TRENDS IN VIOLENCE AND

CONTESTATION IN NEPA

First Quarterly Report | January-March 2017



This is the first of a series of quarterly reports from the Nepal Peace Monitoring Project (PMP), a new initiative by COCAP | NepalMonitor.org. The PMP uses a methodology similar to NepalMonitor.org's alert and mapping system, with a more exclusive focus on gathering information on violence and contestation. The PMP's goal is to improve our understanding of violence in Nepal to better respond to it and promote peace. For more on the PMP and its methodology, please refer to the box at page 10.

From January to March 2017, the Peace Monitoring Project (PMP) recorded the following:

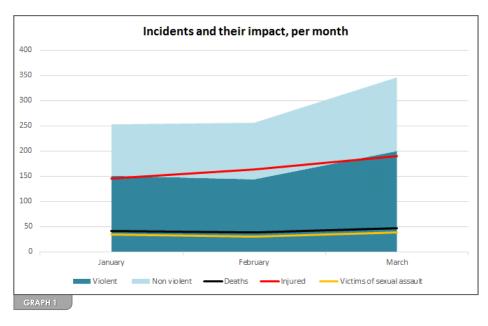
- A total of 886 incidents, including 494 violent incidents and 360 incidents of nonviolent contestation.¹
- Violent incidents resulted in a total of 126 deaths and 499 injuries. 104 people were victims of sexual assault.
- Violent and non-violent incidents surged in March, following the announcement of local elections by the government of Nepal.
- The most common drivers of deadly violence were gender-based violence (35 deaths, or 28 percent of all violent deaths) and personal disputes (31 deaths, or 25 percent). While political contestation was rarely deadly (6 deaths including 5 in a police shooting in Maleth, Saptari), it was the second largest driver of violent incidents this quarter, with 94 cases that resulted in 100 injuries. Half of these incidents of political violence happened after the announcement of local elections and consisted mainly of clashes², vandalism and arson.
- The most common drivers of non-violent contestation were political issues, such as local body restructuring in January, elections to Free Student Union in February, and the upcoming local elections in March; and governance issues, such as calls for legal action or protests against unfair treatment by authorities.
- 35 women were killed, 29 injured³ and 104 sexually assaulted as a result of gender-based violence, a leading cause of violent deaths and violent incidents (154 incidents, or 31 percent of all violent incidents this quarter). 42 percent of all victims of deadly violence in Nepal, and all of those sexually assaulted recorded in this quarter, were women; of those, respectively 55 percent and 85 percent were under the age of 26 years. Despite legislation that outlaws allegations of witchcraft, there were 6 cases this quarter that resulted in women being mistreated or beaten by family or community members. In one case the beating led to the victim having a miscarriage.

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¹ 'Non-violent contestation' refers to events such as demonstrations, protests or other types of non-violent events that involve collective action and may be of potential significance for violence dynamics in Nepal. This includes strikes (bandha), hunger strikes, padlocking and other forms of protest. Incidents involving intimidation and threats but no direct physical violence are also tracked. ² 'Group clash' or 'clash' refers to two-sided violence between mobs or large groups. It also includes two-sided violence between protesters and police.

OVERVIEW OF VIOLENCE AND CONTESTATION IN NEPAL

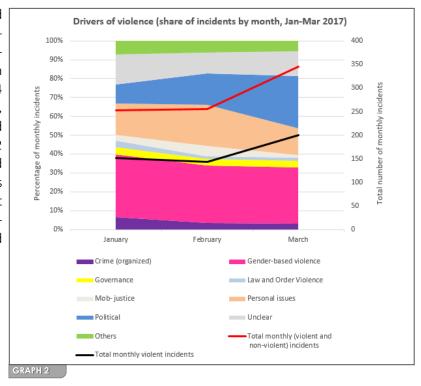
LEVEL OF VIOLENCE AND CONTESTATION



From January 1 to March 31, 2017, the Peace Monitoring Project recorded a total of 886 events, including 494 violent and 360 nonviolent incidents. Following the announcement of local elections on February 20⁴, the number of incidents recorded both violent and non-violent - increased from around 250 per month in January and February to around 350 in March 2017 (see Graph 1).

