4. CONTEXT

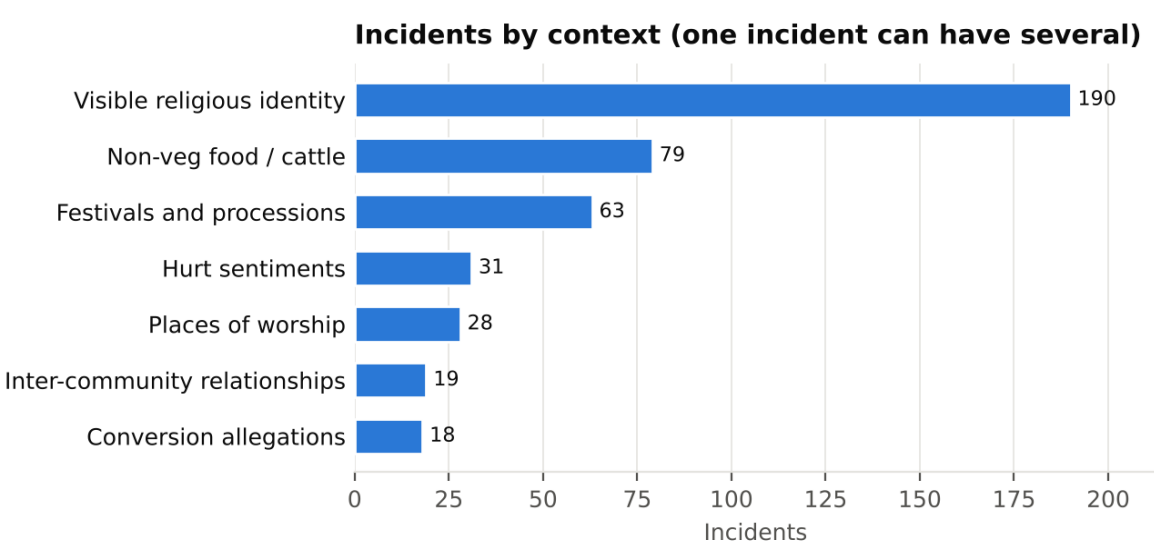


Figure 3. Incidents by context. One incident can have several.

CONTEXT (Q12)	INCIDENTS	SHARE	DEATHS	MOB	STATE ACTOR	MOST COMMON CATEGORY	TOP STATES
Visible religious identity	190	59%	39	76	57	Intimidation/ Harassment	Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Delhi
Non-veg food / cattle	79	25%	11	32	36	Intimidation/ Harassment	Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal
Festivals and processions	63	20%	2	19	30	Intimidation/ Harassment	Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Telangana
Hurt sentiments	31	10%	1	17	11	Intimidation/ Harassment	Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttarakhand
Places of worship	28	9%	3	16	8	Attack on Property	West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi
Inter-community relationships	19	6%	4	8	4	Physical Assault	Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Odisha
Conversion allegations	18	6%		2	11	Intimidation/ Harassment	Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal

Table 3. Incidents by context

19. **Identity.** 'Attacking Visible Religious Symbols/Identity' is recorded for 190 incidents. In 69 of these it was chosen only because the form had no better option. In the remaining 121 (38%), the victim's identity was itself the trigger. Within those, the symbol targeted was most often a person's religious appearance (beard, skullcap, burqa; 77), followed by prayers (23), religious buildings (18) and livelihoods (16).
20. **Food and cattle.** Non-vegetarian food, cattle and meat formed the context of 79 incidents (25%), the largest specific trigger in the dataset. They caused 11 deaths, including 4 lynchings. A state actor was involved in 36 (46%), and 17 FIRs in these cases were against the victims.
21. **Festivals.** 63 incidents (20%) were linked to a religious festival or procession. 40 involved Muslim festivals, mainly Bakra Eid, Ramadan and Eid prayers. 21 involved Hindu festivals and processions, mainly the Kanwar Yatra, Holi and Ram Navami.
22. **Hurt sentiments.** 31 incidents were framed as 'hurting religious sentiments'. Most (19) were harassment or arrests, and 7 produced an FIR against the person accused of causing offence.
23. **Places of worship.** 28 incidents involved a dispute over a place of worship, almost all mosques. 16 (57%) were attacks on property, and 11 were in West Bengal.
24. **Relationships and conversion.** Inter-community relationships (19) and conversion allegations (18) are smaller contexts but behave differently. Relationship cases were the most physical: 9 assaults and 3 killings (4 deaths). Conversion cases were mostly handled through the law: a state actor was involved in 11, and 9 FIRs were against the accused converts or pastors.
25. **Triggers outside the form's list.** Q31 records three further triggers: state action (59 incidents), post-election violence (31) and the 'Bangladeshi' or 'infiltrator' label (9). 94 incidents (29%) have more than one context.

