

Peace in Kashmir: Myth and Reality

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About this Poll

The research for this poll was carried out by the staff of the Cvoter Foundation in Delhi and Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool in collaboration with 'THE WEEK'. The Questions were collected during a month of interviews undertaken by the research team in Ladakh, Jammu (including Kashmiri Pandit camps) and the Kashmir Valley. The Survey work was completed between March and May 2008 and included a random sample of two thousand people from all parts of Jammu and Kashmir with additional booster samples for the Buddhist, Sikh, Gujjar and other minorities. The full results are available at <http://www.peacepolls.org>.

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Politicians spin realities to create myths about their people and their country in order to take them forward to a better life. This is called leadership and when done with compassion and wisdom peoples and nations can achieve great advances. But when such myths are spun out of self-interest then, tragically, the result can be misery and death. Kashmir, it would seem falls into this second category. The reality, according to the people of Kashmir, is that they want an end to the corruption that has blighted their society, they want to live in harmony with their fellow countrymen and women, they want a secular state without borders, they want their children from different communities and faiths to go to school together, they want an end to all forms of discrimination, they want an end to the abuse of human rights and killings, they want India and Pakistan to stop using them for their own selfish reasons, they want to be masters of their own destinies and to this end they want negotiations in good faith. These are the major findings of the most extensive poll ever done in J & K to find out what solutions the people vision as the way forward for Kashmir (see 'About this Poll') and it stands in sharp contrast to the myths spun by those political leaders who's rhetoric is born of the 'blame game'. Critically the questions for this 'peace poll' were written by the people of Kashmir through a programme of extensive interviews in Ladakh, Jammu Province and the Kashmir Valley and so it is their reality and perceptions of their 'problems' and 'solutions' that are tested here. We will start with the 'problems'.

The Problems

For all the people of J & K the top 5 problems out of a list of 37 (table 1) are 'Corrupt administration' 1st at 59% 'very significant' followed by 'High levels of unemployment' 2nd at 56% 'very significant' then 'India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result' at 54%; 'Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests' at 45% and 'The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going' also at 45% 'very significant'. Violence and the 'blame game' do not come into this list until the 13th problem is reached at 40% 'very significant' for 'Violence instigated by Pakistan' followed by 'Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin' 15th at 36%; then the Indian Army 26th at 31% and finally International Jihadists 36th at only 26% 'very significant'.

Table 1. The 'problems' faced by the people of J & K in order of significance

All - Jammu - Kashmir - Ladakh		Very Significant
1st	Corrupt administration	59%
2nd	High levels of unemployment	56%
3rd	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	54%
4th	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	45%
5th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	45%
6th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%
7th	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	44%
8th	Economic development has been politicised	44%
9th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	43%
10th	No consensus for a solution in India	42%
11th	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	42%
12th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	40%
13th	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	39%
14th	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	37%
15th	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	36%
16th	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	36%
17th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	35%
18th	Denial of democratic rights	35%
19th	Poor quality of education	35%
20th	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	34%
21th	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	34%
22nd	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	34%
23rd	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	34%
24th	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	32%
25th	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	32%
26th	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	31%
27th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	31%
28th	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	29%
29th	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	29%
30th	Politicians discriminate against minorities	29%
31st	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%
32nd	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	28%
33rd	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	28%
34th	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	27%
35th	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%
36th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	26%
37th	The problem is only in the Valley	25%

So corruption, maladministration and poor political leadership are the main problems faced by the people of J & K as a whole but does this analysis stand up to closer scrutiny when looked at from the different perspectives of the 3 provinces and 3 major religious groups in the state. The answer is, for the most part, 'yes' but there are some notable exceptions. Table 2 lists the top 5 problems by religion, region, and for Muslims in the different regions. 'Corrupt administration is 2nd or 3rd on nearly all these lists but 'India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result' is 1st for Muslims, the Kashmir Valley and Muslims living in the Kashmir Valley and Jammu Province while 'Violence instigated by Pakistan' is 1st for Hindus and Jammu Province. For Buddhists 'High levels of unemployment' comes first. This is also true for Ladakh and Muslims living in Ladakh.

Table 2. The top 5 problems for Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and those living in the Kashmir Valley, Jammu Province and Ladakh

Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Hindu per cent	Very Significant	Buddhist per cent	Very Significant
1st India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	64%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	58%	High levels of unemployment	71%
2nd Corrupt administration	62%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	53%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	66%
3rd High levels of unemployment	60%	Corrupt administration	52%	Corrupt administration	66%
4th Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	55%	High levels of unemployment	48%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	63%
5th No consensus for a solution in India	49%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	46%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	63%
37th The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	22%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	13%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	5%

Kashmir Valley per cent	Very Significant	Jammu Province per cent	Very Significant	Ladakh per cent	Very Significant
1st India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	65%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	56%	High levels of unemployment	66%
2nd Corrupt administration	62%	Corrupt administration	56%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	64%
3rd Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	61%	High levels of unemployment	52%	Corrupt administration	60%
4th High levels of unemployment	61%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	49%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	56%
5th India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	55%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	48%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	56%
37th Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	16%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	18%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	8%

Kashmir Valley per cent Muslim	Very Significant	Jammu Province per cent Muslim	Very Significant	Ladakh per cent Muslim	Very Significant
1st India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	66%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	66%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	65%
2nd Corrupt administration	62%	Corrupt administration	60%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	63%
3rd High levels of unemployment	61%	High levels of unemployment	58%	High levels of unemployment	63%
4th Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	60%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	53%	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	62%
5th India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	55%	No consensus for a solution in India	52%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	58%
37th Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	16%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	22%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	10%

So both the region a person comes from and their religion influence views of the conflict in J & K. Similarly Hindus from the Valley have a different perspective on these issues to Hindus in Jammu Province (table 3). For them the number one problem is not 'Violence instigated by Pakistan' but 'Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric' at a very high 82% 'very significant' followed by 'Economic development has been politicised' also at 82% and 'Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict' at 73%.

Table 3. The top 5 problems for Hindus living in the Kashmir Valley and Jammu Province

	Kashmir Valley per cent Hindu	Very Significant	Jammu Province per cent Hindu	Very Significant
1st	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	82%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	59%
2nd	Economic development has been politicised	82%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	53%
3rd	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	73%	Corrupt administration	52%
4th	High levels of unemployment	73%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	47%
5th	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	64%	High levels of unemployment	47%
37th	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	9%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	13%

One more point worth making, because it has far reaching implications for finding a constitutional solution to the problem of Kashmir is the fact that 'Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu' is 2nd on both the Hindu and Buddhist lists at 53% and 66% 'very significant' respectively while it is at the very bottom of the list (37th) at only 16% 'very significant' for the people of the Kashmir Valley. This lack of understanding is clearly very serious. Fortunately however, when it comes to 'solutions' for peace building and peace making, the people of J & K speak again with one voice so that, with a minimum of good leadership, a very great deal could be achieved.

The Solutions

When the research for this poll was done, every time someone suggested a 'problem' they were invited to propose a 'solution', otherwise, it was suggested, there would be little value in including their 'problem' in the questionnaire. We got lots of 'solutions' and these were then tested across J & K by asking one simple question - 'With regards to the future peace and stability of Kashmir please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'essential', 'desirable', 'acceptable', 'tolerable' or 'unacceptable'?' Table 4 lists the economic solutions in order of priority from 89% 'essential or desirable' for 'Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption' to 59% 'essential or desirable' for 'Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs'. What is then important to note is the extent to which any community in J & K oppose these policies as 'unacceptable'. There is strong support from everyone for economic 'solutions' to the problems of J & K that are 'home grown' however, where those 'solutions' involve cooperation with Pakistan then there is some resistance from Hindus and

Buddhists. For example 'Start trade across the LoC' is 'unacceptable' to 19% of Hindus and 32% of Buddhists while 'Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs is 'unacceptable' to 55% of Buddhists.

Table 4. Economic solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	89%	2%	1%	3%	3%
Build infrastructure and communications	84%	3%	3%	4%	5%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	83%	4%	5%	2%	
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	76%	3%	4%	2%	
Safeguards against external economic invasion	68%	8%	7%	10%	
Open trade between India and Pakistan	66%	7%	5%	9%	21%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	63%	10%	9%	11%	39%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	62%	10%	12%	8%	11%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	62%	10%	6%	16%	13%
Start trade across the LoC	61%	11%	5%	19%	32%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	59%	11%	7%	14%	55%

As with the economy anything that can be done to improve the quality of education in J & K is welcome with 'Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J & K' at 83% 'essential or desirable'. However, the people of J & K also want 'Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups' at 79% and 'Education should be secular' at 81% 'essential or desirable'. There is no significant opposition to these policies from any group. Resistance only comes when education polices single out particular groups. For example 21% of Muslims and 20% of Hindus (perhaps for different reasons) find it 'unacceptable' that 'Madrasas should be licensed by government' and 32% of Muslims find it 'unacceptable' that 'Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education'. There is no serious resistance to 'Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language...' but including the language in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution is met with 13% 'unacceptable' from Muslims perhaps because of its associated constitutional implications (table 5).

Table 5. Education solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	83%	2%	2%	2%	
Education should be secular	81%	4%	5%	2%	3%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	79%	2%	1%	3%	
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	79%	2%	2%	2%	
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	78%	3%	2%	6%	3%
All students in J and K should be educated together	68%	4%	4%	3%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	50%	20%	21%	20%	3%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	43%	25%	32%	14%	3%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	42%	7%	9%	5%	
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	39%	11%	13%	7%	3%

At the very top of the list of 24 policies for dealing with the security situation in J & K comes 'The violence should stop from all sides' at 87% 'essential or desirable' and at the very bottom of the same list comes 'Resolve the conflict through armed struggle' at only 18% 'essential or desirable'. 70% of Muslims consider this option to be 'unacceptable' (table 6). 'Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law' is 2nd on the list with 'Investigate all killings of who killed whom' both at 82% 'essential or desirable' followed by 'Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire' at 79%. There are no significant dissenting voices to the call for peace and justice. Only 6% of Muslims consider it 'unacceptable' that 'Pakistan should stop supporting rebel fighters in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps'. Similarly only 7% of Hindus oppose the idea that the 'Government should open up channels of communication with rebel fighters to establish a ceasefire'. Serious points of resistance are met however for Hindus with the suggestion that 'The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J & K' at 51% 'unacceptable' and 'All Detainees should be released' at 50% 'unacceptable'. But given an extended period of peace the long-term prospects are good. Only 13% of Hindus consider it 'unacceptable' that 'Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services'.

Table 6. Security solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	87%	3%	2%	7%	
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	82%	2%	1%	4%	
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	82%	3%	2%	6%	
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	79%	2%	2%	2%	5%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	79%	4%	3%	7%	3%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	79%	5%	4%	7%	8%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	78%	5%	6%	4%	
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	75%	5%	6%	3%	5%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	74%	5%	3%	9%	
Demilitarise places of higher education	73%	4%	2%	6%	29%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	72%	5%	3%	7%	
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	71%	6%	8%	3%	3%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	70%	8%	4%	13%	18%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	69%	6%	9%	3%	
Demilitarise civilian areas	68%	7%	5%	10%	16%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	67%	8%	6%	9%	26%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	65%	4%	3%	5%	
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	56%	21%	7%	43%	29%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	56%	13%	15%	9%	53%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	51%	18%	11%	29%	21%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	45%	30%	16%	51%	39%
All Detainees should be released	44%	29%	16%	50%	47%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	35%	30%	39%	15%	11%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	18%	59%	70%	42%	47%

Everyone in J & K seems to understand how important it is, now and in the future, to protect the rights of minorities. The top 3 items in the Human Rights and the law section of the poll are 'Majorities and minorities should be treated the same' at 85% 'essential or desirable' then 'Effective laws to protect all minorities in J & K' at 80% followed by 'More powers for the State Human Rights Commission' at 78% 'essential or desirable' (table 7). There is no significant dissent on these points. However when it comes to the suggestion that 'Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law' then 42% of Hindus and 79% of Buddhists find this proposal 'unacceptable'. International Human Rights law and domestic law based on those standards are clearly the preferred options.

