

# Patterns of Electoral Violence and Security Concerns in Nepal

**Man Bahadur Shahi**

*mbshahig@gmail.com*

---

## **Article History**

*Received: March 29, 2024*

*Accepted: April 28, 2024*

*Published: June 7, 2024*

---

## **Keywords**

*Electoral violence, political integrity, polling, security, conflict*

## **Abstract**

*Electoral violence, as direct and indirect acts of violence intended to affect power structures and election outcomes, is a major threat to the integrity of the voting process. Nepal in the past few electoral exercise has been experiencing increasing number and forms of electoral violence that have known to derail democratic practice and disrupt the social cohesion. The study attempts to unravel these phenomena in Nepal through a qualitative research method employing focus group discussion, interviews, and an extensive review of secondary sources to show that conflicting political ideology, social and ethnic tensions, poverty, economic inequality, and convoluted frustration with socio-political structures are the leading causes of electoral violence. This paper argues that electoral violence undermines the participation of people in the electoral process, thus hindering the progress of democracy in Nepal. The state must ensure a comprehensive security mechanism throughout the electoral process that includes but is not limited to efficient use of technology, promotion of voter education, strengthening the impartiality of state agencies and law enforcement, and enacting legislation prohibiting political party manipulation to ensure free and fair elections.*

---

## **Corresponding Editor**

*Ramesh Raj Kunwar*

*kunwar.sangla@gmail.com*

---

Copyright©2024 Author

Published by: APF Command and Staff College, Kathmandu, Nepal

ISSN 2616-0242

## Introduction

A local attempted to take a ballot box from a polling station after voting ended at Tribeni Municipality's Nateshwari Basic School in Bajura District during Nepal's federal and provincial elections in 2022. Because of this clash, Sanjeev Aidi, a 24-year-old local youngster, was shot and killed on the spot, while Chetan Aid, another local youth, and one police constable were critically injured and subsequently died while undergoing treatment in hospitals (Outlook, 2022). During a telephonic interview on March 20, 2024, a local journalist PD from Bajura district stated that the two people who died were relatives, an uncle and a nephew. However, even the close familial ties could not restrain the political enmity, which led to the horrific incident. Police report was filed against twenty-five residents of Kotyari village, Tribeni Municipality-7, due to political rivalry. The remaining of them escaped to foreign countries, including India, while the six others were detained pending trial. The village's political and social climate continues to be extremely challenging and unstable following the election. Even among close relatives and kin, locals with differing political beliefs often leads to conflict. There are cases of alleged witchcrafts, longstanding psychological trauma, communication cut off or what Nepalese call *Paani Baaraabarko Abastha* even within close families and kins because of election related disputes. On March 29, 2024, informal conversations with security personnel stationed during the Bajura elections revealed that, as a result of the deadly and violent incident, leaders of the Nepali Congress and the Communist Party (Unified Marxist-Leninist) blamed each other for seizing booths and conspiring to commit the fatal violence. The Nepali Congress representatives insisted on vote counting, while leaders of the Nepal Communist Party (Unified Marxist-Leninist) urged re-elections. The Nepalese Election Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs formed separate inquiry committees to examine the violent and fraudulent cases. Political party cadres became more enraged in district headquarters and town areas, calling for strikes, while party leaders on both sides divided about the district's electoral procedure. The voting station located in Budhinand Municipality-5 was re-pollled after being postponed due to fraud. It took the Election Commission almost twenty days, after inquiry committee reports, to decide to start counting the votes for federal and provincial legislators in the Bajura district.

The aforementioned case of electoral violence is one among numerous violent election related incidents that weakens democratic practices and people's belief in it, in addition to causing property losses, psychological distress, and societal division in Nepal. Election-related violence is therefore on the rise in Nepal, an indication that the electoral system in Nepal is not efficient in protecting the very foundation upon which democratic systems are based. Carter Center stated that heightened security following Jana Andolan II and the peace process contributed to an increase in voter intimidation during the 2008 election campaign. The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights reported that 21 election-related deaths occurred. The Maoist cadres and others were accountable for the majority of physical attacks and deadly violence (The Carter Center, 2008, p. 30). The 2013 Constituent Assembly Election caused 1,286 injuries, 116 kidnappings, and 50 fatalities, as reported by the Carter Center (2013, pp. 43–44). These incidents included brawls between competing party supporters and 12-armed protestors opposed to the election boycott.

In this context, several developing countries around the world, notably those in South Asia emerging democratic country like Nepal, witness violation of their electoral integrity by the violence during the elections. The primary focus of this research is to identify underlying causes and patterns of violence and the potential effect of election violence in Nepal on democratic practice and social cohesion. For this purpose, the qualitative methods including the focus group discussions, interviews, observation, and retrospective case analysis and in-depth study of secondary literature have been conducted.

## **Background**

Political talks are favourite teatime or past time activity for most Nepalese adults who constantly debate the existing political structure and ruins it has supposedly caused to the beautiful country of Nepal. However, during the periodic elections that take place in their towns, villages, and cities, many of these citizens are known to exercise their right to vote depending on emotional fervour, presumable favours or conflicting interests rather on capability of the candidates. Further, in Nepal, lawmakers and legislators are known to act self-servingly and seem to care less about maintaining strong institutions, social cohesion, or the rule of law (Bhandari, 2014). This derails the purpose of election as the very ground upon which democracy

stands on. Likewise, to further their own agendas, political party leaders also known to manipulate gullible youth into performing acts of violent nature during elections (Collective Campaign for Peace [COCAP], 2022). Alarmingly there seems no repercussion to these acts. For instance, there were plenty of reported cases where the candidates faced intimidation, physical attacks, and more explosions prior to the 2017 provincial and federal elections in an attempt to sway the results during the 2017 local election (COCAP, 2017). Khatiwada (2017) reported that two members of the Communist Party Nepal (Maoist Centre) destroyed ninety ballot papers in front of vote-counting officials, party representatives, and security personnel during the vote-counting process for the mayor of Bharatpur Metropolitan City's Ward No. 19. The police detained them, and later a case was filed in court. The vote-counting process was stopped and restarted after a few days of consent among political parties. In addition, as very few of these forms of violence face legal ramifications, despite election codes of conduct and security measures, Manandhar (2017) stated that violent incidents during Nepal's previous elections cast doubt on the idea of a free and fair election.