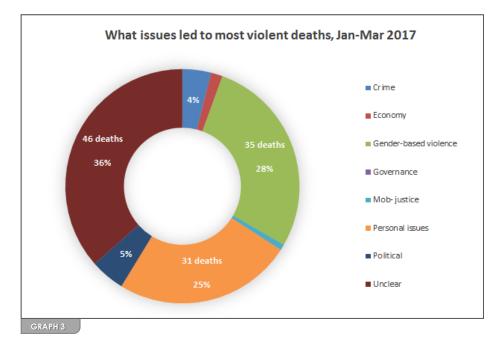
FORMS, IMPACTS AND DRIVERS OF VIOLENCE

The most common forms of violence recorded were assaults (in small groups) in 134 cases, sexual assault in 104 cases, murder/attempted murder in 60 cases, vandalism in 49, group clash in 44 and arson in 29 cases. In these incidents, 124 people were killed, around 500 people injured⁵, 93 people raped or victims of attempted rape and nine people abducted. 53 of those killed (or 42 percent) were women. 23 buildings and around 75 vehicles were vandalized with five buildings and 16 vehicles severely damaged. The highest number of violent incidents took place in the districts of Kathmandu, followed by Dhanusha and Saptari (see Map 1).



⁴ https://thehimalayantimes.com/nepal/govt-announces-hold-nepal-elections-local-bodies-may-14/

⁵ For some incidents, sources do not report the exact number of people injured and it had to be estimated.



Gender-based violence (GBV) represented the largest share of violent incidents (154 cases); political violence came second with 94 incidents; and the third largest share was attributable to personal disputes⁶, with 84 reported incidents.⁷

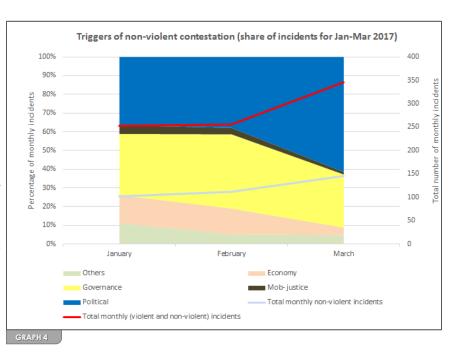
The main drivers of deadly violence were gender-based violence with 35 deaths (28 percent of all violent deaths this quarter), and personal disputes, which killed 31 people (27 percent of all deaths). Political violence led to six deaths (five percent) during election-related protests (see more details below), and five (four percent) were killed in the conduct of criminal activities, such as armed robberies or kidnappings. In 46 cases of deadly violence (or 36 percent), the motive could not be determined based on our sources ('Unclear' in Graph 3).

Weapons were used in three out of four deadly incidents (73 percent) but consisted mostly of blunt or sharp weapons (30 and 28 cases respectively). Small arms were involved in only five deadly incidents. In terms of geographic distribution, the districts with the highest number of fatalities due to violence during this quarter were Kathmandu (eight deaths), Dhanusa (eight), Sunsari (seven), Mahottari and Saptari (six each) (see Map 1).

FORMS AND DRIVERS OF NON-VIOLENT CONTESTATION

During this quarter, the Peace Monitoring Project recorded 128 demonstrations, 117 sit-ins, dharnas (peaceful demonstrations) or padlocking and several bandhas (strikes), some of which led to some of the violent incidents discussed in the previous section.

The main issues associated with non-violent contestation were political (174 cases, or 48 percent) or related to governance (123 cases, or 34 percent). Contestation over economic issues accounted only for 38 (10 percent) of such incidents. As mentioned above protests surrounding the announcement of the local elections led to a marked increase in both the number and share of incidents related to politics after February (see Graph 4).



⁶ Violence perpetrated by individuals or small groups of civilians for personal reasons (example: disputes over inheritance, debt, land and other economic disputes; or disputes related to loss of face, jealousy, crimes of passion etc.)

 $^{^7}$ In 66 incidents the motive for the violence reported remained unclear.