Table 7. Human Rights solutions and the law

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	85%	4%	3%	7%	8%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	80%	3%	4%	3%	
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	78%	3%	3%	2%	3%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	75%	4%	3%	6%	3%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	73%	4%	3%	5%	5%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	65%	6%	5%	6%	26%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	64%	8%	6%	9%	37%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	53%	17%	23%	7%	5%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	47%	23%	11%	42%	79%

Although 68% of the people of J & K consider it 'essential or desirable' that 'The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return' with only 4% of Muslims, 2% of Hindus and no Buddhists opposed to this policy as 'unacceptable' 19% of Hindus and 24% of Buddhists are opposed to the idea that 'Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees'. Is this a double standard or are Hindus and Buddhists simply not sure about the real status of those returning from Pakistan? Like so many issues raised in this poll some results invite more questions rather than providing clear answers. But everyone seems to want the Pandits back. That much is clear (table 8).

Table 8. Refugee solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	83%	3%	1%	5%	24%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	70%	9%	10%	7%	37%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	68%	3%	4%	2%	
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	68%	5%	4%	7%	
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	66%	4%	4%	3%	3%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	64%	6%	5%	7%	3%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	63%	10%	11%	9%	11%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	62%	15%	9%	25%	24%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	61%	11%	5%	19%	24%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	49%	11%	13%	8%	3%

With regards to other more general peace building solutions or what are sometimes called Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) again there is much agreement (table 9). For example 75% of the people of J & K consider it 'essential or desirable' to 'Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines' with virtually no opposition to such a policy (Muslim 3%, Hindu 6%, Buddhist 0% 'unacceptable'). People want an independent media, for NGOs to bring people together and to build a secular pluralist society. But most of all, at 84% 'essential or desirable' the people of J & K believe that 'We must learn from the past'. These idealistic sentiments are welcome and are the stuff that real peace is made of. But this picture is not quite perfect - there are also some fears and concerns. Buddhists fear closer ties with Pakistan, 37% of them find it 'unacceptable' to 'Make travel across the LoC easier'. And perhaps for different reasons 21% of Muslims, 19% of Hindus and 50% of Buddhists consider it 'unacceptable' that 'Separatists should participate in elections'. Picking the right CBMs to move a peace process forward needs to be done with some care but when coupled with a range of the most appropriate economic, educational, security and human rights policies suggested here there is plenty of scope for action. So we now know what 'problems' have to be addressed and we also know what can reasonably be done to resolve them. The next question is how and who will decide?

Table 9. General peace building solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
We must learn from the past	84%	2%	2%	2%	
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	82%	3%	4%	3%	
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	78%	4%	4%	4%	
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	77%	4%	2%	6%	3%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	77%	4%	4%	5%	
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	76%	4%	4%	3%	
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	75%	4%	3%	6%	
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	75%	3%	3%	4%	3%
Build a secular pluralist society	73%	4%	5%	4%	
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	70%	6%	7%	4%	
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	70%	5%	5%	5%	3%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	66%	7%	5%	8%	29%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	66%	6%	4%	8%	
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	62%	5%	4%	8%	5%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	62%	7%	3%	13%	21%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	62%	9%	11%	5%	5%
Make travel across the LoC easier	57%	9%	5%	14%	37%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	55%	7%	4%	14%	3%
Separatists should participate in elections	45%	21%	21%	19%	50%

Twenty options for negotiations were tested against public opinion (table 10). Critically the top priority here was 'Resolve the conflict through negotiation' at 81% 'essential or desirable' followed by, for example, the 'Kashmir people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue' at 76% 'essential or desirable'; 'Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other' 69%; 'Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions...' 68% and 'Don't stop talking because of political radical groups' also at 68% 'essential or desirable'. Similarly 26% of Muslims, 11% of Hindus and 13% of Buddhists also found it 'unacceptable' that 'Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J & K'.

Table 10. Negotiation solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	81%	4%	2%	9%	3%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	76%	3%	3%	4%	8%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	72%	6%	6%	5%	
India should have a debate on solution	70%	7%	4%	11%	13%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	69%	9%	13%	4%	
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kasmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	68%	5%	5%	5%	
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	68%	7%	6%	9%	
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	68%	5%	5%	6%	3%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	67%	4%	4%	4%	
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	61%	6%	5%	7%	3%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	60%	6%	6%	6%	29%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	57%	10%	13%	6%	3%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	56%	10%	12%	7%	
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	53%	20%	26%	11%	13%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	53%	12%	9%	15%	50%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	50%	12%	9%	18%	
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	45%	24%	26%	23%	29%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	36%	38%	47%	23%	18%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	34%	27%	31%	23%	3%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	32%	27%	31%	22%	

The message is clear. The people of J & K want inclusive talks and they want all the relevant parties to the conflict involved - particularly themselves. The suggestion that 'India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir was 'unacceptable' to 47% of Muslims, 23% of Hindus and 18% of Buddhists. Getting America and Europe involved as an 'honest broker' was not particularly popular either (only 45% 'essential or desirable' and 24% 'unacceptable'). The people of J & K want their own solution to the problem of Kashmir and they clearly should be given every opportunity to find one. The results of this poll suggest that getting agreement to a 'shopping list' of CBMs and other measures required to ensure good governance may not be particularly difficult but finding a solution to the more fundamental question of the constitution may be quite another matter. What can be agreed and how difficult is that task?

The constitutional question was approached in two ways. Firstly all the major elements of constitutional reform were tested in a list of 29 options (table 11) and then again as a series of 7 'packages' (table 12). There were significant levels of resistance from the different communities to nearly all of these proposals. The top priorities however were 'J & K should be a secular state' 1st at 68% 'essential or desirable' followed by 'The people of J & K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions' at 60% rising to 73% for Muslims. It is their number one priority followed by 'Kashmir should be an independent country' at 65% 'essential or desirable'. For both Hindus and Buddhists, however, the top priority is that 'Kashmir should stay with India' at 74% and 100% 'essential or desirable' respectively. The second priority for Hindus is a secular state at 75% 'essential or desirable' and for Buddhists it is 'Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture' at 92%. How can these different priorities be reconciled? What compromise offers the best hope of success at the negotiating table? A process of elimination will help us here starting with the least preferred option.

No one wants to 'Join Pakistan' (table 13). Even 71% of Muslims consider this option 'unacceptable' (69% in the Kashmir Valley). They could have chosen 'tolerable' but they didn't. Although Hindus and Buddhists want to 'Join India' 49% of Muslims (63% in the Kashmir Valley) do not so this option does not seem to work either. But the UN resolutions for a plebiscite are limited to these two options – India or Pakistan. Clearly the Muslims of J & K do not understand this issue or have been misled. What they want is 'Full Independence' and that is not presently on offer. But suppose it were. What would happen then? For 58% of Hindus and 74% of Buddhists this option is 'unacceptable' (50% for Jammu Province and 62% for Ladakh). A plebiscite, even if Pakistan, India and the UN agreed to it, would leave Kashmir divided and no one wants that. 'Disintegration', at 49% 'unacceptable' is the least popular option after 'Join Pakistan'. This leaves 'Regional integration and devolution' which is 'unacceptable' to 55% of Buddhists; 'No change' which is 'unacceptable' to 47% of Muslims (58% in the Kashmir Valley) and 'Autonomy' which is 'unacceptable' to 61% of Buddhists. But this option 'Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India' is by far the 'lesser of all the evils' at only 23% 'unacceptable' over all. Providing the Buddhists can be persuaded that their minority rights and culture can be protected in an

autonomous state then this option just might work and perhaps this can be done by leaving the responsibility for the rights of minorities with India and by implementing far reaching devolution to all levels of government. Coupled with all the other measures for reform dealt with in this poll peace just might be possible at the negotiating table.

But we have forgotten one thing, the other half of Kashmir. On this final point everyone interviewed was asked 'Do you want all the questions in this poll to be asked in Pakistan-administered Kashmir?' and the result was 74% 'Yes' ranging from a high of 85% for Muslims in Ladakh to a low of 64% for Hindus in the Kashmir Valley (table 14). Providing the governments of India and Pakistan can now act in good faith and help the people of Kashmir find peace the people just might succeed where successive governments have failed.

Table 11. Constitutional solutions

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
J and K should be a secular state	68%	8%	11%	4%	26%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	60%	13%	9%	18%	66%
Consultation between all Districts	59%	10%	11%	10%	
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	56%	8%	9%	7%	66%
No political borders in Kashmir	50%	19%	14%	27%	37%
Kashmir should be an independent country	48%	29%	15%	51%	58%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	48%	19%	15%	24%	34%
Kashmir should be with India	46%	31%	47%	6%	
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	44%	23%	26%	19%	
Ladakh should remain with India	44%	28%	41%	7%	
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	44%	20%	21%	18%	5%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	42%	16%	20%	11%	8%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	40%	19%	22%	14%	32%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	37%	37%	34%	44%	5%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	36%	26%	21%	35%	58%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	34%	22%	27%	17%	3%
Present status should continue	32%	39%	54%	13%	8%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	32%	30%	37%	16%	50%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	32%	24%	26%	19%	53%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	32%	24%	25%	20%	47%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	31%	35%	37%	33%	16%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	31%	37%	31%	47%	34%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	30%	29%	35%	20%	5%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	28%	40%	54%	18%	18%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	28%	31%	30%	31%	63%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	26%	46%	53%	34%	18%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	24%	42%	50%	30%	37%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	24%	50%	49%	51%	58%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	14%	64%	62%	66%	90%

Table 12. A constitutional package for Kashmir

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	8%	4%	5%	8%	74%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	33%	12%	12%	10%	32%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	12%	11%	14%	13%	49%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	14%	15%	19%	17%	32%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	22%	16%	15%	11%	34%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	21%	22%	18%	14%	23%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	33%	13%	10%	9%	34%

Table 13. A constitutional package for Kashmir

Per cent 'Unacceptable'	A L L	M U S L I M	H I N D U	B U D D H I S T	V A L L E Y	M U S L I M	H I N D U	J A M M U	M U S L I M	H I N D U	L A D A K H	M U S L I M	B U D D H I S T
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	74	71	78	84	69	69	64	77	73	79	87	88	84
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	32	16	58	74	7	7	0	50	31	59	62	55	74
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	49	49	50	63	53	53	27	47	40	50	48	38	63
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	32	27	40	55	22	22	36	39	35	40	49	45	55
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	34	47	12	3	58	58	73	17	30	11	3	3	3
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	23	27	15	61	34	34	27	14	13	15	33	15	61
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	34	49	10	13	63	63	46	13	20	10	13	13	13

Table 14. Do you want all the questions in this poll to be asked in Pakistan-administered Kashmir?

	Yes	No
All - Jammu - Kashmir - Ladakh	74%	13%
All - Muslim	77%	12%
All - Hindu	69%	15%
All - Budhist	74%	24%
Kashmir Valley	76%	9%
Kashmir Valley - Muslim	77%	9%
Kashmir Valley - Hindu	64%	27%
Jammu Province	71%	16%
Jammu - Muslim	73%	19%
Jammu - Hindu	70%	15%
Ladakh	81%	15%
Ladakh - Muslim	85%	10%
Ladakh - Buddhist	74%	24%

Appendix

Questions and Full Results

Kashmir

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is _____ from _____ and we are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of Jammu and Kashmir believe needs to be done to bring lasting peace and stability to the region.

The Research is being carried out by the staff of the Cvoter Foundation in Delhi and Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool in collaboration with 'THE WEEK'.