The Nepalese Constitution (2015) guarantees the people's right to freedom of speech, including the ability to form political parties, unions, and associations, as well as peaceful assimilation without the use of force. However, Political parties in emerging democracy like Nepal often are known to forcefully seize power, and one of their common tactics is to misuse resources and processes of the state. Political parties in Nepal have different and often conflicting ideologies and practices, so their active involvement in the election process influences the results. Accordingly, political party sister wings frequently resort to violence as a means of pressuring voters to endorse their political agendas. Election-related violence are further intensified by a protracted dispute, the politicization of democratic institutions, and the dishonesty of public servants (Basnyat, 2017) resulting in weak electoral process. Moreover, when the quality of the electoral process is poor, the expectation of elections simply has a negative impact on the structural effects (Chauvet & Collier, 2009).

More than 64 countries (the US, the Russian Federation, Iran, Mexico, the UK, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and the EU) are set to hold national elections, and the outcomes will have a long-term impact on the lives of many these vast population. Simply holding an election does not guarantee a fair and impartial

process. Elections can prevent conflicts and act as a safety valve for representative democracy, but they are not a cause of insecurity or conflict, as Kumar (2015) noted. For instance, Bangladesh's prime minister, Sheikh Hasina, was re-elected for a fourth term in January despite the main opposition party's boycott of the vote in protest of a months-long crackdown on political dissent. In another breach of democratic practice, former Pakistani prime minister Imran Khan was jailed, his party repressed, his supporters imprisoned, and election results manipulated (Ewe, 2023). Similarly, post-colonial Africa saw ongoing struggles, historical legacies, and violence during its transition; in this context, gaining power through elections became essential (Taylor, 2018).

Similar to most of the south Asian countries in general, Nepal specifically is experiencing violence during the election process. The election violence in Nepal is known to target individuals, infrastructure, data, and materials throughout campaigns, the general the integrity of the voting process and has the potential to worsen social cohesion, weaken the rule of law, and escalate problems in the country. Here, it is important to note that while there can be an election without democracy, it is generally accepted that there is no democracy without elections. This therefore underscores the importance of an election to a democracy (Luqman, 2009). Thus, if Nepal is to grow as a federal democratic republic, it must focus on strengthening the election process, which is the foundation of democracy and fosters stability, peace, and prosperity.

With the brief background, the purpose of this article is to identify the factors that have contributed to the violence during the elections in Nepal as well as how that violence has affected democratic practice and social cohesion beyond the time of election. A number of recommendations have also been produced for mitigating electoral violence.

### **Research Methodology**

The study employed a qualitative research design owing to the complexity, variation, and context of the socio-political phenomenon. For this purpose, the researcher conducted an in-depth review of secondary literature and expert opinions, Key Informant Interviews (KII), focus group discussion, field studies, and case studies using purposive sampling methods. Through the contextual lens of participant

voices, this method allows researchers to explore the ways in which historical events, power structures, and local dynamics influence the voting process. The study area was selected based on earlier reports of more violent incidents taking place during the electoral process and consists of a few polling places as well as the surrounding wards of the districts of Banke (Raptisonari Urban Municipality), Dang (Lamahi Urban Municipality), East-Nawalparasi (Devchuli Municipality), and Chitwan (Bharatpur Metropolitancy, Ratannagar Urban Municipality).

The study comprised approximately 30 respondents from the Banke, East-Nawalparasi, Dang, and Chitwan areas, including election officials, law enforcement personnel, voters, local political party leaders, victims of cases, and media representatives. In order to conduct an in-depth understanding of the issue, the researcher examined the various ideas and viewpoints of the respondents using direct ways, secondary sources, and the researcher's own experiences. The researcher interviewed witnesses and victims of past election-related cases both in-person and remotely through electronic media consultations. The participants consented to the use of their information for the research purpose. A care has been taken to ensure anonymity of the participants on ethical grounds. The researcher has maintained that there is no conflict of interest between the study and their professional background.

### **Understand Election and Electoral Violence**

The constant political upheavals in Nepal have made preserving peace and stability more difficult, prompting a deeper understanding and mitigation of electoral violence for a thriving democratic practice. As stated by Akwei (2018), free and fair elections are necessary for a thriving democracy. However, it is clear that elections and violence can coexist and undermine the integrity of the electoral process in transitional democratic countries and, on occasion, in established democracies. Election violence is not a new phenomenon in many countries throughout the world, and many types of electoral violence, such as fatalities on election day and property destruction before, during, and after the election, are common.

Elections serve as the recognized process for selecting candidates for positions of authority, allowing for the orderly transition of power between administrations, and encouraging popular participation in public affairs, according to Okolo (1980).

Elections, then, are a formal process that are essential to democratic systems around the world, where citizens can cast their votes for various candidates. Though elections are not a means of resolving conflicts, they encourage them to be expressed through peaceful and regulated processes. Elections form the foundation of a genuine democratic system. The electoral process is supposed to contribute towards democratic consolidation. Thus, voters select their candidates through the electoral process who represent their diverse interests (Olowojolu et al., 2019, p. 1).

The electoral violence refers to several types of organized psychological, physical, and structural threats/acts with the primary goal of intimidating, harming, or blackmailing political stakeholder(s) prior to, during, or after an election in order to delay or influence the electoral process (Abdulai, 2023). Fischer (2002), defined electoral conflict or violence as any deliberate, planned, or random act or threat to intimidate, hurt, coerce, or harass an electoral stakeholder with the intention of controlling, influencing, or directing the outcome of an election (p.3). Electoral violence is a particular phenomenon that can influence a nation's perception of democratization. Although electoral violence may be insignificant in relation to national levels of violence, studies show, if neglected, it can result in "diminished support for democracy, reduced legitimacy of leaders, and, possibly, the seeds of civil war" (Robinson, 2015, p. 1).

Fischer (2002) stated that the electoral process as a means of achieving governance is an alternative to violence. If the electoral process is perceived as unfair, unresponsive, or corrupt, its political legitimacy is compromised, and stakeholders are motivated to go beyond established standards and achieve their objectives. Thus, political parties have turned conflicts and violence during elections into strategies. Reilly and Reynolds (2000) have likewise argued that a culturally plural society's election system might have an impact on the risk of violent conflict in the future.