Notably one third of protests related to governance issues. In 30 percent of these cases, protesters demanded legal action, fair treatment by authorities or access to justice, speaking to a general feeling that access to justice is dependent on one's ability to create public pressure. Related to this, the issue of Transitional Justice and addressing the violence of the civil war era continues to remain unresolved (see Box: Conflict victims).

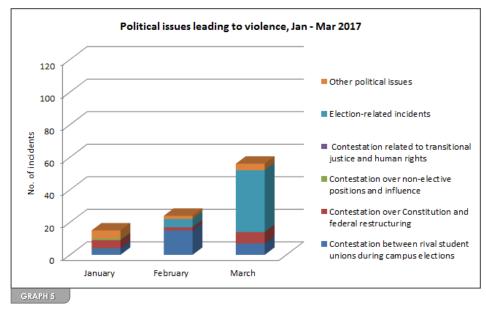
Conflict victims concerns still unaddressed

In 2015, after an eight year delay, the Government of Nepal established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the Commission of Investigation on Enforced Disappeared Persons (CIEDP) to look into abuses committed during the conflict between Maoists and the state.8 In 2016, the TRC had collected more than 50,000 complaints regarding conflict-era abuses.9 However, lacking resources and impeded by issues regarding their legal framework, neither commissions had started investigating any case by the end of their two-year mandate on February 9, 2017. Despite a one-year extension granted to the TRC and CIEDP, the transitional justice process remains practically moribund, in part because of serious personal disagreements between members of the TRC. 10 Three protests related to the issue of transitional justice and conflict victims were recorded in the first quarter of 2017. On February 2, rights activists demonstrated in front of the Prime Minister's residence showing solidarity for Ganga Maya's quest for justice for her son who had been abducted and killed by Maoists in 2004. On February 12, the anniversary of Nepal's Maoist war, conflict victims staged a sit-in in front of the nation's central administrative complex in Singha Durbar demanding action against those involved in human rights violations during the conflict. Subsequently, on March 15, conflict victims staged a sit-in program for an hour in front of the TRC demanding to begin detailed investigations into the complaints they filed with the commission. (For a list of incidents and updates on transitional justice this quarter click here.)

⁸ Originally envisaged to be formed within 6 months of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2006, its formation had been delayed due to political expediency and a supreme court decisions that directed the government to revise the existing legislation in line with Nepal's obligation under international law.

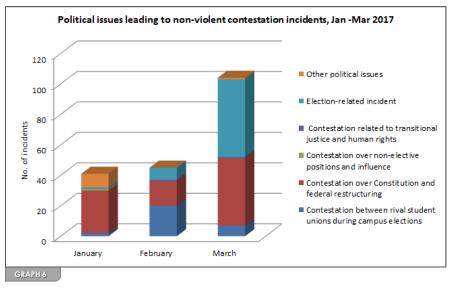
⁹ http://kathmandupost.ekantipur.com/news/2016-07-12/over-50000-plaints-filed-at-trc-so-far.html

¹⁰ https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/13259



As discussed above, political issues triggered a fifth (19 percent) of all violent incidents recorded this quarter, and nearly half of all non-violent contestation cases. Different issues were dominant at different points in time: in January, the largest share of incidents was related to the local body and federal restructuring processes, while in February elections to student bodies scheduled towards the end of the month led to most incidents. March was dominated by protests from the United Democratic Madhesi Front (UDMF)11 and other smaller parties following the announcement by the government, on February 20, that the first local elections in 20 years would be held on May 14.

These protests and the response by the security forces at times led to serious violence (see below). The most common forms of political violence were group clashes and vandalism (28 incidents each), and arson (22 incidents). Six people lost their lives during elections-related protests - five died when police opened fire at a protest and one succumbed to injuries as result of a police lathicharge-, around 100 were injured, two people were temporarily abducted, 16 buildings vandalized and around 50 vehicles damaged.