A5. CATEGORY

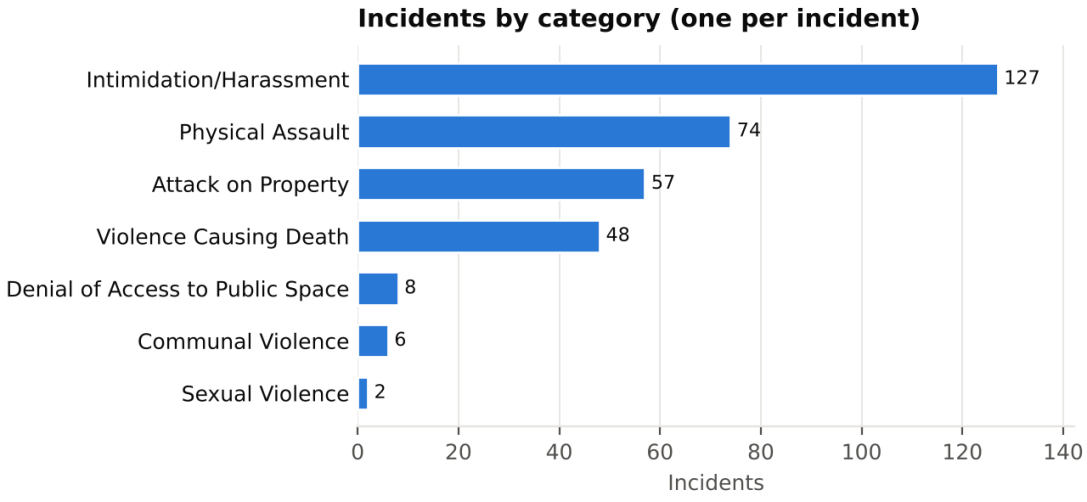


Figure 4. Incidents by category. One per incident.

CATEGORY (Q8)	INCIDENTS	SHARE	DEATHS	MOB	STATE ACTOR	FIR VS VICTIMS	TOP STATES
Intimidation/ Harassment	127	39%		31	47	21	Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal
Physical Assault	74	23%		35	19	11	Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Uttarakhand
Attack on Property	57	18%		31	23	3	West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi
Violence Causing Death	48	15%	54	18	20	1	Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal
Denial of Access to Public Space	8	2%			7	3	Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Assam and West Bengal
Communal Violence	6	2%		6	3	1	Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal
Sexual Violence	2	1%					Uttar Pradesh, Delhi

Table 4. Incidents by category

26. **Intimidation and harassment.** Intimidation and harassment is the largest category (127 incidents, 39%). It covers threats (31), verbal abuse (23), arrests and police cases against victims (19), forced closure of shops (17), public humiliation and forced chanting.
27. **Physical assault.** There were 74 physical assaults (23%). 35 (47%) were by mobs.
28. **Attack on property.** There were 57 attacks on property (18%). Mosques were the most targeted property (25 incidents), followed by homes (18), shops and businesses (14), and tombs and mazars (7). A state actor was involved in 23, mainly demolitions.
29. **Violence causing death.** 48 incidents caused 54 deaths. 15 were mob lynchings, 9 were 'encounter' killings by police or the army, and 9 were deaths in custody or prison. The rest were killings by individuals or small groups.
30. **Smaller categories.** Denial of access to public space (8) almost always involved the state (7 of 8). Communal violence (two-sided clashes) accounts for 6 incidents. Sexual violence was recorded in 2, though the true number is likely higher, as such cases are rarely reported as hate crimes.

