

**Update-7**

# **An Analysis of Incidents Related to the COVID-19 Pandemic in Nepal**

**November 28, 2020**



**Democracy Resource Center Nepal (DRCN) and  
Collective Campaign for Peace (COCAP)/Nepal Peace Monitor**

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## 1. Introduction

Since the end of 2019, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused public health crises around the world. It has severely disrupted the economic and social dimensions of daily life. Governments around the world have restricted public activities, mobility, and banned public gatherings to control the spread of COVID-19. The Government of Nepal, following similar containment strategies, imposed a nationwide lockdown on March 24, 2020. The pandemic has overburdened health systems and necessitated other public health responses promptly and effectively from the government. The crisis and the enforced restrictions have had a significant impact on the livelihood of people across the country. It has also limited the freedom of assembly, association and expression, and could potentially trigger incidents of conflicts in Nepal.

Amidst this emergent scenario, this report analyzes incidents of conflict related to the COVID-19 pandemic in Nepal. These incidents and events were recorded by COCAP's Nepal [Peace Monitoring Project](#) (PMP). PMP has been recording various incidents related to COVID-19 since February 2020.<sup>1</sup> These incidents and events were either directly triggered by the

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<sup>1</sup> COCAP / Nepal Monitor has been recording and mapping violent and non-violent incidents across Nepal and categorizing them under various headings based on the nature of the incident. The data is publicly available at url: [www.nepalmonitor.org](http://www.nepalmonitor.org). The objective of recording such incidents is to alert local organizations to human rights and security issues happening in different places in Nepal, and to allow anyone to easily share incidents they see with local, national and international organizations. It aims to help these organizations better respond to what happens around them and keep themselves safe. It also aims to help government institutions respond better through necessary policy changes.

government's response to the pandemic or due to the growing economic fallout caused by the restrictions imposed on social and economic activities. This report analyzes incidents recorded during the pandemic period from the month of February to September 2020. During this eight-month period, a total of 510 incidents related to COVID-19 were recorded across Nepal. Of these incidents, more than two third were non-violent (72.4%) and the rest (27.6%) were violent.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Data Sources and Categorization

The data for this analysis was collected by COCAP's Mapping Team through a daily review of major online news portals, national dailies, incidents report of human rights organizations in Nepal (such as INSEC, THRD Alliance, Blue Diamond Society), and district level news portals registered in the Media Council. Data was also obtained from COCAP's provincial offices and district focal persons in 20 districts. While collecting the data, time and location (date and location up to local ward level when available), type of incident (clash, assault, demonstration, bandh etc.), actors (a range of information about the perpetrator/victims including gender, age group, and other relevant affiliations), and impact (deaths, injury, sexual-assault and damage to property) were recorded.

The categorization of incidents into violent and non-violent was done on the basis of the intent of the actors involved in those incidents. Incidents in which physical harm to people and property were intended have been categorized as violent. Incidents like peaceful demonstrations, strikes, and rallies, staged collectively to express citizens' grievances or

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<sup>2</sup> PMP has categorized cases of assaults, group clashes, vandalism, and violence against civilians and violent demonstrations as violent incidents. Similarly, incidents of demonstration and other forms of non-violent, politically significant arrests, banishment and shunning, black marketing, *gherau/dharna*, obstructions, public humiliation, road blocks, strikes and intimidation are considered non-violent incidents.

demanding the fulfilment of various demands related to the government or its agencies' COVID-19 response have been tagged as non-violent.