Contestation over Constitutional Provisions and Local Level Restructuring

Key incidents related to federal and local restructuring

On January 13, residents in Arghakhanchi threw stones at a program inaugurated by a Maoist politburo member who publically supported the proposed reassignment of the district to province 415, injuring one. On January 20, 12 people were injured in a clash with police when they picketed District Development Office in Nuwakot. On January 25, a protest against LBRC's report in Dhikure Bazar, Nuwakot, led to a clash with 17 people injured when some protesters threw stones at a mass assembly organized by Nepali Congress (NC). On February 5, Madhesi Front demonstrators burnt the report submitted by the LBRC to the government in Janakpur, Rajbiraj and Nepalgunj, demanding the demarcation of local units on the basis of the size of the population. After the cabinet decided to return the report to the LBRC for revisions, the number of local units was fixed at 744 and published in the Nepal Gazette on March 6. However, UDMF cadres in several Tarai districts continued to protest the delineation of the new units and the announcement to local body elections by tearing down signboards of the new local units and obstructing their work. (For a complete list of incidents related to federal and local restructuring in this quarter please click here.)

Ending Nepal's centralized state structure and ensuring proportional representation of historically marginalized groups in this ethnically and culturally diverse country, has been one of the main objectives of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the resulting constitution drafting process. The objective of federal restructuring had been explicitly included in the interim constitution following the first Madhes movement in 2007. However, basis for federal restructuring; number, names and delineation of provinces, remained disputed throughout.¹² Disagreements over these points led to the failure of the first Constituent Assembly in 2012 and the protests in the Tarai following the promulgation of the new Constitution in September 2015. The 2015 Constitution of Nepal foresees a federal structure with seven provinces. It also mandates the restructuring of local units through the Local Bodies Restructuring Commission (LBRC) which was formed with a one-year mandate in March 2016.

However, both the delineation of federal provinces as in schedule 4 of the constitution and the terms of reference and the exact mandate of the LBRC remained contested. The United Democratic Madhesi Front (UDMF), in particular, strongly objected to carrying out the delineation of local units before the issue of provincial boundaries was settled. They also called for the formation of new local units on basis of population size, to ensure proportional representation of the population of the Tarai in the Upper House. Similarly, in several districts of the hills, local communities opposed particular recommendations of the district-level technical committees of the LBRC. Following the submission of the LBRC's report on January 6, protests over the terms of reference, number of local units, and their delineation, continued with 107 incidents from various parts of the country recorded by the Peace Monitoring Project. The overwhelming majority of them remained peaceful. However, 15 incidents turned violent with five cases of vandalism and four clashes in which around 30 people were injured.

Most protests against the LBRC occurred in the Central and Eastern Tarai and the highest number of incidents was reported in Dhanusha (with 15 incidents). But protests and strikes were also witnessed in several hill districts such as Khotang, Rukum, Bajhang and, as detailed in the box, Nuwakot. Protests were also witnessed in districts of the Western region, where the proposal to remove the hill districts of Arghakhanchi, Gulmi, Palpa, Pyuthan, Rolpa and the Eastern part of Rukum from the proposed province 5 and reassign them to province 4 and 6 galvanized protests (see Map 2).

¹² The main disagreements were whether to name and form provinces on the basis of ethnicity or 'geography' and whether to include districts of hills and Tarai in each of the provinces, with the UDMF demanding one or several provinces encompassing only the Madhesh/Tarai. For more information on the constitution drafting process, see various reports on Nepal by The Carter Center and International Crisis Group.

¹³ To address some of the UDMF's demands, the government had registered an amendment proposal of the Constitution in December 2016 that, amongst others, would have reassigned those districts of province 5 which lie in the hills and separated them from the remaining districts in the plain land of the Terai. However, the proposal failed to garner the necessary support from opposition parties and the agitating UDMF.