The Questions were collected during a month of interviews undertaken by the research team in Ladakh, Jammu (including Kashmiri Pandit camps) and the Kashmir Valley and now we would like to find out what other people in Kashmir think about these topics.

The Results will be made available for public access on the Internet, in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to all the political parties in Kashmir, India and Pakistan as well as all the major international organisations working in the region.

The Survey involves interviewing two thousand people from all parts of Jammu and Kashmir to complete a representative sample in terms of age, gender, social class, political and ethnic affiliation and geographical area.

Topics covered include the range of problems faced by the people, their politicians and the international community in the region, a range of solutions to deal with these problems and finally some questions that tell us where you fit into our sample.

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

1. The Problems

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Here is a list of some of the problems given to our research team from the different regions of Jammu and Kashmir. Which problems do you consider to be 'Very significant', 'Significant', 'Of some significance', 'Of little significance' or 'Of no significance at all'.

All - Jammu - Kashmir - Ladakh		Very Significant
1st	Corrupt administration	59%
2nd	High levels of unemployment	56%
3rd	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	54%
4th	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	45%
5th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	45%
6th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%
7th	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	44%
8th	Economic development has been politicised	44%
9th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	43%
10th	No consensus for a solution in India	42%
11th	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	42%
12th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	40%
13th	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	39%
14th	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	37%
15th	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	36%
16th	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	36%
17th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	35%
18th	Denial of democratic rights	35%
19th	Poor quality of education	35%
20th	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	34%
21th	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	34%
22nd	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	34%
23rd	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	34%
24th	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	32%
25th	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	32%
26th	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	31%
27th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	31%
28th	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	29%
29th	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	29%
30th	Politicians discriminate against minorities	29%
31st	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%
32nd	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	28%
33rd	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	28%
34th	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	27%
35th	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%
36th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	26%
37th	The problem is only in the Valley	25%

	Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Hindu per cent	Very Significant	Buddhist per cent	Very Significant
1st	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	64%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	58%	High levels of unemployment	71%
2nd	Corrupt administration	62%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	53%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	66%
3rd	High levels of unemployment	60%	Corrupt administration	52%	Corrupt administration	66%
4th	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	55%	High levels of unemployment	48%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	63%
5th	No consensus for a solution in India	49%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	46%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	63%
6th	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	49%	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	46%	Economic development has been politicised	61%
7th	Economic development has been politicised	48%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	43%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	58%
8th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	47%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	41%	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	58%
9th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	47%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	41%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	53%
10th	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	46%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	53%
11th	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	46%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	40%	The problem is only in the Valley	53%
12th	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	46%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	40%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	47%
13th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	46%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	39%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	47%
14th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	44%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	47%
15th	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	44%	Economic development has been politicised	37%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	45%
16th	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	42%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	36%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	39%
17th	Denial of democratic rights	42%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	35%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	37%
18th	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	40%	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	34%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%
19th	Poor quality of education	39%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	33%	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	37%
20th	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	37%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	32%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	34%
21th	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	33%	No consensus for a solution in India	31%	No consensus for a solution in India	32%
22nd	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	33%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	31%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	29%
23rd	Our children are confused by	32%	Our culture, language and	31%	Religious identity politics in J	29%

	so much change coming from outside		religion is threatened by modern development		and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	
24th	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	31%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	30%	Poor quality of education	29%
25th	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	30%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	30%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	26%
26th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	30%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	29%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	26%
27th	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	30%	Poor quality of education	29%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	26%
28th	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	28%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	28%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	26%
29th	The problem is only in the Valley	27%	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	25%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	24%
30th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	25%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	24%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	24%
31st	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	25%	Denial of democratic rights	23%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	21%
32nd	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	25%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	22%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	18%
33rd	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	24%	The problem is only in the Valley	21%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	18%
34th	Politicians discriminate against minorities	23%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	20%	Denial of democratic rights	16%
35th	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	23%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	18%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	13%
36th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	22%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	14%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	5%
37th	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	22%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	13%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	5%

	Kashmir Valley per cent	Very Significant	Jammu Province per cent	Very Significant	Ladakh per cent	Very Significant
1st	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	65%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	56%	High levels of unemployment	66%
2nd	Corrupt administration	62%	Corrupt administration	56%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	64%
3rd	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	61%	High levels of unemployment	52%	Corrupt administration	60%
4th	High levels of unemployment	61%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	49%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	56%
5th	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	55%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	48%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	56%
6th	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	55%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	47%	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	56%
7th	Economic development has been politicised	52%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	53%
8th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	49%	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	43%	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	52%
9th	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	49%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	42%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	47%
10th	No consensus for a solution in India	48%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	46%
11th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	48%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	41%	The problem is only in the Valley	46%
12th	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	46%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	39%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	44%
13th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	46%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	39%	Economic development has been politicised	44%
14th	Denial of democratic rights	46%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	No consensus for a solution in India	40%
15th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	46%	Economic development has been politicised	39%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	40%
16th	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	45%	No consensus for a solution in India	37%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	40%
17th	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	44%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	36%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	39%
18th	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	43%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	36%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	38%
19th	Poor quality of education	40%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	34%	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	37%
20th	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	34%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	35%
21th	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	35%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	34%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	35%
22nd	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	34%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	34%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	34%

23rd	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	33%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	33%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	34%
24th	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	31%	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	33%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	32%
25th	The problem is only in the Valley	27%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	33%	Poor quality of education	32%
26th	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	22%	Poor quality of education	32%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	30%
27th	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	22%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	30%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%
28th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	21%	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	29%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	28%
29th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	20%	Denial of democratic rights	28%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	25%
30th	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	20%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	28%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	22%
31st	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	20%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	26%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	22%
32nd	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	19%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	26%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	22%
33rd	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	18%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	25%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	21%
34th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	17%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	23%	Denial of democratic rights	19%
35th	Politicians discriminate against minorities	17%	The problem is only in the Valley	22%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	18%
36th	Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	17%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	21%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	17%
37th	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	16%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	18%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	8%

	Kashmir Valley per cent Muslim	Very Significant	Jammu Province per cent Muslim	Very Significant	Ladakh per cent Muslim	Very Significant
1st	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	66%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	66%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	65%
2nd	Corrupt administration	62%	Corrupt administration	60%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	63%
3rd	High levels of unemployment	61%	High levels of unemployment	58%	High levels of unemployment	63%
4th	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	60%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	53%	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	62%
5th	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	55%	No consensus for a solution in India	52%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	58%
6th	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	55%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	51%	Corrupt administration	57%
7th	Economic development has been politicised	52%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	50%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	55%
8th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	50%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	50%	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	55%
9th	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	49%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	45%	No consensus for a solution in India	45%
10th	No consensus for a solution in India	48%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	44%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	43%
11th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	48%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	43%	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	42%
12th	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	46%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	42%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	42%
13th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	46%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	42%	The problem is only in the Valley	42%
14th	Denial of democratic rights	45%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	42%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	40%
15th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%	Economic development has been politicised	42%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	38%
16th	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	45%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	37%
17th	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	44%	Poor quality of education	40%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	35%
18th	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	43%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	39%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	35%
19th	Poor quality of education	39%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	35%
20th	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	39%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	33%
21th	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	35%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	38%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	33%
22nd	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	34%	Denial of democratic rights	37%	Economic development has been politicised	33%
23rd	Our children are confused by so much change coming from	33%	If Government do not take advantage of the current	37%	Poor quality of education	33%

	outside		desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost			
24th	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	32%	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	37%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	32%
25th	The problem is only in the Valley	26%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	36%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	32%
26th	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	22%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	36%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	30%
27th	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	22%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	34%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	30%
28th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	21%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	34%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	28%
29th	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	20%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	34%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	25%
30th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	20%	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	33%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	25%
31st	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	19%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	33%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	23%
32nd	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	19%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	31%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	23%
33rd	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	19%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	31%	Denial of democratic rights	22%
34th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	17%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	30%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	20%
35th	Politicians discriminate against minorities	17%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	17%
36th	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	17%	The problem is only in the Valley	25%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	13%
37th	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	16%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	22%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	10%

	Kashmir Valley per cent Hindu	Very Significant	Jammu Province per cent Hindu	Very Significant
1st	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	82%	Violence instigated by Pakistan	59%
2nd	Economic development has been politicised	82%	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	53%
3rd	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	73%	Corrupt administration	52%
4th	High levels of unemployment	73%	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	47%
5th	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	64%	High levels of unemployment	47%
6th	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	64%	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	47%
7th	No consensus for a solution in India	64%	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	43%
8th	Denial of democratic rights	64%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	41%
9th	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	64%	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	41%
10th	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	55%	Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%
11th	Poor quality of infrastructure and services	55%	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	40%
12th	Poor quality of education	55%	India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	39%
13th	Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	46%	Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%
14th	Corrupt administration	46%	The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	39%
15th	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	46%	Economic development has been politicised	37%
16th	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	46%	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	36%
17th	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	46%	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	35%
18th	The problem is only in the Valley	46%	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	34%
19th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	36%	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	33%
20th	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	36%	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	31%
21th	The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	36%	Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	31%
22nd	Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	36%	Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	31%
23rd	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	27%	No consensus for a solution in India	30%

24th	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	27%	The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	30%
25th	Violence instigated by international Jihadists	27%	Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	30%
26th	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	27%	Poor quality of education	29%
27th	The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	27%	Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	28%
28th	Politicians discriminate against minorities	27%	The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	28%
29th	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%	Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	24%
30th	Independence will not bring safe boarders with Kashmir's neighbours	27%	If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	24%
31st	Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	18%	The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	22%
32nd	Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	18%	Denial of democratic rights	22%
33rd	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	18%	The problem is only in the Valley	20%
34th	The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	18%	20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	19%
35th	Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	18%	The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	17%
36th	Violence instigated by Pakistan	9%	Violence instigated by the Indian Army	14%
37th	The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	9%	India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	13%

All - Jammu - Kashmir - Ladakh	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Corrupt administration	59%	21%	10%	6%	3%
High levels of unemployment	56%	22%	12%	5%	3%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	54%	15%	12%	7%	10%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	45%	27%	16%	6%	5%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	45%	28%	12%	8%	5%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%	27%	17%	7%	3%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	44%	29%	12%	8%	5%
Economic development has been politicised	44%	29%	13%	8%	3%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	43%	31%	12%	6%	7%
No consensus for a solution in India	42%	30%	13%	7%	7%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	42%	25%	18%	6%	6%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	40%	22%	13%	11%	13%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	39%	25%	16%	12%	7%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	37%	30%	16%	10%	5%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	36%	23%	15%	10%	15%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	36%	28%	17%	9%	6%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	35%	19%	13%	15%	16%
Denial of democratic rights	35%	23%	18%	11%	11%
Poor quality of education	35%	30%	19%	9%	5%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	34%	27%	19%	10%	8%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	34%	21%	15%	17%	12%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	34%	27%	15%	11%	13%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	34%	18%	11%	11%	23%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	32%	26%	18%	13%	8%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	32%	23%	11%	11%	18%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	31%	15%	13%	12%	28%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	31%	26%	15%	12%	14%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	29%	29%	18%	12%	12%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	29%	26%	15%	12%	16%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	29%	23%	15%	13%	18%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%	26%	19%	14%	10%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	28%	22%	21%	12%	15%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	28%	24%	18%	12%	16%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	27%	25%	20%	15%	11%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%	24%	22%	14%	10%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	26%	20%	20%	12%	19%
The problem is only in the Valley	25%	20%	17%	15%	20%

