

About FAFEN

Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), established in 2006, is a coalition of 35 leading civil society organizations, working to strengthen all forms of democratic accountabilities in Pakistan. Governed by Trust for Democratic Action and Accountability, FAFEN's key achievements are:

- Observed the public display of Pakistan's draft electoral rolls and conducted the country's first statistically-valid voters' list audit in 2007
- Deployed more than 18,829 trained, neutral Election Day observers nationwide to watch the February 18, 2008 polls and 264 long-term observers to monitor the pre-election process
- Fielded long-term observers nationwide and published 19 pre-election reports
- For the February 18, 2008, General Elections, FAFEN conducted 260 simultaneous parallel Vote Tabulations (PVTs)- the largest effort in the world
- Conducted its first survey, Constituents Aspirations Survey, in December 2008 with a sample size of 3,124 respondents to get the description of the state of public opinion and also to get a deeper understanding of the values, attitudes and beliefs of people living in the constituencies
- Conducted mapping of organizations working for human rights within Pakistan
- Observed general elections at Gilgit-Baltistan in 2009 and by-elections in various constituencies of the Punjab, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010
- Implemented a unique methodology to observe parliamentary proceedings under its Parliamentary Watch Project
- Monitors public institutions across Pakistan and issues monthly reports on the state and performance of educational, health and other local level institutions. In addition, monthly reports on prices, crimes, incidence of disease, caseload in lower courts and political and electoral violence are issued.

FAFEN continues to implement robust programs in-between elections related to monitoring parliamentary affairs, connecting constituents to their elected representatives, monitoring the performance of public and elected institutions and advocating electoral and democratic reforms. FAFEN is also monitoring political and electoral violence, peace activities and promoting active citizenry through ongoing civic education activities across the country. FAFEN is currently implementing Democratic Governance Program in 150 National Assembly constituencies in 108 districts across Pakistan.

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FAFEN Violence Monitor



A Report based on Field and Media
Monitoring of Incidents of
Political and Electoral Violence
in Pakistan between
March 1st and May 31st, 2010



Free and Fair Election Network
www.fafen.org

"The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of IFES, The United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government."

Introduction and Methodology

The Political and Electoral Violence Education and Resolution (PEVER) project is one of the projects being implemented as part of the Democratic Governance Program, which monitors and studies political and electoral violence in 150 of the 272 National Assembly constituencies across Pakistan. The goals of the project are to enhance public awareness about the nature of, and reasons for, political and electoral violence, and to support the prevention and resolution of violent conflict.

The methodology and analysis for PEVER research is supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development, through a grant from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. FAFEN's field monitoring presence is supported by The Asia Foundation.

PEVER defines political violence as "any act or threat of violence – be it physical or psychological, explicit or implicit – that is aimed at any person or property involved in the political process." This includes violence that targets state institutions or infrastructure; violence motivated by ethnic, religious, tribal, ideological, or other identities; violence based on organizational or professional affiliation; and violence based on political party affiliation.

Owing to the stereotypical classification of political violence as violent conflict that takes place between political parties and 'power-players', questions may arise in the reader's mind about how certain types of violence mentioned above are political in nature. It may initially confuse some, for example, that PEVER records violence between or within tribes as political violence. The reason this violence is political is that in regions such as Sindh, Balochistan and FATA, the political system is analogous to the tribal system. Similarly, ethnic violence is a representation of the dynamics between different groups in a community, and therefore a representation of the community's politics. Violence perpetrated by or among influential groups such as gangs and mafias is recorded as political violence because such groups are largely interwoven into the political culture in Pakistan.

The key term for all incidents recorded by PEVER as political violence is that they are 'politically motivated'. For example, PEVER records attacks on entertainment or recreation centers, such as video stores and gymnasiums, because they are a militant ideological and political statement.

PEVER defines electoral violence as "any act or threat of violence – be it psychological, explicit, or implicit – that is aimed at any person or property involved in the electoral process." Electoral violence occurs not only on Election Day, but during the pre-election period, during campaigning and other electoral events, and during the post-election period, concluding with the winning candidate taking office.

FAFEN monitors political and electoral violence in three ways: 1) through 300 field monitors in 150 National Assembly constituencies across Pakistan; 2) by analyzing media reports; and 3) by fielding election observation teams. All monitored incidents are reported on standardized

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checklists and entered in the PEVER database.

Field monitoring is conducted by 300 field monitors in project constituencies. These field monitors are trained particularly in tracking and verifying incidents of political violence, which they then report to the FAFEN Secretariat. Field monitoring is conducted through direct observation, information from members of the community (including eyewitnesses and victims), information from members of FAFEN's Constituency Relations Group (CRG), and information from political actors and state officials.

The collection of data by field monitors is particularly important to this project, as field monitors verify information with at least two separate sources, through interviews with victims, eyewitnesses, police or hospital officials, or members of the affected community. FAFEN is not able to verify the accuracy of the media reports, but will be working in the future to verify a sample of reports from areas where FAFEN's monitors are working.

Incidents of electoral violence reported by FAFEN's election observation teams include those that have been directly observed by FAFEN or that have been reported to FAFEN by primary or secondary sources, and so are partially verified.

Media monitoring is conducted by researchers at the FAFEN Secretariat, who scan national and local newspapers daily for incidents of political and electoral violence occurring throughout Pakistan - in project constituencies and non-project constituencies. By-election monitoring by FAFEN covers National Assembly by-elections by deploying trained, neutral staff to observe all stages of polling – opening of polling stations, voting, and counting – and record their findings on standardized checklists. Pre-Election violence monitoring, between the date of announcement of the by-election and Election Day, is conducted through field and media monitoring, as well as through interviews by PEVER researchers with candidates, party workers, law enforcement officials, media representatives and other constituents to gauge the level of implicit and explicit violence occurring therein. FAFEN monitors post-election violence through the same method. Data on Provincial Assembly by-elections is collected through an analysis of media reports. When Provincial Assembly by-elections are held in an area covered by field monitors, field monitors are also tasked to monitor incidents of electoral violence related to that election.

Monitoring of Peace Events

In addition to conducting research about political and electoral violence, PEVER also aims to provide a platform for peacebuilding initiatives. The project regards peace events as indicators of a community's refusal to accept, and willingness or ability to stand against, violent conflict. Any event that promotes reconciliation or peacebuilding at the community level is recorded by PEVER as a peace event. PEVER monitors peace events through both field and media monitoring.

General Statistical Findings

This is the second report issued under the PEVER project. The first report covered the period of October 15, 2009 to February 28, 2010.

Between March 1 and May 31, 2010, PEVER recorded a total of 440 incidents of political violence, four incidents of electoral violence, and 100 peace events in Pakistan. Of these, 525 reports were compiled through media monitoring and were not able to be verified by PEVER personnel, while 19 reports were compiled by constituency-based and election monitors, and were verified through primary sources.

Table 1: Reports from Field and Media

| Region | | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Punjab | Sindh | Total |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Field | Political Violence | 3 | - | - | - | 1 | 8 | 12 |
| | Electoral Violence | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| | Peace Events | - | - | - | - | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Total | | 3 | - | - | - | 6 | 10 | 19 |
| Media | Political Violence | 222 | 22 | 3 | 53 | 11 | 117 | 428 |
| | Electoral Violence | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| | Peace Events | 40 | - | 7 | 5 | 7 | 35 | 94 |
| Total | | 262 | 22 | 10 | 59 | 20 | 152 | 525 |
| Total | | 265 | 22 | 10 | 59 | 26 | 162 | 544 |

Based on its analysis, PEVER has made the following key findings:

- Balochistan had, by far, the highest number of incidents of political violence of all the regions of Pakistan, accounting for more than half of the total reported incidents of political violence in the country. FAFEN noted a significant increase in violence in Balochistan as compared to the previous reporting period - mainly due to substantial surges in attacks on state security forces, terrorism aimed at the general public and ethnic violence.
- The predominant category of political violence in Pakistan was that aimed at state security forces – a total of 105 incidents out of the total 440 targeted state security forces. There were 61 attacks on political parties, primarily in Sindh, where the number of reported attacks doubled as compared to the previous reporting period.
- FAFEN estimates a total of 2,606 victims of violence (including 894 who were killed) - the most frequent victims being members of the community, followed by state security forces and persons affiliated with political parties. The vast majority of the victims were reported to have been men.
- Perpetrators were unidentified in 318 out of the 440 reported incidents of political violence. Militants were reported as perpetrators in 65 incidents, followed by political party affiliated persons, tribal groups and others.
- Twelve out of the 20 most violent districts were in Balochistan, although the Sindh capital of Karachi was the district with the highest number of incidents of political violence.
- Of the 11 by-elections that took place in Pakistan during this reporting period, electoral violence occurred in four – NA-167 Vehari-I, NA-178 Muzaffargarh-III, PP-259 Muzaffargarh-IX, and PP-63 Faisalabad-XIII.
- FAFEN estimates that 17 people fell victim to electoral violence, including one reported death. The victims were all reported to be political party affiliated persons. Perpetrators of electoral violence were also largely reported to be political party affiliated persons.
- The average monthly number of peace events for this reporting period has declined from 120 to 33 as compared to the previous reporting period.



- The highest number of peace events occurred in the province with the highest number of incidents of political violence was– Balochistan. Generally, more peace events were reported to have occurred in the more violent regions.

Political Violence by Region

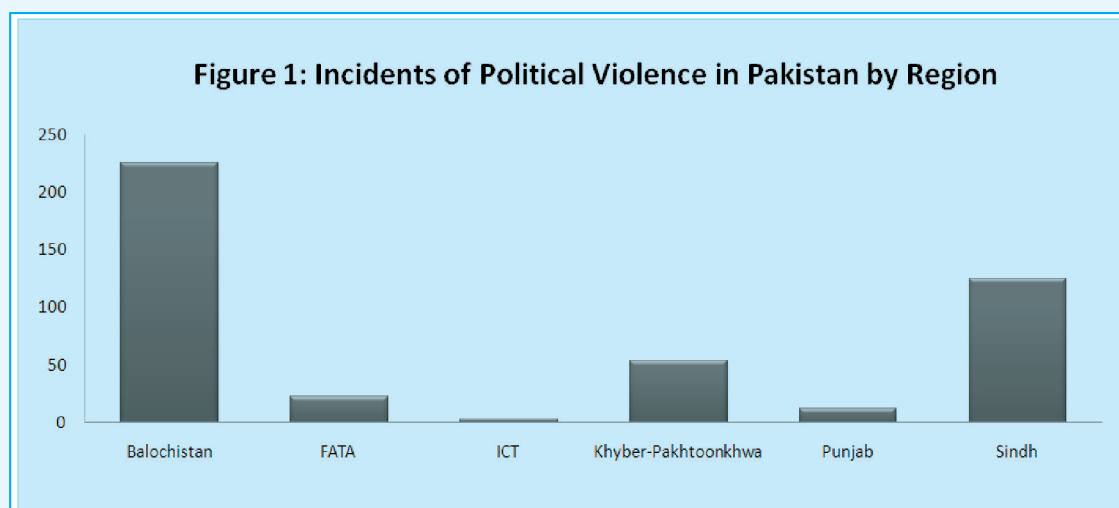
Of the total 440 incidents of political violence that PEVER recorded across Pakistan during this period, 428 were reported in the media and 12 were reported by field monitors. The highest number of incidents was reported to have occurred in Balochistan (225). This was followed by Sindh (125), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (53), FATA (22), Punjab (12), and the ICT (3). No incident of political violence was reported in Gilgit-Baltistan.

Table 2: Number of Incidents of Political Violence in Each Region

| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Incidents |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. | Balochistan | 225 |
| 2. | Sindh | 125 |
| 3. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 53 |
| 4. | FATA | 22 |
| 5. | Punjab | 12 |
| 6. | ICT | 3 |
| 7. | Gilgit-Baltistan | - |
| Total | | 440 |

The province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was the most violent region during the previous reporting period (the First Reporting Period between October 15, 2009 and February 28, 2010). However, during the current reporting period, the frequency of reported incidents decreased considerably, mainly due to sharp declines in both terrorism¹ and attacks on state security forces in this insurgency-hit province. This does not mean that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was any less dangerous in this reporting period; in fact, despite the decrease in the number of incidents, more people fell victim to political violence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa during this reporting period than in any other region, and the casualty rates per incident of political violence increased as compared to the previous reporting period.

Violent incidents in Balochistan, on the other hand, increased quite significantly – mainly due to substantial surges in attacks on state security forces, terrorism aimed at the general public and ethnic violence² – bringing the province to the top of the list of most violence-prone regions. Sindh was also much more violent during this reporting period than in the previous one, rising to second place in the list, due to growing violence targeting political parties, mainly in the city of Karachi.



