The Long Shadow of COVID-19 Lockdowns on Nonstate Actor Violence
Codebook

Identifiers

country ID, letter [ISO]: 3-character country code based on ISO 3166. Source: International Organization for Standardization (ISO). https://www.iso.org/iso-3166-country-codes.html

country ID, numeric [isonum]: numeric country code. Source: Original

country [country]: country name

region [region]: world geographic region: Source: UN Statistical Division https://unstats.un.org.

administrative district [admin1]: name of the administrative district (level-1 in ACLED). Districts missing due to no violent events are filled in with GeoRef.net and country-specific resources. Source: ACLED; GeoRef.net.

administrative district ID [districtid]: an alphanumeric indicator of the district. Source: ISO; GeoRef.net**.** http://www.geo-ref.net

year [year]: year

year-quarter [yearqtr]: calendar year and the quarter.

quarter [quarter]: calendar quarter. Source: Original

month [month]: month

month ID, character [monthid]: a character indicator of the month in the analysis period (e.g., month1-month60)

month ID, numeric [monthno]: a numeric indicator of the month in a year (values, 1-12)

week ID [weekid]: character-based identifier of the week in the analysis period (values, week1-week261). Source: Original.

week ID, sequential [seqweeks]: a numeric identifier of the week in the analysis period (values, 1-261). Source: Original.

day [day]: day

day ID [dayid]: character-based identifier of the day in the analysis period (values, day1-day1826)

day ID, sequential [seqdays]: numeric identifier of the day in the analysis period (values 1-1826). Source: Original.

pandemic [pandemic]: pandemic indicator. It is coded 0 from 1 Jan 2018 to 11 March 2020, and 1 from 12 March 2020 through 31 December 2022. The WHO declared COVID-19 a pandemic on 11 March 2020.

pandemic, first month [panfirstmonth**]:** an indicator of the first month of the pandemic. It is coded 1 from 12 March 2020 through 11 April 2020, and 0 otherwise.

Lockdown Measures

Stringency Index Measures

stringency index, continuous [oxfstringindex, oxfstringindex_qtrlag]: An index ranging from 0-100 based on whether or not states recommended or required eight different ``containment and closure policies''. The policies are related to school closings; workplace closings; public event cancellations; size limits on gatherings; public transportation closings; shelter-in-place orders; internal travel restrictions; and international travel restrictions. Source: Oxford Covid-19 Government Response Tracker. https://github.com/OxCGRT/covid-policy-tracker

stringency indicator, dichotomous [lockdown_oxf30, lockdown_oxf40, lockdown_oxf50, lockdown_oxf60, lockdown_oxf70]: stringency dichotomized at a given value of the index [30, 40, 50, 60, 70]. The indicator is coded 1 if the index is equal to or above the index value [30, 40, 50, 60, 70], and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

pre-lockdown, stringency indicators [prelockdown_oxf30; prelockdown_oxf40; prelockdown_oxf50; prelockdown_oxf60; prelockdown_oxf70]: indicator denoting the period prior to the adoption of the first lockdown coded 1 for the pre-lockdown period, and other otherwise. See above for the definition of the stringency lockdown indicators. Source: Original

post-lockdown mid-term effect, stringency indicators [postlockdown_oxf30nolast; postlockdown_oxf40nolast; postlockdown_oxf50nolast; postlockdown_oxf60nolast; postlockdown_oxf70nolast]: . An indicator denoting the days after the first lockdown of a given type was lifted and before the last lockdown of this type was imposed (excluding days in which lockdowns were in place). A day is coded 1 if it occurs after the first lockdown of a given type was lifted and before the last lockdown of this type was imposed (excluding days in which lockdowns were in place). Source: Original

post-lockdown long-term effect, stringency indicators [postlastlockdown_oxf30; postlastlockdown_oxf40; postlastlockdown_oxf50; postlastlockdown_oxf60; postlastlockdown_oxf70]: an indicator denoting days after the last lockdown of a given type was removed from a state. A day is coded 1 if it occurs after the last lockdown was removed, and 0 otherwise. Source: Original.

lockdown duration, stringency indicators [lockdown_oxf30trueduration; lockdown_oxf40trueduration; lockdown_oxf50trueduration; lockdown_oxf60trueduration; lockdown_oxf70trueduration]**:** number of days a state was under a given lockdown in the analysis period. Source: Original

stringency index, first month mean [meaniso_oxfstringindex]: mean of the stringency index in the first month of the pandemic (from March 12 through April 11). WHO declared pandemic on March 11th.

Policy Lockdown Measures

school closings [lkdn_oxfschl, lkdn_oxfschl_qtrlag, lkdn_oxfschl_m1]: coded 1 if required schools at some or all levels and categories to close and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

workplace closings [lkdn_oxfwork; lkdn_oxfintl_qtrlag lkdn_oxfintl_m1]: coded 1 if required closing (or work from home) for some sectors or all sectors but essential workplaces and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

public event cancellations [lkdn_oxfpublic; lkdn_oxfintl_qtrlag; lkdn_oxfintl_m1]: coded 1 if required cancelling of public events and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

gatherings size limits [lkn_oxfgather; lkdn_oxfintl_qtrlag; lkdn_oxfintl_m1]: coded 1 if restrictions on gatherings of any size and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

public transport closings [lkdn_oxftrans; lkdn_oxfintl_qtrlag; lkdn_oxfintl_m1]: coded 1 if required closing or prohibited most citizens from using it and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

shelter-in-place orders [lkdn_oxfhome; lkdn_oxfintl_qtrlag; lkdn_oxfintl_m1]: coded 1 if required people not leaving home with exceptions, even if with only minimal exceptions, and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

internal travel restrictions [lkdn_oxfmvnt; lkdn_oxfintl _qtrlag; lkdn_oxfintl _m1]: coded 1 if internal movement restrictions are in place and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