¹⁴ For more details, also see DRC-N reports on Local Body Restructuring http://democracyresource.org/admin/images/Preliminary%20Findings%20on%20Local%20Body%20Restructuring%20in%20Nepal_September%202016.pdf

15 Province 4 encompasses mostly hill and mountain districts of the Western region.

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STUDENT BODY ELECTIONS

Student unions are an important part of the educational system in various Tribhuvan University (TU)-affiliated colleges in Nepal. They offer leadership opportunities to students. The representative body elected through student elections is responsible for keeping an eye on administrative actions, preventing corruption and questioning irregularities in the management of the campus. Students have also played a major role in the democracy movements of the country. However, student politics are often overshadowed by the partisan interests of the political parties student unions are affiliated with. Patronage politics and protests frequently disrupt the academic environment, particularly around the time of student elections when rivalry between student unions is at its peak.

On January 28, 2017, Tribhuvan University (TU) published the schedule of the Free Student Union (FSU) election, to be held on February 25. The FSU election had been put on hold since 2009 due to political disagreements among rival student unions. Since the announcement of the election date, agitating student unions padlocked campuses within and outside Kathmandu valley, protesting either the mixed electoral system, alleged irregularities or the introduction of an age threshold for candidates for the student bodies. In total, PMP recorded 56 violent and non-violent incidents related to the Free Student Union (FSU) election in this quarter, most of them in February in the run-up to the election, making it the leading source of political contestation that month. Most incidents consisted of padlocking and demonstrations, but protests occasionally turned violent, with eight cases of group clashes in which about 50 people were injured, eight cases of arson, and several cases of vandalism. In one case, the student union affiliated to the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) led by Netra Bikram Chand temporarily abducted campus authorities (for detailed analysis see our blog entry here; for a list of incidents click here).

Due to the protests, the student body election was later postponed to March 1 and in some cases rescheduled even later. As a result of protests and violence during the election, only 24 out of 60 TU constituent campuses were able to conduct FSU elections by the end of March. As per the directive given by the Election Commission of Nepal, the remaining campuses will conduct the elections only after the local elections.

PROTESTS AND VIOLENCE FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF LOCAL ELECTIONS

Local elections are long overdue in Nepal, as the mandate of the last local bodies elected in May 1997 expired in 2002, at the height of the armed conflict. Since then, various provisional arrangements prevailed, whereby bureaucrats- at times supported by an unelected All Party Mechanism - took on the responsibilities of local elected officials. Local elections are also deeply intertwined with issues of federal and local restructuring, mentioned above. The constitution of 2015 mandates to hold three levels of elections- to local bodies, provincial parliament and federal parliament- by January 2018. On February 20, 2017, the Government of Nepal announced that local elections will be held on May 14 of this year. However, this prompted a strong reaction by political actors who feel that Madhesi demands for constitutional amendments on federal demarcation and proportional representation should be addressed first. The United Democratic Madhesi Front (UDMF) opposed the decision immediately and vowed to boycott and disrupt any election activities in province 2¹⁶ in particular, demanding constitutional amendments before elections. There were also protests by the Rastriya Prajatantra Party's (RPP) opposing the decision of the Election Commission of Nepal (ECN) to remove the objective of Hindu state and monarchy from the party's statute. A dozen of RPP cadres and some police were injured in a clash outside the ECN office in Kathmandu on March 20.18

During the five weeks between the announcement and March 31, PMP recorded 120 election-related incidents (three per day on average), 51 of them violent. Among the violent incidents were ten clashes, 20 cases of vandalism and 14 arson attempts. In total, 6 people were killed and around 40 people injured as a result of elections-related violence this quarter.

¹⁶ According to schedule 4 of the Constitution of Nepal, 2015 Province 2 encompasses the districts of Bara, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Parsa, Rautahat, Saptari, Sarlahi and Siraha in the Central and Eastern Tarai.

¹⁷ The major demands of the UDMF are federal demarcation, citizenship provision, language and proportional representation ir the upper house.

¹⁸ The RPP continued its protests in various districts across Nepal, including Morang, Jumla, Dhanusa, Parsa and Rupandeh

Five killed in police shooting in Maleth, Saptari

The UDMF staged various protests and campaigns against the elections in the Terai region. Tensions further increased with the commencement of the Communist Party of Nepal - United Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML)'s "Mechi-Mahakali National Campaign" on March 3, 2017. Since the CPN-UML opposed their main demand of constitutional amendment, the UDMF vowed to disrupt the UML campaign.