¹ Politically motivated acts of violence that are aimed at noncombatants for the purpose of creating fear, terrorism and panic among the general populace are recorded by PEVER as acts of terrorism.

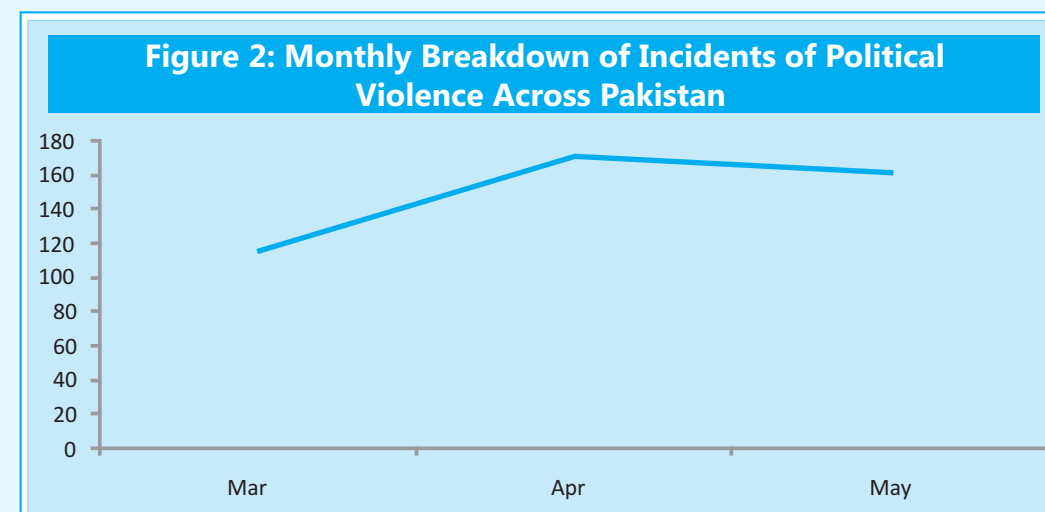
² PEVER records ethnic violence as political violence because it is a representation of the dynamics between different groups in a community, and therefore a representation of the community's politics.

The number of incidents recorded overall in the country increased sharply between March and April, going from 111 in March to 168 in April, and then lessening only slightly to 161 in May.

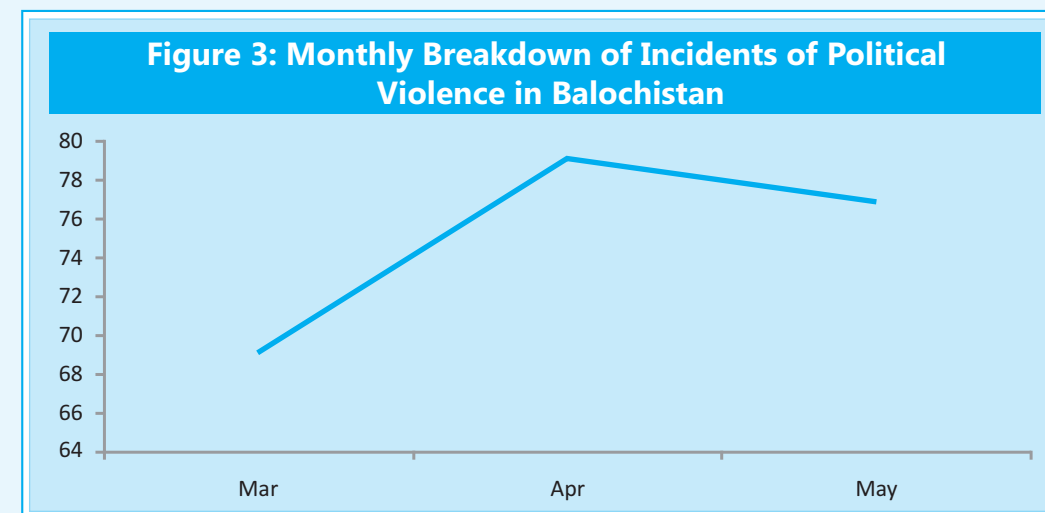
Table 3: Monthly Breakdown of Incidents of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Months | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | KP | Punjab | Sindh | Total |
|--------------|--------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1. | March | 69 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 5 | 23 | 111 |
| 2. | April | 79 | 14 | 2 | 25 | 3 | 45 | 168 |
| 3. | May | 77 | 6 | - | 17 | 4 | 57 | 161 |
| Total | | 225 | 22 | 3 | 53 | 12 | 125 | 440 |

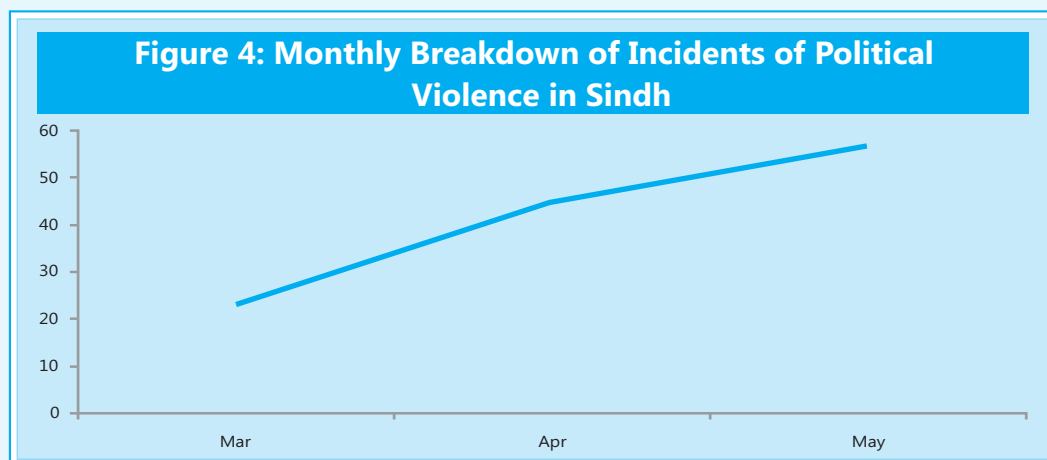
On average, PEVER recorded about 147 incidents of political violence per month across the country. During the previous reporting period, PEVER had recorded an average of almost 82 incidents per month. The frequency of incidents of political violence was therefore significantly higher – nearly 80 percent higher, in fact – during this reporting period as compared to the previous one. This massive increase was due to very large increases in frequency of incidents in the provinces of Balochistan and Sindh.



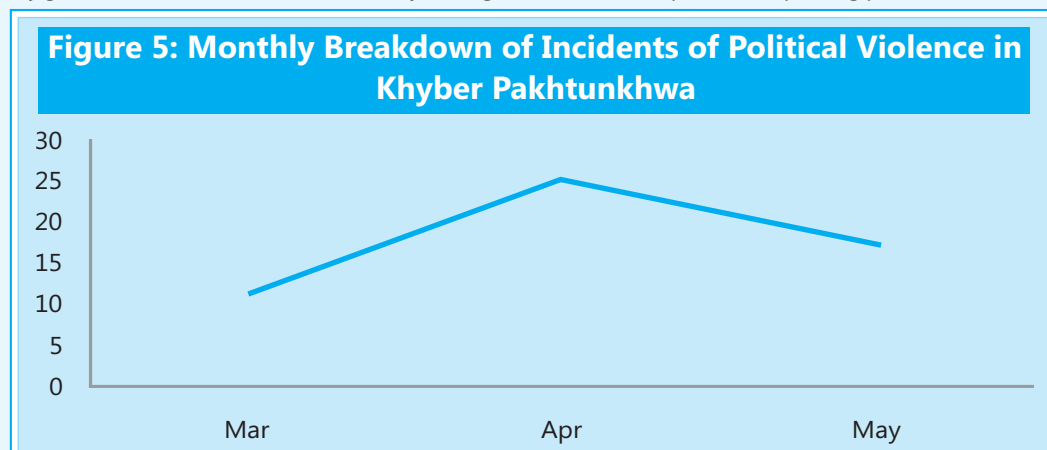
In Balochistan, the number of reported incidents increased from 69 reported in March to 79 reported in April and wavered only slightly to 77 in May. The monthly average of incidents was 75 incidents per month, which was much higher than the average of 25 incidents per month recorded in the previous reporting period.



The number of reported incidents of political violence in Sindh increased quite steadily between March and April. It was 23 in March, then nearly doubled to 45 in April, and then increased to 57 in May. Sindh had a monthly average of about 42 incidents per month, a sizeable increase from the 20-incident monthly average recorded in the previous reporting period.



Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, like FATA, experienced a significant surge in reported incidents per month between March and April, going from 11 incidents reported in March to 25 reported in April. The number decreased to 17 in May. The monthly average of incidents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa between March and April 2010 was about 18 incidents per month, which was significantly greater than the 25-incident monthly average recorded in the previous reporting period.



FATA experienced a very sharp increase from two incidents in March to 14 in April. The number dipped to six incidents in May. The region's monthly average was about seven reported incidents per month – not much of a variation from the six-incident monthly average recorded in the previous reporting period.

The ICT maintained a very low average of incidents per month, comparatively – just one reported incident per month. One incident was recorded in March 2010 and two in April. No incident was recorded in May. The monthly average of incidents in the ICT during this reporting period was not much different from that recorded in the previous reporting period.

Punjab maintained a comparatively low average of reported incidents per month as well, although not as low as the ICT. Punjab averaged around four incidents per month, which was the same monthly average during the previous reporting period. Five incidents were recorded in March, then three in April, and four in May.

Categories of Political Violence

The predominant category of political violence in Pakistan was that aimed at state security forces – a total of 105 incidents targeted state security forces. Other major categories of political violence included terrorist attacks aimed at the general public, attacks on political parties, ethnic violence, tribal violence³, and attacks on education facilities and personnel. See Table 4 for the full list of categories of political violence that occurred during this reporting period.

³ PEVER records violence between or within tribes as political violence because in many regions, such as Sindh, Balochistan and FATA, the political system is analogous to the tribal system.

Attacks on state security forces, ethnic violence, and attacks on political parties increased the most in terms of frequency as compared with the previous reporting period. Despite a decline in attacks on state security forces in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the overall frequency of such attacks increased due to an intense surge in Balochistan. The frequency of ethnic violence increased in both Balochistan and Sindh. Attacks on political parties increased so substantially because they nearly doubled in Sindh as compared to the previous reporting period.

Table 4: Categories of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Category of Violence | No. of Incidents |
|---------|---|------------------|
| 1. | Attacks on State Security Forces | 105 |
| 2. | Terrorism Aimed at General Public | 62 |
| 3. | Attacks on Political Parties | 61 |
| 4. | Ethnic Violence | 49 |
| 5. | Tribal Violence | 31 |
| 6. | Attacks on Education Facilities/Personnel | 30 |
| 7. | Religious/Sectarian Violence | 18 |
| 8. | Target Killings ⁴ | 15 |
| 9. | Attacks on Government Actors | 13 |
| 10. | Attacks on State Infrastructure | 13 |
| 11. | Clashes Between Political Parties | 13 |
| 12. | Attacks on NATO Supply Vehicles | 10 |
| 13. | Clashes Between Police and Violent Protestors | 5 |
| 14. | Group Clashes ⁵ | 5 |
| 15. | Attacks on NGOs/CBOs | 3 |
| 16. | Police violence ⁶ | 3 |
| 17. | Violent Protest | 3 |
| 18. | Attacks on Foreign Actors | 1 |
| | Total | 440 |

Region-wise, the highest number of reported attacks on state security forces was 65, which occurred in Balochistan. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported only 16 attacks in comparison, and Sindh 14. Elsewhere in Pakistan, state security forces were targeted in FATA (eight incidents) and Punjab (two incidents). No attacks on state security forces were reported to have occurred in Gilgit-Baltistan or the ICT.

The highest reported number of attacks on political parties occurred in Sindh. Sindh's 49 incidents targeting political parties were much, much higher than the numbers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (seven incidents) and Balochistan (five incidents) – the only other provinces where such attacks were recorded.

Balochistan recorded the highest number of terrorist attacks by far – a mammoth 54 as compared to five incidents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and one each in FATA, Punjab and Sindh. No terrorist attacks were recorded in Gilgit-Baltistan or the ICT.

Balochistan also recorded the highest number of incidents of ethnic violence – 37 incidents. The only other regions where ethnic violence was reported were Sindh (10 incidents) and Punjab (two incidents). In the previous reporting period, Balochistan was the only province where ethnic violence was reported, but the number of incidents was much lower.

Sindh and Balochistan were roughly level in terms of the reported number of incidents of tribal violence in each province – 12 and 11 incidents respectively. Two incidents of tribal violence were also recorded in FATA. No other region in the country reported any incidents of tribal violence.