international travel restrictions [lkdn_oxfintl; lkdn_oxfintl_qtrlag; lkdn_oxfintl_m1]: coded 1 if established international travel ban arrivals from some or all regions or total border closures and 0 otherwise. qtrlag represents a quarter lag. _m indicates
whether or not a lockdown occurred or not in the first month of the pandemic, coded 1 if a lockdown occurred in the first month and 0 otherwise. Note: The short-term effect of lockdowns is the effect of lockdowns when these lockdowns were in place. Source: Original

pre-lockdown, policy indicators [prelkdn_oxfschl; prelkdn_oxfwork; prelkdn_oxfpublic; prelkn_oxfgather; prelkdn_oxftrans; prelkdn_oxfhome; prelkdn_oxfmvnt; prelkdn_oxfintl]: indicator denoting the period prior to the adoption of the first lockdown coded 1 for the pre-lockdown period, and other otherwise. See above for the definition of the policy lockdown indicators. Source: Original

post-lockdown mid-term effect, policy indicators [postlkdn_oxfschlnolast; postlkdn_oxfworknolast; postlkdn_oxfhomenolast; postlkdn_oxfpublicnolast; postlkn_oxfgathernolast; postlkdn_oxftransnolast;

postlkdn_oxfmvntnolast; postlkdn_oxfintlnolast. An indicator denoting the days after the first lockdown of a given type was lifted and before the last lockdown of this type was imposed (excluding days in which lockdowns were in place). A day is coded 1 if it occurs after the first lockdown of a given type was lifted and before the last lockdown of this type was imposed (excluding days in which lockdowns were in place). Source: Original

post-lockdown long-term effect, policy indicators [postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxfschl; postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxfwork; postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxfhome; postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxfpublic; postlastlockdown_lkn_oxfgather; postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxftrans; postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxfmvnt; postlastlockdown_lkdn_oxfintl]: an indicator denoting days after the last lockdown of a given type was removed from a state. A day is coded 1 if it occurs after the last lockdown was removed, and 0 otherwise. Source: Original.

lockdown duration, policy indicators [lkdn_oxfschltrueduration; lkdn_oxfworktrueduration; lkdn_oxfpublictrueduration; lkn_oxfgathertrueduration; lkdn_oxftranstrueduration ; lkdn_oxfhometrueduration; lkdn_oxfmvnttrueduration; lkdn_oxfintltrueduration]: number of days a state was under a given lockdown in the analysis period. Source: Original

Violence Measures

nonstate actor violent events [rebelattk_isodly, rebelattk_admdly]: number of violent events initiated by nonstate actors in a day in a state or administrative district within a state. The ending _isodly indicates that the data is aggregated at the state level. The ending _isodly indicates that the data is aggregated at the administrative-district level. Nonstate actors are ``rebel groups'' (i.e., ``political organizations whose goal is to counter an established national governing regime by violent acts''). Includes all ``violent events'' involving nonstate actors in the analysis (i.e., battles, explosions/remote violence, violence against civilians, and demonstration events). Source: ACLED; Original.

To identify the initiator of the 1.43 million violent events in the analysis period, I used human-assisted natural-language. To begin, I coded the initiator of the event as the ACLED-defined actor that is either the nominal subject (active voice) or agent (passive voice) and, thus, the precipitator of the violence described in the notes. If the verb did not indicate directionality (e.g., ``engaged with'', ``clashed with'' or ``exchanged fire"), I recoded the initiator as ``unknown''. Take, for example, the following: ``IS members (subject) attacked (verb) a regime vehicle (object)''. In this example, ``IS members'' is the nominal subject of the sentence, and the verb ``attacked" indicates that ISIS caused the event. Therefore, ISIS is coded as the initiator. ISIS would still be the nominal subject and initiator of the violence if the notes were written in passive voice (e.g., ``a regime vehicle was attacked by ISIS members'').

nonstate actor violent events, unknown [rebelattk_unk_isodly; rebelattk_unk_admdly]: number of violent acts initiated by nonstate actors in a day in a state or in an administrative district within a state, as well as the events for which the initiator is unknown. See above for the process by which the initiator was identified. Source: ACLED; Original

nonstate actor violent events in a district [prop000]: percentage of all nonstate actor-initiated violent events that occur in a state in a day that occur in a district (0-100).

nonstate actor violent events in state-controlled districts [rebelattkgterty_isodly]: number of violence events by nonstate actors in a day administrative district controlled by the state. See Codebook Appendix for a definition of state-control. See above for the process by which the initiator was identified. Source: ACLED; Original

nonstate actor violent events in contested districts [rebelattkcterty_isodly,]: number of violence events by nonstate actors in a day administrative district controlled by the state. See Codebook Appendix for a definition of contested districts. See above for the process by which the initiator was identified. Source: ACLED; Original

nonstate actor violent events in nonstate-controlled districts [rebelattkFNSAterty_isodly]: number of violence events by nonstate actors in a day administrative district controlled by the state. See above for the process by which the initiator was identified. See Codebook Appendix for a definition of nonstate-control. Source: ACLED; Original

state actor violent events [stateattk_isowkly_lag, stateattk_admwkly_lag]) number of violent acts initiated by state actors in a day in either a state or an administrative district within a state. State actors are ``state forces'' (i.e., ``collective actors that are recognized to perform government functions, including military and police, over a given territory.'') Includes all ``violent events'' involving nonstate actors in the analysis (i.e., battles, explosions/remote violence, violence against civilians, and demonstration events). Includes all ``violent events'' involving nonstate actors in the analysis (i.e., battles, explosions/remote violence, violence against civilians, and demonstration events). See above for the process by which the initiator was identified. Source: ACLED; Original.

Economic Measures

GDP [lnrealGDP, lnrealGDP_lag]: natural log of GDP (quarterly, or one-quarter lag). Source: EMIS. https://www.emis.com/.

unemployment [unemploy, unemploy_lag]: unemployment (quarterly, or one-quarter lag) EMIS. https://www.emis.com/.