Tensions came to a head on March 6, 2017, when five persons were killed in police firing in Maleth of Saptari district, as police and protesters of the UDMF clashed near the venue of a mass meeting of the CPN-UML. In the immediate aftermath, the agitating protesters vandalized police vehicles, organized strikes, set fire to an Armed Police Force (APF) check post and hurled petrol bombs at the Rastriya Banijya Bank, vandalized a vehicle of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and set fire to the Local Peace Committee. This led to an indefinite curfew in the districts headquarters of Rajbiraj and adjoining areas. ¹⁹ As a fall-out of the Maleth incident, the UDMF withdrew its support for the government and decided to disregard the election program and the implementation of local level restructuring on March 15. This led to a further deterioration of the electoral environment in districts of the Central and Eastern Tarai. ²⁰

Most protests questioned the legal framework or the legitimacy of the elections (this was reported as the main grievance in 84 cases). However, there was also an element of interparty competition, with protesters reportedly attempting to disrupt activities by other political parties in 29 of the above cases. Only three incidents at this point of the electoral cycle were solely born out of interparty rivalry. Supporters of Madhesbased parties were found to be involved in 42 non-violent protests and 44 violent incidents, most of them - following the Maleth incident - concentrated in the Central and Eastern Tarai. The Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) was involved in 11 non-violent events and 2 violent events. Security forces were reported to have used force in at least 7 incidents, including 2 with lethal consequences (see Box: Five killed in police shooting and Map 3).

OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES LEADING TO CONTESTATION IN THIS QUARTER

Apart from the issues discussed above, there were a number of local and nationwide strikes due to other political issues: On March 9, a Nepali man was shot dead by the Indian border force in Kanchanpur. The killing became quickly politicized and Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of the Far-west subsequently remained shut in protest. Protesters vandalized a barricade in Kailali customs office at Nepal-India border. On March 10, there were demonstrations outside the PM's residence and the Indian Embassy in Kathmandu. On March 11, the CPN led by Bikram Chand announced a Nepal Bandh protesting the killing. Bandha enforcers set fire to trucks with Indian number plate in Kanchanpur, Chitwan and a public bus in Kathmandu.²¹

On March 29, the killing of an Nepali Congress (NC) leader in Jajarkot, led to a general strike in the district and protests elsewhere, with students affiliated to NC temporarily blocking roads in Dhadingbesi, of Dhading and Pokhara, Kaski.²²

19 For a comprehensive list of election-related incidents reported click here

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²⁰ For more detailed analysis, see COCAP and DRC-N's analysis updates here: https://www.nepalmonitor.org/blog/category/election-violence-monitoring/

²¹ The Government's swift declaration of the victim as a martyr and announcement of a compensation of Rs. 1 million to his family was questioned by some as in a similar incident of a villager shot by Indian security personnel in Morang 6 years back the victim's family was still waiting for any response from the government. It was only after the incident in Kanchanpur, that the government decided to declare the victim in Morang a martyr and support the family with an assistance of Rs. 10 Lakh. See http://setopati.com/raajneeti/65876/

https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/14068, https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/13944, https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/14130

GENDER BASED VIOLENCE (GBV)

Nepal is party to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and is subject to legal obligations under the provisions of the convention, including to respect, protect and fulfill women's right to non-discrimination and enjoyment of equality. Despite these commitments, discriminatory practices persist.²³ PMP recorded 154 incidents of gender-based violence in the first quarter of 2017 (amounting to 31 percent of all violent incidents reported this quarter).²⁴ With 35 killings (or 28 percent of all violent deaths), gender-based violence was not only the leading driver of violent incidents but also the deadliest (see Graph: 3). 93 women were reported to have been victims of rape or attempted rape, and the overwhelming majority of them (85 percent) were aged 25 years or less. It is important to note that gender-based discrimination and violence tend to be vastly under-reported, and the figures above are likely only the tip of the iceberg.