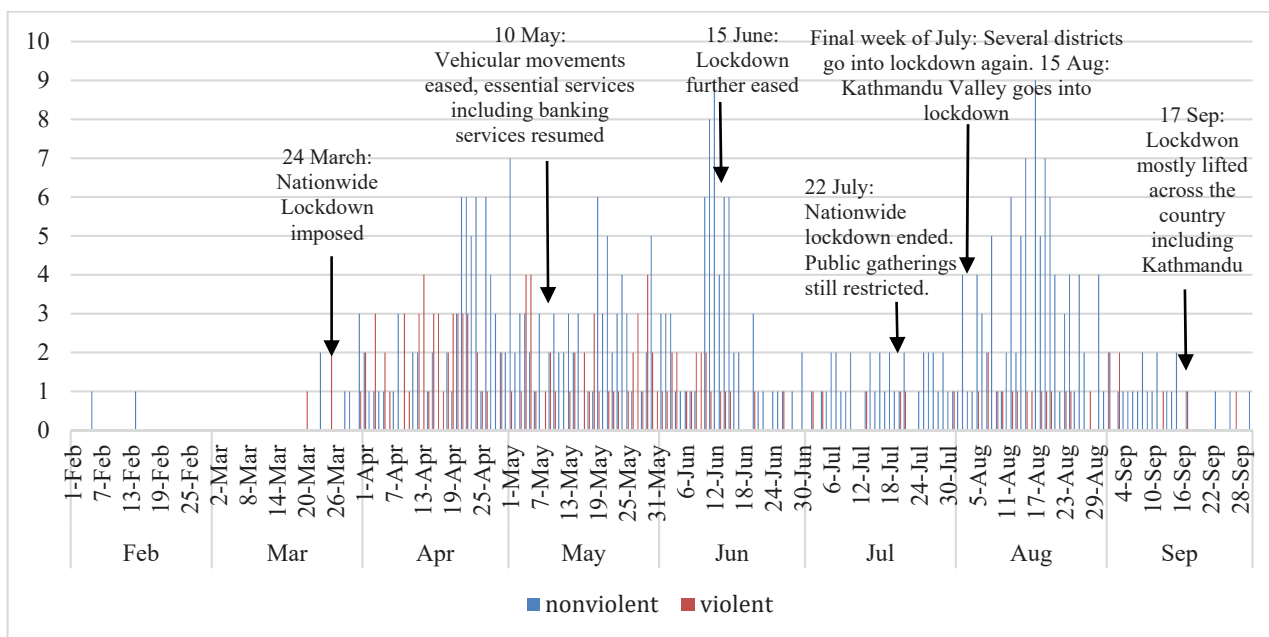
### 3. Timeline of Incidents

Initially, during the month of February and March, very few violent and non-violent incidents were reported. More than half of the incidents (almost 62% or 316 out of 510) were recorded in the next three months from April to June. In the non-violent category too, of the total 369 incidents more than half (56%) were reported within the three months of April to June. It was also when the Government of Nepal had imposed a nationwide lockdown.<sup>3</sup> The numbers declined in the month of July, but picked up in the month of August

(26%), the highest spike in a single month between February to September (See Table 3, Appendices). In August, more than 40 District Administration Offices enforced lockdowns in their districts. Similarly, several local governments across the country also enforced lockdowns during the same time.<sup>4</sup>

In the violent category, of the total 141 incidents, about one third (47 incidents or 33%) were recorded in the month of April with a slight decrease in May (30%) and June (14%). Overall, both violent and non-violent incidents were more frequent during the months of April, May and June when lockdowns (nationwide or targeted) and other forms of restrictions in mobility were enforced. Specific types of incidents were also more prevalent during early months of the lockdown. For instance, out of 33 incidents of black marketing, more than two third (23 cases) were reported in the two

**Figure 1: Frequency of incidents over the months of pandemic**



Source: Timeline, reliefweb.int

<sup>3</sup> On March 24, the Government of Nepal enforced a nation-wide lockdown for the containment of COVID-19 that continued till the end of June 2020. The frequency of COVID-19 related incidents started increasing from the same time period.

<sup>4</sup> OnlineKhabar. 2020. Deshbharika Aadhabhanda Badhi Jillama Nishedhagya. Available at <https://www.onlinekhabar.com/2020/08/889928>; accessed November 1, 2020.

months of April and May. Out of a total of 81 incidents of small and large group assaults across eight months, about two third (66%) were reported in the month of April and May. In the month of July when lockdowns were relatively eased, both violent and non-violent incidents decreased to 4% and 10% respectively.