A6. HOW STATE, CONTEXT AND CATEGORY RELATE

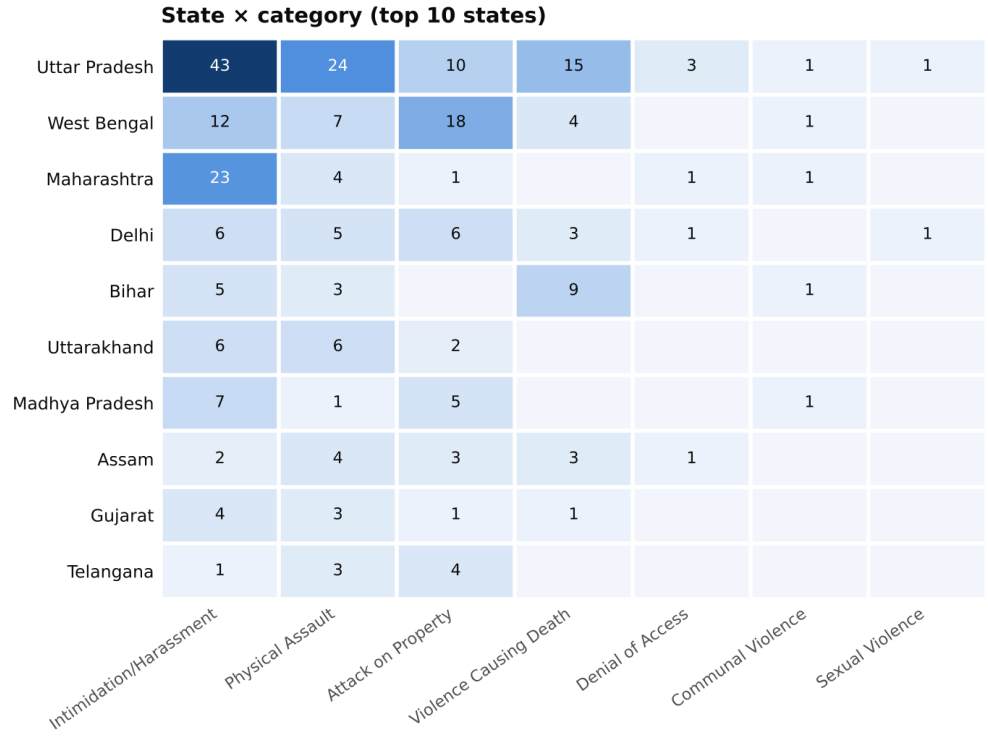


Figure 5. State × category, top 10 states. Darker cells have more incidents.

31. **Each state has its own pattern.** The state-by-category table shows distinct regional profiles rather than one national pattern. Uttar Pradesh is led by harassment (43) and assault (24), with the most killings (15). West Bengal is led by attacks on property (18). Maharashtra is almost entirely harassment (23). Bihar's largest category is Violence Causing Death (9).