The number of attacks on education facilities and personnel in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was 10, the highest reported number of such attacks in the country. Other regions where such attacks were recorded were FATA (four incidents) and the ICT (two incidents).

Nine incidents of target killings were reported in Sindh between March and May 2010, the highest number in all the

⁴ Target killings are politically motivated attacks on community members who may have no overt or official political affiliation.

⁵ PEVER records violence perpetrated by or among influential groups such as gangs and mafias because such groups are largely interwoven into the political culture in Pakistan.

⁶ Politically motivated violence perpetrated by police is referred to in this report as 'police violence'; the term must not be taken to include legitimate actions of police, nor crimes committed by police without political motivation.



provinces. Five incidents of target killings were also reported in Balochistan and one was reported in FATA. No target killings occurred elsewhere in the country.

Clashes between political parties were also highest in Sindh, where 12 such clashes were recorded. The only other clash was recorded in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The highest number of attacks on state infrastructure occurred in Balochistan, where nine such incidents were recorded. Three incidents were recorded in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The highest number of attacks on government actors (11) also occurred in Balochistan. One incident each was recorded in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh.

Of the 10 reported attacks on NATO supply vehicles that occurred during the reporting period, eight occurred in Balochistan, one in FATA, and one in Punjab. No such attacks occurred elsewhere in the country.

Two clashes between police and violent protestors occurred in Punjab. One incident each was recorded in the ICT, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh. Three group clashes occurred in Sindh, and one each occurred in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Two incidents of police violence occurred in Sindh and one in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Two violent protests took place in Sindh and one in Punjab. One attack on an NGO (non-governmental organization) or CBO (community-based organization) was recorded in each of the provinces of Balochistan, FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. An attack on a foreign actor was recorded in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Table 5: Categories of Political Violence in Each Region

| Sr. No. | Category of Violence | No. of Incidents | | | | | | Total |
|--------------|---|------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|
| | | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | KP | Punjab | Sindh | |
| 1. | Attacks on State Security Forces | 65 | 8 | - | 16 | 2 | 14 | 105 |
| 2. | Attacks on Political Parties | 5 | - | - | 7 | - | 49 | 61 |
| 3. | Terrorism Aimed at General Public | 54 | 1 | - | 5 | 1 | 1 | 62 |
| 4. | Ethnic Violence | 37 | - | - | - | 2 | 10 | 49 |
| 5. | Tribal Violence | 11 | 2 | - | 6 | - | 12 | 31 |
| 6. | Attacks on Education Facilities/Personnel | 14 | 4 | 2 | 10 | - | - | 30 |
| 7. | Religious/Sectarian Violence | 4 | 3 | - | - | 2 | 9 | 18 |
| 8. | Target Killings | 5 | 1 | - | - | - | 9 | 15 |
| 9. | Clashes Between Political parties | - | - | - | - | 1 | 12 | 13 |
| 10. | Attacks on State Infrastructure | 9 | 1 | - | 3 | - | - | 13 |
| 11. | Attacks on Government Actors | 11 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 13 |
| 12. | Attacks on NATO Supply Vehicles | 8 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | 10 |
| 13. | Clashes Between Police and Violent Protestors | - | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 14. | Group Clashes | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | 3 | 5 |
| 15. | Police Violence | - | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | 3 |
| 16. | Violent Protests | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 17. | Attacks on NGOs/CBOs | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 3 |
| 18. | Attacks on Foreign Actors | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Total | | 225 | 22 | 3 | 53 | 12 | 125 | 440 |

Victims of Political Violence

Of the 440 incidents of political violence recorded between March and May 2010, 351 involved human victims⁷ and 143 involved damage or destruction of property. In 15 incidents, no loss was reported, of either life or property.

The highest reported number of incidents with human victims was 165 in Balochistan, followed by 120 in Sindh, 38 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 15 in FATA, 12 in Punjab, and one in the ICT.

Eighty-one reported incidents in Balochistan involved damage or destruction of property, followed by 28 incidents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 12 in Sindh, 10 in FATA, nine in Punjab, and three in the ICT.

Of the incidents of political violence reported where there was no loss in terms of either life or property, 13 were in Balochistan and two were in Sindh.

Table 6: Human and Property Loss in Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Incidents | | |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|------------|-----------|
| | | People | Property | No damage |
| 1. | Balochistan | 165 | 81 | 13 |
| 2. | FATA | 15 | 10 | - |
| 3. | ICT | 1 | 3 | - |
| 4. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 38 | 28 | - |
| 5. | Punjab | 12 | 9 | - |
| 6. | Sindh | 120 | 12 | 2 |
| Total | | 351 | 143 | 15 |

The most frequent human victims of political violence were reported to have been community members, featuring in 169 incidents. State security forces were the second most frequent victims of political violence (96 incidents), followed by political party affiliated persons (69 incidents).

Among incidents where property was damaged or destroyed, the larger proportion of incidents involved government or state-owned property.

See Table 7 for the full list of types of victims of, and damage caused by, political violence.

Table 7: Types of Victims/Damage in Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Type of Victim/Damage | No. of Incidents | | | | | | Total |
|---------|------------------------------------|------------------|------|-----|----|--------|-------|-------|
| | | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | KP | Punjab | Sindh | |
| 1. | Community Members | 100 | 5 | 2 | 21 | 6 | 35 | 169 |
| 2. | State Security Forces | 49 | 7 | 1 | 18 | 5 | 16 | 96 |
| 3. | Political Party Affiliated Persons | 5 | - | - | 5 | - | 59 | 69 |
| 4. | Government Property | 39 | 4 | 2 | 17 | 2 | 1 | 65 |
| 5. | Private Property | 30 | 4 | - | 10 | 5 | 5 | 54 |
| 6. | Government Actors | 15 | 1 | - | 1 | 3 | 1 | 21 |
| 7. | Tribal Group | 4 | 1 | - | 3 | - | 12 | 20 |
| 8. | Religious/Sectarian Group | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 9 | 11 |
| 9. | Business Owners | 9 | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | 12 |
| 10. | Militants | 1 | 1 | - | 10 | - | - | 12 |
| 11. | Minority Group | 4 | - | - | - | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| 12. | Civil Society Organization | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| 13. | Media Representative | 1 | - | - | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| 14. | Professional Association | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| 15. | Gang/Mafia | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| 16. | No victim/damage | 11 | - | - | - | - | 2 | 13 |

⁷ The term 'victim' includes persons killed, injured or kidnapped in acts of political violence. Victims are also those who are threatened or intimidated, however, the media usually does not report on such types of violence.

Among victims whose political party affiliations were identified, the highest number of incidents (18) were reported to have involved victims being affiliated with the Awami National Party (ANP). This was followed by 11 incidents in which the victims were affiliated with the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), 10 each in which the victims were affiliated with the Muhajir Qaumi Movement Haqiqi (MQM-H) and the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPP), four incidents in which the victims were affiliated with the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), and two incidents each in which the victims were affiliated with the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), the Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q), and the Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB). One incident each involved victims affiliated with the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), the Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML-F), and the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI).

One sectarian organization and two student political organizations also reportedly saw their members fall victim to political violence. In tribal violence, people from a total of 20 tribes were reported as victims. Members of three militant organizations were also reported killed or injured in political violence, in suicide bombings or failed attacks. See Table 8 for further details.

Table 8: Known Affiliations of Victims of Political Violence

| Organization | No. of Incidents | | | | | | |
|--|------------------|------|-----|--------------------|--------|-------|-----------|
| | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Punjab | Sindh | Total |
| Political Parties | | | | | | | |
| Awami National Party | - | - | - | 16 | - | 2 | 18 |
| Muttahida Qaumi Movement | - | - | - | - | - | 11 | 11 |
| Muhajir Qaumi Movement Haqiqi | - | - | - | - | - | 10 | 10 |
| Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians | 2 | - | - | - | - | 8 | 10 |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | - | - | - | 1 | - | 3 | 4 |
| Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Pakistan Democratic Party | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Pakistan Muslim League Functional | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Pakistan Tehreek -e-Insaf | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Religious/Sectarian Organizations | | | | | | | |
| Sunni Tehreek | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Student Political Organizations | | | | | | | |
| All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Pakhtoon Students Federation | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Tribal Groups | | | | | | | |
| Jatoi | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 3 |
| Bugti | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Solangi | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 |
| Bangalzai | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Imrani | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Jakhrani | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Kalhor | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Khosa | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Kosh | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

| Organization | No. of Incidents | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------|-----|--------------------|--------|-------|----------|
| | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Punjab | Sindh | Total |
| Political Parties | | | | | | | |
| Kunrani | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Lashari | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Machi | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Maghazi | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Mangeejo | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Mengal | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Mirani | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Ogahi | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Shar | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Turi | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Wagan | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Militant Organizations | | | | | | | |
| Tehreek -e-Taliban Pakistan | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Balochistan Republican Army | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Sipah-e-Sahaba | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |

While the exact number of victims may vary, PEVER estimates a total of 2,606 human victims of political violence in 440 incidents across the country between March and May 2010. During the previous reporting period, on average, around 691 people were killed, injured or kidnapped in incidents of political violence each month. The figure stands at 869 victims per month for this reporting quarter.

The region where the most people were harmed was Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where 796 victims were recorded. This was closely followed by Punjab with 729 victims. About 622 victims were recorded in Balochistan, 333 in Sindh, 105 in FATA, and 21 in the ICT.

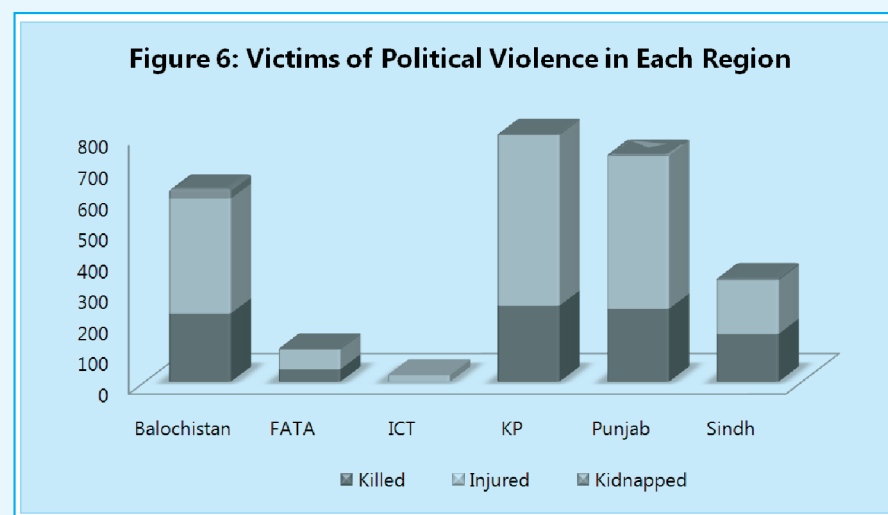
Table 9: Estimated Number of Victims of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | Killed | Injured | Kidnapped | Total |
|---------|--------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 245 | 550 | 1 | 796 |
| 2. | Punjab | 235 | 494 | - | 729 |
| 3. | Balochistan | 220 | 370 | 32 | 622 |
| 4. | Sindh | 154 | 173 | 6 | 333 |
| 5. | FATA | 40 | 64 | 1 | 105 |
| 6. | ICT | - | 21 | - | 21 |
| | Total | 894 | 1,672 | 40 | 2,606 |

Of the estimated 2,606 victims of political violence, 894 were reported killed and 1,672 were injured, while 40 were kidnapped. The highest number of deaths occurred in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (245), closely followed by Punjab (235) and Balochistan (220). In Sindh, 154 deaths were recorded and in FATA, 40. No deaths were reported in the ICT.

The highest number of injuries also were reported to have occurred in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (550), followed by 494 in Punjab, 370 in Balochistan, 173 in Sindh, 64 in FATA, and 21 in the ICT.

The highest number of reported kidnappings occurred in Balochistan, where 32 people were kidnapped. Six people were kidnapped in Sindh, and one each in FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. No kidnappings were reported in Punjab or the ICT.



The casualty rate⁸ was reported at around 5.92 victims per incident, a decrease from the 8.45 recorded in the previous reporting period. The highest number of casualties per incident occurred in Punjab, where 729 victims resulted from 12 incidents, with a staggeringly high casualty ratio of 60.75. This was followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with a casualty rate of 15.02 victims per incident. Interestingly, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were among the provinces with the lowest number of incidents during this reporting period. Incidents of political violence in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were mostly aimed at large groups of people, and even if attacks targeted individuals or small groups, they were executed with more precision than in other provinces, resulting in a higher number of casualties per attack.