Pramod Kantha identified four distinct periods of Nepal's democratization process: the first transition (1950–1959) led to King Tribhuvan's exile to India. While King Birendra initiated a centralized system during the second transition (1979–1981), from the Third Transition (1990–1991) to the Fourth Transition (post-2005) and onward, the King violated the constitution during the third transition and faced tension with parliamentary parties during the fourth, resulting in reform through conflict (Kantha, 2010, pp. 62–66). In this regard, Dahal, D. R. noted that Nepal

experienced a democratic revolution in 1950, led by middle-class politicians who established multiparty democracy and a constitutional state. However, in 1960, King Mahendra toppled the elected government and established the Panchayat system, a centralized, strictly regulated form of governance, thereby bringing the democratic era to an end. This shift has had long-term implications on Nepal's political atmosphere, paving the path for future events and issues (Dahal, 2010, p. 3). Furthermore, Hachhethu (2014) stated that Nepal's political landscape is a contest for dominance, with frequent government changes and immoral strategies like bribery, coercion, blackmail, and legal ambiguities used to establish and destroy governments. Conflicts within the government, judicial actions, parliamentary skepticism among lawmakers, and internal divisions among political parties are all significant issues affecting governance. The ruling class's moral decay due to power abuse and personal gain has led to political and constitutional crises.

Nepal held national parliamentary elections for the first time in 1959; this marked the end of multiparty democracy in 1960. The Nepalese people realized the value of peace and democratic stability for development after living through unresolved peace during royal rule (1960–1990). The various political movements and the Maoist insurgency had brought about significant structural changes, but the same elites frequently undermined these changes. However, the Maoist insurgency (1996–2005) and the government's response brought about a great deal of death, as well as social unrest, economic devastation, and displacement, which in turn caused anxiety, fear, and unemployment (Baral, 2012, p. 473). In addition, Baral (2012) stated that the political parties in Nepal have struggled for democracy in opposition, however they have failed to build institutions and systems while in power. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2006 resulted in Nepal's interim constitution, which was adopted in 2007. The 2008 Constituent Assembly-I attempted to establish a democratic constitution, however conflicts led to the CA-I's expiration in 2012. However, it preserves democratic values and protects all people's rights, particularly those of marginalized and vulnerable communities. The second election was held in 2013, and the constitution was finally accepted in 2015 (International IDEA Nepal, 2015).

Pokharel et al. (2012) noted that some historical vulnerabilities still exist among the political parties, their cadres, youth wings, and non-state actors in Nepal. There



is a low level of inter- and intra-party democratic cultures, and transparency in the decision-making process has deteriorated public trust. These types of factors affect the quality of political entities; division and polarization create a violent environment. Elections are a method for implementing some of the core values of democracy, particularly citizen involvement, which supports effective governance and elected representatives' responsibility. Therefore, the effectiveness of elections serves as an indicator of how well governance has been established (Etannibi, 2007).

Observers and independent experts note that political parties in Nepal form alliances and split seats among themselves during elections, forgetting one another's political goals and ideologies in order to pursue their individual ambitions for power (Karki, 2022). Previous Nepalese elections showed how the behaviour of the ruling and opposition political parties weakened the credibility of the electoral procedures. For instance, the political party's sister wings confronted law enforcement and election authorities while violating the election code of conduct. Furthermore, the parties frequently focused on the intra-and inter party political disagreement by sharing and dividing the seats to manage their interests, which polarized the situation and increased the frustration of the systems. Likewise, the Nepal Transition to Peace Institute carried out a number of activities with the support of UNDP Nepal's Electoral Support Project to draw attention to challenges with the current electoral process and system, which include financial transparency issues, regionalism, communalism, and misuse of public funds, all of which were undermining public trust in elections. However, election-related physical violence has significantly decreased in recent years due to better security, voter ID cards with photos, and the use modern tools (UNDP Nepal, 2020).

A political process that uses elections to decide who has the right to exercise the primary legitimacy of power acts as a peaceful competition. Elections are an effective tool for lowering tension and setting up systems for reaching amiable agreements. Elections are stressful events due to numerous others; such peaceful methods seek to resolve social, political, ethnic, religious, and economic disparities (ACE Newsletter, n.d.). However, in the Nepal's election system, no party could secure a majority in the house without forging an inter-party coalition, stated Sher Bahadur Deuba, the chairperson of the Nepali Congress Party, during his party conference. For this reason, power is necessary for everyone; nonetheless, gaining

power requires winning elections, and even power struggles occur across the world (Hamrakura.com, 2024). The majority of the political incidents are intended to affect voters in favor of one of the candidates. Because of their alliances, Nepal's sister political party wings are more likely to engage in violent disputes.

Besaw (2021) studied the threat to elections around the world and found that every country with a national vote scheduled for 2021 had a risk of violence in elections. In eight countries, including Nepal, Chile, and Haiti, there was a 76% to 90% probability of election violence. In addition, there was a more than 90% chance of violence in Ethiopia. This data revealed that, despite the fact that the types of violence and its root causes vary, election-related violence is rising globally at comparable rates in both democracies and non-democracies.

The Tony Blair Institute reported that in five consecutive election cycles, at least 1,525 Nigerians have lost their lives due to election-related violence, major disputes between the parties backing the outgoing and incumbent presidents, and terrorist attacks across the country. The Institute noted that violence, mostly from terrorist organizations like Boko Haram, the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB), and bandits, had caused significant disruptions to the 2023 elections (Mac-Leva, 2022).

Kirby (2024) reported that Putin won the presidency with an overwhelming victory, claiming Russia's democracy was more open than in the West. However, 80 Russians were detained, including Alexei Navalny; Mr. Putin's rival was killed in detention. Germany described the election as a "pseudo-election" using violence, repression, and censorship. Thus, Birch et al. (2020) distinguishes between the micro- and macro-level effects of electoral violence. The previous focus was on the influence of electoral violence on individuals, namely their political attitude, participation, and knowledge. A macro-level study shows how electoral violence affects overall outcomes, participation in elections, and the exercise of rights and freedoms.

Venkatesan (2024) reported that the Supreme Court of India declared electoral bonds unconstitutional, citing the 2018 Electoral Bond Scheme (EBS) as a breach of the fundamental right to free and fair elections. The court expressed concerns about how unrestricted corporate contributions to political parties jeopardize democratic processes and potentially lead to the misuse of resources intended for public policy. It also raised concerns about how this could violate voters' right to information.

Thus, election-related violence in India has been linked to a number of factors, including political rivalry, fraud, the Maoist insurgency, the criminalization of politics, a lack of accountability, and socioeconomic inequality (Kumar, 2015, pp. 43–44). "Communalizing stakeholders and criminalizing electoral processes are the two main challenges that democracy faces today," he continued. Criminalization requires money and muscle, while communalization is more subtle and polarizing. Sivagnanaselvam (2021) asserts that money affects democracy not just in India but also all over the world. Due to the creation of electoral bonds, India has the least amount of regulation over election funding when compared to other democracies of a similar level. There is a greater chance that the super-rich will control public policy and disregard the interests of the majority, especially the weak and impoverished, due to differences in political funding. However, Bekkouche and Cage (2018) concluded a direct relationship between electoral success and electoral spending based on in-depth research on electoral financing. In France's parliamentary and municipal elections, the study found that the cost of one vote was six euros and thirty-six euros, respectively. In 1995, France banned all forms of corporate financing and imposed a limit on individual donations of EUR 6, 000.