Other

democracy [v2x_polyarchy, v2x_polyarchy_lag]: V-Dem electoral democracy Index, It is based on freedom of expression, freedom of association, suffrage, cleanness of elections; the proportion of officials elected (values, 0-1). Source: V-Dem. v2x_libdem v2x_libdem_lag

bordering countries deaths [sumborder_deaths_wklag]: total deaths in the previous week COVID-19 in **bordering countries.** Source: GeoDataSource. https://github.com/geodatasource/country-borders; COVID-19 Cases and Deaths – WHO. https://covid19.who.int/data.

distance from the pandemic [abspandistance]: measure of the absolute distance from the declaration of the pandemic on March 11 by the World Health Organization. March 11 is coded 0, the day before and after March 11 are coded 1, and so on and so forth.

COVID-19 deaths [weekly_deaths]: total deaths in the previous week COVID-19. Source: "COVID-19 Cases and Deaths – WHO. https://covid19.who.int/data.

exit [exit]: Conclusion of foreign military intervention. Exit is coded 1 for every day since a foreign country removed its last military forces from a country, and 0 otherwise. Source: Original.

entrance [entrance]: Commencement of foreign military intervention. Entrance is coded 1 for every day since a foreign country invaded another country militarily in the analysis period, and 0 otherwise. Source: Original.

CO_2 [co2change]: CO_2 emission annual change (%) [+/-]. Source: CO2 and Greenhouse Gas Emissions, *Our World in Data*. https://ourworldindata.org/co2-and-greenhouse-gas-emissions.

population density [popdensity popdensity000]: population density of the administrative division (total or in thousands). Source: GeoRef.net and other official government sources to verify and complete missing data.

population [pop, popmil]: population (total or in millions). Source: GeoRef.net and official government sources to verify and fill in missing data

size [sizekm2]: physical size of the ACLED administrative district level I (in km^2) Source: GeoRef.net and official government sources to verify data and fill in missing data.

base [base]: base of operations. Coded 1 if a district constitutes the largest percentage of violent events committed by all groups in a state the six months prior to the pandemic being declared, and 0 otherwise

state-controlled territory [state_territory]: territory controlled by the state. Coded 1 if controlled by the state and 0 otherwise. Coded 1 if controlled by the state and 0 otherwise. Source: Original

nonstate-controlled territory [nonstate_territory]: territory controlled by the state. Coded 1 if not controlled by the state and 0 otherwise. See Codebook Appendix for a definition of control and an explanation of the coding for each case. Source: Original

Codebook Appendix

Territorial Control Coding Notes

Territorial Control: States and non-state actors have ``territorial control'' over an area if they establish and/or enforce the laws, rules, regulations, codes, etc. within that territory. (Examples include: justice, security (including entry and exit to a territory), education and so forth.)

Territorial Control is coded as follows:

0 = state-controlled: if the state controls the administrative division (level-1) (e.g., the level immediately below the state level) throughout a given year. (This includes a federal or decentralized system of government whereby a national government and regional/local governments share authority in different issue domains.)

1= contested: if a state and a foreign state and/or non-state actor exerts control over different localities within an administrative division (level-1) in a given year (A federal or decentralized system of government whereby a national government and regional/local governments share authority in different issue domains is not contested);

2=FNSA-controlled: if a foreign state and/or non-state actor controls the administrative division throughout a given year. If a division is fully autonomous of the state (i.e., the state has no authority over the rules within that division) the territory is considered a de facto state, and is coded as FNSA-controlled district).

Note: If control switches in a year, the coding is based on the actor who controls the territory at the end of the year.

Below are the states and the regions/ administrative divisions (level-1) in which non-state actors exert control over territory within the state:

Afghanistan

Taliban, prior to its takeover controlled large swaths of territory. The state exerted full control over Bamyan, Kabul, and Panjsher (only). In areas under its control, Taliban declared a ceasefire, giving permission to health workers to enter their areas, executing awareness workshops on public health, giving out medical equipment to the public and setting up quarantine centers. requires Afghans returning from Iran, to serve a two-week mandatory quarantine in their homes With the takeover, the Taliban becomes the states 2021 onwards.

- "The Afghan Taliban and Covid-19: Leveraging the Crisis or a Change of Heart?" MEI 13 April 2021.
- "For the Taliban, the Pandemic is a Ladder." *Foreign Policy*, 6 May 2020.
- "Mapping the Advance of the Taliban" *BBC*, 16 August 2021
- ``Long War Journal,'' *National Geographic* https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2022/08/29/mapping-the-fall-of-afghanistan/

Azerbaijan

Prior to 2021, the area of Nagorno- Karabakh (Kalbajar-Lachin) was under Armenian control. Following a war between them, the region was ceded to Azerbaijan. Lockdown measures were not implemented/observed during the 2020 war.

- "Azerbaijani military enters Kalbajar after 27 years of Illegal Armenian Occupation." Daily Sabah with Wires, 25 November 2020
- "Territories, number and density of population by economic and administrative regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan". The State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan. 2021. Retrieved 24 April 2022. http://www.stat.gov.az/source/demoqraphy/en/001_15en.xls
- New economic regions of Azerbaijan – LIST, Report News Agency, 7 July 2021.

Brazil

Gangs have control of several favelas, particularly in Rio de Janeiro. Gang imposed COVID-19 curfews, in favelas such as Morro dos Prazeres, Santa Marta, Complexo da Maré. The gang group "First Capital Command" controls some parts of Sao Paulo and acts as a police force.

- Briso, Caio Barretto, et al., "Brazil Gangs Impose Strict Curfews to Slow Coronavirus Spread," *The Guardian*, March 25, 2020.
- "South America's Biggest Gang has Immense Sway in Brazil," The Economist, May 14, 2022.

China

China exerts full control over its territory, including Hainan province. Hainan includes territory in the Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands. Control over the Spratly islands (largely unpopulated) is shared with the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, but in this period, China exerts full control over the territory in the Spratly that is included in the Hainan provinces. China also exerts full control over the Paracel Islands although other states claim sovereignty over the Paracels. Largely unoccupied, there is no information that curfews were imposed in them. The Macclesfield is controlled by China but is not an island, but

a sunken atoll. The country claims all of the Spratly Islands but the coding is not based on claims, rather on actual control.