The most commonly reported form of gender-based violence was rape or sexual assault with 104 cases (or 59 percent). This was followed by domestic violence with 36 instances (or 21 percent). Four incidents of gender-based violence this quarter were related to allegations of witchcraft (see Box: At the intersection of gender and caste discrimination) and there was one dowry-related murder in Rautahat.²⁵

In terms of geographic distribution, Rupandehi district saw the highest number of incidents with 13 reports of gender-based violence. This was followed by Sindhupalchowk with nine, Dhanusha with eight, Nawalparasi with seven and Morang and Sunsari districts with six incidents each.²⁶

At the intersection of gender and caste discrimination: allegations of witchcraft and discrimination against Dalits

A particular type of violence against women in Nepal involves accusing them of witch-craft. Witchcraft accusations often lead to-sometimes deadly-physical abuse. Widows and women from marginalized communities are particularly vulnerable to such accusations and their violent repercussions, making this an issue where gender-based and caste-based discrimination intersect. In recognition of the problem, the Government of Nepal passed an Anti Witchcraft (Crime and Punishment) Bill, 2071 B.S²⁷, calling for severe punishment against perpetrators.²⁸ Despite these legislative efforts, incidents persist. Six cases were recorded this quarter. All the victims were women. Perpetrators typically were family members and neighbours. In one case the victim suffered a miscarriage due to the severe beating she was subjected to.²⁹ NepalMonitor.org also recorded several instances of discrimination against Dalits, such as people being beaten or mistreated for entering a neighbor's house or a temple, or students being excluded from school. Two of the victims beaten were girls under the age of 18. One case was also related to intercaste marriage. For greater detail on incidents related to witchcraft allegations or Dalit discrimination, see Map 5 or click here (witchcraft) and here (Dalits).

In terms of deaths: Mahottari and Kailali districts saw four killings each, followed by Sunsari and Khotang with three killings due to gender-based violence each (see Map 4).

- ²³ http://fwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/cedaw-report-2016.pdf
- ²⁴ In an additional 20 incidents gender played at least some role in the violence.
- ²⁵ For a comprehensive list of incidents of GBV recorded this quarter, please click here
- ²⁶ In part this is due to the higher population in those districts that are situated in the Tarai. However, when normalized for district population, Sindhupalchowk, one of the hill districts most affected by the earthquake, still showed the highest rate of gender-based violence with an average of 13 cases per four hundred thousand people.
- ²⁷ https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/6527
- ²⁸ According to the Act, the perpetrators will be fined upto Rs. 100,000 along with jail sentence up to five years.
- ²⁹ https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/13156

The Nepal Peace Monitoring Project

The Nepal Peace Monitoring Project (PMP) is a joint initiative by Collective Campaign for Peace (COCAP) | NepalMonitor.org and The Asia Foundation, with the support of Canada's International Development Research Center (IDRC). Building on the Nepal-Monitor.org platform, the PMP focuses on violence and contestation, with a view toward improving our understanding of, and response to, violence and conflict in Nepal. The PMP also provides an instrument to measure progress against Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) targets 16.1 (reduction of all forms of violence and related death rates) and 5.2 (elimination of violence against women) in Nepal.

The PMP monitors:

Violence: any incident involving the intentional use of physical force against another person or group that results or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, or other forms of physical harm to persons or damage to property.

Non-violent contestation: demonstrations, protests or other types of non-violent events that involve collective action and may be of potential significance for violence dynamics in Nepal. This includes strikes (bandha), hunger strikes, padlocking and other forms of political protest. Incidents involving intimidation and threats but no direct physical violence are also tracked.

PMP uses a broad range of information sources, including national and district-level newspapers (from 25 districts), police reports, reports of human rights organizations, as well as reports by international agencies, civil society organizations and direct reports by citizens.

For each incident, the PMP collects detailed information on the following variables: time and location of the incident, form of the incident, weapons used, reported cause/motive of the incident (political competition, land dispute, communal tensions, crime etc.), affiliations of perpetrators and victims, human impacts (broken down by gender and age) and damage to property.

For more information on methodology, please refer to the coding handbook <u>here</u>. For a guide to how to download the database click <u>here</u>.