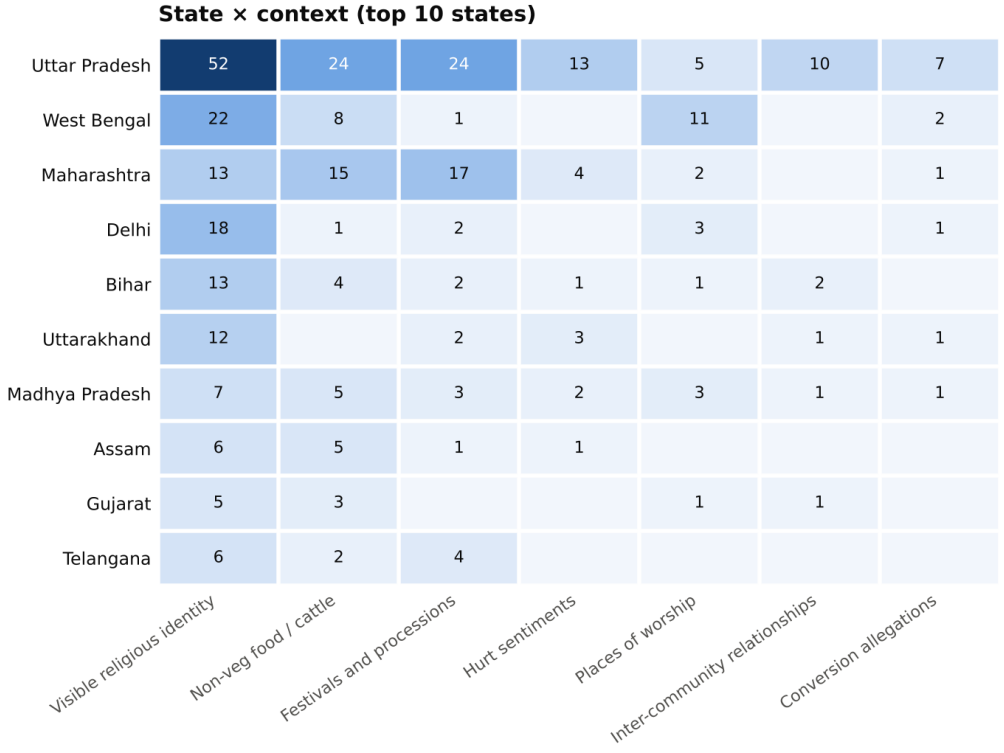


Figure 6. State × context, top 10 states

32. **Context explains the regional profiles.** Uttar Pradesh's incidents span every context, led by identity, food and cattle (24) and festivals (24). Maharashtra's are driven by festivals (17) and food (15): the Bakra Eid mobilisation. West Bengal's are driven by the election and by places of worship (11). Delhi's and Uttarakhand's are mostly about visible identity.

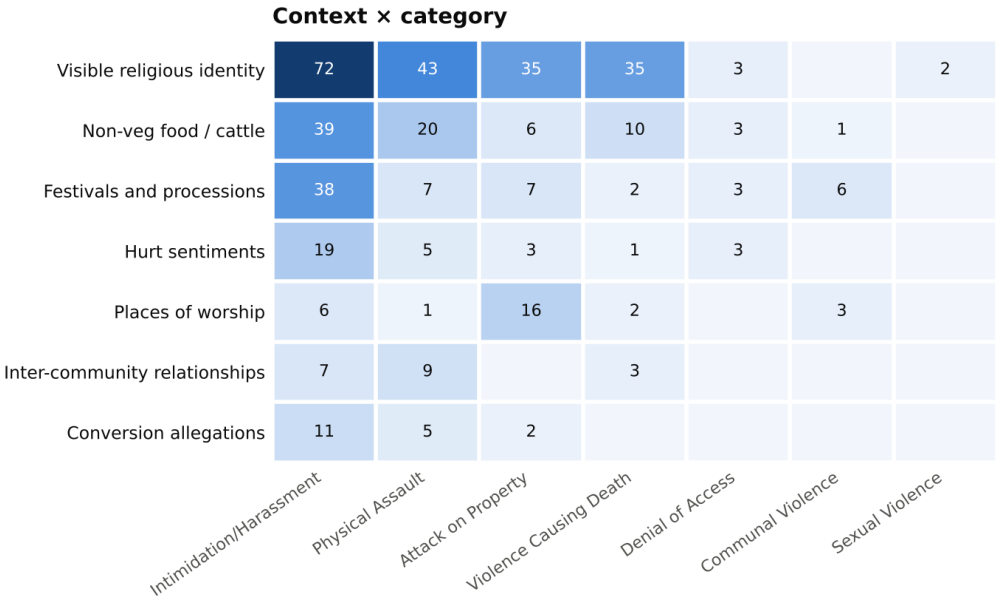


Figure 7. Context × category

33. **Context shapes how severe an incident is.** Food and cattle incidents are the most likely of the specific contexts to turn physical or deadly: 20 assaults and 10 killings out of 79. Places of worship lead to property attacks (16 of 28). Muslim festivals lead to intimidation (31 of 40) rather than violence, with no deaths. Inter-community relationships lead to assault (9) and killing (3).

34. **Muslim and Hindu festivals produce different kinds of incident.** Incidents linked to Muslim festivals (40) were mostly restrictions and protests against Muslim observance: 31 were intimidation, and none were fatal. Incidents linked to Hindu festivals and processions (21) were fewer but more violent: 4 communal clashes, 4 assaults, 4 property attacks and 2 killings. A state actor was involved in 13 of the 21, often through arrests of Muslims after clashes.