- GlobalSecurity.org (see maps): https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/spratly.htm
- Zachary Haver, "Sansha and the Expansion of China's South China Sea Administration," 12 May 2020. https://amti.csis.org/sansha-and-the-expansion-of-chinas-south-china-sea-administration/

Cameroon (*Northwest* Region and *Southwest* Region)

The government and non-state actors, claiming independence for Ambazonia, share control over the Northwest and Southwest regions since 2017. The Ambazonia separatists (except the Southern Cameroons Defence Forces) refused to establish a ceasefire due to COVID and permit the government access to the region and are suspected to have destroyed supplies intended to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Lockdowns, restricting movements, were imposed pre-pandemic due to fighting.

- OCHA. "Cameroon: North-West and South-West - Situation Report No. 47 (October 2022)."
- "Mixed Reception to Call for Covid-19 ceasefire in Cameroon's Anglophone Regions," *RFI*, 27 March 2020.

Central African Republic.

The rebel group, Popular Front for the Renaissance of Central African Republic (FPRC), controlled Ndele, the capital of Bamingui-Bangoran region, from 2012 to 2020. The group established police and gendarme forces in the region as well as a prison and military wing. They collected taxes, and handled the water and forestry division. It seems that the group's control ended before the COVID pandemic. Peace agreement signed in 2019. While the Central African Republic has witnessed extreme levels of fighting between different rebel groups and the government since 2012, the government seems to have control over the territory currently. [The latest security council reports do not mention any regions controlled by the rebel groups.].

- Tim Glawion and Anne-Clémence Le Noan. 2023. "Rebel Governance or Governance in Rebel Territory? Extraction and Services in Ndélé, Central African Republic." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 34(1): 24—51.
- OCHA. "A Conflict Assessment in Bamingui-Bangoran Region: Rapid Response Project in CAR," *SFCG.org* 16 June 2020.

Colombia

Armed groups control localities within departments**.** Territories include**:** Arauca, Bolívar, Caquetá, Cauca, Valle de Cauca, Chocó, Córdoba, Guaviare, Huila, Nariño, Norte de Santander, and Putumayo, Vichada). ELN (National Liberation Army) did not establish its own lockdowns but enforced the government lockdowns, more strictly in some cases than the national government. ELN agreed to short-term unilateral cease-fire to prevent disease spread. FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Cantera) members have enforced national lockdowns and distributed public goods, such as face masks.

- "ELN" *Insight Crime*, 11 January 2022
- https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/eln-profile/
- https://colombiareports.com/amp/colombia-illegal-armed-groups-maps/
- "Colombia: Armed Groups' Brutal Covid-19 Measures." *Human Rights Watch* 15 July 2020

- "Colombian Guerrillas are using Coronavirus Curfews to Expand their Control. Violators have been Killed." *The Washington Post*, 26 July 2020.

Cyprus

Northern Cyprus is under the control of Türkiye. It is divided into six districts: Lefkoşa, Gazimağusa, Girne, Güzelyurt, İskele and Lefke. Northern Cyprus authorities imposed their own lockdown measures.

- US Dept. of State. "2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Cyprus - the Area Administered by Turkish Cypriots." 30 March 2021.
- "Northern Cyprus Announces New Measures against Pandemic." AA, 7 May 2021

Democratic Republic of Congo (North Kivu)

Rwandan rebel groups control towns and villages in North Kivu. The state imposed lockdowns and travel restrictions in both North and South Kivu. No information/reports that rebels imposed lockdowns in these areas.

- "Fighting in Eastern Congo Puts Civilians at Risk, Again." *Human Rights Watch*, 1 November 2022
- "Covid -19 in the DRC." *Africa Source*, 26 March 2020

Eritrea

Eritrea maintains control over all its regions, except Gash-Barka. While Eritrea and Ethiopia signed a peace treaty in 2018 over the town of Badme in Gash-Barka region of Eritrea that was previously invaded by Ethiopia, Ethiopian forces were present in the town throughout this period. Ethiopia control access points and, thus, entry into the town. Eritrea controlled imposed lockdowns throughout the country, but there is no information on use of the COVID measures in Badme. There were also recent armed attacks by the Tigray forces in the town, but these did not change the status of control in the territory.

- Elias Gebreselasssie. "Between Peace and Uncertainty after Ethiopia-Eritrea Deal." *Al Jazeera,* 9 July 2019.
- Roland Marchai. Two Years Already?: Peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia. *Sciences Po: Center for International Studies*, August 25 2020.
- Ashenafi Endale, EU Reckons Algiers Agreement Crucial for North Ethiopia Peace," The Reporter, 24 December 2022.

Ethiopia

The Ethiopian government shared control over the Tigray (2020 to 2022), the Amhara (2021-2022); and the Afar (2021-2022) regions with separatist groups, primarily the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The unrecognized Tigray regional government COVID-related declared lockdowns separate from the national government. Regional governments in Amhara and Ormia also imposed lockdowns due to the conflict with separatists (not COVID-19) in this period.

- Brendon J. Cannon. "Ethiopia in Conflict: Shifting Fronts, the Role of External States and Airpower." *Trends Research and Advisory,* 18 January 2022.
- "Tigrayan and Oromo Forces Say They Have Seized Towns on Ethiopian Highway." *Reuters*, 7 November 2021.

- "War in Ethiopia," Global Conflict Tracker, January 6, 2023. https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-ethiopia
- 'News alert: Tigray region declares state of emergency to prevent spread of #covid19' Addis Standard, 26 March 2020).
- S Gebre, 'Ethiopia declares state of emergency over coronavirus' Bloomberg 8 April 2020).