All - Muslim	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	64%	16%	7%	3%	8%
Corrupt administration	62%	19%	11%	5%	2%
High levels of unemployment	60%	21%	11%	5%	2%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	55%	24%	15%	3%	2%
No consensus for a solution in India	49%	26%	11%	5%	7%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	49%	23%	13%	6%	6%
Economic development has been politicised	48%	28%	10%	8%	3%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	47%	22%	11%	10%	9%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	47%	26%	14%	7%	4%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	46%	25%	15%	8%	5%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	46%	26%	15%	7%	5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	46%	29%	12%	6%	5%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	46%	28%	16%	6%	3%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	44%	28%	13%	6%	7%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	44%	29%	14%	7%	3%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	42%	17%	16%	10%	15%
Denial of democratic rights	42%	24%	17%	8%	7%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	40%	29%	14%	7%	5%
Poor quality of education	39%	29%	18%	7%	5%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	37%	25%	21%	8%	7%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	33%	27%	19%	12%	8%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	33%	25%	18%	13%	8%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	32%	27%	17%	12%	8%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	31%	24%	22%	11%	9%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	30%	21%	16%	11%	21%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	30%	20%	15%	13%	20%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	30%	21%	16%	14%	18%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	28%	26%	19%	12%	14%
The problem is only in the Valley	27%	19%	17%	14%	20%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	25%	24%	17%	15%	18%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	25%	23%	16%	14%	21%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	25%	20%	12%	13%	23%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	24%	21%	20%	11%	21%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	23%	21%	16%	14%	23%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	23%	15%	12%	13%	34%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	22%	17%	18%	13%	27%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	22%	24%	21%	16%	15%

All - Hindu

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Violence instigated by Pakistan	58%	25%	8%	5%	3%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	53%	24%	10%	8%	5%
Corrupt administration	52%	25%	10%	9%	4%
High levels of unemployment	48%	25%	15%	8%	5%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	46%	26%	13%	9%	5%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	46%	29%	11%	7%	7%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	43%	26%	17%	10%	3%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	41%	29%	13%	9%	8%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	41%	34%	12%	6%	6%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	30%	11%	11%	6%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	40%	37%	12%	6%	4%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	40%	32%	10%	11%	8%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	39%	15%	21%	12%	13%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	26%	14%	10%	11%
Economic development has been politicised	37%	33%	16%	9%	4%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	36%	27%	18%	13%	6%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	35%	30%	14%	12%	9%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	34%	29%	15%	14%	7%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	33%	25%	25%	10%	7%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	32%	28%	28%	7%	5%
No consensus for a solution in India	31%	36%	16%	11%	6%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	31%	36%	15%	11%	7%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	31%	28%	18%	14%	9%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	30%	31%	14%	14%	10%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	30%	27%	22%	12%	8%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	29%	33%	18%	12%	9%
Poor quality of education	29%	31%	21%	13%	6%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	28%	25%	18%	19%	10%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	25%	31%	19%	15%	9%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	24%	27%	20%	17%	13%
Denial of democratic rights	23%	23%	20%	18%	17%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	22%	19%	19%	13%	25%
The problem is only in the Valley	21%	20%	18%	19%	22%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	20%	20%	28%	17%	11%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	18%	15%	18%	23%	26%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	14%	13%	10%	16%	47%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	13%	13%	16%	33%	24%

All - Buddhist

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
High levels of unemployment	71%	13%	5%		11%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	66%	13%	8%	3%	11%
Corrupt administration	66%	21%	13%		
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	63%	18%	11%	3%	5%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	63%	16%	5%	3%	13%
Economic development has been politicised	61%	21%	16%		3%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	58%	32%	5%	5%	
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	58%	16%	21%	3%	3%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	53%	34%	5%	5%	3%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	53%	37%	5%	5%	
The problem is only in the Valley	53%	29%	11%	5%	3%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	47%	32%	13%		8%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	47%	26%	21%		5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	47%	26%	16%	3%	8%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	45%	29%	16%	5%	5%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	39%	37%	8%	5%	11%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	37%	21%	32%	11%	
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%	24%	32%	5%	3%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	37%	11%		3%	50%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	34%	16%	24%	5%	21%
No consensus for a solution in India	32%	34%	29%		5%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	29%	3%	16%	18%	34%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	29%	16%	24%	21%	11%
Poor quality of education	29%	39%	21%	11%	
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	26%	32%	3%	3%	37%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	26%	11%	21%	18%	24%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	26%	32%	11%	3%	29%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	26%	37%	26%	8%	3%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	24%	29%	21%	13%	13%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	24%	21%	16%	29%	11%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	21%	13%	21%	21%	24%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	18%	42%	21%		18%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	18%	11%	24%	5%	42%
Denial of democratic rights	16%	5%	42%	8%	29%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	13%	24%	11%	16%	37%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	5%	5%		24%	66%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	5%	5%	21%	21%	47%

Kashmir Valley	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	65%	14%	6%	3%	8%
Corrupt administration	62%	18%	11%	4%	2%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	61%	24%	10%	3%	1%
High levels of unemployment	61%	21%	9%	4%	2%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	55%	24%	12%	4%	3%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	55%	20%	11%	5%	5%
Economic development has been politicised	52%	25%	11%	7%	3%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	49%	24%	11%	9%	5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	49%	28%	11%	5%	4%
No consensus for a solution in India	48%	25%	11%	5%	7%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	48%	25%	15%	6%	4%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	46%	16%	16%	8%	13%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	46%	28%	11%	5%	8%
Denial of democratic rights	46%	23%	17%	6%	5%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	46%	28%	18%	5%	3%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	45%	28%	13%	7%	3%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	44%	28%	15%	6%	4%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	43%	26%	15%	8%	6%
Poor quality of education	40%	29%	17%	7%	5%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%	25%	18%	11%	5%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	35%	25%	23%	8%	6%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	34%	28%	19%	10%	6%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	33%	29%	18%	11%	6%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	31%	26%	23%	10%	7%
The problem is only in the Valley	27%	19%	16%	16%	17%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	22%	25%	19%	15%	17%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	22%	18%	18%	17%	23%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	21%	19%	16%	17%	24%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	20%	21%	16%	15%	26%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	20%	18%	20%	13%	26%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	20%	22%	16%	16%	24%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	19%	19%	19%	13%	28%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	18%	22%	22%	18%	17%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	17%	13%	19%	13%	35%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	17%	19%	16%	15%	29%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	17%	18%	12%	15%	30%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	16%	13%	11%	13%	43%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	66%	15%	6%	3%	8%
Corrupt administration	62%	19%	11%	4%	2%
High levels of unemployment	61%	22%	10%	4%	2%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	60%	24%	10%	3%	1%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	55%	25%	13%	3%	3%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	55%	20%	11%	5%	5%
Economic development has been politicised	52%	26%	11%	7%	3%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	50%	24%	10%	9%	5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	49%	29%	11%	5%	4%
No consensus for a solution in India	48%	25%	11%	5%	7%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	48%	26%	15%	6%	4%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	46%	16%	16%	8%	13%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	46%	29%	11%	5%	8%
Denial of democratic rights	45%	24%	17%	7%	5%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%	29%	18%	5%	2%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	45%	29%	12%	7%	3%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	44%	29%	14%	6%	4%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	43%	27%	15%	8%	5%
Poor quality of education	39%	30%	17%	7%	5%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%	26%	18%	11%	6%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	35%	25%	23%	8%	6%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	34%	28%	19%	11%	6%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	33%	30%	17%	11%	6%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	32%	26%	23%	10%	7%
The problem is only in the Valley	26%	19%	16%	16%	17%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	22%	26%	19%	15%	16%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	22%	19%	18%	17%	23%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	21%	19%	16%	17%	24%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	20%	19%	19%	13%	28%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	20%	21%	16%	15%	26%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	19%	22%	22%	19%	17%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	19%	19%	20%	13%	26%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	19%	22%	16%	16%	24%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	17%	13%	19%	14%	34%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	17%	20%	16%	15%	29%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	17%	18%	12%	15%	30%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	16%	13%	10%	13%	44%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	82%	9%	9%		
Economic development has been politicised	82%		9%		9%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	73%	9%		9%	9%
High levels of unemployment	73%		18%	9%	
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	64%	18%		9%	9%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	64%	18%		9%	
No consensus for a solution in India	64%	27%	9%		
Denial of democratic rights	64%	9%	9%		18%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	64%	9%	9%		18%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	55%	18%	9%	18%	
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	55%	9%	9%	9%	18%
Poor quality of education	55%	18%	18%	9%	
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	46%	9%	9%	9%	27%
Corrupt administration	46%	9%	9%	9%	27%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	46%	18%	27%		9%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	46%	18%	18%	9%	9%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	46%	9%	27%		18%
The problem is only in the Valley	46%	18%	9%	9%	18%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	36%	18%	27%	9%	
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	36%	27%	18%	18%	
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	36%	36%		18%	9%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	36%		36%		27%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	27%	18%	18%	18%	9%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	27%	27%		18%	18%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	27%	9%		9%	46%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	27%	18%	46%		
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	27%	36%		18%	18%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	27%	18%	9%	18%	27%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	27%	36%	18%		9%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	27%		9%	27%	36%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	18%		18%	18%	46%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	18%	18%	9%	18%	27%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	18%	27%	18%		27%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	18%	27%		18%	27%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	18%	9%	18%	27%	18%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	9%	18%	18%	9%	36%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	9%	18%	27%		46%

Jammu Province	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Violence instigated by Pakistan	56%	23%	10%	8%	4%
Corrupt administration	56%	24%	10%	7%	3%
High levels of unemployment	52%	23%	15%	7%	4%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	49%	24%	11%	9%	7%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	48%	27%	12%	8%	5%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	47%	17%	17%	9%	11%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	45%	26%	16%	10%	3%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	43%	29%	11%	8%	7%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	42%	35%	12%	6%	5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	31%	11%	10%	6%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	41%	31%	10%	11%	6%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	39%	31%	14%	10%	6%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	39%	33%	14%	7%	6%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	26%	14%	10%	9%
Economic development has been politicised	39%	33%	14%	10%	4%
No consensus for a solution in India	37%	34%	14%	9%	6%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	36%	24%	17%	15%	8%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	36%	29%	15%	10%	9%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	34%	30%	20%	9%	7%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	34%	29%	15%	12%	9%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	34%	34%	17%	9%	6%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	34%	28%	19%	13%	6%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	33%	27%	22%	11%	7%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	33%	29%	17%	12%	8%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	33%	29%	23%	7%	5%
Poor quality of education	32%	31%	21%	11%	6%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	30%	29%	19%	11%	8%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	29%	32%	18%	13%	7%
Denial of democratic rights	28%	24%	18%	15%	14%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	28%	27%	18%	15%	9%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	26%	19%	20%	13%	20%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	26%	25%	20%	16%	12%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	25%	15%	16%	20%	23%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	23%	22%	25%	16%	11%
The problem is only in the Valley	22%	21%	18%	16%	23%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	21%	15%	11%	15%	38%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	18%	18%	17%	27%	19%

Jammu - Muslim	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	66%	21%	6%	2%	6%
Corrupt administration	60%	23%	9%	5%	3%
High levels of unemployment	58%	21%	13%	5%	3%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	53%	21%	13%	8%	5%
No consensus for a solution in India	52%	28%	10%	5%	5%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	51%	28%	10%	7%	5%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	50%	19%	13%	11%	6%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	50%	25%	12%	9%	3%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	45%	25%	23%	5%	2%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	44%	28%	9%	11%	4%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	43%	28%	14%	7%	6%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	42%	24%	16%	9%	8%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	42%	28%	18%	5%	6%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	42%	16%	11%	13%	16%
Economic development has been politicised	42%	33%	8%	11%	5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	32%	12%	6%	7%
Poor quality of education	40%	30%	18%	6%	6%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	39%	27%	15%	9%	9%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	25%	15%	12%	7%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	39%	22%	14%	13%	11%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	38%	29%	13%	9%	6%
Denial of democratic rights	37%	27%	16%	9%	8%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	37%	33%	16%	7%	3%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	37%	27%	12%	11%	7%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	36%	20%	15%	14%	16%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	36%	29%	18%	9%	7%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	34%	28%	15%	13%	10%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	34%	19%	22%	13%	8%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	34%	34%	15%	10%	5%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	33%	27%	20%	8%	9%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	33%	32%	13%	8%	5%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	31%	29%	19%	13%	7%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	31%	25%	18%	14%	10%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	30%	30%	20%	11%	6%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%	22%	18%	15%	10%
The problem is only in the Valley	25%	21%	19%	9%	25%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	22%	25%	18%	17%	11%