Like elsewhere in the world, electoral violence and security are major challenges for democratic consolidation and peace building in Nepal. The instances of attacks on candidates and party employees in the run-up to the by-elections in 2017 and 2022 indicate that Nepal still faces a risk of electoral violence in the future. In this context, Birch et al. (2020) discussed that electoral violence can have negative impacts on the electoral process, such as reducing voter turnout, influencing voter choice, disrupting vote counting, and challenging election results.

In this regard, this study has attempted to acquire knowledge on electoral violence's pattern, its underlying causes and the consequences in a bid to get to the crux of electoral process as it affects democracy and social cohesion. Elections can have a wide range of implications on a nation's political climate and economic prosperity. This article explores the consequences of electoral violence on Nepal's political institutions, democratic processes, and social divisions.

## **Findings and Discussions**

This section compares and discusses the primary election issues, causes, and outcomes in Nepal primarily based on field visits and corroboration with secondary

resources to illuminate the various forms of violence that occur during elections and how they affect electoral processes, democracy and social cohesion.

### **Patterns of Electoral Violence in Nepal**

Electoral violence encompasses intimidation or harassment directly related to the electoral process. It may take place before the election, on the day of the election, or immediately after the election has taken place, often because of the announcement of the outcome. The definition of electoral violence encompasses a number of behaviours, such as the distribution of hate speech leaflets, the forced displacement of certain groups of voters, political assassinations, and targeted violence. In addition, it includes protests and riots that take place as a direct result of elections (Burchard, 2015, p. 12). Compared to other countries in the region, Nepal's elections were noticeably less violent, particularly in terms of the quantity of violent deaths that occurred. Voting in the 1981 election was allegedly discouraged after police detained 30 people and used force to put an end to unrest. There were two police deaths and at least seven injuries reported during a riot. There was a minor spike in election-related violence in 1991, which led to the deaths of twelve individuals because of political violence in Nepal, 1994 and 1999 elections resulted in five deaths in separate incidents. There were a few violent incidents on Election Day, along with a relatively low turnout (Homolková & MA, 2019).

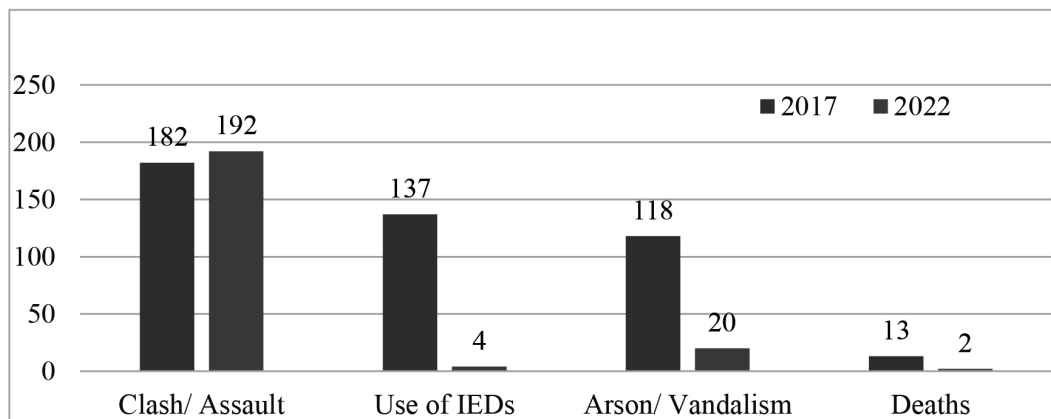
During the 2008 Constituent Assembly election in Nepal, violent conflicts, threats, intimidation, and kidnappings escalated, resulting in 21 deaths: 12 CPN-M cadres, two candidates, eleven of whom were shot by police, and 40 abductions involving CPN-M and four other party members in election-related violence (OHCHR-Nepal, 2008, p. 3). In this regard, Tamang (2012) noted that without disclosing the document, the first Constituent Assembly election, which was scheduled to produce a new constitution by May 2012, was dissolved. Because of the 2006 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the goodwill of political parties, the 2008 CA elections were held after it. Despite being declared free and fair, the 2008 Nepalese elections are still prone to violence. However, Plachta (2014) reported a significant decrease in violence during Nepal's 2013 Constituent Assembly election compared to the 2008 election. Boycotting groups utilized violent and intimidation tactics, such as firebombing vehicles, to enforce a 10-day transport strike, leading to injuries and deaths. Migrant citizens returned to vote, causing fear and reducing voter turnout through incidents in their home districts. The intensive deployment of

security forces to counter boycotting parties had significantly reduced their ability to disrupt elections. Although there were vulnerable violent events and acts of intimidation during the election, the process was far more peaceful than the 2008 election. The changing patterns of violence in past CA elections had an impact on the democratic process; rather, the 2008 and 2013 elections in Nepal's Constituent Assembly reinforced democratic processes, setting the groundwork for the adoption of the 2015 constitution. The changes show the evolution of democratic institutions, ending the political transition since 2007 BS (1950–51) and establishing the Federal Democratic Republic (The Carter Center, 2014). In Nepal's politically volatile context, it is crucial to tackle the underlying causes of electoral violence to ensure lasting peace and democracy. These show that there has been no cessation of violence in Nepal; rather, the patterns of violence have changed, endangering Nepal's democratic institutions.

Likewise, since Nepal's local elections in 2017 and 2022, more events have occurred, according to the analysis. During the 2022 election, Nepal Monitor recorded 459 injuries, 192 attacks and disputes, 20 cases of vandalism and arson, and 4 Improvised Explosive Device (IED) incidents. In the 2017 local election, there were 182 violent incidents and attacks, 118 cases of vandalism or arson, 137 cases of IEDs planted to terrorize candidates, polling places, or campaign locations, and 13 violent incidents that resulted in fatalities (COCAP, 2022).

### Figure 1

*A Comparison of Violent Election-related Incidents in 2017 and 2022*



Source: Adopted & modified the chart from the COCAP

When compared to the local election in 2017, the data above indicates a slight increase in conflicts and assaults related to elections. There was a significant drop in violent incidents, such as the use of IEDs, arson, and vandalism, despite initial threats of obstruction and disruption by the Madhes-based regional parties and the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), led by Netra Bikram Chand. In Nepal, the local elections of 2022 were marred by electoral violence primarily due to rivalry between competing candidates or political parties (COCAP, 2022).