Georgia

Georgia does not control the areas of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. These regions, not internationally recognized as independent states, have their own political systems and security forces. Russian military forces occupy the two regions. COVID-19

- Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Russia's Occupation of Georgia and the Erosion of the International Order,17 July 2018.
- "The COVID-19 Challenge in Post-Soviet Breakaway Statelets." *International Crisis Group*, 06 May 2020

Ghana

Ghana and Togo both control areas of the Pusiga District in the Upper East Region due to a disagreement as to where the border between the two countries falls. In one incident, Togo prevented Ghana's Volta River Authority from extending electricity to areas within the district, near the Pulmakom claiming jurisdiction of the area. They resolved this dispute in 2021, so that all of the Pusiga District falls within Ghana's control

- Atubugri Simon Atule, "Ghana, Togo working to reconcile land boundary issues at Pusiga." *Modern Ghana, 22* July 2021.
- "Ghana Boundary Commission set to resolve boundary disputes with Togo, Burkina-Faso
- "Ghana Boundary Commission set to resolve boundary disputes with Togo, Burkina-Faso," *Cedi Dollar*, 18 July 2021.
- "Ghana and Togo Resolve Land Boundary Dispute," Durham University, 20 July 2021

Haiti

The Haitian government does not exert full control over its territory. While the exact time that gangs began to control territory in Port-au-Prince and the surrounding areas in the Ouest department remains unclear, gangs the clearly exerted control in these areas following the assassination of President Jovenel Moïse in July 2021. Since then, gangs severed the connections of Port-au-Prince to the rest of the country and control the roads to obstruct fuel supply to other departments. In some places, they operate their own courts, "police stations" and residential fees for everything from electricity to school permits. Fighting ensues between different gangs to control the main gateways. The government also controls areas so that Ouest is coded contested from 2021. The government imposes various lockdowns, including school closures. There is no information indicating that the gangs imposed any restrictions in the areas that they controlled.

- "'It's Terror': In Haiti, Gangs Gain Power as Security Vacuum Grows," New York Times, 21 October 2021.
- "They have no fear and No Mercy': Gang Rule Engulfs Haitian Capital." *The Guardian, 18 September 2022.*
- "Why Has COVID Claimed Few Lives in Haiti Despite Lax Rules?" *Government Technology*, 16 December 2020.

- "Haiti Finally Imposes Restrictions to Curb COVID-19 Infections." *The Brazilian Report*, 28 May 2021.

India

India does not exert full control over its territory. National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) has been involved in insurgency related violence in Nagaland. While there seems to be a cease-fire between the rebel forces and the Indian government, the military's presence leads to hampered governance in the state. Its influence inside Manipur is restricted to the four districts of Senapati, Ukhrul, Chandel and Tamenglong. Naxal-Maoist insurgency controls territory in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The insurgency's influence extends to Odisha, and Maharashtra with unclear levels of control and mostly takes the form of violence.

- "In India's Militarized Regions, Calls for Ending Impunity." *The New York Times,* 29 January 2022.
- "Freed From 30-Year-Long Maoist Control, Jharkhand's Budha Pahad Witnesses CM Visit." https://www.outlookindia.com/national/freed-from-30-year-long-maoist-control-jharkhand-s-budha-pahad-witnesses-cm-visit-news-257336
- "India: Conflict Map." https://satp.org/conflict-maps/india
- "NSCN-IM behind 44% insurgency related incidents in Nagaland in 2020, says MHA report." https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/nscn-im-behind-44-insurgency-related-incidents-in-nagaland-in-2020-says-mha-report/article65375594.ece
- "National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM)." https://www.satp.org/terrorist-profile/india/national-socialist-council-of-nagaland-isak-muivah-nscn-im
- "In Assam, 246 insurgents of two outfits lay down arms, surrender." https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/in-assam-246-insurgents-of-two-outfits-lay-down-arms-surrender-101643291038171.html
- "Naxal-Maoist Insurgency Trends in India During the Coronavirus Pandemic." https://acleddata.com/2021/03/11/naxal-maoist-insurgency-trends-in-india-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic/

Iraq

Iraq does not exert full control over its territory. Kurdistan region of Iraq is considered a semi-autonomous region in northern Iraq, governed by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). It includes the governorates of Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, Duhok, and Halabja. KRG imposed its own COVID lockdowns during the pandemic. Although referred to a semi-autonomous, the region is effectively autonomous and coded as such: The 2005 constitution declares "Legislation enacted in the region of Kurdistan since 1992 shall remain in force, and decisions issued by the government of the region of Kurdistan, including court decisions and contracts, shall be considered valid unless they are amended or annulled pursuant to the laws of the region of Kurdistan by the competent entity in the region, provided that they do not contradict with the Constitution" (Art. 141). In 2017, the Kirkuk (outside the governorates listed above) was contested, with Kurdish forces seizing the city but Iraqi forces expelling Kurdish forces successfully from Kirkuk as well as parts of Nineveh and Diyala provinces. Kurdish forces moved into the areas after ISIS swept across northern and western Iraq in June 2014 and the Iraqi army had collapsed

- "Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq Imposes Partial Lockdown amid Rising Virus Cases." *Al-Monitor* 7 April 2021.
- Iraq Constitution of 2005. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Iraq_2005.pdf?lang=en
- "The Battle of Kirkuk: Why it Matters." *France 24,* 17 October 2017.

Israel

In the West Bank, as per the Oslo Accords II, Palestine controls administrative and police authorities in Area A and administrative (but not police authorities, which are controlled by Israel) in Area B. Israel controls administrative and police authorities in Area C. Israel de facto controls East Jerusalem as a result of the 1967 Six-Day War. Israel and the Palestinian Authority imposed separate lockdowns in the areas under their control.

- WHO. "Palestinian Territories: Authorities extend existing restrictions in the West Bank through March 1 due to COVID-19 /update 45." 15 February 2021.

- "Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip," Washington, DC, 28 Sept. 1995

Kosovo

Northern Kosovo, specifically Mitrovica, is contested. Kosovar Serbs in Northern Mitrovica, do not recognize the authority of the state and run parallel institutions that are sponsored by Serbia. The state imposed lockdowns in the North and the Kosovar Serbs separately declared their own.