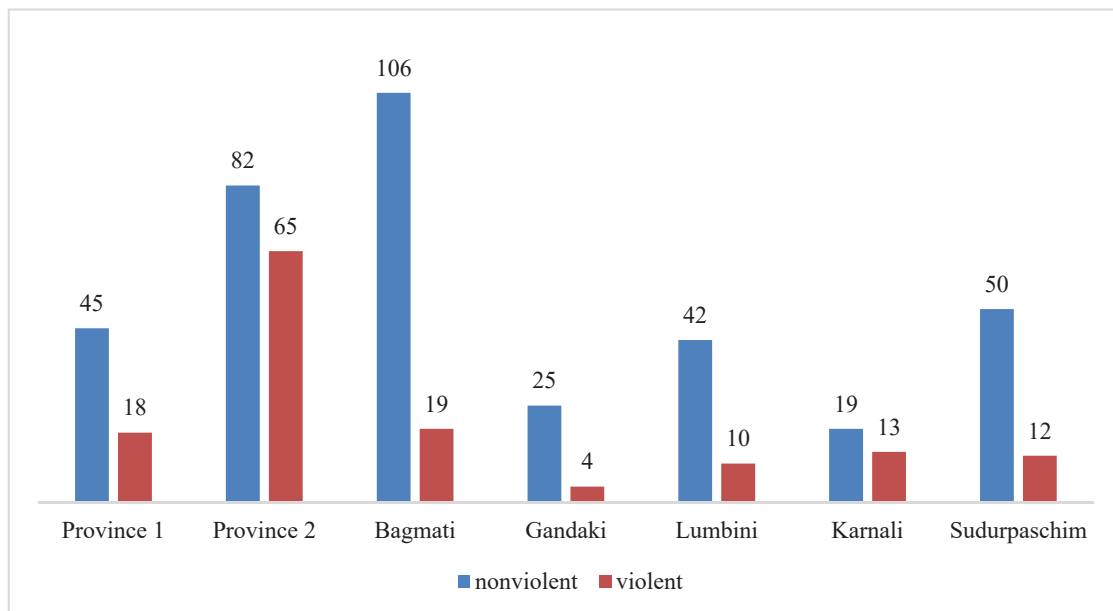
#### 4. Provincial and regional trends

Of the total incidents during the eight-month period, Province 2 recorded the highest number of incidents (about 29%) followed by Bagmati Province (about 25%). Of the total 369 non-violent incidents, Bagmati Province recorded the highest (about 29%) followed by Province 2 (about 22%). Of the total 141 violent incidents, Province 2 alone accounted for nearly half (46.1%). The frequency of violent incidents was less

provinces, non-violent incidents were more frequent than violent incidents. However, the proportion of violent incidents was relatively higher in Karnali and Province 2, compared to other provinces.

In Province 2, the most common form of violence was physical assaults by both small and large groups. 37 of the 65 violent incidents were related to excessive use of force by law enforcement agencies such as the police and state authorities (local government representatives) against civilians during the period of the lockdown and during relief package distribution. Four violent demonstrations were recorded in Province 2, while such demonstrations were non-existent in other provinces except for Bagmati where one violent demonstration was recorded. In Bagmati Province, citizen protests and demonstrations were the most common. Out of a total of 40 non-violent demonstrations recorded in Bagmati Province, a large number (33 incidents) were reported within Kathmandu valley.

**Figure 2: Incidents in different provinces**



than 20 for each of the other provinces. Compared to other provinces, Gandaki Province and Karnali Province reported about 6% each, a low frequency of both violent and non-violent incidents. In all seven

District level data shows that more than 40% of recorded incidents were reported in seven districts (in descending order: Kathmandu, Parsa, Dhanusa,

Kailali, Saptari, Morang and Chitwan)<sup>5</sup> (See Table 7, Appendices). Similarly, almost half of all violent incidents recorded were from five districts. Besides Kathmandu four of these five districts are located in Province 2. In comparison to violent incidents, non-violent incidents are more dispersed across districts. However, Kathmandu alone accounts for 14% of non-violent incidents followed by Parsa, Kailali and Morang. Similarly, incidents recorded at the local level shows that only six local units (Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Birgunj Metropolitan City, Janakpur Sub-Metropolitan City, Biratnagar Metropolitan City, Bharatpur Metropolitan City, and Dhangadhi Sub-Metropolitan City) recorded more than 10 incidents. This shows that a greater number of incidents related to COVID-19 were concentrated in a few districts and local units.

## 5. Nature of Incidents, Causes and Actors Involved

This section provides a thematic overview of the nature, causes and triggers of incidents, and the actors involved. Some of the major causes and triggers of these incidents pertain to the government's (mis) handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, conflicts over the distribution of relief packages during the lockdown, cases of prejudice and discrimination against health workers and COVID-19 patients, and the repatriation of Nepali citizens and foreigners, among others. Each of these issues are discussed below. The highest number of incidents (nearly 40%) were related to the government's mishandling of the COVID-19 containment strategies. Other more frequent issues that triggered incidents of conflict were conflicts over relief distribution (13%) and the use of force by security personnel to enforce the lockdown (11%). This shows that most incidents pertain to conflicts between government authorities and the general public.

<sup>5</sup> These are some of the districts with a relatively higher population density and regions with a greater number of economic activities.

## The government's (mis)handling of COVID-19

Of the 510 total incidents across all provinces, 193 incidents were primarily citizen protests, demonstrations or *dharna* (sit-in) triggered by dissatisfaction over the government's response to COVID-19. Most of these incidents were protests against government authorities.

Individuals, mostly returnees from India, who were put in quarantine facilities built by local authorities protested against the mismanagement and substandard quality of these facilities. Several had not arranged for proper food and sanitation facilities and potentially infectious individuals were kept crowded together in close proximity to each other. Individuals in quarantines resorted to protests against state authorities. The federal government had sought the help of local governments to establish quarantine centers in order to quarantine returnees from India and elsewhere. Most local governments across the country had established their own quarantine centers. However, local governments lacked adequate infrastructure and resources to meet the safety standards for establishing such centers, leading to haphazard management. Such quarantine centers became hotspots for spreading infection due to the poor management of these facilities compounded by long delays in receiving COVID-19 tests and test results. These failures prompted individuals housed in quarantines and their family members to raise the issue either through protest or by altogether disregarding the necessity to quarantine. Some of these incidents took a violent turn. For instance, a group of migrant returnees from India in Bhairav Rural Municipality of Dailekh attacked the chief administrative officer alluding to a lack of proper quarantine management.<sup>6</sup> More than 40 incidents across the country were related to quarantine issues. Of which 25 incidents were violent, where local level authorities were attacked by

<sup>6</sup> RSS. 2020. Quarantinema Basekharubata Prashasakiya Adhikritmathi Hatpat. *Ratopati*. Available at <https://ratopati.com/story/132878/2020/6/3/attack>; accessed November 3, 2020.



individuals seeking better management of quarantines and isolation centers.