During the 2017 election campaigns, there were only a few reports of voters' voter IDs being misplaced or not matching their serial numbers. Nonetheless, there were 70 attacks on polling places, independent candidates, and political parties in different districts because of violence. One police officer was killed, and the attacks targeted terrified but hurt candidates and supporters (The Carter Centre, 2017, p. 10).

Chief Election Commissioner Dinesh Kumar Thapaliya stated a few minor incidents in the 2022 federal and provincial elections, leading to temporary voting rescheduling at 15 polling stations across four districts, and the nationwide voter turnout stood at around 61 percent. However, the voter turnout is significantly lower as compared to the past two elections: 77 percent in 2013 and 78 percent in 2017 (PTI, 2022). As stated by Kapil Shrestha, the chairperson of the National Election Observation Committee, political parties and their leaders must be held accountable for the violence that resulted from their careless statements during the election campaign. Additionally, he emphasized that the breakdown in law and order was a consequence of the inadequate number of police personnel assigned to ensure a single-phase election (Ghimire, 2022). However, almost 300,000 personnel, including the Nepali Army (71000), Nepali Police (71,693) with 115 thousand temporary police, the Armed Police Force (35000), and the National Investigation Department (over 200), were assigned to security duties in the 2022 House of Representatives and Province Assembly elections (The Rising Nepal, 2022).

In the research areas, electoral violence ranged from psychological threats and intimidation, voter's fraud, bribing, misuse of authority, disruption, destruction and vandalization of property to physical harm and even murder.

A former Dang district delegate, who witnessed the incident with Khum Bahadur

Khadka, shared his story (interviewed in February 2024) while remaining anonymous. According to him prior to the election, on April 9, 2008, in Lamahi Bazar, Dang district, a tragedy occurred while prominent politician and candidate Khadka was returning from his Constituency Assembly campaign. The incident happened soon after Maoist supporters attacked the senior politician's car. In response, the leader's security forces immediately shot five Maoist cadres and gravely injured two more. Similarly, in a violent incident that happened shortly before the 2022 local elections, Sagar Pariyar of Bharatpur Metropolitan City, 6 Krishnapur, (interviewed on February 20, 2024) stated that a criminal gang using a sharp object fatally stabbed his brother Anil Pariyar, a member of the Nepali Congress. His brother passed away at Chitwan Medical College after being attacked with a sharp object. Sagar asserted that his family, particularly his elderly parents, are traumatized and in constant tears as a result of the circumstances surrounding his death.

Vandalization of property and disruption were also another pattern of electoral violence costing the state not only economic losses but more alarmingly loss of citizen's trust in democratic process. And in the course of the field research, HN Poudel (dated February 20, 2024), the local representative for Ward 3 in Devchuli municipality, reported on the destruction of the ballot box at the Shanti Shrijana lower secondary school polling place in Daldale, Nawalparasi-West, during the 2022 federal and provincial elections. A voter named Narayan in the area infiltrated and poured chemicals into the voting box. Shortly after it was ignited, the entire poll box was destroyed. The security situation at the polling station was disrupted and frightful that voters rushed away, and the polling was postponed. The accused was immediately taken into custody, and the polling resumed on the second day. The accused had been held in police custody for a month for an investigation. A local police officer who was deployed there said that the accused was a criminal-minded person, and member of anti-election criminals used him to disrupt elections. The local chairperson and some locals claimed that the accused, Narayan, was a member of the Janata Socialist Party, and the police later freed him and handed him over to the party. What this case shows is the vulnerability of Nepalese electoral process and the lack of repercussions to the perpetrators that inevitably encourages such violence and strengthens impunity.

Furthermore, in an effort to tamper with the elections, the ward chairperson and the

local security officer disclosed that anti-election criminals had detonated homemade explosive devices close to the polling location at Diva Jyoti Adharbhut School in the ward 12 of Devchuli municipality. Later on, the police discovered a criminal organization opposed to the election that intimidated voters with explosives.

Criminal or terrorist gangs and their use in the election were also a common feature of some electoral booths in recent elections. NDS, a local security officer, stated (interviewed on February 20, 2024) that he had been sent to the Rapti-Sonari rural municipality for the Banke district local elections. The primary security threats to the Rapti-Sonari rural municipality, according to his report on the 2022 elections, were the threats of election boycotting groups-known as *Terai Bhumigat Samuha*. During their individual election campaigns, parties clashed over the issue of the same venue and route. Further voter luring and manipulation was also a scene for the particular municipality. He disclosed that he had observed political parties luring voters with food, alcohol, cash, different types of lodging, or other gifts to the less fortunate voters during the silent period during the last election while he was working in the rural municipality of Rapti-Sonari. He witnessed the stronger party agents mistreating the weaker party's agents and casting additional votes illegally.

Moreover, electoral violence can have broader consequences for the society, such as undermining trust in democratic institutions, exacerbating social divisions, and triggering or escalating conflicts (Guelke, 2000) as the section below explores.

### **Underlying Causes and Consequences of Electoral Violence**

*Unhealthy political rivalry, misuse of authority and power, and unequal socio-economic positions begets electoral violence.*

Although some instances of the above-mentioned disputes occur in Nepal's electoral system, political power struggles are typically the main driver of election-related violence. Political parties in Nepal organize their sister wings, resources, and other materials to influence those who can be influenced forcibly or easily. Further, election-related violence is influenced by a multitude of factors that determine its intensity, scope, and nature. These include the political parties' stance on democracy, the National Electoral Commission's function, the protocols followed by poll workers, and the distribution of voting materials, to name a few. Many factors contribute to violence in election areas, such as insufficient electoral laws,



unemployment, poverty, and hate speech disseminated through social media and other media, and a lack of coordination among inter-security agencies.

On February 6, 2024, during a group discussion on post-election security challenges, the Banke District's Chief District Officer (CDO) and his security team emphasized that political party pressure to win at all costs, along with anti-election elements like Terai Bhumigat Samuha and other criminal gangs, were the main causes of violence during the elections in the area.

Unemployment, demotivation, socio-political frustration and thus formed gullibility are also associated with the electoral violence of Nepal. On February 9, 2024, Indrajeet, a 70-year-old resident of Ward 3 in the Devchuli municipality, asserted that the main causes of the election violence were people's discontent with prominent politicians, the use of criminal groups, unemployment, poverty, and a lack of understanding among political parties. He pointed out that the use of a local boy to set fire to a ballot box mentioned in earlier section and papers resulted from frustration and unemployment, which could be easily manipulated by the anti-element group to incite violence at the polls.