35. **Where the state acts.** Of the 119 incidents with a state actor, 47 (39%) were in Uttar Pradesh. By context, state involvement was highest in conversion cases (11 of 18), food and cattle (36 of 79) and festivals (30 of 63). By category, it was involved in 20 of the 48 fatal incidents.

36. **Mob violence and state violence rarely overlap.** Mobs were involved in 110 of the 203 incidents without a state actor, but in only 11 of the 119 with one. Most of the dataset therefore falls into two types: mob violence in which the state is absent or arrives late (West Bengal, Bihar, Assam's lynching), and violence carried out by the state itself (Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat).

37. **FIRs against victims follow the same contexts.** FIRs against victims were concentrated in Uttar Pradesh (21 of 40) and in food and cattle cases (17), conversion allegations (9) and hurt sentiments (7). These are the contexts in which the law itself, through cow-protection, anti-conversion and hurt-sentiment provisions, is used against the victim.

38. **Christians.** The 15 incidents against Christians were concentrated in Odisha, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal (3 each). 11 were linked to conversion allegations, mainly raids on prayer meetings and arrests of pastors. None caused a death.

A7. THE JUSTICE GAP

OUTCOME, AS LAST REPORTED	INCIDENTS
Killings by private attackers (30 incidents)	
All or the main accused arrested	10
Some arrested, others still free	9
No arrest reported	11
Killings in police or army hands (18 incidents)	
Official arrested or charged	0
Inquiry or FIR ordered	4
No inquiry or action reported	14
Non-fatal violent attacks by private actors (94 incidents)	
Arrest of at least one attacker reported	12
FIR filed, no arrest reported	20
No FIR or arrest confirmed	62
FIRs filed against the victims themselves	40

The justice gap: what happened after the incident

39. **Most killers remained free.** Of the 30 killings by mobs, vigilantes or individuals, all or the main accused were arrested in 10. In 9 only some were arrested and others remained free, and in 11 no arrest was reported at all. In 20 of 30 killings, therefore, at least some of those responsible were still free at the last report.
40. **No accountability for deaths in state hands.** In none of the 18 deaths in police or army hands, which killed 21 people, has an official been reported arrested or charged. An inquiry or FIR was ordered in four: Zaheer Shaikh (an FIR and SIT on the Supreme Court's order, naming no suspect), Rashid Ahmad Mughal (a magisterial inquiry whose findings are unpublished), Arif Hussain (two inquiries ordered, with the FIR filed against the civilians present) and Anish (an inquest).
41. **Delay as a pattern.** In at least five killings the police were slow to register the crime or first acted against the victim: Arman and Kajal (police acted only after a complaint to the SSP); Maulana Tousif Raza (first called an accident; murder FIR only after his wife's complaint); Islam Nadaf (complaint refused until he died, family says); Jamil Akhtar (FIR delayed, residents say); Azeem (counter-FIR for attempted murder filed against him first).
42. **Assaults and property attacks.** Of 94 non-fatal violent attacks by private actors (assaults, attacks on property, clashes and sexual violence), an arrest was reported in only 12 (13%). In 62 (66%) neither an FIR nor an arrest could be confirmed. The gap partly reflects thin follow-up reporting, which is itself a finding: most hate crimes drop out of the news before anyone is held to account.
43. **The victim in the dock.** 40 FIRs were filed against the victims, more than the number of private attacks in which an arrest was reported. They cluster in food and cattle cases (17), conversion allegations (9), hurt sentiments (7) and prayers or festivals (5).