Some of the incidents between local authorities and individuals in quarantine/isolation centers were triggered by prolonged stays due to the lack of easy access to testing and delays in receiving test results. Even though the Government of Nepal enforced a nation-wide lockdown soon after a few cases were detected in the country, testing capacity was not adequately expanded to meet the requirement to test all the individuals in quarantines in different parts of the country. Due to this, test results were slow and people were forced to stay in poorly managed quarantine centers for longer periods, increasing their risks of contracting the infection. This prompted retaliations against the authorities enforcing quarantines.

While such incidents of protests were initially directed against local authorities, soon a series of youth-led protests started erupting across the country against the government's lax response to COVID-19. These protests demanded the expansion of Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR) tests and better facilitated quarantines and isolation centers. The protests regularly referred to the "incompetence" of the government's response to COVID-19. Dubbed "enough is enough", the protest was first started by a group of youth in Kathmandu. Initially, a few individuals' went on a hunger strike denouncing government incompetence, seeking more PCR tests and better quarantines and isolation centers.<sup>7</sup> The protest received support from citizens in other parts of the country, especially in urban centers. Similarly, the proliferation of similar protests across the country especially among the youth showed a wide disenchantment with the government's response to COVID-19. While the government had enforced severe restrictions on public gatherings, mobility and economic activities, the quality of the public health response to the pandemic was not as effective, leading to ever increasing rates of transmission. This prompted

<sup>7</sup> Himalayan Times. 2020. Hunger Strike Against Government Inefficiency. Available at <https://thehimalayantimes.com/nepal/hunger-strike-against-government-inefficiency/>; accessed November 3, 2020.

protests despite the enforcement of a lockdown, demanding better a public health response.

## Prejudice and discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic

Cases of prejudice and discrimination were reported in many parts of the country directed against COVID-19 patients, frontline workers, and domestic and foreign migrants who were at a higher risk of being exposed to the virus. In several places, local citizens demonstrated against authorities' decision to set up quarantines, isolations or burials close to their community. The first of such reported demonstrations was in Bhaktapur where local citizens protested against the federal government's decision to set up a quarantine center for returnees from Wuhan, China from where the pandemic had started.<sup>8</sup> Since then, several local communities have protested against their local governments' decision to setup such facilities close to them.

Most recorded cases of prejudices were directed against COVID-19 patients and frontline workers, healthcare workers, and security personnel to the extreme of some facing assaults. Frontline healthcare workers took to social media to express their voices against individuals and groups attacking them.<sup>9</sup> Individuals at a higher risk of contracting the virus also faced expulsion from the communities they were living in. Patients and frontline workers living on rent faced risks of evictions due to prejudices over the fear of infection. Several cases of evictions for these groups were reported with incidents found in both urban and rural locations. For

<sup>8</sup> Dhakal, Sabitri. 2020. Bhaktapur Locals Protest Against Likely Quarantine Site. *Himalayan Times*. Available at <https://thehimalayantimes.com/nepal/bhaktapur-locals-protest-against-likely-quarantine-site/>; accessed November 1, 2020.

<sup>9</sup> The Record. 2020. Frontline Workers Clap Back Against Covid Shamers, Vigilantes. Available at <https://www.recordnepal.com/covid19/frontline-workers-clap-back-against-covid-shamers-vigilantes/>; accessed November 4, 2020.

example, an assistant health worker who had contracted the virus and recovered was not allowed to enter a village in Karnali Province where he was posted.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, a hostel in Kathmandu which managed accommodations for healthcare workers was asked to evict them by the local community.<sup>11</sup> In a couple of instances, government agencies responded by issuing notices and taking action against people involved in harassment, banishment, shunning and eviction. In Dang, security agencies arrested a house owner for evicting a healthcare worker living in his house.<sup>12</sup>

A few examples of caste-based and other community specific discrimination were also recorded. Initially, individuals belonging to Muslim communities in some districts were shunned by local citizens after the first of the COVID-19 cases verified in Nepal was traced back to a religious gathering of a Muslim sect organized in Delhi.<sup>13</sup> Such recorded cases were limited to a few districts. Democracy Resource Center Nepal (DRCN) reported earlier that religious leaders in Parsa, where such cases of prejudice were reported, had played a conducive role in mitigating the situation.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Shahi, Deepjung. 2020. Aspatalbata Discharge Bhayeka Swasthyakarmiko Dukheso: Gaunlele Ghar Janai Diyanan, Bikai Todphod Garidiye. *Setopati*. Available at <https://www.setopati.com/social/208826>; accessed November 4, 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Dangal, Sambhu. 2020. Baneshworma Dhamkisahit Sthaniyale Gare Dactar-Nurse Baseko Ghar Gherau. *Ratopati*. Available at <https://ratopati.com/story/143742/2020/8/22/corona-virus->; accessed November 4, 2020.