The casualty rate of political violence in the ICT was 7.00 victims per incident, followed by FATA with 4.77, Balochistan with 2.76, and Sindh with 2.66. Although Balochistan and Sindh were the provinces with the highest number of incidents, political violence in both provinces had a much lower casualty rates than other regions. For Balochistan, this is largely due to the fact that many incidents of political violence in Balochistan were aimed at property, especially state infrastructure and education facilities; and the ones that did target people mostly targeted individuals or small groups of people. In Sindh, most of the attacks against people also targeted individuals or very small groups, and there was only one terrorist attack aimed at the general public.

Punjab had among the lowest number of incidents, but casualty rates there were the highest because most of the violence in Punjab targeted very large groups of people, or was in the form of clashes between very large groups of people.

Table 10: Lethality of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Incidents | Total No. of Victims | Ratio of Victims to Incidents |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | Punjab | 12 | 729 | 60.75 |
| 2. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 53 | 796 | 15.02 |
| 3. | ICT | 3 | 21 | 7.00 |
| 4. | FATA | 22 | 105 | 4.77 |
| 5. | Balochistan | 225 | 622 | 2.76 |
| 6. | Sindh | 125 | 333 | 2.66 |
| Total | | 440 | 2,606 | 5.92 |

Victims of political violence were predominantly male. In approximately 71 percent of the total number of incidents of political violence in the country, the victims were reported as exclusively male. In five percent of all incidents, the victims were known to be of both genders. In only about one percent of the total number of incidents (five out of 440), the victims were identified as exclusively female. In about 23 percent of all incidents, the victims' genders could not be determined.

Exclusively female victims occurred in only five reported incidents, all of which were in Balochistan. The highest number of incidents in which both males and females were hurt or killed was six in Punjab, followed by five in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, four in Balochistan, and two in FATA.

⁸ Determined by the number of victims (killed, wounded, kidnapped or otherwise targeted) per incident.

Table 11: Gender Breakdown of Total Victims of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Incidents | | | | Total |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| | | Male and Female | Only Male | Only Female | Unable to Determine | |
| 1. | Balochistan | 4 | 153 | 5 | 63 | 225 |
| 2. | FATA | 2 | 12 | - | 8 | 22 |
| 3. | ICT | - | 1 | - | 2 | 3 |
| 4. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 5 | 30 | - | 18 | 53 |
| 5. | Punjab | 6 | 2 | - | 4 | 12 |
| 6. | Sindh | 5 | 115 | - | 5 | 125 |
| Total | | 22 | 313 | 5 | 100 | 440 |

Of the 894 people who died in incidents of reported political violence in Pakistan between March and May 2010, 533 were reported as male and only one was reported as female. As many as 298 victims killed included both male and female victims but their respective proportions could not be determined. The genders of 62 dead victims could not be determined at all.

Table 12: Gender Breakdown of Victims Killed in Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | Male | Female | Both (Undifferentiated) | Unable to Determine | Total |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|----------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1. | Balochistan | 196 | 1 | 15 | 8 | 220 |
| 2. | FATA | 31 | - | 4 | 5 | 40 |
| 3. | ICT | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 165 | - | 32 | 48 | 245 |
| 5. | Punjab | 4 | - | 230 | 1 | 235 |
| 6. | Sindh | 137 | - | 17 | - | 154 |
| Total | | 533 | 1 | 298 | 62 | 894 |

Of the 1,672 people who were reported injured in incidents of political violence in Pakistan between March and May 2010, 946 were reported as male and only seven were reported as female. As many as 596 injured victims included both male and female victims but their respective proportions could not be determined. The genders of 123 injured victims could not be determined at all.

Table 13: Gender Breakdown of Victims Injured in Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | Male | Female | Both (Undifferentiated) | Unable to Determine | Total |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|----------|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| 1. | Balochistan | 304 | 7 | 55 | 4 | 370 |
| 2. | FATA | 50 | - | 2 | 12 | 64 |
| 3. | ICT | 21 | - | - | - | 21 |
| 4. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 405 | - | 57 | 88 | 550 |
| 5. | Punjab | 5 | - | 470 | 19 | 494 |
| 6. | Sindh | 161 | - | 12 | - | 173 |
| Total | | 946 | 7 | 596 | 123 | 1,672 |

All 40 of the people who were kidnapped in incidents of political violence in Pakistan between March and May 2010 were reported to have been male.

Table 14: Gender Breakdown of Victims Kidnapped in Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | Male | Female | Both (Undifferentiated) | Unable to Determine | Total |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------|----------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1. | Balochistan | 32 | - | - | - | 32 |
| 2. | FATA | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. | ICT | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 5. | Punjab | - | - | - | - | - |
| 6. | Sindh | 6 | - | - | - | 6 |
| Total | | 39 | - | - | - | 40 |

The highest number of victims was recorded in April. The number of victims in March was 742, then rose to 974 in April, and fell to 890 in May. The reported monthly numbers of deaths and injuries followed this same pattern. But kidnappings increased steadily from March to April, going from three in March to 15 in April to 22 in May.

Table 15: Monthly Breakdown of Victims of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Month | No. of Victims | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| | | Killed | Injured | Kidnapped | Total |
| 1. | March | 204 | 535 | 3 | 742 |
| 2. | April | 349 | 610 | 15 | 974 |
| 3. | May | 341 | 527 | 22 | 890 |
| Total | | 894 | 1,672 | 40 | 2,606 |

Perpetrators and Tactics of Political Violence

Given that the identities, affiliations and numbers of perpetrators of political violence mostly remain undetermined, it is not possible to make a reasonable estimate of how many people perpetrated acts of political violence in Pakistan, or in each region. Perpetrators were reported as unidentified in 318 incidents out of the total 440 incidents of political violence – approximately 72 percent of the total. The highest number of “faceless” violent acts was 197 in Balochistan, followed by 84 in Sindh, 28 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, five in FATA, two in ICT, and one in Punjab.

In 65 incidents, the perpetrators were reported to have been militants. The highest number of militant-perpetrated acts of political violence was 22 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, closely followed by 21 in Balochistan. Militants perpetrated 16 acts of political violence in FATA, five in Sindh and one in FATA.

Political party leaders, workers and supporters were reported to have perpetrated violence in a total of 24 incidents. Eighteen of these occurred in Sindh, five in Punjab and one in Balochistan.

Tribal groups perpetrated violence in 15 incidents, 11 of which took place in Sindh, three in Balochistan and one in FATA.

Community members perpetrated violence reportedly in 12 incidents – four in Sindh, two each in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa, and one in the ICT.

Eight acts of political violence were reported to have been perpetrated by state security forces – three in Sindh, two each in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab, and one in the ICT.

See Table 16 for the full list of types of perpetrators of political violence in each region.

Table 16: Types of Perpetrators of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Perpetrator | No. of Incidents | | | | | | Total |
|---------|------------------------------------|------------------|------|-----|----|--------|-------|-------|
| | | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | KP | Punjab | Sindh | |
| 1. | Unable to Determine | 197 | 5 | 2 | 29 | 1 | 84 | 318 |
| 2. | Militants | 21 | 16 | - | 22 | 5 | 1 | 65 |
| 3. | Political Party Affiliated Persons | 1 | - | - | - | 5 | 18 | 24 |
| 4. | Tribal Group | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | 11 | 15 |
| 5. | Community Members | 3 | - | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 12 |
| 6. | State Security Forces | - | - | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| 7. | Gang/Mafia | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | 5 |
| 8. | Religious/Sectarian Group | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. | Business Owner | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 10. | Minority Group | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| 11. | Professional Association | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |

Among militant groups who were reportedly identified as perpetrators of political violence, the most frequent perpetrator was the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), featuring in 12 incidents. Violence was perpetrated by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in eight incidents, by the Baloch Republican Army in three incidents, and the Balochistan Liberation Front in two incidents. In one incident each, violence was perpetrated by Lashkar-e-Balochistan and Ghairatmand Baloch – a recently emerged militant group.

Of perpetrators whose political party affiliations were identified, the most frequent were reportedly those affiliated with the MQM, who featured as perpetrators in seven incidents. Perpetrators were affiliated with the PPP in five incidents, with the ANP in four, and with the Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaaz (JSQM) and PPP-SB in two incidents each. In one incident each, perpetrators were affiliated with the Awami Tehreek Balochistan (ATB), Balochistan National Party (BNP), JI, PML-N, Sindh Taraqqi Pasand (STP) and Sindh United Party (SUP). It is worth noting that six of the 11 political parties mentioned above show ethno-nationalist leanings.

Members of two sectarian/religious organizations, two student political organizations, and 21 tribal groups also perpetrated violence. See Table 17 for further details.

Table 17: Known Affiliations of Perpetrators of Political Violence

| Organization | No. of Incidents | | | | | | Total |
|--|------------------|------|-----|--------------------|--------|-------|-------|
| | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Punjab | Sindh | |
| Militant Organizations | | | | | | | |
| Balochistan Liberation Army | 12 | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan | - | 4 | - | 3 | 1 | - | 8 |
| Baloch Republican Army | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Balochistan Liberation Front | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Ghairatmand Baloch | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Lashkar-e-Balochistan | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Political Parties | | | | | | | |
| Muttahida Qaumi Movement | - | - | - | - | - | 7 | 7 |
| Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Awami National Party | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaaz | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Pakistan People's Party Shaheed Bhutto | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Awami Tehreek | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Balochistan National Party | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Sindh Taraqqi Pasand Party | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Sindh United Party | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Religious/Sectarian Organizations | | | | | | | |
| Ahl-e-Sunnat wal-Jamaat | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Fiqah Jafria | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Student Political Organizations | | | | | | | |
| All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Pakhtoon Students Federation | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Tribal Groups | | | | | | | |
| Jatoi | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 3 |
| Kosh | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 |
| Bangalzai | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Bugti | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Chandio | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Dhedi | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Jakhrani | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Junejo | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Khosa | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Kolachi | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Lashari | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |



| Organization | No. of Incidents | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------|------|-----|--------------------|--------|-------|----------|
| | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Punjab | Sindh | Total |
| Tribal Groups | | | | | | | |
| Machi | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Mangeejo | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Mengal | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Mirani | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Ogahi | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Shar | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Solangi | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Teghani | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Turi | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Wagan | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |

The predominant tactics of political violence were reportedly gunfire and incendiary device. In 234 incidents, gunfire was used as a tactic; and in 165 incidents, incendiary devices were used.

The use of gunfire was reportedly most frequent in Sindh, where it was employed in 118 incidents, followed by 86 incidents in Balochistan, 17 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, nine in FATA, three in Punjab, and one in the ICT.

Balochistan had by far the highest number of reported incidents (112) in which the use of incendiary devices was a tactic of political violence. Incendiary devices were also used in 25 incidents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 15 in FATA, seven in Punjab, four in Sindh and two in the ICT.

Other tactics of political violence in the country included stones and bricks, used in 19 incidents, arson and suicide bombing in 13 incidents each, physical means in 11 incidents, and sharp objects in four incidents. In two incidents each, acid and threats of violence were used as tactics, and in one incident, blunt objects were employed. In 19 incidents, the tactic of violence could not be determined. Most of these incidents were in Balochistan, which also had the highest number of unidentified perpetrators.

Stones and bricks were employed most in Sindh, in 13 incidents. The highest number of suicide bombings occurred in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in ten incidents. The highest number of incidents in which the perpetrator committed arson was six in Balochistan. See Table 18 for further details.

Table 18: Methods/Tactics of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Tactic of Violence | No. of Incidents | | | | | | Total |
|---------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----|----|--------|-------|------------|
| | | Balochistan | FATA | ICT | KP | Punjab | Sindh | |
| 1. | Gunfire | 86 | 9 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 118 | 234 |
| 2. | Incendiary Device | 112 | 15 | 2 | 25 | 7 | 4 | 165 |
| 3. | Unable to Determine | 21 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 22 |
| 4. | Stones/Bricks | 1 | - | 1 | - | 4 | 13 | 19 |
| 5. | Arson | 6 | 1 | - | 3 | 2 | 1 | 13 |
| 6. | Suicide Bombing | - | 1 | - | 10 | 2 | - | 13 |
| 7. | Physical Means | 1 | - | - | 2 | 3 | 5 | 11 |
| 8. | Sharp Objects | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 9. | Acid | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 10. | Threat of Violence | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 11. | Blunt Objects | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |

Gunfire and incendiary devices were most employed by perpetrators whose identities could not be determined. Militants favoured the use of incendiary devices and suicide bombing, while political party affiliated persons mostly used gunfire. See Table 19.