A8. THE CALENDAR OF VIOLENCE

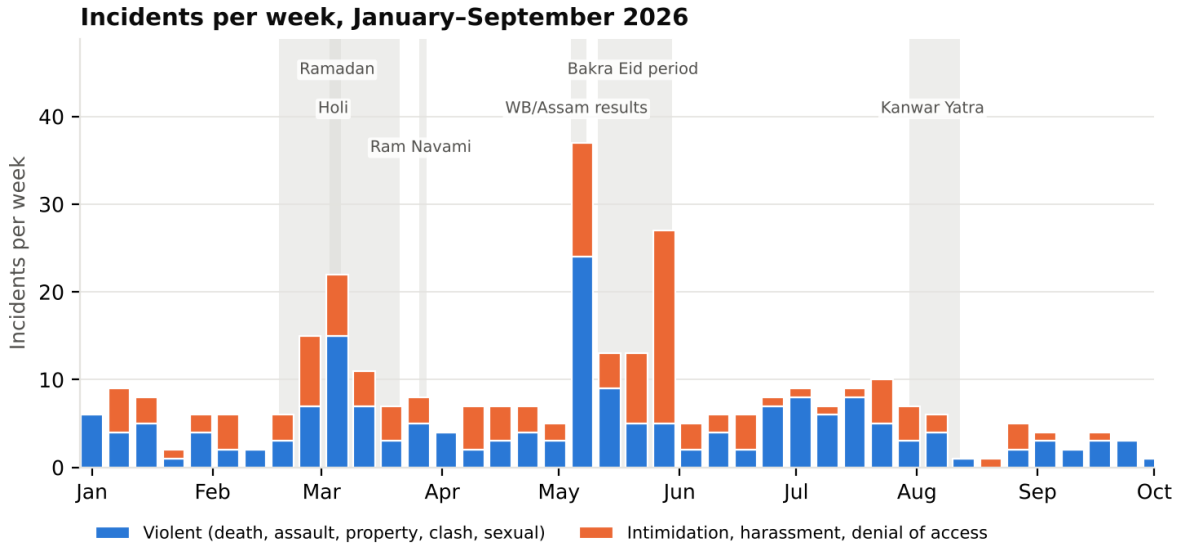


Figure 8. Incidents per week. Shaded bands mark festivals and the post-election period.

MONTH	INCIDENTS	VIOLENT	INTIMIDATION AND ACCESS	DEATHS	FROM APCR EVENT REPORTS
January	30	19	11	7	0
February	23	10	13	1	0
March	57	37	20	10	0
April	25	12	13	4	0
May	93	45	48	12	63
June	27	17	10	6	0
July	39	28	11	9	5
August	15	7	8	2	4
September	13	12	1	3	0

Incidents by month. 'Violent' = death, assault, property attack, clash or sexual violence.

44. **Violence follows the calendar.** 187 incidents (58%) happened in three periods that together cover 100 of the 273 days: Ramadan, Holi and Ram Navami (18 February – 31 March); the post-election period and Bakra Eid (4–29 May); and the Kanwar Yatra and Sawan (15 July – 15 August). These periods account for 37% of the days but 58% of the incidents and 28 of the 54 deaths.

45. **The pattern holds without APCR's event reports.** APCR's West Bengal, Bakra Eid and Kanwar reports recorded smaller incidents one by one, which inflates their months. Excluding those reports, the same three periods still hold 116 of the remaining 250 incidents (46%).

46. **The worst weeks.** The four worst weeks were the week of 04 May (West Bengal election results; 37 incidents), 25 May (Bakra Eid; 27), 02 Mar (Holi; 22) and 23 Feb (Ramadan; 15).

47. **Different months, different violence.** May had the most incidents (93), the most violent incidents (45) and the most deaths (12): the West Bengal post-election attacks on property, followed by 48 incidents of intimidation, mostly around Bakra Eid. March came next (37 violent incidents, 10 deaths), driven by clashes and killings around Holi and Ram Navami. July, the Kanwar month, had 28 violent incidents and 9 deaths.

48. **A predictable risk.** Because the spikes track dates known months in advance (festivals, processions and election results), the risk of violence can be anticipated. Each future period can be planned for with preventive policing, monitoring and legal support.