<sup>12</sup> KC, Durgalal. 2020. Police Arrest Landlord For Evicting a Staff Nurse from Her Rented House in Dang. *The Kathmandu Post*. Available at <https://kathmandupost.com/province-no-5/2020/03/31/police-arrest-landlord-for-evicting-a-staff-nurse-from-her-rented-house-in-dang>; accessed November 4, 2020.

<sup>13</sup> Even in India, this had prompted widespread banishment/shunning against Muslim communities, partly prompted by the national media's role in propping up a discriminatory narrative around the transmission of COVID-19.

<sup>14</sup> DRCN (Democracy Resource Centre Nepal). 2020. *Role of Local Government in COVID-19 Prevention*

In a few local units, caste-based discrimination was reported in quarantines set-up by local governments. In Achham, Dalit rights activists protested against elected representatives for discriminating against individuals from lower-caste at the quarantine center.<sup>15</sup> A concerning aspect of some of these cases was that the locally elected representatives could not play their role to minimize such issues due to which citizens had to stage a protest.

### Conflicts over COVID-19 relief packages

Over 70 incidents were related to the distribution of relief packages during the pandemic. A few weeks into the lockdown, some groups started protesting. They demanded relief in response to the massive job losses and business closures caused by the lockdown, which was imposed to contain the transmission of the virus.<sup>16</sup> The Government of Nepal announced relief packages in late March but the process of distributing the packages also triggered conflicts. Rows over relief distribution mostly occurred in Province 2 and Sudurpaschim Province. The two provinces accounted for around 70% of such incidents.<sup>17</sup> Most of these

*and Quarantine Management*. Available at [https://www.democracyresource.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/COVID-19\\_Update-2\\_1June2020-Second.pdf](https://www.democracyresource.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/COVID-19_Update-2_1June2020-Second.pdf); accessed November 4, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> Nepal Monitor. 2020. Dalit Rights Activists Protest Against Discrimination at Quarantine in Achham. Available at <https://nepalmonitor.org/reports/view/28715>; accessed November 4, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Nepal Rastra Bank's survey estimates job losses to be 22.5% and business closures during lockdown to be about 61%.

<sup>17</sup> The two provinces also have the highest rates of poverty among the seven provinces. According to a report published by NPC, Province 2 has 47.89% multi-dimensionally poor individuals and Sudurpaschim has 33.56% multi-dimensionally poor individuals. Only Karnali province has more with 51.22%. National Planning Commission, Government of Nepal & Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, University of Oxford. 2018. *Multidimensional Poverty Index: Analysis towards action*.

incidents occurred in the month of April and May when local governments were distributing relief packages.

Demonstrations, clashes between authorities and groups seeking relief, and between groups were reported. Demonstrations, which in some cases led to violent clashes, were made against alleged irregularities in procurement, and favoritism in the distribution of relief. For example, a scuffle broke out in a Kanchanrup Municipality in Saptari over alleged irregularities in relief distribution. Local citizens accused ward members of including the names of people who did not need the government's aid on the relief beneficiary list.<sup>18</sup> Most incidents related to relief distribution were of a similar nature where by local authorities were accused of irregularities. In interviews with DRCN, local representatives in Dhankuta, Chitwan and other districts argued that it was difficult to reject individuals seeking relief even when they knew that such individuals did not require relief. They pointed to the provision in the relief distribution standards which had a broad list of categories as requiring relief. According to elected representatives, all of the groups mentioned in the list did not require relief in their local units.

From the perspective of local governments, the standard and criteria for the distribution of relief packages, decided by the federal government, did not meet local needs and local authorities' fiscal capacity. The chief administrative officer of Rapti Municipality argued, "The standards include many who do not require relief but we could not exclude them." A ward member of the same municipality agreed with the assessment. Elected representatives at the local level also had difficulty in selecting recipients for relief due to the vague classification of beneficiaries. Local leadership often did not want to exclude some beneficiaries at the expense of other as it would risk angering people. Local government authorities did not

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Available at [https://www.npc.gov.np/images/category/Nepal\\_MPI.pdf](https://www.npc.gov.np/images/category/Nepal_MPI.pdf); accessed November 3, 2020.