Following a discussion and analysis of the varied experiences and perspectives of participants, numerous reasons contribute to electoral violence in Nepalese electoral system. The following can be concluded as key concerns regarding the violence during the elections:

- ❖ Election violence stems from unresolved social and ethnic tensions such as marginalization and discrimination, unemployment, widespread poverty, a coalition of opposing political ideologies, political rivalry, internal party disputes, political frustration, an elusive political assurance, and a lack of economic opportunities.
- ❖ The effects of anti-election or armed groups, the abuse of public power and resources, insufficient law enforcement, impunity, and incitement by prominent party figures are additional factors that contribute to election violence.
- ❖ Additional factors that contribute to election violence include the delivery of voter identity cards, inaccuracies on voter rolls and cards, exclusion from polls, voter privacy, ballot registration, issues of adhering to a code of conduct, and the Swastik insignia stamp.

### ***Electoral Violence Derails Democratic Process and Disrupts Social Cohesion***

The most prominent consequence of electoral violence is the disruption of democratic exercise and adverse effect on social cohesion. After the violent incident in the Dang district, Lamahi area of the Constituency Assembly involving Khum Bahadur Khadka as mentioned above, Nepali Congress party members, supporters, and family members were forced to flee to the Satbariya villages and were unable to vote for the leaders. As a result, a large number of voters were absent in Dang District due to opposition pressures and inadequate security at polling stations. The eyewitness mentioned above who was also a close associate of the leader, said he left his residence for six months to ensure the safety of the family members. After the final vote counting result, the Maoist candidate Indrajit Tharu won with approximately 18 thousand votes, while the Nepali Congress candidate Khum Bahadur Khadka received approximately 10 thousand votes in this panic situation. The respondent shared he was in a state of psychological terror after the incident, as he could not recall any violent events in Nepal or the electoral process. Further, he stated that another political party had used innocent workers as puppets in their election campaign, resulting in several fatalities. It was a huge loss for the families of those personnel. Socially and psychologically distressed and traumatized inhabitants in Satbariya village, Dang district, are still reluctant to talk openly about previous election violence even as 16 years have passed since the incident.

The eyewitness was of the opinion as addition to Maoists' threats intra and inter-party conflicts (such as the internal party ego in the Nepali Congress), could have played a role in inciting violence in the Dang area during the period. In any case, electoral candidate and many of his possible voters were unable to cast vote given poor security and impending violence. As locals stated, Khum Bahadur Khadka was a strong candidate for electoral win who had repeatedly won previous election, there is a strong argument to state that the elections results were affected by the terrorising event.

Electoral violence affects the whole democratic process. However, people with intersectional identities bear the brunt of violence differently. Impunity and denial of justice additionally, prolongs the suffering of the victims. As mentioned above, a local named A. Sharma claimed that Anil Pariyar, an active member of the Nepali Congress party, was murdered in Chitwan before the local election day in 2022

as a result of the criminalization of politics through intra- and inter-party rivalry. Sagar, the deceased's eldest brother, expressed his ongoing pain and resentment at the Nepali Congress for failing to support his family's requests for governmental support, justice, or reparations. Furthermore, he expressed his deep sadness that his family a Dalit family descended from a lower caste does not access to governmental procedures and that the leaders of the Nepali Congress party are still indifferent to his family's problem. Further, even though the murderers have been taken into custody, the case remains unsolved, adding to the pain for the victim's family. He added, "The only people who are the target and victims of the elections are the weaker and poorer citizens."

Electoral violence has a long-term consequence to democracy, which often encourages nepotism and favouritism as the aftermath of the electoral process. A few women from Bharatpur Metropolitan City, Ward 7, brought up the point during the discussion shared that the winning party allocates its resources to areas where a sizable portion of its supporters live. It was also mentioned that the ward does not even advertise about trainings and other opportunities and that it offers entrepreneurial and vocational training only to anyone outside of its supporters. They suggested that state institutions be more proactive in opposing the misuse of resources and power by political party leaders to influence voters. Examples of such actions include making it illegal for political leaders to act unethically during elections, giving the public misleading information, and putting an end to political parties abusing young people by using violence. To prevent fraud during Nepal's election season, they emphasized the use of voting machines and the digitization of existing voting cards.

In the Ward 4 local sites of the Rapti-Sonari rural municipality where electoral violence was reported in the past, the study held conversations with a group of residents regarding the current local-level government services provided in their communities following the elections. The ward is primarily home to Tharu, with smaller Muslim populations, and migrated Magars from the districts of Saylan, Rolpa, and Rukum. Locals from ward number 4, B.B.Dang, J.B. Tharu, and H.Magar, stated that the local government is riddled with nepotism and favouritism. According to them, the local government routinely provides opportunities to their close friends, family members, and party cadres ignoring their qualification or basis of necessity.

They just mobilize their supporters to form the ward development committee and favour their supporters' development in the neighbouring communities. A few residents of Ward 3, Devchuli municipality, shared their perception on how to reduce election-related violence. These included educating voters and emphasizing the value of voting, using voting machines, providing employment to youth, ensuring that law enforcement and electoral officials act fairly, strengthening security, fostering mutual respect among parties, holding political party leaders accountable and transparent, enhancing voter cards, and maintaining the election commission's impartial role.

## **Conclusion**

The pattern of electoral violence in Nepal, particularly throughout the country's transition from monarchy to democracy and the recent elections in 2022, indicates how prevalent this issue has become. Repeated election-related violence may obstruct the development of a healthy and stable democracy, lowering possibilities for peaceful political transitions as well as stable government. Violence can leave longer-term wounds on communities, triggering breaks down and hostility that could remain for the generations, disrupting societal unity and progress. Thus, electoral violence challenges the legitimacy and credibility of the democratic process, discourages participation, and escalates issues, in addition to directly interfering with elections. Further, election-related violence undermines state democratic institutions and delegitimizes the electoral process, which weakens democracy overall. Nepal has pledged to uphold multiparty democracy norms; however, more work is needed to ensure a free and fair election atmosphere and prevent violence during elections. Add how it also affects social cohesion, increases distress. Therefore, ensuring free and fair elections and fostering peace and security in Nepal necessitates an in-depth knowledge of the causes, trends, and consequences.