Jammu - Hindu	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Violence instigated by Pakistan	59%	25%	8%	5%	3%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	53%	24%	10%	8%	5%
Corrupt administration	52%	25%	10%	9%	4%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	47%	27%	13%	9%	5%
High levels of unemployment	47%	26%	15%	8%	5%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	47%	29%	11%	6%	7%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	43%	26%	17%	10%	3%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	41%	29%	13%	9%	7%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	41%	34%	12%	6%	6%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	41%	30%	11%	11%	6%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	40%	37%	12%	6%	4%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	39%	15%	22%	12%	13%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	39%	27%	14%	10%	11%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	39%	32%	10%	11%	7%
Economic development has been politicised	37%	33%	16%	9%	4%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	36%	28%	18%	13%	5%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	35%	30%	15%	12%	9%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	34%	30%	15%	14%	7%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	33%	26%	25%	10%	7%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	31%	37%	15%	11%	6%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	31%	29%	28%	7%	5%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	31%	28%	18%	15%	9%
No consensus for a solution in India	30%	36%	17%	11%	6%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	30%	31%	15%	14%	10%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	30%	27%	22%	12%	8%
Poor quality of education	29%	31%	21%	13%	6%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	28%	33%	18%	12%	9%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	28%	25%	18%	19%	10%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	24%	27%	20%	17%	13%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	24%	32%	19%	16%	9%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	22%	19%	19%	14%	25%
Denial of democratic rights	22%	23%	20%	19%	17%
The problem is only in the Valley	20%	20%	18%	20%	22%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	19%	20%	29%	17%	11%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	17%	15%	18%	23%	27%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	14%	13%	10%	16%	48%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	13%	12%	16%	34%	25%

Ladakh	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
High levels of unemployment	66%	13%	8%	6%	6%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	64%	10%	5%	6%	14%
Corrupt administration	60%	14%	15%	6%	4%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	56%	21%	9%	7%	6%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	56%	28%	9%	3%	4%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	56%	14%	20%	6%	3%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	53%	19%	19%	5%	3%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	52%	9%	8%	5%	26%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	47%	27%	18%	5%	3%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	46%	24%	19%	6%	5%
The problem is only in the Valley	46%	25%	15%	2%	12%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	44%	22%	19%	9%	5%
Economic development has been politicised	44%	26%	15%	8%	6%
No consensus for a solution in India	40%	28%	20%	4%	8%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	40%	22%	14%	2%	21%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	40%	8%	20%	11%	20%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	39%	29%	16%	11%	5%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	38%	21%	17%	8%	15%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	37%	18%	17%	10%	17%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	35%	13%	16%	13%	22%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	35%	26%	17%	4%	18%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	34%	29%	17%	6%	14%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	34%	18%	18%	11%	18%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	32%	22%	17%	17%	11%
Poor quality of education	32%	26%	24%	15%	4%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	30%	26%	14%	9%	21%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	29%	26%	19%	10%	16%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	28%	11%	21%	9%	31%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	25%	28%	25%	5%	18%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	22%	33%	20%	3%	21%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	22%	21%	11%	11%	34%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	22%	15%	24%	14%	25%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	21%	14%	20%	9%	35%
Denial of democratic rights	19%	12%	27%	16%	26%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	18%	17%	20%	28%	16%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	17%	11%	17%	16%	37%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	8%	12%	14%	19%	46%

Ladakh - Muslim	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	65%	7%	5%	8%	15%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	63%	18%	12%	2%	5%
High levels of unemployment	63%	13%	10%	10%	3%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	62%	8%	13%	7%	10%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	58%	23%	12%	2%	5%
Corrupt administration	57%	10%	17%	10%	7%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	55%	15%	12%	8%	10%
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	55%	13%	20%	8%	3%
No consensus for a solution in India	45%	23%	15%	7%	10%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	43%	20%	27%	5%	5%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	42%	20%	13%	3%	22%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	42%	20%	22%	13%	3%
The problem is only in the Valley	42%	22%	18%		18%
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	40%	22%	27%	5%	7%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	38%	20%	17%	10%	15%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	37%	23%	18%	10%	12%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	35%	28%	17%	15%	5%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	35%	27%	25%	8%	5%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	35%	20%	10%	3%	32%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	33%	12%	20%	12%	23%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	33%	23%	10%	7%	27%
Economic development has been politicised	33%	28%	15%	13%	8%
Poor quality of education	33%	17%	25%	18%	7%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	32%	15%	20%	13%	20%
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	32%	15%	10%	15%	28%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	30%	23%	23%	7%	17%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	30%	18%	15%	12%	25%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	28%	20%	12%	8%	32%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	25%	27%	20%	5%	23%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	25%	15%	15%	13%	30%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	23%	5%	28%	17%	27%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	23%	25%	33%	7%	12%
Denial of democratic rights	22%	17%	17%	22%	23%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	20%	18%	25%	12%	25%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	17%	20%	20%	32%	12%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	13%	13%	18%	12%	43%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	10%	17%	23%	17%	33%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
High levels of unemployment	71%	13%	5%		11%
Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu	66%	13%	8%	3%	11%
Corrupt administration	66%	21%	13%		
The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights	63%	18%	11%	3%	5%
Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women	63%	16%	5%	3%	13%
Economic development has been politicised	61%	21%	16%		3%
Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin	58%	32%	5%	5%	
If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost	58%	16%	21%	3%	3%
The political leadership of Kashmir is divided	53%	34%	5%	5%	3%
The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going	53%	37%	5%	5%	
The problem is only in the Valley	53%	29%	11%	5%	3%
Violence instigated by international Jihadists	47%	32%	13%		8%
The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography	47%	26%	21%		5%
Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict	47%	26%	16%	3%	8%
The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks	45%	29%	16%	5%	5%
Poor quality of infrastructure and services	40%	37%	8%	5%	11%
Violence instigated by Pakistan	37%	21%	32%	11%	
Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development	37%	24%	32%	5%	3%
Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours	37%	11%		3%	50%
The Government's rejection of the United Jihad Council's offer for a ceasefire	34%	16%	24%	5%	21%
No consensus for a solution in India	32%	34%	29%		5%
India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result	29%	3%	16%	18%	34%
Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India	29%	16%	24%	21%	11%
Poor quality of education	29%	40%	21%	11%	
Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests	26%	32%	3%	3%	37%
Politicians discriminate against minorities	26%	11%	21%	18%	24%
Ineffective State Human Rights Commission	26%	32%	11%	3%	29%
Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside	26%	37%	26%	8%	3%
The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits	24%	29%	21%	13%	13%
Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric	24%	21%	16%	29%	11%
India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization	21%	13%	21%	21%	24%
The PM's Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled	18%	42%	21%		18%
Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate	18%	11%	24%	5%	42%
Denial of democratic rights	16%	5%	42%	8%	29%
The <i>rebel fighters</i> who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces	13%	24%	11%	16%	37%
Violence instigated by the Indian Army	5%	5%		24%	66%
20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir	5%	5%	21%	21%	47%

Choosing your options for peace and stability in the region

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability in the region. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

'Essential' – *You believe this option is an extremely necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the region and should be fully implemented.*

'Desirable' – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.*

'Acceptable' – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.*

'Tolerable' – *This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.*

'Unacceptable' – *This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the region.*

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

2. Economic solutions

With regards to the future peace and stability of Kashmir please indicate which of the following economic options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	89%	2%	1%	3%	3%
Build infrastructure and communications	84%	3%	3%	4%	5%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	83%	4%	5%	2%	
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	76%	3%	4%	2%	
Safeguards against external economic invasion	68%	8%	7%	10%	
Open trade between India and Pakistan	66%	7%	5%	9%	21%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	63%	10%	9%	11%	39%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	62%	10%	12%	8%	11%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	62%	10%	6%	16%	13%
Start trade across the LoC	61%	11%	5%	19%	32%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	59%	11%	7%	14%	55%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	89%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Build infrastructure and communications	84%	3%	1%	5%	4%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	83%	4%	4%	4%	
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	76%	3%	2%	5%	
Safeguards against external economic invasion	68%	8%	5%	10%	7%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	66%	7%	4%	8%	13%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	63%	10%	5%	12%	37%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	62%	10%	12%	8%	10%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	62%	10%	3%	15%	11%
Start trade across the LoC	61%	11%	3%	16%	20%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	59%	11%	4%	14%	41%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	73%	16%	6%	3%	2%
Build infrastructure and communications	58%	26%	9%	3%	3%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	56%	27%	10%	2%	4%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	48%	27%	16%	4%	3%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	42%	25%	16%	5%	8%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	40%	23%	16%	10%	10%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	38%	28%	19%	7%	7%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	37%	24%	16%	8%	10%
Start trade across the LoC	37%	25%	17%	9%	11%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	37%	24%	18%	8%	10%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	33%	26%	19%	10%	11%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	79%	13%	4%	1%	1%
Build infrastructure and communications	62%	24%	8%	2%	3%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	61%	22%	8%	1%	5%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	53%	26%	12%	3%	4%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	52%	23%	12%	4%	9%
Start trade across the LoC	48%	25%	14%	5%	5%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	47%	30%	15%	2%	5%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	46%	25%	13%	5%	7%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	44%	27%	17%	3%	7%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	44%	25%	18%	4%	6%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	41%	22%	15%	5%	12%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	63%	22%	8%	5%	3%
Build infrastructure and communications	51%	31%	9%	4%	4%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	47%	35%	12%	4%	2%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	38%	31%	24%	5%	2%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	33%	27%	22%	8%	10%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	30%	29%	18%	13%	8%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	25%	24%	20%	15%	16%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	24%	25%	26%	16%	9%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	22%	24%	22%	20%	11%
Start trade across the LoC	19%	24%	23%	15%	19%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	18%	24%	23%	21%	14%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	82%	16%			3%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	74%	13%	5%	8%	
Build infrastructure and communications	66%	13%	16%		5%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	63%	29%	8%		
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	55%	24%	8%		13%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	50%	34%	16%		
Open trade between India and Pakistan	39%	21%	16%	3%	21%
Start trade across the LoC	24%	29%	11%	5%	32%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	16%	34%	26%	13%	11%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	16%	8%	29%	8%	39%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	5%	26%	11%	3%	55%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	80%	11%	4%	1%	2%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	64%	21%	8%	1%	4%
Build infrastructure and communications	59%	28%	7%	2%	1%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	55%	26%	11%	3%	2%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	52%	24%	13%	3%	5%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	51%	23%	11%	5%	5%
Start trade across the LoC	47%	28%	13%	5%	3%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	46%	31%	14%	3%	4%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	45%	26%	18%	4%	3%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	44%	20%	14%	5%	12%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	44%	29%	17%	3%	4%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	81%	11%	4%	1%	2%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	64%	21%	8%	1%	4%
Build infrastructure and communications	60%	28%	7%	2%	1%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	56%	26%	11%	3%	2%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	53%	24%	13%	3%	5%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	51%	23%	11%	6%	5%
Start trade across the LoC	48%	28%	13%	5%	3%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	46%	32%	15%	3%	4%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	45%	30%	17%	3%	4%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	45%	27%	18%	4%	3%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	44%	21%	14%	5%	13%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	55%	9%	27%	9%	
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	55%	27%	9%		9%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	55%	36%			9%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	46%	18%	9%	18%	9%
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	45%	18%	9%	18%	9%
Build infrastructure and communications	36%	27%	9%	18%	9%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	36%	36%	9%	18%	
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	27%	36%	27%	9%	
Safeguards against external economic invasion	27%	46%	9%		9%
Start trade across the LoC	27%	27%		9%	36%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	18%	46%		18%	18%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	67%	21%	7%	3%	2%
Build infrastructure and communications	56%	26%	10%	3%	5%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	49%	32%	11%	3%	4%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	40%	29%	22%	3%	5%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	34%	27%	21%	6%	10%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	32%	27%	18%	10%	8%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	32%	25%	22%	12%	8%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	32%	23%	18%	15%	12%
Start trade across the LoC	29%	22%	20%	12%	16%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	29%	23%	20%	12%	15%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	26%	24%	21%	16%	14%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	76%	20%	4%	1%	
Build infrastructure and communications	68%	15%	10%	1%	7%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	53%	26%	9%	1%	7%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	52%	22%	8%	5%	14%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	51%	27%	14%	2%	6%
Start trade across the LoC	51%	22%	14%	4%	9%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	46%	25%	17%	2%	10%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	46%	24%	16%	4%	11%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	40%	21%	18%	5%	14%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	36%	23%	17%	4%	10%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	34%	29%	18%	3%	10%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	63%	22%	8%	5%	2%
Build infrastructure and communications	52%	32%	9%	4%	4%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	47%	36%	12%	4%	2%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	39%	31%	24%	5%	2%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	33%	26%	22%	8%	10%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	30%	29%	19%	13%	8%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	25%	24%	20%	16%	16%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	24%	25%	26%	16%	9%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	22%	24%	23%	20%	11%
Start trade across the LoC	19%	23%	23%	16%	19%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	17%	24%	23%	21%	15%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	82%	8%	7%	2%	1%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	70%	19%	7%	3%	
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	67%	18%	5%	9%	
Build infrastructure and communications	63%	11%	16%	5%	4%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	53%	24%	10%	1%	11%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	49%	22%	21%		7%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	42%	22%	20%	2%	13%
Start trade across the LoC	29%	20%	21%	9%	20%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	24%	32%	20%	13%	10%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	23%	11%	22%	6%	37%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	15%	20%	20%	3%	41%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	82%	3%	12%	3%	
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	75%	13%	7%	5%	
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	63%	22%	5%	10%	
Build infrastructure and communications	62%	10%	17%	8%	3%
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	52%	25%	12%	2%	10%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	48%	15%	25%		12%
Open trade between India and Pakistan	43%	23%	23%	2%	8%
Start trade across the LoC	32%	15%	28%	12%	13%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	30%	30%	17%	13%	10%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	28%	13%	18%	5%	35%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	22%	17%	27%	3%	32%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption	82%	16%			3%
Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry	74%	13%	5%	8%	
Build infrastructure and communications	66%	13%	16%		5%
Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency	63%	29%	8%		
Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan	55%	24%	8%		13%
Safeguards against external economic invasion	50%	34%	16%		
Open trade between India and Pakistan	40%	21%	16%	3%	21%
Start trade across the LoC	24%	29%	11%	5%	32%
Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years	16%	34%	26%	13%	11%
Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs	16%	8%	29%	8%	40%
Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs	5%	26%	11%	3%	55%