<sup>18</sup> Jha, Abdeshe Kumar. 2020. Locals Beat Up Ward Office Representative Accusing Him of Nepotism in Relief Distribution. *The Kathmandu Post*. Available at <https://tkpo.st/2KmmmgQ>; accessed November 4, 2020.

have data on poor and vulnerable households requiring relief packages. These constraints complicated the distribution of relief packages. In all cases, relief package distribution in Nepal in the aftermath of a crisis or disaster has been done on an ad-hoc basis. In order to avoid potential conflicts between citizens and local elected representatives, a local unit in Kapilvastu district spent a lot to distribute relief packages to every household in the municipality. This may have had little impact. The lack of data and records or a working mechanism to ascertain individuals living below poverty and requiring relief packages will continue to make relief distribution difficult for local governments in the aftermath of a similar crisis.

The lockdown had taken a toll on several businesses, especially in various service industries. Consequently, workers and businesses started protesting against the extension of lockdowns. Roughly 50 such incidents were recorded, the majority of which were violent in nature.<sup>19</sup> As the protests attempted to defy lockdown restrictions, they clashed with security personnel, leading to cases of assaults. Beauty parlor owners, hair dressers and transport entrepreneurs, who were most affected by the lockdown, started protesting against the lockdown. Industrialists and business-owners also began protesting and lobbying the government to ease restrictions and to allow them to run their businesses.

### Repatriation of Nepali migrant-workers from India

The Government of Nepal poorly managed the repatriation of migrant workers prompting several protests and demonstrations against government authorities. Both violent and non-violent incidents were reported where Nepali citizens and foreigners seeking to return to their countries resorted to protests after being denied repatriation. The Government of Nepal sealed its border with India and China on March 22, 2020, after a few cases of COVID-19 were detected in Nepal. Similarly, it suspended international

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<sup>19</sup> These incidents are not included in the thematic category of conflicts over relief distribution.



flights starting from March 24. Many Nepali migrant workers fled Indian cities in the wake of the strict lockdown announced by the Indian government. They were stranded at the border. The Government of Nepal denied them repatriation through the use of force. A few of them risked their lives and tried to swim back home across the Mahakali River, which borders Nepal and India, but were later arrested by the Armed Police Force and Nepal Police.<sup>20</sup> Many others were forced by authorities to spend days across the border prompting further demonstrations against the government. Relatives and families of individuals stranded in the border also demonstrated against the District Administration Office.

Several foreign citizens were also denied repatriation due to the enforcement of the lockdown and the suspension of international flights. Several Indian citizens were stuck in different parts of Nepal. Similarly, Chinese citizens were also stuck in Kathmandu. Seeking repatriation, they had to resort to demonstrations. One such demonstration by Chinese citizens took a violent turn, leading to the injury of policepersons and Chinese nationals.<sup>21</sup>

### Black-marketing during the pandemic

33 or 6% of the total recorded incidents and 9% of all non-violent incidents were related to black-marketing. Most incidents of black-marketing were reported in Bagmati and Province 2, with Kathmandu district recording the highest number of such incidents. Recorded incidents of black-marketing were primarily related to price gouging by grocery stores, pharmacies and petroleum dealers. One case of black-marketing

of pharmaceutical product was especially conspicuous. During the time when there was dearth of such products and personal protective equipment for the frontline workers, the honorary consular of Kyrgyzstan was caught black-marketing such products at a higher prices.<sup>22</sup> The individual was from an influential business house in the country. In the light of the incident, the government quickly rescinded the special privileges of all honorary consulars.

### Police and government authorities' attacks on civilians and journalists

In total, 54 incidents of attacks by government authorities on civilians and journalists were recorded. Most of these incidents were perpetrated by security forces. Nearly half of all of the incidents occurred in Province 2, most of which were violent. Attacks by police seemed to have been perpetrated to enforce the lockdown. Local business owners and vegetable vendors were primary victims of such attacks. Police also used force to keep returnees in quarantine centers.