Table 19: Methods/Tactics of Political Violence for Each Perpetrator

| Tactic of Violence | No. of Incidents | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| | Business Owners | Community Members | Minority Group | Militants | Political party Affiliated Persons | Professional Association | Religious/Sectarian Group | State Security Forces | Tribal Group | Gang/Mafia | Unable to Determine |
| Gunfire | 1 | 8 | - | 27 | 18 | - | 4 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 161 |
| Incendiary Device | - | 2 | 2 | 33 | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 129 |
| Unable to Determine | - | 1 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 16 |
| Suicide Bombing | - | - | - | 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Arson | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 9 |
| Blunt Objects | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Threat of Violence | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Acid | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Physical Means | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | 5 | 1 | - | 4 | - | - | 1 |
| Sharp Objects | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Stones/Bricks | 1 | 5 | 2 | - | 10 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | | 9 | | 66 | 19 | | 4 | 7 | 15 | 4 | 322 |

Attacks on state security forces, ethnic violence, attacks on government actors, and attacks on NGOs/CBOs were reportedly perpetrated using mostly gunfire and incendiary devices. Attacks on state security forces and ethnic violence were the only categories in which both of these tactics were used simultaneously.

Attacks on political parties, tribal violence, religious/sectarian violence, target killings, clashes between political parties, and clashes between police and violent protestors and other group clashes mostly involved gunfire.

Terrorism aimed at the general public, attacks on educational facilities/personnel, attacks on state infrastructure, and attacks on NATO supply vehicles were largely perpetrated using incendiary devices.

Police violence mainly involved the use of blunt objects and gunfire.

Of all suicide bombings, seven of them targeted state security forces.

See Table 20 for further details of tactics used in each category of political violence.

Table 20: Tactics Used in Each Category of Political Violence

| Categories | No. of Incidents | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | Acid | Arson | Blunt Objects | Gunfire | Incendiary Device | Physical Means | Sharp Objects | Stones/Bricks | Suicide Bombing | Threat of Violence | Unable to Determine |
| Attacks on State Security Forces | - | 1 | - | 48 | 47 | - | - | - | 8 | - | 7 |
| Terrorism Aimed at General Public | 2 | 1 | - | 7 | 49 | - | - | - | 2 | - | 3 |
| Attacks on Political Parties | - | 1 | - | 55 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | - | - |
| Ethnic Violence | - | - | - | 31 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 4 | - | - | 6 |
| Tribal Violence | - | - | - | 23 | 6 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Attacks on Education Facilities/Personnel | - | 1 | - | 9 | 18 | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | - |
| Religious/Sectarian Violence | - | 1 | - | 14 | 4 | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| Target Killings | - | - | - | 14 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Attacks on Government Actors | - | 1 | - | 5 | 4 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Attacks on State Infrastructure | - | 2 | - | 1 | 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Clashes Between Political Parties | - | 1 | - | 11 | - | 2 | - | 4 | - | - | - |
| Attacks on NATO Supply Vehicles | - | 4 | - | 2 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Clashes Between Police and Violent Protestors | - | - | - | 4 | 1 | - | 1 | 4 | - | - | - |
| Group Clashes | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Attacks on NGOs/CBOs | - | - | - | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Police violence | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 3 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| Violent Protest | - | - | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| Attacks on Foreign Actors | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | 2 | 13 | 1 | 234 | 165 | 11 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 2 | 22 |

Twenty Most Politically Violent Districts

In terms of the number of incidents, the most violent district in Pakistan was Karachi, where 96 incidents of political violence took place. This was followed by Nushki with 48 incidents, Quetta with 28, Khuzdar with 22, Nasirabad with 19, Peshawar and Dera Bugti with 14 each, Lasbela with 13, Mastung with 12, and Kech with 9. The 20 most violent districts in Pakistan are listed in Table 21.

It is worth noting that 12 out of the 20 most violent districts are in Balochistan, although the Sindhi capital of Karachi was the district with the highest number of incidents of political violence. Five districts on the list are in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, two are in Sindh, and one is in FATA.

Table 21: The Twenty Most Politically Violent Districts

| Sr. No. | District | Region | No. of Incidents of Political Violence | Sr. No. | District | Region | No. of Incidents of Political Violence |
|---------|------------|--------------------|--|---------|---------------|--------------------|--|
| 1. | Karachi | Sindh | 96 | 11. | Kech | Balochistan | 9 |
| 2. | Nushki | Balochistan | 48 | 12. | Hangu | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 8 |
| 3. | Quetta | Balochistan | 28 | 13. | Jaffarabad | Balochistan | 8 |
| 4. | Khuzdar | Balochistan | 22 | 14. | Lahore | Punjab | 7 |
| 5. | Nasirabad | Balochistan | 19 | 15. | Swat | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 7 |
| 6. | Dera Bugti | Balochistan | 14 | 16. | Khyber Agency | FATA | 6 |
| 7. | Peshawar | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 14 | 17. | Bolan | Balochistan | 6 |
| 8. | Lasbela | Balochistan | 13 | 18. | Hyderabad | Sindh | 6 |
| 9. | Mastung | Balochistan | 12 | 19. | Panjgur | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 6 |
| 10. | Kalat | Balochistan | 9 | 20. | Kharan | Balochistan | 5 |

Violence in Karachi was largely characterized by attacks on political parties (43 reported incidents, the highest number in any district). Twelve incidents of terrorism aimed at the general public were also recorded in Karachi, as were ten incidents of ethnic violence, nine target killings and eight clashes between political parties (again the highest number in any district). Other categories of violence in Karachi included attacks on state security forces, clashes between police and violent protestors, group clashes, police violence, and terrorism aimed at the general public.

Nushki had the highest number of reported incidents of ethnic violence in any district – 14 incidents – as well as the highest number of attacks on state security forces in any district – 19 incidents. Other categories of violence in Nushki included attacks on education facilities and personnel, attacks on government actors and state infrastructure, religious/sectarian violence, terrorism aimed at the general public, and tribal violence.

Attacks on state security forces and terrorist attacks aimed at the general public were the major categories of violence in Quetta, with eight and five incidents having been reported respectively. Other political violence in Quetta included attacks on education facilities and personnel, government actors, state infrastructure, as well as ethnic violence, religious/sectarian violence and target killings.

Political violence in Khuzdar was characterized by attacks on state security forces, seven attacks having been recorded, and terrorist attacks aimed at the general public, also numbering seven. Other categories of violence in Khuzdar included attacks on education facilities and personnel, NATO supply vehicles, NGOs/CBOs, political parties, and state infrastructure, as well as ethnic violence.

Political violence in Nasirabad was mainly in the form of ethnic violence and terrorist attacks aimed at the general public. Tribal violence and attacks on political parties, state infrastructure and state security forces also occurred.

The 11 terrorist attacks recorded in Dera Bugti were the highest number in any district. Two incidents of tribal violence and one attack on state infrastructure were also recorded in Dera Bugti.

The most prevalent form of political violence reported in Peshawar was aimed at education facilities and personnel. Apart from being the site of the only attack on an embassy in the country during this period, Peshawar also saw attacks on political parties, state infrastructure and state institutions, terrorism aimed at the general public, and tribal violence.

See the table below for categories of political violence that occurred in the rest of the most violent districts.

Table 22: Categories of Political Violence in Each of the 2- Most Violent Districts and Their Frequency

| Category of Political Violence | No. of Incidents | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------|--------|--------|---------|-----------|------------|----------|---------|---------|-------|------|-------|------------|--------|------|---------------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|
| | Karachi | Nushki | Quetta | Khuzdar | Nasirabad | Dera Bugti | Peshawar | Lasbela | Mastung | Kalat | Kech | Hangu | Jaffarabad | Lahore | Swat | Khyber Agency | Bolan | Hyderabad | Panjgur | Kharan |
| Attack on education facility/personnel | - | 5 | 1 | 1 | - | 5 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Attacks on Foreign Actors | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Attack on government actor | - | 1 | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| Attack on NATO Supply Vehicles | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| Attack on NGO | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Attack on political party | 43 | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | - |
| Attack on press | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Attack on state infrastructure | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Attack on state institution | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Attack on state security forces | 12 | 19 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 2 | - | 6 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | - | 4 |



| Category of Political Violence | No. of Incidents | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|----------|----------|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | Karachi | Nushki | Quetta | Khuzdar | Nasirabad | Dera Bugti | Peshawar | Lasbela | Mastung | Kalat | Kech | Hangu | Jaffarabad | Lahore | Swat | Khyber Agency | Bolan | Hyderabad | Panjgur | Kharan |
| Clashes Between Police and Violent Protestors | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Clashes between political parties | 8 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - |
| Ethnic Violence | 10 | 14 | 2 | 3 | 6 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | 2 |
| Group clash | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Police violence | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Religious/sectarian violence | 8 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| Target killing | 9 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Terrorism aimed at general public | 1 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| Tribal conflict | - | 3 | - | - | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Violent protest | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 96 | 48 | 28 | 22 | 19 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |

The total number of victims in the 20 most violent districts was approximately 1,802, 638 of whom were killed, 1,130 of whom were injured, and 34 of whom were kidnapped. The highest number of casualties took place in Lahore, where 230 people were killed and 426 were injured. This was followed by Karachi, with 106 deaths, 102 injuries and five kidnappings. Casualties in Nushki, Peshawar and Quetta were above 100.

In each of the districts of Karachi, Kharan, Kech, Panjgur, Bolan, and Mastung, the number of deaths was greater than the number of injuries. The highest number of kidnappings occurred in Jaffarabad (nine victims), followed by Kalat (six) and Karachi (five). Other districts where people were kidnapped included Lasbela, Bolan, Panjgur, Nushki, Hangu and Mastung.

Table 23: Estimated Number of Victims in Each of the 20 Most Violent Districts

| Sr. No. | District | Killed | Injured | Kidnapped | Total |
|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1. | Lahore | 230 | 426 | - | 656 |
| 2. | Karachi | 106 | 102 | 5 | 213 |
| 3. | Nushki | 40 | 119 | 2 | 161 |
| 4. | Peshawar | 51 | 100 | - | 151 |
| 5. | Quetta | 34 | 79 | - | 113 |
| 6. | Hangu | 26 | 57 | 1 | 84 |
| 7. | Swat | 27 | 55 | - | 82 |
| 8. | Khuzdar | 9 | 48 | - | 57 |
| 9. | Dera Bugti | 14 | 26 | - | 40 |
| 10. | Nasirabad | 9 | 26 | - | 35 |
| 11. | Kharan | 23 | 10 | - | 33 |
| 12. | Lasbela | 5 | 19 | 4 | 28 |
| 13. | Kech | 16 | 11 | - | 27 |
| 14. | Khyber Agency | 9 | 15 | 1 | 25 |
| 15. | Kalat | 3 | 15 | 6 | 24 |
| 16. | Panjgur | 19 | 2 | 2 | 21 |
| 17. | Bolan | 7 | 5 | 3 | 15 |
| 18. | Mastung | 8 | 3 | 1 | 12 |
| 19. | Hyderabad | 2 | 10 | - | 12 |
| 20. | Jaffarabad | 0 | 2 | 9 | 11 |
| Total | | 638 | 1,130 | 34 | 1,802 |

Electoral Violence

Between March and May 2010, 11 by-elections took place in Pakistan. Seven of these were in March. On March 10, by-elections were held in PB-25 Jaffarabad-I (Balochistan), PP-82 Jhang-X (Punjab), PP-284 Bahawalnagar-VIII (Punjab), and NA-123 Lahore-VI (Punjab). On March 18, a by-election was held in PS-15 Jacobabad-III (Balochistan). On March 24, by-elections were held in PF-65 Dera Ismail Khan-II (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and PP-111 Gujrat-IV (Punjab).

Four of the total by-elections took place on May 15: NA-167 Vehari-I (Punjab), NA-178 Muzaffargarh-III (Punjab), PP-259 Muzaffargarh-IX (Punjab), and PP-63 Faisalabad-XIII (Punjab).

Of these 11 by-elections, FAFEN directly observed nine (PP-259 and PP-63 being the ones that were not directly observed). The sources of election violence data in this report include observations from polling monitors and incidents reported in the media.

PEVER recorded four incidents of electoral violence during this period, three of which occurred in Punjab and one in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Table 24: Number of Incidents of Electoral Violence in Each Region

| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Incidents |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. | Punjab | 3 |
| 2. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 1 |
| Total | | 4 |

Constituency-wise, electoral violence occurred in NA-24 Dera Ismail Khan, NA-105 Gujrat-II, NA-123 Lahore-VI, and NA-178 Muzaffargarh-III. One incident was recorded in each of these constituencies.

Table 25: Constituencies Where Election Violence Took Place

| Sr. No. | Constituency | Region | No. of Incidents |
|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. | NA-24 Dera Ismail Khan | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 1 |
| 2. | NA-105 Gujrat-II | Punjab | 1 |
| 3. | NA-123 Lahore-VI | Punjab | 1 |
| 4. | NA-178 Muzaffargarh-III | Punjab | 1 |
| Total | | | 4 |

Categories of electoral violence included an attack on a campaigning political party, an attack on a voter, a clash between campaigning political parties, and a clash inside a polling station. The impact of this violence caused interference with campaigning and voting.