3. Education solutions

With regards to education please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	83%	2%	2%	2%	
Education should be secular	81%	4%	5%	2%	3%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	79%	2%	1%	3%	
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	79%	2%	2%	2%	
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	78%	3%	2%	6%	3%
All students in J and K should be educated together	68%	4%	4%	3%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	50%	20%	21%	20%	3%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	43%	25%	32%	14%	3%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	42%	7%	9%	5%	
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	39%	11%	13%	7%	3%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	83%	2%	1%	2%	
Education should be secular	81%	4%	6%	3%	1%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	79%	2%	2%	2%	
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	79%	2%	1%	3%	1%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	78%	3%	2%	5%	1%
All students in J and K should be educated together	68%	4%	5%	3%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	50%	20%	18%	23%	1%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	43%	25%	38%	15%	14%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	42%	7%	10%	7%	1%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	39%	11%	14%	6%	12%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	62%	21%	9%	5%	2%
Education should be secular	58%	23%	11%	3%	4%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	55%	24%	15%	3%	2%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	53%	25%	11%	6%	3%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	47%	32%	12%	4%	2%
All students in J and K should be educated together	44%	24%	20%	6%	4%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	32%	18%	16%	13%	20%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	23%	20%	14%	16%	25%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	21%	21%	26%	17%	7%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	21%	18%	28%	14%	11%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	65%	21%	9%	3%	2%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	61%	22%	10%	4%	2%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	58%	25%	11%	3%	2%
Education should be secular	56%	23%	11%	4%	5%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	48%	33%	11%	3%	1%
All students in J and K should be educated together	43%	22%	22%	6%	4%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	33%	18%	15%	11%	21%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	22%	17%	13%	13%	32%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	21%	18%	24%	16%	9%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	19%	16%	25%	15%	13%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Education should be secular	61%	23%	11%	3%	2%
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	56%	24%	10%	7%	2%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	48%	24%	21%	4%	2%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	46%	30%	13%	7%	3%
All students in J and K should be educated together	43%	27%	20%	6%	3%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	40%	31%	12%	11%	6%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	29%	18%	18%	14%	20%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	24%	24%	17%	21%	14%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	22%	22%	32%	14%	7%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	19%	25%	29%	18%	5%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	89%	5%	3%		3%
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	82%	8%	8%	3%	
All students in J and K should be educated together	82%	8%	5%	3%	3%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	79%	8%	13%		
Education should be secular	58%	26%	13%		3%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	58%	24%	13%	5%	
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	50%	18%	3%	26%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	45%	11%	24%	18%	3%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	26%	39%	11%	16%	3%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	18%	39%	39%	3%	

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	64%	20%	10%	2%	1%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	62%	21%	10%	3%	2%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	61%	24%	9%	3%	1%
Education should be secular	54%	22%	12%	4%	6%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	44%	36%	12%	3%	2%
All students in J and K should be educated together	40%	25%	20%	5%	5%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	31%	20%	15%	12%	18%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	19%	15%	11%	12%	38%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	19%	18%	26%	16%	10%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	15%	16%	27%	17%	14%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	65%	20%	10%	2%	1%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	62%	21%	9%	3%	2%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	61%	25%	9%	3%	1%
Education should be secular	54%	23%	12%	4%	6%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	44%	36%	12%	4%	2%
All students in J and K should be educated together	40%	25%	21%	5%	5%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	30%	20%	15%	13%	19%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	19%	18%	26%	16%	10%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	18%	15%	11%	13%	38%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	15%	16%	27%	17%	14%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	55%	27%	9%		9%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	64%	18%		9%	9%
Education should be secular	73%		9%	9%	9%
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	64%	18%			18%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	73%	18%		9%	
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	64%	18%	18%		
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	64%	18%			9%
All students in J and K should be educated together	55%	36%	9%		
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	27%	18%	27%	9%	9%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	18%	18%	27%	18%	9%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Education should be secular	59%	24%	11%	3%	3%
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	59%	23%	9%	7%	2%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	49%	30%	12%	5%	2%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	49%	25%	19%	4%	3%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	45%	29%	11%	9%	5%
All students in J and K should be educated together	44%	24%	22%	6%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	31%	17%	15%	13%	23%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	26%	24%	16%	18%	15%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	22%	21%	30%	13%	7%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	19%	24%	26%	19%	6%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	63%	22%	6%	5%	4%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	57%	25%	10%	5%	3%
Education should be secular	56%	25%	11%	4%	4%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	54%	28%	10%	2%	1%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	50%	27%	13%	5%	4%
All students in J and K should be educated together	47%	16%	26%	7%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	37%	15%	10%	9%	30%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	30%	22%	16%	13%	18%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	22%	18%	24%	12%	8%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	18%	21%	18%	19%	9%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Education should be secular	61%	23%	11%	3%	2%
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	56%	24%	10%	8%	1%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	48%	24%	22%	4%	2%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	46%	31%	13%	7%	3%
All students in J and K should be educated together	43%	27%	20%	6%	3%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	39%	32%	12%	11%	6%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	29%	18%	18%	15%	20%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	23%	25%	17%	21%	14%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	22%	22%	32%	14%	7%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	19%	25%	29%	19%	5%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	79%	12%	7%	2%	
All students in J and K should be educated together	74%	12%	9%	3%	1%
Education should be secular	71%	17%	10%		1%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	70%	9%	19%		1%
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	70%	8%	6%	3%	12%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	63%	12%	18%	5%	1%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	57%	16%	14%	11%	1%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	51%	28%	19%	2%	
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	46%	8%	34%	11%	1%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	30%	23%	15%	15%	14%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Education should be secular	80%	12%	8%		
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	77%	15%	7%	2%	
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	72%	20%	7%	2%	
All students in J and K should be educated together	70%	15%	12%	3%	
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	67%	5%	22%	5%	2%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	65%	10%	23%		2%
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	62%	15%	22%	2%	
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	58%	10%	8%	5%	18%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	47%	7%	40%	7%	
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	32%	13%	18%	15%	22%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution	90%	5%	3%		3%
Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K	82%	8%	8%	3%	
All students in J and K should be educated together	82%	8%	5%	3%	3%
New textbooks on good governance and human rights	79%	8%	13%		
Education should be secular	58%	26%	13%		3%
Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists	58%	24%	13%	5%	
Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards	50%	18%	3%	26%	3%
Madrasas should be licensed by Government	45%	11%	24%	18%	3%
Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education	26%	40%	11%	16%	3%
Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups	18%	40%	40%	3%	