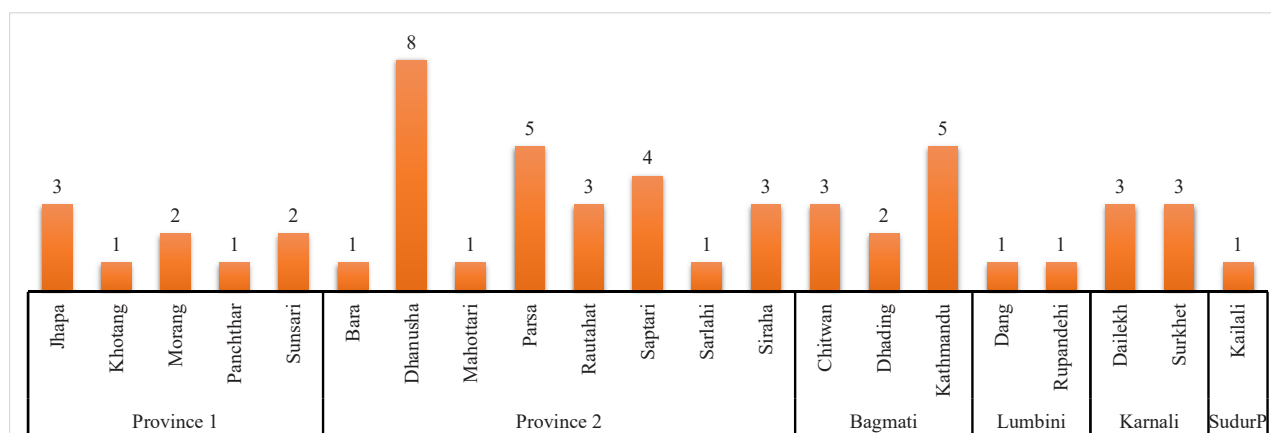
A total of 11 incidents of attacks on media persons were reported where local journalists were attacked or threatened by security personnel, local elected representatives and political leaders. These attacks were made against journalists to threaten them into not reporting on the government authorities' response to COVID-19. A few local government representatives also threatened journalists who reported irregularities in relief distribution. Such cases were reported in Parsa, Khotang, Kailali, Surkhet, Dhanusha, Kathmandu, and Siraha. Seven of these incidents were relatively non-violent while the remaining four constituted assaults.

<sup>20</sup> Badu, Manoj. 2020. Nepalis are Swimming Across the Mahakali to Get Home. *The Kathmandu Post*. Available at <https://kathmandupost.com/2/2020/03/30/nepalis-are-swimming-across-the-mahakali-to-get-home>; accessed November 2, 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Khabarhub. 2020. Police, Chinese Nationals Clash; Six Injured. Available at <https://english.khabarhub.com/2020/08/94583/>; accessed November 4, 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Giri, Anil. 2020. Nepal Government Derecognises Honorary Consul of Kyrgyzstan Agrawal. *The Kathmandu Post*. Available at <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2020/04/10/nepal-government-derecognises-honorary-consul-of-kyrgyzstan-agrawal>; accessed November 7, 2020.

**Figure 3: Incidents of attack against civilians and journalist across districts**



In light of these incidents, Reporters Without Borders (RSF) flagged the government and reminded the country’s authorities their constitutional obligation to guarantee total press freedom.<sup>23</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

This analysis provides an overview of incidents of conflict related to COVID-19 in Nepal recorded between February and September 2020. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Government of Nepal introduced a series of policies to contain its transmission and limit the economic fallout. Imposing a lockdown and restrictions that curbed the freedom of mobility was a convenient tool for the government to justify the need for containing transmission. However, this was not backed by additional measures to improve the public health infrastructure that was being overburdened by the pandemic. Citizens disenchanted by the government’s response had to resort to protests against the government and concerned authorities which at least drew some attention and a subsequent

policy response from the government. Additionally, the government also failed to arrange for the safe repatriation of migrant workers working in India and elsewhere. At one point, the government even used force to deny repatriation. Similarly, the federal government and several local governments failed to make adequate preparations for the distribution of relief during the lockdown resulting in more incidents of conflict. As such, most incidents of conflict recorded during this period pertain to conflict between citizens and state-authorities. At one end, the incidents point to the ineffectiveness of the federal government in executing its main functions in protecting public health, provisioning relief for the distressed, and in protecting civil liberties, at the other end it showed a wide disenchantment among citizens and youth regarding the quality of services provided by state authorities, especially during the pandemic. This period is likely to have increased the rift between Nepali citizens and the government, worsening the trust-deficit between them. A proactive governance response to ensure the protection of public health and civil liberties by the federal government and also by provincial and local governments is of the utmost importance to avoid further aggravating the trust-deficit.

<sup>23</sup> RSF. 2020. Nepalese Journalists Threatened, Attacked and Censored Over Covid-19 Coverage. Available at <https://rsf.org/en/news/nepalese-journalists-threatened-attacked-and-censored-over-covid-19-coverage>; accessed November 7, 2020.