The government must educate the public about the importance of peaceful elections and the detrimental impacts of violence. All stakeholders, including political parties, should promote a peaceful political atmosphere in order to allow citizens to exercise their right to vote. Election commissions, electoral officials, and law enforcement agencies must exercise the utmost caution to ensure that their actions do not demonstrate bias or preference toward any candidate or party in order to preserve public confidence in the electoral process. In order to avoid unhealthy political

rivalry and violence, political parties and candidates must exhibit a democratic political culture. A robust system of technology is required to monitor, avoid, reduce, and manage election violence. To prevent any type of electoral manipulation, the government needs to review existing security measures. The government provides state institutions with the resources, tools, and legal frameworks they need to improve their professionalism, manage logistics, and hire employees. For the long-term survival of democracy in Nepal and around the world, it must correct legal systems, uphold moral standards, address public issues like employment, poverty reduction, equitable resource allocation, public awareness, transparency, fairness, use of technology, and a democratic political culture. In addition, researchers and state legislators collaborate to prevent and reduce election-related violence in order to maintain electoral integrity.

Dealing with electoral violence is a long-term process that requires ongoing commitment and engagement from political parties, other stakeholders, and international cooperation. Nepal can achieve peaceful and credible elections, improve its democracy, and promote stability by adopting these policies in a comprehensive and coordinated manner.

## References

- Abdulai, E. S. (2023, August 25). *Electoral Politics, Laws and Ethnicity in Africa*. Springer Nature. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-34136-6\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-34136-6_12)
- ACE Newsletter. (n.d.). *The Electoral Knowledge Network*. <https://aceproject.org/>.  
<https://aceproject.org/ace-en/focus/elections-and-security/onePage>
- Akwei, C. (2018). Mitigating election Violence and Intimidation: A Political Stakeholder Engagement approach. *Politics & Policy*, 46(3), 472–504. <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12256>
- Baral, L. R. (2012). *Nepal-Nation-State in the wilderness: Managing State, Democracy and Geopolitics*. SAGE Publications Pvt. Limited. [https://www.academia.edu/4870240/Book\\_Review\\_NEPAL\\_Nation\\_state\\_in\\_the\\_wilderness\\_Managing\\_State\\_Democracy\\_and\\_Geopolitics?sm=b](https://www.academia.edu/4870240/Book_Review_NEPAL_Nation_state_in_the_wilderness_Managing_State_Democracy_and_Geopolitics?sm=b)
- Basnyat, B. (2017, November 28). No violence please. [www.kathmandupost.com](http://www.kathmandupost.com).  
<https://kathmandupost.com/opinion/2017/11/28/no-violence-please>
- Bekkouche, Y., & Cage, J. (2018, January 1). *The Price of a Vote: Evidence from France, 1993-2014*. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_)

id=3106818

- Besaw, C. (2021, February 18). *Election violence spiked worldwide in 2020 – Will this year be better?* The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/election-violence-spiked-worldwide-in-2020-will-this-year-be-better-153975>
- Bhandari, S. (2014). From external to the internal application of the right to Self-Determination: the case of Nepal. *Social Science Research Network*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2550107>
- Birch, S., Daxecker, U., & Höglund, K. (2020). Electoral violence: An *Journal of Peace Research*, 57(1), 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319889657>
- Burchard, S. M. (2015). *Electoral violence in Sub-Saharan Africa: Causes and Consequences*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. <https://www.rienner.com/uploads/55c261d4a9018.pdf>
- Chauvet, L., & Collier, P. (2009). Elections and economic policy in developing countries. *Economic Policy*, 24(59), 509–550. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0327.2009.00228.x>
- Collective Campaign for Peace (COCAP) (2022). *Local election 2022: an overview of electoral contestation*. COCAP is a national network of 43 Peace and Human Rights based non-governmental organizations working in Nepal. <https://nepalmonitor.org/uploads/images/analysis/media/1656931230-Local-Election-2022---An-Overview-of-Electoral-Contestation.pdf>
- Collective Campaign for Peace (COCAP). (2017). FactSheet: Electoral violence and contestation during Nepal’s local elections, second phase. In [www.cocap.org.np](http://www.cocap.org.np). COCAP-Nepal-Monitor. <https://nepalmonitor.org/analysis/50>
- Dahal, D. R. (2010, August). *Elections and conflict in Nepal: country analysis*. Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/07722.pdf>
- Election Commission, Nepal. (2022). Press releases on local elections in 2022 <https://election.gov.np/admin/public//storage/Press%20Release/1/Press%20Release%202079-02-02.pdf>
- Etannibi, A. E. (2007, December). *Quality of Elections, Satisfaction with Democracy and Political Trust in Africa*. [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org). <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/91890/AfropaperNo84.pdf>
- Ewe, K. (2023, December 28). The Ultimate Election Year: All the Elections

- around the World in 2024. <https://time.com>. <https://time.com/6550920/world-elections-2024/>
- Fischer, J. (2002, February 5). *Electoral conflict and violence: a strategy for study and prevention*. jeff@ifes.org. [https://www.bing.com/search?q=fischer%2C+j.++\(2002\)](https://www.bing.com/search?q=fischer%2C+j.++(2002)).
- Ghimire, B. (2022, April 24). Time for Election Commission to set example by enforcing code of conduct. [www.kathmandupost.com](http://www.kathmandupost.com). <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2022/04/24/time-for-election-commission-to-set-example-by-enforcing-code-of-conduct>
- Guelke, A. (2000). Violence and electoral polarization in divided societies: Three cases in comparative perspective. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 12(3–4), 78–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550008427571>
- Hachhethu, K. (2014, January 1). *Nepali politics: Political parties, political crisis and problem of governance*. Academia.edu – Share research. [https://www.academia.edu/85171082/Nepali\\_Politics\\_Political\\_Parties\\_Political\\_Crisis\\_and\\_Problem\\_of\\_Governance](https://www.academia.edu/85171082/Nepali_Politics_Political_Parties_Political_Crisis_and_Problem_of_Governance)
- Hamrakura.com. (2024, January 24). Deuba’s Innocence, says - There is no condition to win elections without alliances, power cannot be obtained without winning elections. <https://hamrakura.com/>. <https://hamrakura.com/news-details/163024/2024-01-24>
- Homolková, L., & MA, E. (2019). *Electoral Integrity and Electoral Violence How electoral integrity impacts on the propensity of electoral violence in South Asia?* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Masaryk University Faculty of Social Sciences Department of Political Science.
- International IDEA, Nepal. (2015). *Nepal’s Constitution-Building Process, 2006–2015*. [www.idea.int](http://www.idea.int). <https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/nepals-constitution-building-process-2006-2015>
- Kantha, P. (2010). Nepal’s protracted democratization in terms of modes of transition. *The Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 28, HIMALAYA 28(1). <https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/himalaya/vol28/iss1/5>
- Karki, S. (2022, October 9). *Nepal’s parties forge new pre-poll alliances*. *Nepali Times*. <https://nepalitimes.com/banner/nepals-parties-forge-new-pre-poll-alliances>