Table 26: Categories of Electoral Violence

| Sr. No. | Constituency | Region |
|--------------|---|----------|
| 1. | Attacks on Campaigning Political Parties | 1 |
| 2. | Attacks on Voters | 1 |
| 3. | Clashes Between Campaigning Political Parties | 1 |
| 4. | Clashes Inside Polling Station | 1 |
| Total | | 4 |

While the exact number of victims may vary, PEVER estimates that victims of electoral violence numbered approximately 17. Eleven victims were in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, all of whom were injured. Six victims were in Punjab, one of whom was killed and five were injured. No kidnappings were reported in incidents of electoral violence during this period.

Table 27: Estimated Number of Victims of Electoral Violence in Each Region

| Sr. No. | Region | Number of Victims | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | Killed | Injured | Kidnapped | Total |
| 1. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | - | 11 | - | 11 |
| 2. | Punjab | 1 | 5 | - | 6 |
| Total | | 1 | 16 | - | 17 |

Election violence had a casualty rate of a little over four victims per incident. In terms of casualties Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had the higher ratio of victims per incident, given that 11 people were injured in a single incident. The casualty rate of electoral violence in Punjab was two victims per incident.



Table 28: Casualty Rate of Electoral Violence in Each Region

| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Incidents | Total No. of Victims | Ratio of Victims to Incidents |
|---------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | Punjab | 3 | 6 | 2.00 |
| 2. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 1 | 11 | 11.00 |
| | Total | 4 | 17 | 4.25 |

Table 29: Victims of Electoral Violence

| Sr. No. | Type of Perpetrator | No. of Incidents | | |
|---------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | Punjab | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Total |
| 1. | Political party agent | 1 | - | 1 |
| 2. | Political party worker | - | 1 | 1 |
| 3. | Political party supporter | 2 | - | 2 |

Political party leaders, workers, and agents were perpetrators of violence in one incident each, while in one incident the perpetrator could not be identified. All three of the incidents involving political party affiliated persons as perpetrators took place in Punjab, while the one in which the perpetrators could not be identified took place in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Political parties involved in perpetrating electoral violence were reported to have been JI, PML-N, PML-Q, and PPP.

Table 30: Perpetrators of Electoral Violence

| Sr. No. | Type of Perpetrator | No. of Incidents | | |
|---------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | Punjab | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Total |
| 1. | Political party agent | 1 | - | 1 |
| 2. | Political party leader | 1 | - | 1 |
| 3. | Political party worker | 1 | - | 1 |
| 4. | Unable to determine | - | 1 | 1 |

In two incidents, electoral violence was perpetrated through physical means, both of these incidents took place in Punjab. In one incident, the tactic of violence was gunfire, and this incident also took place in Punjab. In the lone incident of electoral violence that occurred in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the tactic of violence was incendiary device.

Table 31: Tactics of Electoral Violence

| Sr. No. | Tactic of Violence | No. of Incidents | | |
|---------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | Punjab | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Total |
| 1. | Physical means | 2 | - | 2 |
| 2. | Gunfire | 1 | - | 1 |
| 3. | Incendiary device | - | 1 | 1 |

Peace Events

PEVER recorded a total of 100 peace events across the country between March and May 2010. The average monthly number of peace events for this reporting period has declined from 120 to 33 as compared with the previous quarter.

The highest number of peace events occurred in the province with the highest number of incidents of political violence – Balochistan. Forty peace events took place in Balochistan, and 37 peace events took place in Sindh, the province with the second highest number of violent incidents. In Punjab, 11 peace events took place, almost level with its 12 incidents of political violence. Seven peace events were recorded in the ICT, making it the only region where there were more peace events than incidents of political violence. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, only five peace events were recorded, which is extremely disproportionate to the 53 incidents of political violence that took place in that province. No peace events were recorded at all in FATA, although 22 incidents of political violence took place there.

Table 32: Peace Events in Each Region

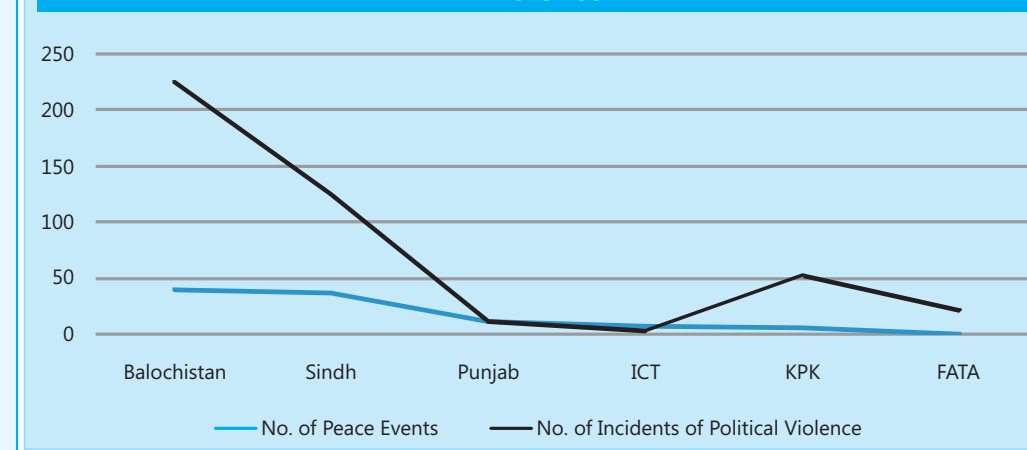
| Sr. No. | Region | No. of Peace Events | No. of Incidents of Political Violence |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------|--|
| 1. | Balochistan | 40 | 225 |
| 2. | Sindh | 37 | 125 |
| 3. | Punjab | 11 | 12 |
| 4. | ICT | 7 | 3 |
| 5. | Khyber- Pakhtunkhwa | 5 | 53 |
| 6. | FATA | - | 22 |
| | Total | 100 | 440 |

Generally, more peace events were reported to have occurred in the more violent regions. A possible explanation for this could be that, as shown in Table 17, the most violent districts are mostly big cities such as Karachi, Peshawar, and Quetta. These cities are more likely to have mature civil society organizations and relatively more vigilant community members as well as the mobilization potential required to hold mass events.

Another explanation could be sought in Table 33, which indicates that most of the peace events were strikes and protest rallies. These events would be in greater numbers in more violent areas probably because, quite simply, these areas present more to protest against.

Balochistan does not fit this pattern, possibly because cities in Balochistan have a far less urban character than those in, say, Sindh or Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Figure 7: Correlation Between Peace Events and Incidents of Political Violence



Most of the peace events that were organized were strikes or protests, numbering 57 in total. As many as 33 peace events were rallies, five were public meetings, two were cultural or entertainment events, two were religious meetings, and one was an ethnic group meeting.

Table 33: Peace Events by Type

| Sr. No. | Types of Peace Events | No. of Events |
|---------|--|---------------|
| 1. | Strike/Protest | 57 |
| 2. | Rally | 33 |
| 3. | Public Meeting | 5 |
| 4. | Art and Cultural / Entertainment Event | 2 |
| 5. | Religious Meeting | 2 |
| 6. | Ethnic Group Meeting | 1 |
| | Total | 100 |

The highest number of events, 28, was organized by political parties. Sixteen peace events were organized by NGOs or CBOs, 14 by professional associations, nine by student groups, seven by religious groups, three by ethnic groups, three by community members, and one by a government body. Three peace events were collaborations between political parties and NGOs and two were collaborations between political parties and student groups. Other collaborations are detailed in the table below.

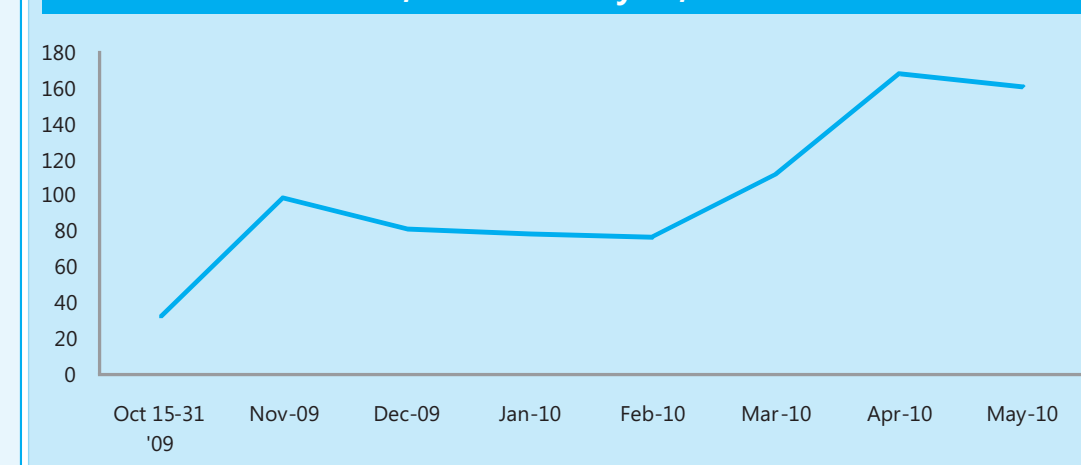
Table 34: Organizers of Peace Events

| Sr. No. | Organizers | No. of Events |
|--------------|--|---------------|
| 1. | Political Party | 28 |
| 2. | Non-Government Organization (NGO)/ Community Based Organization (CBO) | 16 |
| 3. | Professional Association | 14 |
| 4. | Student Group | 9 |
| 5. | Religious Group | 7 |
| 6. | Community Members | 6 |
| 7. | Ethnic Group | 3 |
| 8. | Political Party Affiliated Group | 3 |
| 9. | Collaboration Between Political Party and Religious Group | 3 |
| 10. | Collaboration Between Political Party and Non-Government Organization (NGO)/ Community Based Organization (CBO) | 2 |
| 11. | Collaboration Between Political Party and Student Group | 2 |
| 12. | Government Body | 1 |
| 13. | Collaboration Between Government Body, Non-Government Organization (NGO)/ Community Based Organization (CBO), and Student Group | 1 |
| 14. | Collaboration Between Political Party, Ethnic Group, and Student Group | 1 |
| 15. | Collaboration Between Religious Group and Government Body | 1 |
| 16. | Collaboration Between Religious Group and Non-Government Organization (NGO)/ Community Based Organization (CBO) | 1 |
| 17. | Collaboration Between Religious Group, Non-Government Organization (NGO)/ Community Based Organization (CBO) , and Student Group | 1 |
| 18. | Collaboration Between Religious Group and Political Party | 1 |
| Total | | 100 |

Comparative Analysis

During the First Reporting Period, between October 15, 2009 and February 28, 2010, PEVER recorded 368 incidents of political violence over a period of four-and-a-half months, at an average of about 82 incidents per month. A marked overall increase in political violence during the Second Reporting Period – between March 1 and May 30, 2010 – can be ascertained from the fact that during this period, PEVER recorded 440 incidents of violence in three months, at an average of about 147 incidents per month.

Figure 8: Incidents of Political Violence in Pakistan Between October 15, 2009 and May 31, 2010



Taking both reporting periods together, 808 incidents of political violence have been recorded. Thus far, the highest number of incidents of political violence between October 15, 2009 and May 31, 2010 has been in Balochistan, where 336 incidents were recorded. This is followed by 215 incidents in Sindh, 166 incidents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 49 in FATA, 30 in Punjab, 10 in the ICT, and two in Gilgit-Baltistan.

Table 35: Comparison of Number of Incidents Between Different Reporting Periods

| Reporting Period | Month | Region | | | | | | | Monthly Totals |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| | | Balochistan | FATA | Gilgit-Baltistan | ICT | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | Punjab | Sindh | |
| First Reporting Period | Oct 15 - 31 | 6 | 2 | - | 3 | 12 | 3 | 6 | 32 |
| | Nov | 42 | 3 | - | 2 | 37 | 4 | 11 | 99 |
| | Dec | 12 | 9 | - | 1 | 23 | 3 | 33 | 81 |
| | Jan | 25 | 13 | 1 | - | 20 | 3 | 17 | 79 |
| | Feb | 26 | - | 1 | 1 | 21 | 5 | 23 | 77 |
| | Total | | 111 | 27 | 2 | 7 | 113 | 18 | 90 |
| Second Reporting Period | Mar | 69 | 2 | - | 1 | 11 | 5 | 23 | 111 |
| | Apr | 79 | 14 | - | 2 | 25 | 3 | 45 | 168 |
| | May | 77 | 6 | - | - | 17 | 4 | 57 | 161 |
| | Total | 225 | 22 | - | 3 | 53 | 12 | 125 | 440 |
| Region-wise Grand Totals | | 336 | 49 | 2 | 10 | 166 | 30 | 215 | 808 |

The monthly number of incidents across the country increased quite significantly during the Second Reporting Period as compared to the First Reporting Period. After a surge nearing 100 incidents in November 2009, the number had been hovering around the 80 mark between December 2009 and February 2010. The country's monthly average during the First Reporting Period was about 82 incidents of political violence every month.