ANNEX 3. METHOD

- Data come from APCR's Google Form entries, the March and July–August compilations, APCR's documents and three event reports shared in October, and desk research across Indian media and trackers (India Persecution Tracker, Maktoob, The Wire, Clarion, The Observer Post, Siasat, India Hate Lab). Each incident is entered once.
- Dates in the March compilation are report dates. West Bengal post-poll incidents are dated 4–7 May, as APCR's report gives no date per incident.
- Two combined rows remain (the Assam/West Bengal pushbacks and the Kashmir mass detentions); each counts as one incident.
- In 69 incidents, 'visible identity' was recorded in Q12 as the closest available option. This analysis separates them where the distinction matters.
- Counts of victims (Q16–Q24) are only as complete as the reporting. Blank means not reported, not zero.
- The justice gap (A7) uses the latest status found in the sources. Arrests made after the last report would not be captured, so the gap may be smaller than shown for some cases; the figures for killings were checked case by case.
- The calendar periods in A8 were set before counting, from festival dates and election results. Dates entered as placeholders (where only the month was reported) can shift a few incidents between weeks.
- About 60 rows still need checking (listed in the dataset's 'Row notes' tab), mostly headline-level entries from the March compilation. Figures may shift slightly once these are completed.

ANNEX 4. FULL CROSS-TABULATIONS

STATE / UT	INTIM./ HARASS.	PHYS. ASSAULT	ATTACK ON PROPERTY	DEATH	DENIAL OF ACCESS	COMM. VIOLENCE	SEXUAL VIOLENCE	TOTAL
Uttar Pradesh	43	24	10	15	3	1	1	97
West Bengal	12	7	18	4		1		42
Maharashtra	23	4	1		1	1		30
Delhi	6	5	6	3	1		1	22
Bihar	5	3		9		1		18
Uttarakhand	6	6	2					14
Madhya Pradesh	7	1	5			1		14
Assam	2	4	3	3	1			13
Gujarat	4	3	1	1				9
Telangana	1	3	4					8
Rajasthan	1	2	1	2	1			7
Haryana	2	3	2					7
Odisha	1	2	1	1				5
Chhattisgarh	2	2	1					5
Karnataka	3	1		1				5
Jammu & Kashmir		1	1	3				5
Tripura		1	1	1				3
Jharkhand				2		1		3
Himachal Pradesh	3							3
Andhra Pradesh	1	1		1				3
Not Verifiable	1	1						2
Meghalaya	1			1				2
Punjab	1							1
Multiple states	1							1
Assam and West Bengal					1			1
Arunachal Pradesh	1							1
Kerala				1				1

Table A1. State × category

STATE / UT	VISIBLE IDENTITY	FOOD / CATTLE	FESTIVALS	HURT SENTIMENTS	PLACES OF WORSHIP	INTER-COMM. RELATIONS	CONVERSION
Uttar Pradesh	52	24	24	13	5	10	7
West Bengal	22	8	1		11		2
Maharashtra	13	15	17	4	2		1
Delhi	18	1	2		3		1
Bihar	13	4	2	1	1	2	
Uttarakhand	12		2	3		1	1
Madhya Pradesh	7	5	3	2	3	1	1
Assam	6	5	1	1			
Gujarat	5	3			1	1	

STATE / UT	VISIBLE IDENTITY	FOOD / CATTLE	FESTIVALS	HURT SENTIMENTS	PLACES OF WORSHIP	INTER-COMM. RELATIONS	CONVERSION
Telangana	6	2	4				
Rajasthan	5	2		2		1	1
Haryana	2	4	1	1	1		
Odisha	5	1		3		1	1
Chhattisgarh	4						2
Karnataka	3					1	1
Jammu & Kashmir	3	2					
Tripura	1	1	1	1			
Jharkhand	2	1	1				
Himachal Pradesh	2					1	
Andhra Pradesh	3		1				
Not Verifiable	2						
Meghalaya	2				1		
Punjab			1				
Multiple states		1	1				
Assam and West Bengal	1						
Arunachal Pradesh			1				
Kerala	1						

Table A2. State × context (as recorded; incidents can have several contexts)

CONTEXT	INTIM./ HARASS.	PHYS. ASSAULT	ATTACK ON PROPERTY	DEATH	DENIAL OF ACCESS	COMM. VIOLENCE	SEXUAL VIOLENCE	TOTAL
Visible religious identity	72	43	35	35	3		2	190
Non-veg food / cattle	39	20	6	10	3	1		79
Festivals and processions	38	7	7	2	3	6		63
Hurt sentiments	19	5	3	1	3			31
Places of worship	6	1	16	2		3		28
Inter-community relationships	7	9		3				19
Conversion allegations	11	5	2					18

Table A3. Context × category



HATE CRIME TRACKER

JAN - SEP 2026

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