- Khatiwada, B. (2017, June 2). Bharatpur vote counting fiasco: 90 ballot papers found torn, 70pc in shreds. *The Kathmandu Post*. <https://kathmandupost.com/national/2017/06/02/90-ballot-papers-found-torn-70pc-in-shreds>
- Kirby, P. (2024, March 18). Putin claims landslide in Russian election and scorns US democracy. <https://www.bbc.com/>. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-68592781>
- Kumar, C. (2015). Electoral Violence, *Threats and Security: Problems and prospects for Indian Democracy*. Research Gate. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333719218\\_Electoral\\_Violence\\_Threats\\_and\\_Security\\_Problems\\_and\\_Prospects\\_for\\_Indian\\_Democracy](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333719218_Electoral_Violence_Threats_and_Security_Problems_and_Prospects_for_Indian_Democracy)
- Luqman, S. (2009). Electoral institution and the management of the democratization process: The Nigeria experience. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 21(1), 59-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2009.11892751>
- Mac-Leva, F. (2022, December 1). *Election violence claims 1,525 lives in 25 years - Daily Trust*. Daily Trust. <https://dailytrust.com/election-violence-claims-1525-lives-in-25-years/>
- Manandhar, P. (2017, March 10). Electoral violence. *SpotlightNepal*. <https://www.spotlightnepal.com/2017/03/10/electoral-violence/>
- OHCHR. (2007, April 20). *OHCHR-Nepal releases report on Gaur investigation*. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2009/10/ohchr-nepal-releases-report-gaur-investigation>
- Okolo, J. E. (1980). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria* by Okwudiba Nnoli Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978. Pp. xi + 289. ₦ 12.50. - *Groundwork of Military Law and Military Rule in Nigeria* by Okay Achike Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978. Pp. xx + 278. ₦ 13.50. - *Political Authority and the Nigerian Civil Service* by Humphrey N. Nwosu Enugu, Fourth Dimension Publishers, Pp. viii + 176. ₦ 12.50. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 18(4), 707-709. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x00014865>
- Olowojolu, O. F., Bamidele, R., Ake, M., & Afolayan, M. (2019). Trends in Electoral Violence in Nigeria. *ResearchGate*. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331651302\\_TRENDS\\_IN\\_ELECTORAL\\_VIOLENCE\\_IN\\_NIGERIA](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331651302_TRENDS_IN_ELECTORAL_VIOLENCE_IN_NIGERIA)
- Outlook. (2022, November 21). *Nepal Elections Record 61% Voter Turnout*, 1



- Death Reported in Election Violence*. [www.outlookindia.com](http://www.outlookindia.com). <https://www.outlookindia.com/international/nepal-elections-record-61-per-cent-voter-turnout-1-death-reported-in-election-violence-news-238877>
- Plachta, B. (2014, December 26). *Observing Nepal's 2013 constituent assembly election*. [Cartercenter.org](http://Cartercenter.org). <https://electionstandards.cartercenter.org/2014/12/26/observing-nepals-2013-constituent-assembly-election/>
- Pokharel, B., Malla-Dhakal, R., & Morrice, A. (2012). Electoral Violence and Mitigation Assessment NEPAL. Election Commission, Nepal and United Nations Development Programme. , from <https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/asia/NP/electoral-violence-and-mitigation-assessment-nepal>
- PTI. (2022, November). Nepal election: One dead in violent clash, nationwide voter turnout at 61%. *The Wire*. <https://thewire.in/south-asia/nepal-election-one-dead-in-violent-clashes-nationwide-voter-turnout-at-61>
- Reilly, B., & Reynolds, A. (2000). Electoral systems and conflict in divided societies. In *International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War* (p. 420). National Academies Press eBooks. <https://doi.org/10.17226/9897>
- Robinson, J. (2015). Voting in fear: Electoral violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41(4), 931–932. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2015.1059205>
- Sivagnanaselvam, D. (2021, November 15). *Electoral bonds are a threat to Indian democracy*. *The Wire*. <https://thewire.in/political-economy/electoral-bonds-are-a-threat-to-indian-democracy>
- Tamang, L. R. (2012, September 10). *Elections in Nepal remain vulnerable to violence*. International IDEA. <https://www.idea.int/news/elections-nepal-remain-vulnerable-violence>
- Taylor, I. (2018). The transfer of power and the colonial legacy. In *Oxford University Press eBooks* (pp. 25–38). <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198806578.003.0003>
- The Carter Center. (2008). Observing the 2008 Nepal Constituent Assembly election. In [www.cartercenter.org](http://www.cartercenter.org). [https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/election\\_reports/FinalReportNepal2008.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/FinalReportNepal2008.pdf)
- The Carter Center. (2013). The Carter Center election report: Observing Nepal's 2013 constituent assembly election. In [www.cartercenter.org](http://www.cartercenter.org). <https://www.cartercenter.org>

[cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/election\\_reports/nepal-2013-final.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/nepal-2013-final.pdf)

The Carter Center. (2014). *Political Transition Monitoring in Nepal, 2009-2014, Final report*. www.cartercenter.org; The Carter Center. [https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/election\\_reports/nepal-2014-final.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/nepal-2014-final.pdf)

The Carter Center. (2017). *Election observation mission Nepal, federal and provincial elections, 2017*. [https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace\\_publications/election\\_reports/nepal-prelim-120817.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/nepal-prelim-120817.pdf)

The Constitution of Nepal. (2015). Nepal Law Commission. In *Fundamental Rights and Duties*. Nepal Gazette. <https://lawcommission.gov.np/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Constitution-of-Nepal.pdf>

The Rising Nepal (Ed.). (2022, September 1). Around 300 thousand security personnel to be mobilised for HOR, PA elections. *The risingnepaldaily.com*. <https://www.risingnepaldaily.com/news/16138>

UNDP Nepal. (2020, January 20). Preventing electoral violence. <https://www.undp.org>. <https://www.undp.org/nepal/news/preventing-electoral-violence>

Venkatesan, V. (2024, February 20). *Supreme Court declaring electoral bonds unconstitutional is a monumental defence of democracy*. Frontline. <https://frontline.thehindu.com/columns/supreme-courts-decision-to-declare-electoral-bonds-unconstitutional-is-a-monumental-defense-of-democracy/article67852053.ece>