In March 2010, the number shot up significantly, from 77 in February to 111 in March. It further increased to 168 in April, wavering only slightly to 161 in May. The monthly average for the Second Reporting Period was therefore about 147 incidents of political violence every month.

The monthly average of incidents in Balochistan went from 25 to 75 incidents per month, an increase of 200 percent. Similarly, the monthly average of incidents in Sindh went up from 20 to 42 incidents per month, thereby increasing by 110 percent. A slight increase was also recorded in FATA, which went from six incidents per month to seven incidents per month.

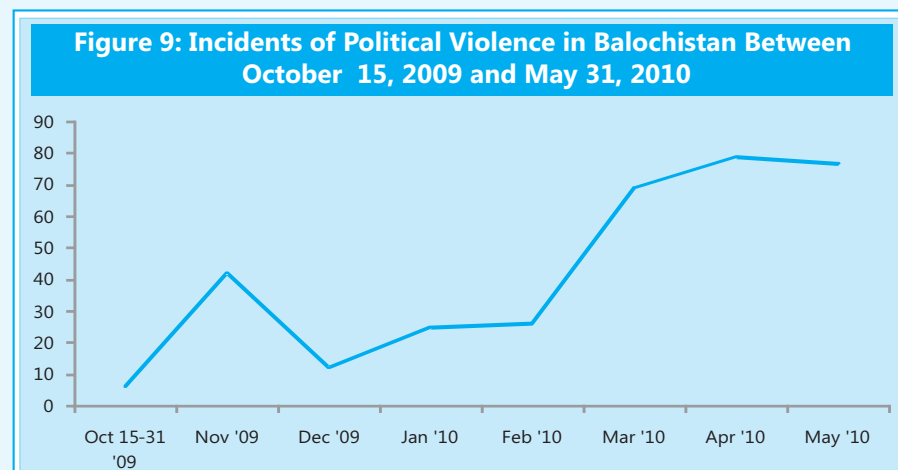
The monthly average of incidents in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the most violent province of the previous quarter, came down to 18 from 25 (a 28-percent decrease). The monthly average of incidents also decreased in the ICT by 50 percent, going from two

incidents a month to one incident a month. No incidents of political violence were reported in Gilgit-Baltistan during this reporting period, although two incidents were reported in the previous reporting period (0.4 incidents per month). In Punjab, the monthly average of incidents remained the same as in the previous reporting period, at four incidents per month.

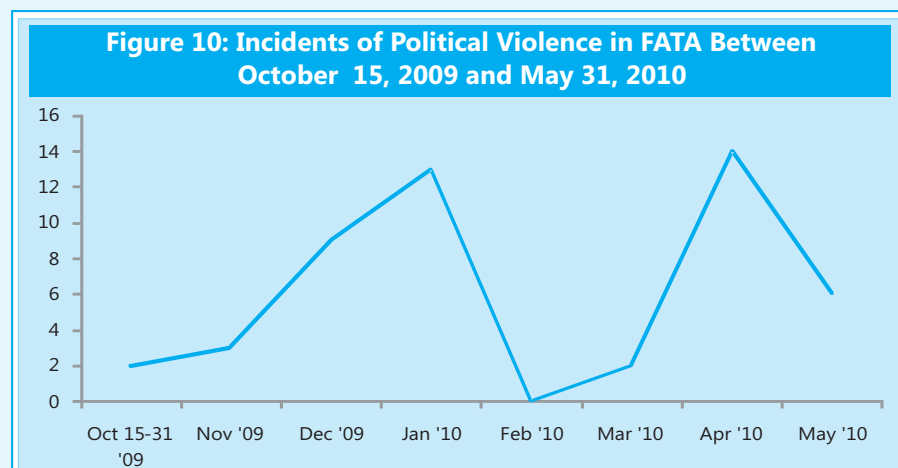
Table 36: Region-wise Monthly Averages of Incidents of Political Violence

| Sr. No. | Region | March – May, 2010 | October 15, 2009 – February 28, 2010 | Variation (%) |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Balochistan | 75 | 32 | 200 |
| 2. | Sindh | 42 | 26 | 110 |
| 3. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 18 | 32 | -28 |
| 4. | FATA | 7 | 8 | 17 |
| 5. | Punjab | 4 | 5 | -20 |
| 6. | ICT | 1 | 2 | -50 |
| 7. | Gilgit-Baltistan | - | 0.6 | -100 |
| | Total | 147 | 82 | 79 |

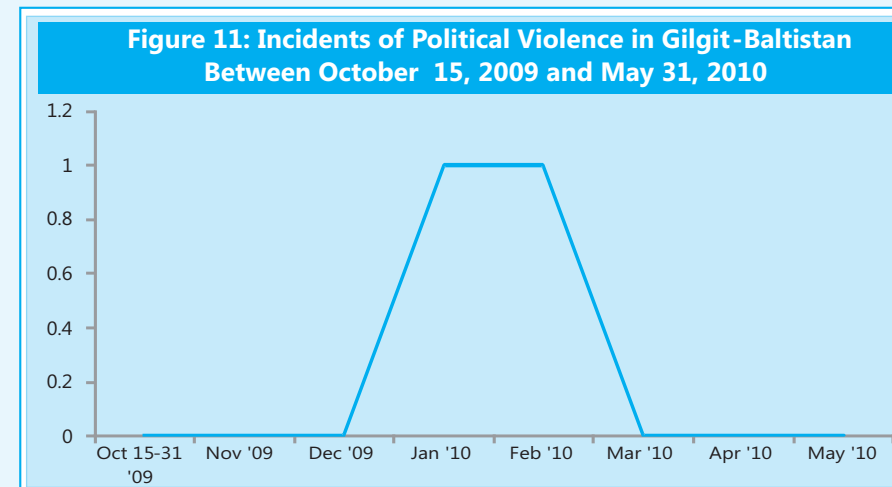
During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 111 incidents of political violence in Balochistan over a period of four-and-a-half months. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 225 incidents of political violence in Balochistan over a period of three months. The number of incidents in Balochistan shot up dramatically in March 2010, from 26 in February to 69 in March, and it increased further to 79 in April and 77 in May.



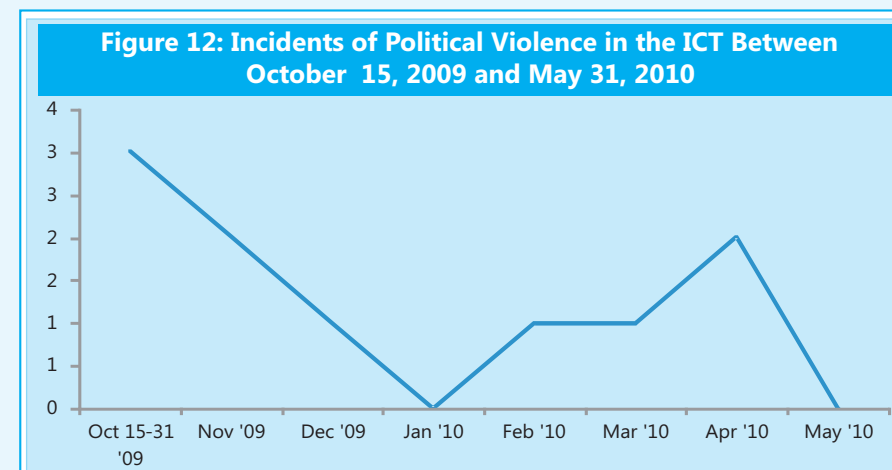
During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 111 incidents of political violence in Balochistan over a period of four-and-a-half months. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 225 incidents of political violence in Balochistan over a period of three months. The number of incidents in Balochistan shot up dramatically in March 2010, from 26 in February to 69 in March, and it increased further to 79 in April and 77 in May.



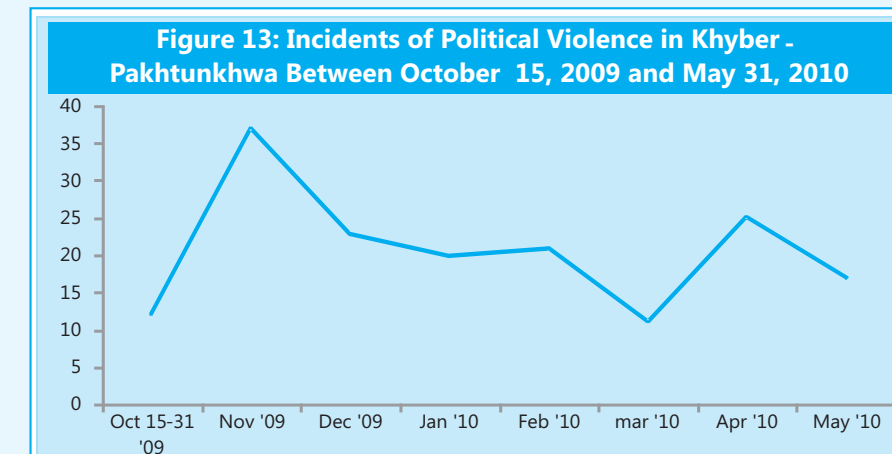
During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded two incidents of political violence in Gilgit-Baltistan over a period of four-and-a-half months. No incidents of political violence were reported at all in Gilgit-Baltistan during the Second Reporting Period.



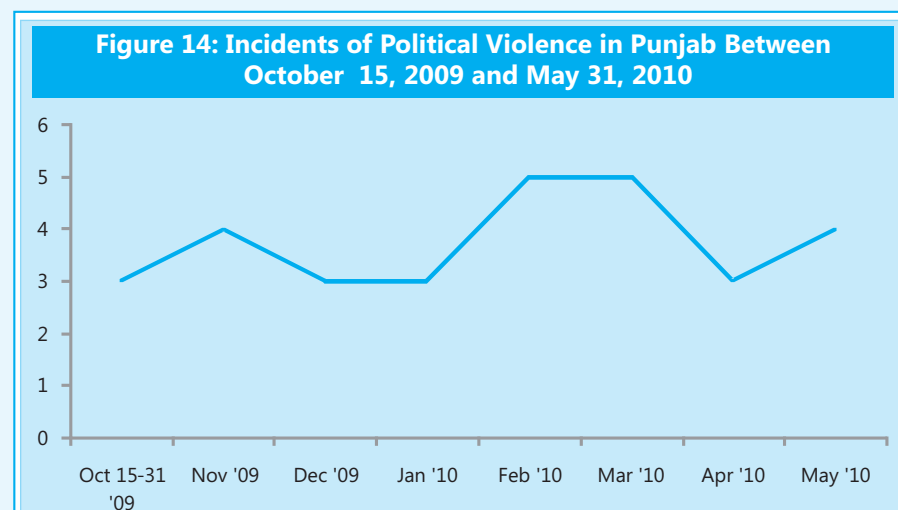
During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded seven incidents of political violence in the ICT over a period of four-and-a-half months. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded three incidents of political violence in the ICT over a period of three months.



During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 113 incidents of political violence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa over a period of four-and-a-half months. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 53 incidents of political violence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa over a period of three months – a very significant decrease.



During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 18 incidents of political violence in Punjab over a period of four-and-a-half months. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 12 incidents of political violence in Punjab over a period of three months.



During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 90 incidents of political violence in Sindh over a period of four-and-a-half months. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded 125 incidents of political violence in Sindh over a period of three months.



As in the previous reporting period, the most predominant category of political violence in Pakistan was that aimed at state security forces. Also similarly to the previous reporting period, the next most frequent categories of political violence were terrorist attacks aimed at the general public and attacks on political parties. Tribal violence and attacks on education facilities and personnel also remained among the predominant categories of political violence.

Ethnic violence, however, increased significantly from the frequency recorded in the previous reporting period. Only 15 incidents of ethnic violence were recorded between October 15, 2009 and February 28, 2010. Between March and May 2010, however, the number of incidents of ethnic violence was a whopping 50. Religious and sectarian violence also increased during this reporting period, although not as dramatically.

Unlike in the previous reporting period, no attacks on state institutions or on the press were recorded between March and May 2010.

Taking both reporting periods together, attacks on state security forces, terrorism aimed at the general public, and attacks on political parties have been the three most frequent categories of political violence thus far.