- ``Serbia Strengthening 'Parallel Structures', Kosovo Deputy PM Says.'' *Balkan Insight*, 7 December 2021.
- ``COVID-19 Exacerbates Ethnic Serb Limbo in Kosovo," *Balkan Insight,* 30 Sept 2020.
- ``Two Serb Majority Towns in Kosovo Put under Coronavirus Lockdown'' *Exit News*, 04 April 2020.

Libya

Territorial control of Libya in this period is divided among two entities: the Government of National Accord (GNA), which is based in the West and backed by the United Nations, the US, among other countries; and the Tobruk, which is based in the East, led by General Khalifa Haftar, and backed by Russia, among other countries. ISIS has not controlled territory in Libya since 2016 when in lost control over Sirte. Various militias are allied with the two entities. To differentiate the two entities for coding purposes, the Government of National Accord (GNA) is considered the "state" since it is backed by the UN and the Tobruk is considered the "FNSA". According to an email from PolGeoNow, on 16 April 2023, as of February 2023, "the lines of control remained that same as in our April 2021 report, as far as we were able to determine."

- Political Geography Now. Libya Control Map and Report – July 2018
- Political Geography Now. Libya Control Map and Report – December 2019
- Political Geography Now. Libya Control Map and Report – June 2020
- Political Geography Now. Libya Control Map and Report – April 2021
- https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/8/28/23-killed-in-tripoli-clashes-fears-grow-of-wider-libya-war

Malaysia

Malaysia exerts full control over its territory, including Sabah state. Sabah includes territory in the Spratly Islands, namely Ardasier Reef, Erica Reef, Investigator Shoal, Mariveles Reef, Swallow Reef. Control over the Spratly islands (largely unpopulated) is shared with China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, but in this period, Malaysia exerts full control over the territory in the Spratly that is included in Sabah. Unoccupied, this issue of lockdowns, is irrelevant. The country claims other/all of the Spratly Islands but the coding is not based on claims, rather on actual control.

- Malaysia Island Tracker: “https://amti.csis.org/island-tracker/malaysia/

Mali

Mali does not exert full control over its territory. The Jama’at Nasr al-Islam (JNIM), formed in 2017, controls some districts in northern and central Mali, with reports as early as 2018. In areas under its control, JNIM is responsible for the adjudication of justice, the provision of security, education (closing hundreds of schools against Sharia law), prices, and so forth. The Malian government imposed nation-wide lockdowns during the pandemic, but no information is available about the Jihadists response to the pandemic. Tuareg separatists no long control any territory. (Lacking information on the exact districts under JNIMs’s control for every year, all regions in northern and central Mali are coded as contested from 2018-2022).

- Mali: Enabling Dialogue with the Jihadist Coalition JNIM. The Crisis Group Report No. 306, 10 December 2021. https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/sahel/mali/mali-enabling-dialogue-jihadist-coalition-jnim
- Speaking with the “Bad Guys”: Toward Dialogue with Central Mali’s Jihadists. Report N. 276. 28 May 2019. https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/sahel/mali/276-speaking-bad-guys-toward-dialogue-central-malis-jihadists
- “Africa File: Al Qaeda–Linked Militants Take Control in Northern Mali .” 10 February 2023. https://www.criticalthreats.org/briefs/africa-file/africa-file-al-qaeda-linked-militants-take-control-in-northern-mali
- US Department of State. Country Reports on Terrorism. https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2019/

Moldova

Moldova does not exert full control over its territory. Transnistria (including Bender (Tighina)) is controlled by the Transnistrian separatists, who consider Transnistria to be the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), since 1992. The Moldovan government and Transnistrian separatists both control parts of Dubasari. The separatists control Roghi while the Moldovan government controls the rest. Moldova and the PMR established distinct lockdown measures. U.T.A. Gagauzia is also considered to be an autonomous region. However, UTA Gagauzia is not fully autonomous from the Moldovan government, and thus, is not coded as contested. The Moldovan government, for example, is responsible for citizenship or issues relating to national security. No evidence that Gagauzia imposed its own lockdowns.

- Gulca, Illie, “Moldova: Pandemic Brinkmanship Brings Strife To ‘Security Zone,’” 21 September 2020.
- “Council of Europe Designates Transnistria ‘Russian Occupied Territory” *Balkan Insight*, 16 March 2022.
- “Draft Laws Regarding Status, Competences of Gagauzia Autonomous Territorial Unit to be Approved by Gagauz National Assembly.” Moldpres 14 December 2022.

Mozambique

Mozambique does not exert full control over its northern territory, particularly in Cabo Delgado province. In 2022, insurgency forces also emerged in Niassa province for the first time, yet the degree of control in the province remains unclear. The insurgency forces seem to have ties to ISIS as the terrorist group regularly claims responsibility for the insurgency attacks. The insurgency forces also reportedly bear ties to “Allied Democratic Forces” of Congo; are mainly made up of unemployed young men in the region.

- Winning Peace in Mozambique's Embattled North. Crisis Group Briefing 178. 10 Feb 2022.
- Political Geography Now. Mozambique Control Map and Report – February 2022
- Political Geography Now. Mozambique Control Map and Report – August 2020
- Political Geography Now. Mozambique Control Map and Report – August 2021
- Political Geography Now. Mozambique Control Map and Report – April 2021
- Political Geography Now. Mozambique Control Map and Report – July 2021

Myanmar

The Myanmar government, as of 2022, does not control all of Myanmar's territory. We consider the government to be the military junta, though, the European Parliament has recognized the National Unity Government [NUG] (in exile) as the legitimate government. As of September 2022, the NUF claims that public administration, education, health, municipal and social services and judicial systems of the NUG have been established in 24 townships, which are completely controlled by resistance forces, have also been established by the NUG in the townships. The coding is derived from the *Special Advisory Council* map (p.14).