4. Security solutions

With regards to security please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	87%	3%	2%	7%	
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	82%	2%	1%	4%	
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	82%	3%	2%	6%	
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	79%	2%	2%	2%	5%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	79%	4%	3%	7%	3%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	79%	5%	4%	7%	8%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	78%	5%	6%	4%	
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	75%	5%	6%	3%	5%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	74%	5%	3%	9%	
Demilitarise places of higher education	73%	4%	2%	6%	29%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	72%	5%	3%	7%	
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	71%	6%	8%	3%	3%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	70%	8%	4%	13%	18%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	69%	6%	9%	3%	
Demilitarise civilian areas	68%	7%	5%	10%	16%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	67%	8%	6%	9%	26%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	65%	4%	3%	5%	
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	56%	21%	7%	43%	29%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	56%	13%	15%	9%	53%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	51%	18%	11%	29%	21%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	45%	30%	16%	51%	39%
All Detainees should be released	44%	29%	16%	50%	47%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	35%	30%	39%	15%	11%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	18%	59%	70%	42%	47%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	87%	3%	2%	5%	1%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	82%	2%	1%	3%	
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	82%	3%	2%	5%	
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	79%	2%	3%	2%	2%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	79%	4%	2%	7%	1%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	79%	5%	3%	7%	3%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	78%	5%	7%	4%	1%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	75%	5%	8%	2%	2%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	74%	5%	2%	8%	
Demilitarise places of higher education	73%	4%	2%	5%	11%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	72%	5%	2%	7%	
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	71%	6%	8%	4%	10%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	70%	8%	4%	11%	7%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	69%	6%	12%	3%	
Demilitarise civilian areas	68%	7%	3%	10%	9%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	67%	8%	7%	8%	12%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	65%	4%	3%	4%	2%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	56%	21%	2%	37%	20%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	56%	13%	15%	9%	39%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	51%	18%	6%	27%	25%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	45%	30%	6%	47%	53%
All Detainees should be released	44%	29%	5%	47%	45%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	35%	30%	47%	18%	18%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	18%	59%	73%	49%	50%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	72%	15%	6%	3%	3%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	63%	19%	8%	6%	3%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	63%	16%	10%	5%	5%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	60%	22%	9%	6%	2%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	59%	19%	10%	5%	5%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	57%	22%	12%	5%	2%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	56%	22%	9%	6%	4%
Demilitarise places of higher education	52%	21%	16%	6%	4%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	49%	26%	14%	5%	5%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	48%	26%	13%	7%	5%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	47%	24%	13%	8%	6%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	47%	26%	15%	6%	5%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	47%	23%	14%	7%	8%
Demilitarise civilian areas	45%	23%	16%	8%	7%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	42%	26%	15%	8%	8%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	41%	23%	20%	8%	4%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	41%	28%	14%	9%	6%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	37%	20%	13%	8%	21%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	34%	22%	18%	11%	13%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	32%	19%	17%	13%	18%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	29%	16%	13%	11%	30%
All Detainees should be released	27%	17%	14%	11%	29%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	19%	16%	17%	16%	30%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	10%	8%	11%	10%	59%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	77%	13%	4%	2%	2%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	70%	16%	7%	4%	2%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	67%	15%	9%	3%	4%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	65%	20%	6%	5%	1%
Demilitarise places of higher education	63%	18%	12%	4%	2%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	62%	23%	7%	4%	3%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	61%	20%	11%	5%	2%
Demilitarise civilian areas	58%	21%	10%	4%	5%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	56%	23%	13%	3%	3%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	56%	19%	12%	5%	6%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	56%	23%	12%	4%	4%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	51%	23%	13%	4%	7%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	51%	23%	13%	5%	6%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	50%	26%	13%	5%	3%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	49%	23%	14%	5%	6%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	44%	21%	14%	9%	8%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	42%	22%	14%	9%	11%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	41%	22%	21%	7%	3%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	40%	20%	15%	7%	16%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	37%	23%	16%	12%	9%
All Detainees should be released	35%	21%	17%	7%	16%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	30%	22%	18%	12%	15%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	17%	14%	14%	14%	39%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	7%	6%	7%	8%	70%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	62%	19%	7%	5%	7%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	62%	20%	8%	5%	4%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	55%	19%	11%	7%	7%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	51%	24%	13%	8%	4%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	50%	28%	12%	6%	3%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	49%	27%	15%	6%	2%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	49%	24%	11%	9%	6%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	47%	37%	10%	4%	3%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	47%	31%	13%	5%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	46%	23%	14%	10%	7%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	41%	25%	19%	9%	5%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	41%	23%	18%	9%	9%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	40%	26%	18%	9%	7%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	34%	30%	14%	13%	9%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	34%	24%	18%	12%	13%
Demilitarise places of higher education	32%	26%	24%	11%	6%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	25%	31%	20%	15%	9%
Demilitarise civilian areas	24%	26%	25%	15%	10%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	22%	19%	22%	21%	15%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	16%	15%	21%	19%	29%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	16%	11%	17%	13%	42%
All Detainees should be released	15%	10%	8%	17%	50%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	13%	15%	14%	15%	43%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	11%	11%	11%	16%	51%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	79%	21%			
The violence should stop from all sides	76%	13%	8%	3%	
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	71%	11%	11%	3%	5%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	68%	18%	8%	3%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	68%	18%	11%		3%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	68%	11%	8%	13%	
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	68%	11%	13%		8%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	61%	24%	8%	8%	
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	61%	21%	11%	3%	5%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	58%	21%	18%	3%	
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	47%	37%	13%	3%	
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	47%	18%	8%		26%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	39%	26%	32%	3%	
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	37%	39%	16%	8%	
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	37%	24%	26%	3%	11%
Demilitarise places of higher education	37%	16%	13%	5%	29%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	34%	34%	11%	3%	18%
Demilitarise civilian areas	32%	34%	16%	3%	16%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	26%	8%	13%		53%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	18%	29%	21%	3%	29%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	11%	16%	32%	21%	21%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	8%	13%	18%	13%	47%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	5%	16%	8%	32%	39%
All Detainees should be released	3%	5%	21%	24%	47%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	79%	10%	4%	3%	2%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	73%	14%	6%	3%	2%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	69%	14%	8%	3%	3%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	68%	17%	6%	5%	1%
Demilitarise places of higher education	67%	15%	11%	3%	2%
Demilitarise civilian areas	65%	19%	9%	3%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	64%	21%	6%	4%	2%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	62%	20%	9%	5%	3%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	62%	18%	13%	3%	2%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	61%	21%	11%	3%	2%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	60%	20%	12%	3%	4%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	54%	21%	12%	4%	6%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	52%	20%	13%	5%	7%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	51%	26%	13%	5%	2%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	51%	21%	14%	4%	7%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	50%	20%	15%	5%	6%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	43%	24%	16%	6%	8%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	42%	23%	18%	8%	3%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	41%	23%	15%	9%	8%
All Detainees should be released	40%	27%	19%	6%	5%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	31%	19%	19%	12%	15%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	30%	23%	16%	15%	12%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	15%	11%	12%	13%	47%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	6%	5%	5%	8%	73%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	79%	10%	4%	3%	2%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	73%	14%	7%	3%	2%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	70%	14%	8%	3%	3%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	69%	17%	6%	5%	1%
Demilitarise places of higher education	67%	15%	11%	3%	2%
Demilitarise civilian areas	65%	19%	9%	3%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	64%	21%	6%	4%	1%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	62%	20%	9%	5%	3%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	62%	18%	13%	3%	2%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	61%	21%	11%	3%	2%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	59%	21%	12%	3%	4%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	53%	21%	12%	4%	6%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	52%	20%	13%	5%	7%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	52%	20%	15%	4%	7%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	50%	26%	13%	5%	2%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	50%	21%	16%	5%	6%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	43%	23%	16%	6%	8%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	41%	23%	15%	9%	9%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	41%	24%	19%	8%	4%
All Detainees should be released	40%	27%	19%	6%	5%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	30%	23%	16%	15%	11%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	30%	20%	19%	12%	16%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	15%	11%	12%	12%	47%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	6%	5%	5%	8%	73%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Demilitarise civilian areas	82%	18%			
Demilitarise places of higher education	82%	9%		9%	
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	82%	9%			9%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	73%	18%			9%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	73%	18%	9%		
The violence should stop from all sides	64%	9%	18%		9%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	64%	18%	9%	9%	
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	64%	9%	18%	9%	
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	64%	27%			9%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	64%	18%	18%		
Pandits need their own homeland for security	64%	9%		18%	
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	64%	9%	18%		9%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	55%	9%	9%	9%	18%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	55%	27%	9%	9%	
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	55%	27%	9%		9%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	55%	27%	9%		9%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	55%	9%	9%		9%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	46%	36%		18%	
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	46%	27%	9%		18%
All Detainees should be released	46%	18%		18%	18%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	27%		18%	18%	36%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	27%	36%	27%		9%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	18%	46%	9%		18%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	18%		9%	9%	64%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	65%	19%	7%	4%	5%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	63%	19%	8%	5%	4%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	57%	19%	11%	6%	7%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	55%	23%	9%	8%	5%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	53%	25%	14%	6%	2%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	53%	28%	12%	5%	2%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	53%	26%	11%	7%	3%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	50%	33%	11%	4%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	50%	24%	12%	8%	7%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	49%	26%	12%	7%	4%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	43%	26%	16%	8%	7%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	41%	23%	21%	8%	4%
Demilitarise places of higher education	39%	26%	21%	9%	5%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	37%	25%	16%	11%	11%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	36%	26%	17%	11%	9%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	35%	31%	16%	10%	8%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	33%	30%	17%	12%	8%
Demilitarise civilian areas	29%	27%	21%	12%	10%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	22%	20%	20%	21%	18%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	18%	22%	12%	12%	37%
All Detainees should be released	18%	10%	9%	15%	47%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	16%	18%	20%	20%	27%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	14%	14%	11%	14%	47%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	14%	11%	15%	11%	49%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	72%	21%	5%	1%	1%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	64%	21%	5%	7%	3%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	63%	18%	9%	5%	4%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	61%	24%	10%	4%	2%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	59%	21%	12%	5%	2%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	58%	20%	10%	4%	8%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	56%	30%	6%	5%	2%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	56%	28%	6%	3%	7%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	54%	25%	13%	5%	3%
Demilitarise places of higher education	53%	26%	13%	5%	3%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	50%	27%	11%	7%	6%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	48%	30%	10%	7%	5%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	47%	21%	13%	10%	6%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	45%	29%	12%	6%	7%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	42%	20%	22%	5%	3%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	41%	30%	18%	5%	6%
Demilitarise civilian areas	41%	30%	12%	6%	11%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	31%	38%	8%	6%	18%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	28%	31%	15%	14%	11%
All Detainees should be released	26%	11%	13%	9%	40%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	22%	21%	15%	20%	22%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	22%	20%	14%	10%	34%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	18%	24%	16%	19%	21%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	8%	9%	9%	9%	64%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	62%	19%	7%	6%	7%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	62%	20%	8%	5%	4%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	55%	19%	11%	8%	7%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	51%	28%	12%	6%	3%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	51%	24%	13%	8%	4%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	49%	27%	16%	6%	2%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	49%	24%	11%	9%	6%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	48%	37%	10%	4%	3%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	47%	31%	13%	6%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	46%	23%	14%	11%	7%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	40%	26%	18%	9%	7%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	40%	25%	20%	9%	5%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	40%	23%	18%	9%	9%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	33%	30%	15%	13%	9%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	33%	24%	18%	12%	13%
Demilitarise places of higher education	32%	27%	25%	11%	6%
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	25%	31%	20%	15%	9%
Demilitarise civilian areas	23%	26%	26%	15%	10%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	22%	19%	22%	21%	15%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	16%	12%	17%	13%	42%
All Detainees should be released	15%	9%	8%	17%	51%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	15%	15%	21%	20%	29%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	12%	15%	14%	16%	44%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	10%	11%	11%	16%	52%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	82%	8%	7%	2%	1%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	81%	12%	6%		1%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	76%	9%	11%	1%	3%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	75%	9%	5%	1%	10%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	66%	14%	12%	7%	
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	65%	16%	13%	5%	
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	64%	16%	13%	5%	1%
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	61%	18%	15%	3%	2%
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	59%	15%	20%	3%	2%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	56%	20%	17%	6%	
Demilitarise places of higher education	55%	14%	13%	6%	11%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	53%	24%	13%	3%	7%
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	52%	20%	26%	2%	
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	51%	21%	26%	2%	
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	51%	19%	12%	5%	12%
Demilitarise civilian areas	43%	22%	16%	9%	9%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	37%	26%	29%	7%	2%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	35%	11%	14%	1%	39%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	28%	24%	26%	5%	18%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	16%	18%	35%	10%	20%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	12%	21%	26%	16%	25%
All Detainees should be released	10%	7%	20%	16%	45%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	9%	11%	20%	9%	50%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	7%	9%	11%	19%	53%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The violence should stop from all sides	85%	5%	7%	2%	2%
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	82%	7%	10%		2%
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	80%	8%	10%	2%	
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	78%	3%	3%		15%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	68%	12%	17%	3%	
Demilitarise places of higher education	67%	13%	13%	7%	
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	67%	17%	8%	8%	
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	65%	17%	15%	3%	
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	65%	17%	15%	3%	
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	62%	15%	15%	8%	
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	58%	12%	27%	3%	
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	55%	10%	33%	2%	
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	55%	23%	18%	3%	
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	53%	20%	15%	8%	3%
Demilitarise civilian areas	50%	15%	17%	13%	5%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	47%	22%	30%	2%	
Pandits need their own homeland for security	40%	13%	15%	2%	30%
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	37%	17%	37%	7%	3%
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	22%	23%	25%	7%	23%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	15%	12%	43%	15%	15%
All Detainees should be released	15%	8%	20%	12%	43%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	13%	25%	22%	13%	27%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	10%	10%	22%	7%	52%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	8%	5%	13%	12%	62%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps	79%	21%			
The violence should stop from all sides	76%	13%	8%	3%	
Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas	71%	11%	11%	3%	5%
Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed	68%	18%	8%	3%	3%
All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days	68%	18%	11%		3%
Investigate all killings of who killed whom	68%	11%	8%	13%	
All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted	68%	11%	13%		8%
<i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities	61%	24%	8%	8%	
Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire	61%	21%	11%	3%	5%
Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire	58%	21%	18%	3%	
Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar	47%	37%	13%	3%	
Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them	47%	18%	8%		26%
Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law	40%	26%	32%	3%	
Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels	37%	40%	16%	8%	
Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K	37%	24%	26%	3%	11%
Demilitarise places of higher education	37%	16%	13%	5%	29%
Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services	34%	34%	11%	3%	18%
Demilitarise civilian areas	32%	34%	16%	3%	16%
Pandits need their own homeland for security	26%	8%	13%		53%
Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K	18%	29%	21%	3%	29%
Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir	11%	16%	32%	21%	21%
Resolve the conflict through armed struggle	8%	13%	18%	13%	47%
The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K	5%	16%	8%	32%	40%
All Detainees should be released	3%	5%	21%	24%	47%