Table 37: Comparison of Categories of Political Violence Between Different Reporting Periods

| Category of Violence | No. of Incidents | | |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| | First Reporting Period | Second Reporting Period | Totals |
| Attacks on State Security Forces | 88 | 105 | 193 |
| Terrorism Aimed at General Public | 53 | 62 | 115 |
| Attacks on Political Parties | 39 | 61 | 100 |
| Ethnic Violence | 15 | 49 | 64 |
| Tribal Violence | 32 | 31 | 63 |
| Attacks on Education Facilities/Personnel | 31 | 30 | 61 |
| Target Killings | 26 | 15 | 41 |
| Attacks on State Infrastructure | 14 | 13 | 27 |
| Attacks on Government Actors | 13 | 13 | 26 |
| Religious/Sectarian Violence | 7 | 18 | 25 |
| Attacks on NATO Supply Vehicles | 13 | 10 | 23 |
| Clashes Between Political Parties | 6 | 13 | 19 |
| Police violence | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| Violent Protest | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Attacks on Entertainment/Recreational Centers | 7 | - | 7 |
| Group Clashes | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Attacks on NGOs/CBOs | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Clashes Between Police and Violent Protestors | - | 5 | 5 |
| Attacks on State Institutions | 4 | - | 4 |
| Attacks on Press | 3 | - | 3 |
| Attacks on Foreign Actors | - | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 368 | 440 | 808 |

During the First Reporting Period, PEVER recorded approximately 3,087 victims of political violence across the country over a period of four-and-a-half months. About 1,027 of these victims were killed and 2,060 were injured. During the Second Reporting Period, PEVER recorded approximately 2,606 victims of political violence across the country over a period of three months. About 894 of these victims were killed, 1,672 were injured, and 40 were kidnapped.

It is noteworthy that although more incidents of violence were recorded during the Second Reporting Period, the number of victims was higher in the First Reporting Period, therefore suggesting that although the number of victims increased during March-May 2010, the casualty rate of political violence decreased.

Taking both reporting periods together, 5,693 victims of political violence have been recorded thus far. The highest number of victims between October 15, 2009 and May 31, 2010 has been in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where 2,449 victims were recorded. This is followed by Punjab with 1,150 victims, Sindh with 896 victims, Balochistan with 889 victims, FATA with 215 victims, the ICT with 76 victims, and Gilgit-Baltistan with 18 victims.

Table 38: Comparison of Number of Victims Between Different Reporting Periods

| Sr. No. | Region | First Reporting Period | | | | Second Reporting Period | | | | Grand Total |
|---------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Killed | Injured | Kidnapped | Total | Killed | Injured | Kidnapped | Total | |
| 1. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 545 | 1,108 | 1 | 1,653 | 245 | 550 | 1 | 796 | 2,449 |
| 2. | Punjab | 134 | 287 | - | 421 | 235 | 494 | - | 729 | 1,150 |
| 3. | Sindh | 210 | 353 | 2 | 563 | 154 | 173 | 6 | 333 | 896 |
| 4. | Balochistan | 69 | 198 | 20 | 267 | 220 | 370 | 32 | 622 | 889 |
| 5. | FATA | 56 | 54 | - | 110 | 40 | 64 | 1 | 105 | 215 |
| 6. | ICT | 13 | 42 | - | 55 | - | 21 | - | 21 | 76 |
| 7. | Gilgit-Baltistan | - | 18 | - | 18 | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| | Total | 1,027 | 2,060 | 23 | 3,110 | 894 | 1,672 | 40 | 2,606 | 5,693 |

Violence in the First Reporting Period had a higher casualty rate overall in the country, at 8.39 victims per incident, as compared to the Second Reporting Period, when it was 5.92 victims per incident. From the First Reporting Period to the Second Reporting Period, the casualty rate increased very significantly in Punjab, while minor increases in casualty rate were recorded in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA and Balochistan. In the ICT and Sindh, there were minor decreases in casualty rate.

Taking both reporting periods together, the casualty rate in the country between October 15, 2009 and May 31, 2010 was at 7.05 victims per incident. The province with the highest casualty rate, by far, has been Punjab. This is followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Gilgit-Baltistan, the ICT, and FATA. Balochistan and Sindh, despite having the highest total numbers of incidents, were the two provinces with the lowest casualty rates during this entire time.

Table 39: Comparison of Lethality of Political Violence in Each Region Between Different Reporting Periods

| Sr. No. | Region | First Reporting Period | | | Second Reporting Period | | | Grand Totals for Both Periods | | |
|---------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | No. of Incidents | Total No. of Victims | Ratio of Victims to Incidents | No. of Incidents | Total No. of Victims | Ratio of Victims to Incidents | Total No. of Victims | No. of Incidents | Ratio of Victims to Incidents |
| 1. | Punjab | 18 | 421 | 23.39 | 12 | 12 | 60.75 | 30 | 1,150 | 38.33 |
| 2. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 113 | 1,653 | 14.62 | 53 | 53 | 15.02 | 166 | 2,449 | 14.75 |
| 3. | Gilgit-Baltistan | 2 | 18 | 9.00 | - | - | - | 2 | 18 | 9.00 |
| 4. | ICT | 7 | 55 | 7.86 | 3 | 3 | 7.00 | 10 | 76 | 7.60 |
| 5. | FATA | 27 | 110 | 4.07 | 22 | 105 | 4.77 | 49 | 215 | 4.39 |
| 6. | Sindh | 90 | 563 | 6.26 | 125 | 333 | 2.66 | 215 | 896 | 4.17 |
| 7. | Balochistan | 111 | 267 | 2.41 | 225 | 622 | 2.76 | 336 | 889 | 2.65 |
| | Total | 368 | 3,087 | 8.39 | 440 | 2,606 | 5.92 | 808 | 5,693 | 7.05 |

During both reporting periods, community members were victims in the highest number of incidents of political violence, followed by state security forces. Between the First and Second Reporting Periods, there was a significant increase in the number of incidents in which the victims were political party affiliated persons. The other significant change was the decrease in militant victims, which corresponded with the decrease in suicide bombings (see Table 41). Other comparative details in terms of victims between the two reporting periods are detailed in the table below.

Table 40: Comparison of Victims/Damage Between Different Reporting Periods

| Type of Victim/Damage | First Reporting Period | Second Reporting Period | Grand Totals of Incidents for Each Type of Victim/ Damage |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Community Members | 151 | 169 | 320 |
| State Security Forces | 82 | 96 | 178 |
| Government Property | 62 | 65 | 127 |
| Private Property | 55 | 54 | 109 |
| Political Party Affiliated Persons | 37 | 69 | 106 |
| Militants | 28 | 12 | 40 |
| Tribal Group | 18 | 20 | 38 |
| Government Actors | 15 | 21 | 36 |
| Business Owners | 6 | 12 | 18 |
| Religious/Sectarian Group | 7 | 11 | 18 |
| Minority Group | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| Civil Society Organization | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Media Representative | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Professional Association | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Gang/Mafia | - | 1 | 1 |

Perpetrators of political violence during both reporting periods were largely unidentified. The most frequent group of identified perpetrators during both reporting periods was militants. Between the First Reporting Period and the Second Reporting Period, there was an increase in the number of incidents where the perpetrators were unidentified, political party affiliated persons, community members, religious/sectarian groups, and gang/mafia members. Conversely, there was a decrease in the number of incidents where the perpetrators were militants, tribal groups, state security forces, or government actors.

Table 41: Comparison of Perpetrators Between Different Reporting Periods

| Type of Perpetrator | First Reporting Period | Second Reporting Period | Grand Totals of Incidents for Each Type of Perpetrator |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Unable to Determine | 227 | 318 | 545 |
| Militants | 84 | 65 | 149 |
| Political Party Affiliated Persons | 14 | 24 | 38 |
| Tribal Group | 23 | 15 | 38 |
| State Security Forces | 12 | 8 | 20 |
| Community Members | 7 | 12 | 19 |
| Gang/Mafia | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Religious/Sectarian Group | - | 4 | 4 |
| Business Owner | - | 2 | 2 |
| Minority Group | - | 2 | 2 |
| Professional Association | - | 1 | 1 |

Gunfire and incendiary devices remained the most common tactics of violence during both reporting periods, both of them increasing between the First and Second Reporting Periods. Suicide bombings decreased sharply from 33 during the First Reporting Period to 13 during the second; incidents in which both gunfire and incendiary devices were used also decreased.

Table 42: Comparison of Tactics Between Different Reporting Periods

| Tactic | First Reporting Period | Second Reporting Period | Grand Totals of Incidents for Each Tactic |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Gunfire | 183 | 234 | 417 |
| Incendiary Device | 134 | 165 | 299 |
| Suicide bombing | 33 | 13 | 46 |
| Unable to Determine | 6 | 22 | 28 |
| Stones/Bricks | 5 | 19 | 24 |
| Physical Means | 9 | 11 | 20 |
| Arson | 5 | 13 | 18 |
| Blunt objects | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| Sharp Objects | - | 4 | 4 |
| Acid | - | 2 | 2 |
| Threat of Violence | - | 2 | 2 |

During both reporting periods, Karachi was the most violent district in terms of number of incidents. Peshawar was the second most violent district during the First Reporting Period but dropped to seventh place in the Second Reporting Period. Nushki went from the third most violent to the second most violent district in the Second Reporting Period, and Quetta rose from the fifth most violent to the third most violent. A detailed comparison of the "Top Twenty" list for both reporting periods is given in the table below.

Table 43: Comparison of Most Violent Districts Between Different Reporting Periods

| Sr. No. | First Reporting Period | | Second Reporting Period | |
|---------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| | Most Violent Districts | No. of Incidents | Most Violent Districts | No. of Incidents |
| 1. | Karachi | 62 | Karachi | 96 |
| 2. | Peshawar | 38 | Nushki | 48 |
| 3. | Nushki | 20 | Quetta | 28 |
| 4. | Khuzdar | 18 | Khuzdar | 22 |
| 5. | Quetta | 16 | Nasirabad | 19 |
| 6. | Bannu | 12 | Dera Bugti | 14 |
| 7. | Hangu | 11 | Peshawar | 14 |
| 8. | Bajaur Agency | 10 | Lasbela | 13 |
| 9. | Mansehra | 9 | Mastung | 12 |
| 10. | Jaffarabad | 8 | Kalat | 9 |
| 11. | Khyber Agency | 8 | Kech | 9 |
| 12. | Charsadda | 7 | Hangu | 8 |
| 13. | Islamabad | 7 | Jaffarabad | 8 |
| 14. | Nasirabad | 7 | Lahore | 7 |
| 15.. | Hyderabad | 6 | Swat | 7 |
| 16. | Lakki Marwat | 6 | Khyber Agency | 6 |
| 17. | Kalat | 5 | Bolan | 6 |
| 18. | Kohat | 5 | Hyderabad | 6 |
| 19. | Attock | 4 | Panjgur | 6 |
| 20. | Dera Bugti | 4 | Kharan | 5 |

Overall, between October 15, 2009 and May 31, 2010, the highest number of peace events has occurred in Sindh, where 261 out of the total 520 peace events took place. Sindh was followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with 131, Balochistan with 61, Punjab with 48, ICT with 14, Gilgit-Baltistan with three and FATA with two.

Generally, more peace events occurred in the more violent regions. A possible explanation for this could be that the most violent districts are mostly big cities such as Karachi, Peshawar, and Quetta. These cities are more likely to have mature civil society organizations and relatively more vigilant community members as well as the mobilization potential required to hold mass events.

Table 44: Comparison of Peace Events Between Different Reporting Periods

| Sr. No. | Region | First Reporting Period | | Second Reporting Period | | Grand Totals | |
|---------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| | | No. of Peace Events | No. of Incidents | No. of Peace Events | No. of Incidents | No. of Peace Events | No. of Incidents |
| 1. | Sindh | 224 | 90 | 37 | 125 | 261 | 215 |
| 2. | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 126 | 113 | 5 | 53 | 131 | 166 |
| 3. | Balochistan | 21 | 111 | 40 | 225 | 61 | 336 |
| 4. | Punjab | 37 | 18 | 11 | 12 | 48 | 30 |
| 5. | ICT | 7 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 14 | 10 |
| 6. | Gilgit-Baltistan | 3 | 2 | - | - | 3 | 2 |
| 7. | FATA | 2 | 27 | - | 22 | 2 | 49 |
| | Total | 420 | 368 | 100 | 440 | 520 | 808 |

Sindh experienced the sharpest increase in number of incidents between the First and Second Reporting Periods, but also correspondingly the sharpest decline in number of peace events. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, on the other hand, saw stark declines in both incidents and peace events. In Balochistan, the number of incidents increased, as did the number of peace events.