## Appendices

**Table 1: Number of violent and non-violent incidents (All provinces)**

S.N.	Incidents	Number of incidents	Percentage
1.	Non-violent	369	72.4
2.	Violent	141	27.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 2: Monthly variations in the number of incidents (All provinces)**

S.N.	Month	Number of incidents (violent and non-violent)	Percentage
1.	February	2	0.4
2.	March	11	2.2
3.	April	111	21.8
4.	May	117	22.9
5.	June	88	17.3
6.	July	42	8.2
7.	August	111	21.8
8.	September	28	5.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 3: Monthly variations in the number of incidents (All provinces)**

S.N.	Month	Number of incidents (Non-violent)	Number of incidents (Violent)	Total
1.	February	2 (0.50%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.40%)
2.	March	7 (1.90%)	4 (2.80%)	11 (2.20%)
3.	April	64 (17.30%)	47 (33.30%)	111 (21.80%)
4.	May	75 (20.30%)	42 (29.80%)	117 (22.90%)
5.	June	68 (18.40%)	20 (14.20%)	88 (17.30%)
6.	July	36 (9.80%)	6 (4.30%)	42 (8.20%)
7.	August	96 (26.00%)	15 (10.60%)	111 (21.80%)
8.	September	21 (5.70%)	7 (5.00%)	28 (5.50%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>369 (100.00%)</b>	<b>141 (100.00%)</b>	<b>510 (100.00%)</b>

**Table 4: Number of incidents in each province**

S.N.	Province	Number of incidents	Percentage
1.	Province 1	63	12.4
2.	Province 2	147	28.8
3.	Bagmati	126	24.7
4.	Gandaki	28	5.5
5.	Lumbini	52	10.2
6.	Karnali	32	6.3
7.	Sudurpaschim	62	12.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 5: Nature/forms of incidents (All provinces)**

S.N.	Nature of Incidents (Violent and non-violent)	Number	Percentage
1.	Arrests	6	1.2
2.	Assault (small and large group)	81	15.9
3.	Banishment/shunning	43	8.4
4.	Black marketing	33	6.5
5.	Curfew/prohibitory order issues by the state	65	12.7
6.	Demonstration, <i>gheraul/dharna</i> , (sit-in), padlocking, and non-violent protests	193	37.8
7.	Group clash, other violent incidents	39	7.6
8.	Program interference/obstruction, road block, strike/ <i>bandh</i>	16	3.1
9.	Public humiliation, threat and intimidation	13	2.5
10.	Vandalism, violence against civilians, violent demonstration	21	4.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 6: Nature of incidents in each province**

S.N.	Nature of incident	Province 1	Province 2	Bagmati	Gandaki	Lumbini	Karnali	Sudurpaschim	Total
1	Non-violent	45	82	106	25	42	19	50	369
1.1	Arrest (politically significant)		4	2					6
1.2	Banishment/shunning	14	8	10	4	5	1	1	43
1.3	Black Marketing	1	11	15	4	1		1	33
1.4	Curfew/prohibitory order issues by the state	7	11	16	6	12	8	5	65
1.5	Demonstration, <i>gherau/dharna</i> (sit-in)/padlocking and other non-violent protest	20	39	51	11	22	8	42	193
1.6	Program interference, obstruction, road block, strike, <i>bandh</i>		5	7		1			16
1.7	Public humiliation, threat, intimidation	3	4	5		1			13
2	Violent	18	65	19	4	10	13	12	141
2.1	Assault (small and large group)	11	37	8	1	5	8	11	81
2.2	Group clash, vandalism and other violent form	4	18	7	3	4	3		39
2.3	Vandalism	2	4	1		1	1	1	10
2.4	Violence against civilians	1	2	2			1		6
2.5	Violent demonstration		4	1					5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>510</b>



**Table 7: Districts with 10 or more number of incidents**

S.N.	District	Number of incidents (violent and non-violent)	Percentage
1	Kathmandu	64	12.5
2	Parsa	40	7.8
3	Dhanusha	28	5.5
4	Kailali	24	4.7
5	Saptari	24	4.7
6	Morang	21	4.1
7	Chitawan	16	3.1
8	Sunsari	15	2.9
9	Bara	14	2.7
10	Jhapa	13	2.5
11	Siraha	13	2.5
12	Dang	12	2.4
13	Kanchanpur	12	2.4
14	Rautahat	12	2.4
15	Lalitpur	11	2.2
16	Dailekh	10	2.0
17	Others	181	35.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 8: Proportion of violent and nonviolent incidents in each province**

S.N.	Province	Nonviolent incidents	Violent incidents	Total
1.	Province 1	45 (71.40%)	18 (28.60%)	63 (100.00%)
2.	Province 2	82 (55.80%)	65 (44.20%)	147 (100.00%)
3.	Bagmati	106 (84.80%)	19 (15.20%)	125 (100.00%)
4.	Gandaki	25 (86.20%)	4 (13.80%)	29 (100.00%)
5.	Lumbini	42 (80.80%)	10 (19.20%)	52 (100.00%)
6.	Karnali	19 (59.40%)	13 (40.60%)	32 (100.00%)
7.	Sudurpashchim	50 (80.60%)	12 (19.40%)	62 (100.00%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>369 (72.40%)</b>	<b>141 (27.60%)</b>	<b>510 (100.00%)</b>



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