Throughout this period in the Kayah States, there is fighting between the government and armed opposition groups, but it does not appear that the armed groups control territory in either state by enforcing the laws, rules, regulations, codes, etc. within the country, prior to the NUG. In Kayah (Karenni) State, armed groups supported COVID-19 relief, including protecting a vaccine program of the regional government while the military In the Rakine State, in 2021, Arakan Army exerted territorial control: it appointed administrators and judicial and police officers. The Arakan Army also issued stay-at-home orders in the Rakhine State. blocked the distribution of aid.

- "Arakan Army Announces Lockdown in Myanmar's Rakhine State Amid COVID Surge." THE IRRAWADDY 21 July 2021
- "Myanmar Military Calls Ceasefire in Order to Fight Covid-19," May Knoll Magazine, May 2020.
- "Karenni Army Marks Anniversary with Vow to 'Fight to The End' Against Myanmar Military" *Radio Free Asia,* 17 August 2021.
- "NUG: We Control Over Half of Myanmar's Territory." The Irrawaddy, 7 Sept. 2022
- Special Advisory Council-Myanmar (SAC-M): "Briefing Paper: Effective Control in Myanmar 5 September, 2022" (SAC-M is a pro-democracy, Myanmar group). https://specialadvisorycouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/SAC-M-Briefing-Paper-Effective-Control-in-Myanmar-ENGLISH-2.pdf
- Sudha Ramachandran. "The Arakan Army and Tatmadaw's Tenuous Truces in Myanmar's Rakhine State." Terrorism Monitor (Jamestown Foundation), 16 December 2022.

Mexico

Mexico does not exert full control over its territory and often distinguishing between gang violence/influence and direct territorial control is difficult. Criminal groups often act as insurgents with a level of organization, firepower and territorial control. Zapatista indigenous rebel group extended its control in Chiapas. Zapatistas' control includes forbidding law enforcement agencies and government inspectors from entering their communities, and establishing their own education system. Cartel Jalisco Nueva Generacion (CJNG), based out of Jalisco state, is the emergent power in Mexico, and it controls or fights for territory in Guanajuato, Michoacan, Baja California, Mexico, Jalisco, Chihuahua, and Guerrero, among other locations across the country. Sinaloa Cartel (CDS), however, seems to have lost its influence due to splintering factions and pressure from the CJNG. Other transnational criminal organizations heavily contribute to violence but their territorial control remains unclear. Gangs compete for territorial control of drug plazas particularly for perpetuation and profit. As a greater number of cartels and criminal organizations compete for territory, violent inter- and intra-cartel conflict and conflict with

the Mexican state continue to intensify. While criminal organizations are present and highly active in Mexico City, their activities do not qualify as territorial control due to the strong presence of government authorities. The criminal organizations' activities include but are not limited to infiltrating communities, police forces and town halls.

- "Zapatista Rebels Extend Control Over Areas in South Mexico." https://www.voanews.com/a/americas_zapatista-rebels-extend-control-over-areas-south-mexico/6174185.html
- "RISK MAP 2023 ANALYSIS: MEXICO CARTEL WAR." https://www.globalguardian.com/newsroom/risk-map-mexico
- "Tracking Cartels Infographic Series: Major Cartel Operational Zones in Mexico." https://www.start.umd.edu/tracking-cartels-infographic-series-major-cartel-operational-zones-mexico
- "Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations." https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R41576
- "Cartels battle in Aguascalientes and trigger a resurgence in violence." https://mexiconewsdaily.com/news/cartels-battle-in-aguascalientes/
- "IRB – Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada." https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2061277.html
- "LOSING CONTROL: HOW CRIMINAL GROUPS ARE TRANSFORMING MEXICO" https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/world/mexico-losing-control/mexico-violence-drug-cartels-zacatecas/
- "Is Hidalgo, Mexico Safe To Visit?" https://www.forbes.com/sites/nathanielparishflannery/2022/02/25/is-hidalgo-mexico-safe-to-visit/?sh=1474297f4a44
- "Morelos, Mexico's Latest Hotspot for Fragmented Criminal Showdowns." https://insightcrime.org/news/analysis/morelos-mexico-latest-hotspot-fragmented-criminal-showdowns/

Nigeria

Nigeria does not exert full control over its territory. Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), one of the factions of the Boko Haram insurgency, occupied dozens of Lake Chad island villages, and set up state-like structures in the Abadam, Kukawa, Guzamala, Marte and Monguno local government areas in Borno State. The extremist group's activities include but are not limited to providing social services, such as security, public toilets, clinics and potable water, controlling trade, and imposing taxes. The group also exercises control in certain areas in Yobe and Adamawa states, but the level of control remains unclear. While JAS was also active in the country, ISWAP seems to have replaced JAS' influence.

- "Islamic State West Africa Province is proving its economic resilience by generating income from obliging local communities." https://issafrica.org/iss-today/economics-of-terrorism-in-lake-chad-basin
- "Boko Haram, including JAS, ISWAP and Ansaru." https://euaa.europa.eu/country-guidance-nigeria-2021/131-boko-haram-including-jas-iswap-and-ansaru
- "Things You Need To Know About Forests 'Governed' By Bandits, Boko Haram." https://dailytrust.com/9-forests-governed-by-bandits-b-haram/
- "After Shekau: Confronting Jihadists in Nigeria's North East." https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/after-shekau-confronting-jihadists-nigerias-north-east

Philippines

Philippines exerts full control over its territory, including BARMM and the region of Mimaropa, which includes the Kalayaan Island Group located in Palawan province in the Spratly Islands. The Bangsamoro, officially the Bangsamoro Autonomous

Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) is an autonomous region with its own government and is located in the southern Philippines. Philippines laws also apply to the region, as well as the BARMM's own laws. BARMM government imposed its own COVID regulations during the pandemic.

- "Bangsamoro Government's advisory on COVID-19." https://bangsamoro.gov.ph/photo-news/bangsamoro-governments-advisory-on-covid-19/
- "Southeast Asian Region Countries Law," https://unimelb.libguides.com/c.php?g=930183&p=6722007

Somalia

Al Shabab controls much of central and southern Somalia. (i.e., Bakool, Banaadir, Bay, Gedo, Hiiraan, Lower Juba, Lower Shabele, Middle Juba, and Middle Shabele). Al Shabaab controlled COVID-19 policy within its terrain, establishing a COVID-19 treatment center.

- The Limits of 'Shabaab-CARE': Militant Governance amid COVID-19" CTCSentinel. June 2020
- "Somalia Conflict: Al-Shabab 'collects more Revenue than Government.'" BBC 26 October 2020.
- "Somalia's Islamist group al Shabaab says sets up COVID-19 Treatment Centre." 12 Reuters 12 June 2020.
- https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/al-shabaabs-area-of-operations

Sudan

The Sudanese government does not exert full control over its territory. In 2011, a conflict broke out between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM-N, and since then the SPLM-N controlled territories of Zozak and Amora in Blue Nile State and Kau/Nyaro, Rashad/New Tegali, and Western Jebels in South Kordofan State. The government and the SPLM-N adopted different lockdown restrictions in their respective areas.

- "Sudan: Managing COVID-19 Pandemic During a Time of Transition." *Arab Reform Initiative.* 29 May 2020.
- "OCHA Sudan: South Kordofan State Profile (Updated September 2022)." 25 September 2022

Syria

Kurdish non-state actors control the *Autonomous* Administration of North and East *Syria (parts of Aleppo, Dayr-Az-Zorand, Hassakeh, and Raqqa) non-Kurd non-state actors control Idlib provinces. Both* state-controlled and non-state actors (Kurd and opposition) established individual COVID protocols in the areas under their control.

- Brancati, Dawn, Jóhanna Birnir and Qutaiba Idlbi. 2023. Locking Down Violence, *American Political Science Review,* 117 (4): 1327-1343.

Taiwan

Taiwan exerts full control over its territory. The Spratly Islands are contested but the territory on the Spratly Islands that Taiwan controls, which is under Kaohsiung province, namely Taiping (Itu Aba) and Tungsha (Pratas) Islands is solely under Taiwan's authority, and so Kaohsiung province is not coded as contested. The country claims all of the Spratly Islands but the coding is not based on claims, rather on actual control.

- GlobalSecurity.org (see maps): https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/spratly.htm

Ukraine (Crimea and Donetsk)

Areas of the Donetsk region are controlled by the Ukraine and by Russia or Russian-sponsored non-state actors. Crimea has been solely controlled by Russia since 2014. The Ukraine, as well as the Donetsk and Crimean authorities, imposed lockdown restrictions in the areas under their respective control.

- "Ukraine's Pandemic-Era Obligations to Civilians in Crimea and Donbas Under Humanitarian Law." *Just Security,* 3 May 2021.
- Anna Myroniuk. "How Crimea and Donbas are responding to COVID-19." 12 April 2020.
- OCHA."Ukraine Humanitarian Response - Key Achievements in 2022**:** While the "contact line" remains largely closed, residents of areas beyond Government control are forced to enter Government-controlled areas through Russia." *Last updated: 22 Oct 2021*

Vietnam

Vietnam exerts full control over its territory. The Spratly Islands are contested but the territory on the Spratly Islands that Taiwan controls, which is under Khanh Hoa province, namely Namyit Island, Pearson Reef and Sand Cay, is solely under Vietnam's authority, and so Khanh Hoa province is not coded as contested. The country claims all/other parts of the Spratly Islands but the coding is not based on claims, rather on actual control.

- Vietnam Island Tracker. https://amti.csis.org/island-tracker/vietnam/

Yemen

The state is considered the internationally-recognized government (IRG) of Mansour Hadi (in-exile)and/or his presidential council. In this period, much of Yemen is controlled in part or in full by Houthi rebels (commonly referred to as the de-facto authority (DFA) and or the Southern Transitional Council (STC), which seeks the independence of the South from the rest of the country. Al-Qaeda is also active in several parts of the Hadramawt region, but its control's precise nature remains unclear.

- Political Geography Now. Yemen Control Map and Report - January 2018, https://www.polgeonow.com/2018/01/who-rules-yemen-map-houthis-control.html
- Political Geography Now. Yemen Control Map and Report – October 2019, https://www.polgeonow.com/2019/10/map-who-rules-yemen-southern-separatists.html
- Political Geography Now. Yemen Control Map and Report - October 2020, https://www.polgeonow.com/2020/10/yemen-who-controls-what-2020-map.html
- Political Geography Now. Yemen Control Map and Report - January 2021, https://www.polgeonow.com/2021/12/yemen-houthis-sieze-hodeida-map.html
- Political Geography Now. Yemen Control Map and Report - January 2022, https://www.polgeonow.com/2022/01/yemen-map-of-control-houthis-marib.html
- Humanitarian Data Exchange, Yemen Areas of Control. https://data.humdata.org/dataset/yemen-areas-of-control

Venezuela

Venezuela does not exert full control over its states. Criminal gangs and rebel groups also exert control over some areas. Gang control neighborhoods, primarily within the state capital of Caracas. They determine entry into neighborhoods and establish and enforce laws. Gangs are active elsewhere but do not exert control over the territories. In addition to the gangs, the rebels from Colombia, primarily the Ejército Liberación Nacional (ELN) and secondarily Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, control states within Venezuela, namely Táchira, Apure and Amazonas. They establish and enforce criminal prohibitions and curfews (prior to and in response to COVID-19). These groups are active in other states, but do not control territory in these states in this period.

- "'The Government is Losing Ground' Residents say as Gangs take Territory in Venezuela's Capital." *Reuters*, 18 July 2021.
- "ELN Ingresa a las Montañas de la Frontera Venezolana." *La Opinión*, 21 August 2019.
- "The Guerrillas Are the Police." *Human Rights Watch,* 22 January 2020.
- ELN in Venezuela. *Insight Crime*, 28 January 2020.
- "In These Venezuelan Towns, Colombian Rebels Call the Shots." *VOA News*, 4 September 2021.
- "A Major Roadblock in Future U.S.-Venezuela Talks: the ELN." *Americas Quarterly, 28 April 2022.*