5. Human Rights solutions and the law

With regards to Human Rights and the law which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	85%	4%	3%	7%	8%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	80%	3%	4%	3%	
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	78%	3%	3%	2%	3%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	75%	4%	3%	6%	3%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	73%	4%	3%	5%	5%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	65%	6%	5%	6%	26%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	64%	8%	6%	9%	37%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	53%	17%	23%	7%	5%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	47%	23%	11%	42%	79%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	85%	4%	4%	5%	4%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	80%	3%	4%	3%	
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	78%	3%	1%	4%	2%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	75%	4%	1%	6%	10%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	73%	4%	2%	5%	5%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	65%	6%	4%	5%	23%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	64%	8%	6%	7%	27%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	53%	17%	27%	10%	3%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	47%	23%	6%	35%	53%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	68%	17%	6%	3%	4%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	55%	26%	10%	4%	3%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	54%	23%	11%	4%	3%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	50%	24%	12%	6%	4%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	49%	26%	12%	6%	4%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	41%	23%	18%	9%	6%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	40%	23%	15%	9%	8%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	37%	17%	15%	10%	17%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	32%	14%	14%	13%	23%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	73%	13%	6%	2%	3%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	62%	19%	7%	3%	3%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	57%	21%	10%	4%	3%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	56%	21%	8%	4%	3%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	55%	24%	11%	3%	4%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	49%	22%	13%	7%	5%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	46%	19%	15%	7%	6%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	44%	15%	14%	11%	11%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	32%	15%	15%	10%	23%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	59%	23%	4%	4%	7%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	54%	28%	8%	5%	3%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	42%	30%	18%	6%	2%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	42%	20%	16%	13%	7%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	40%	26%	18%	8%	5%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	36%	34%	14%	8%	6%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	31%	30%	16%	12%	9%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	27%	27%	25%	13%	6%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	14%	14%	13%	16%	42%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	74%	16%	3%		8%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	68%	11%	16%	3%	3%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	66%	26%	3%	5%	
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	66%	21%	8%		5%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	58%	11%	3%	3%	26%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	55%	32%	11%		3%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	42%	21%	21%	11%	5%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	26%	16%	18%	3%	37%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	3%		13%	5%	79%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	73%	13%	6%	2%	4%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	67%	18%	6%	3%	1%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	60%	21%	8%	3%	2%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	59%	21%	10%	4%	1%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	54%	25%	10%	3%	4%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	54%	20%	11%	7%	4%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	49%	15%	14%	9%	6%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	48%	18%	16%	6%	6%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	31%	13%	12%	12%	27%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	74%	13%	6%	2%	3%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	67%	18%	6%	3%	2%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	60%	21%	10%	4%	1%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	60%	21%	8%	3%	2%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	54%	25%	10%	3%	4%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	54%	20%	11%	7%	4%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	49%	16%	14%	9%	6%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	48%	18%	16%	6%	6%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	31%	13%	12%	12%	27%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	64%	9%	9%	9%	9%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	64%	9%	18%	9%	
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	64%	27%			9%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	64%	9%	18%		
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	55%	9%	9%		27%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	55%	27%	18%		
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	55%	36%			9%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	46%	18%	9%	9%	9%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	36%	18%	9%		18%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	63%	21%	5%	4%	5%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	54%	27%	10%	5%	3%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	44%	28%	15%	5%	4%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	41%	26%	15%	7%	5%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	40%	29%	13%	8%	6%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	39%	20%	18%	10%	10%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	35%	28%	14%	11%	7%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	29%	28%	24%	11%	5%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	20%	14%	13%	16%	35%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	71%	15%	8%	2%	2%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	53%	24%	14%	4%	4%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	50%	22%	10%	6%	6%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	48%	24%	9%	3%	9%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	46%	25%	6%	6%	5%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	44%	23%	12%	9%	5%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	35%	15%	14%	16%	17%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	35%	30%	20%	10%	4%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	31%	22%	22%	4%	17%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	59%	23%	4%	5%	7%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	54%	28%	8%	5%	3%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	43%	20%	16%	13%	7%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	42%	30%	18%	6%	2%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	39%	27%	18%	8%	5%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	36%	34%	14%	8%	6%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	30%	31%	16%	12%	9%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	27%	27%	26%	13%	6%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	13%	14%	13%	16%	43%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	81%	8%	5%		4%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	72%	17%	6%	2%	
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	61%	12%	15%	6%	3%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	60%	19%	7%	1%	10%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	57%	21%	15%	2%	2%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	56%	7%	8%	3%	23%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	49%	15%	19%	9%	5%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	33%	14%	20%	4%	27%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	17%	2%	17%	8%	53%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	85%	3%	7%		2%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	77%	12%	8%		
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	58%	15%	18%	3%	2%
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	58%	7%	20%	10%	2%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	55%	25%	2%		15%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	55%	5%	12%	3%	22%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	53%	12%	18%	8%	5%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	37%	13%	22%	5%	20%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	27%	3%	20%	10%	37%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Majorities and minorities should be treated the same	74%	16%	3%		8%
The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights	68%	11%	16%	3%	3%
Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K	66%	26%	3%	5%	
Pass a law requiring everyone to vote	66%	21%	8%		5%
International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K	58%	11%	3%	3%	26%
More powers for the State Human Rights Commission	55%	32%	11%		3%
The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective	42%	21%	21%	11%	5%
The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed	26%	16%	18%	3%	37%
Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law	3%		13%	5%	79%

6. Refugee solutions

With regards to refugees (sometimes referred to as IDPs – Internally Displaced Persons) please indicate which of the following options you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	83%	3%	1%	5%	24%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	70%	9%	10%	7%	37%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	68%	3%	4%	2%	
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	68%	5%	4%	7%	
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	66%	4%	4%	3%	3%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	64%	6%	5%	7%	3%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	63%	10%	11%	9%	11%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	62%	15%	9%	25%	24%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	61%	11%	5%	19%	24%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	49%	11%	13%	8%	3%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	83%	3%	1%	4%	10%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	70%	9%	10%	6%	40%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	68%	3%	4%	2%	2%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	68%	5%	4%	7%	
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	66%	4%	5%	3%	2%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	64%	6%	5%	6%	2%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	63%	10%	11%	9%	17%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	62%	15%	6%	21%	31%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	61%	11%	3%	17%	16%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	49%	11%	16%	8%	6%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	63%	20%	8%	5%	3%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	49%	21%	12%	7%	9%
1947 PaK refuges should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	43%	20%	15%	9%	10%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	43%	19%	13%	9%	15%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	41%	25%	19%	7%	4%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	39%	29%	16%	8%	5%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	38%	24%	16%	10%	11%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	37%	31%	20%	7%	3%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	36%	28%	19%	8%	6%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	28%	20%	22%	12%	11%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	71%	18%	7%	2%	1%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	52%	18%	12%	7%	9%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	49%	18%	14%	6%	10%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	47%	26%	13%	5%	5%
1947 PaK refuges should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	42%	21%	14%	9%	11%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	41%	21%	22%	8%	4%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	38%	29%	18%	7%	4%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	35%	29%	21%	8%	4%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	33%	29%	20%	7%	5%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	30%	19%	21%	9%	13%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	51%	24%	9%	10%	5%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	48%	26%	10%	9%	7%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	43%	19%	19%	9%	9%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	41%	33%	15%	8%	3%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	41%	28%	14%	9%	7%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	39%	34%	19%	6%	2%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	39%	25%	19%	10%	7%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	27%	22%	14%	12%	25%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	25%	23%	26%	17%	8%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	22%	20%	21%	17%	19%

All - Budhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	63%	21%	16%		
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	53%	5%	3%	3%	37%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	47%	13%	18%	18%	3%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	42%	29%	18%	11%	
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	42%	29%	5%	13%	11%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	39%	29%	26%	3%	3%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	34%	42%	18%	3%	3%
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	32%	18%	18%	8%	24%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	26%	5%	21%	24%	24%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	24%	16%	29%	8%	24%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	74%	17%	5%	2%	1%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	55%	19%	10%	6%	6%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	52%	27%	10%	4%	3%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	45%	19%	16%	6%	10%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	42%	21%	13%	8%	11%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	37%	20%	24%	10%	5%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	33%	31%	18%	8%	4%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	30%	31%	22%	8%	4%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	30%	31%	19%	8%	5%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	30%	19%	17%	9%	16%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	74%	17%	5%	2%	1%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	56%	19%	10%	6%	6%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	53%	27%	10%	4%	3%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	46%	19%	16%	6%	9%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	43%	21%	13%	8%	11%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	37%	20%	24%	9%	5%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	33%	32%	18%	8%	4%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	30%	32%	23%	8%	4%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	30%	32%	20%	8%	5%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	30%	19%	17%	10%	16%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	64%	18%		18%	
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	55%	27%			18%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	46%	18%		36%	
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	46%	9%	18%	18%	9%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	46%	18%		9%	27%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	46%	18%	27%		
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	46%	27%	9%		9%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	36%		9%	36%	18%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	27%	9%	27%		36%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	27%	18%	36%		9%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	56%	23%	10%	7%	4%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	54%	23%	9%	7%	6%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	43%	30%	16%	6%	3%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	43%	20%	18%	10%	9%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	42%	28%	14%	8%	7%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	40%	32%	19%	6%	2%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	39%	25%	19%	8%	6%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	34%	19%	14%	12%	21%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	26%	23%	26%	14%	8%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	26%	22%	21%	14%	17%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	51%	22%	11%	2%	2%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	49%	17%	9%	4%	6%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	27%	22%	27%	9%	8%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	25%	22%	19%	5%	3%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	10%	25%	21%	6%	5%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	9%	27%	16%	8%	4%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	9%	23%	15%	12%	9%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	9%	27%	20%	8%	11%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	7%	15%	13%	11%	12%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	6%	27%	15%	6%	5%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	51%	25%	9%	10%	6%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	49%	27%	9%	9%	7%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	43%	19%	19%	10%	9%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	41%	33%	15%	7%	3%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	41%	29%	14%	9%	7%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	39%	34%	20%	6%	2%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	39%	25%	19%	10%	7%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	27%	22%	14%	12%	25%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	25%	23%	26%	18%	8%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	22%	20%	21%	17%	19%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	66%	16%	14%	1%	2%
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	56%	13%	17%	3%	10%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	55%	22%	18%	2%	2%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	54%	17%	21%	7%	
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	49%	32%	15%	2%	2%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	47%	17%	11%	7%	17%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	39%	11%	17%	16%	16%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	37%	3%	16%	4%	40%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	37%	12%	36%	9%	6%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	26%	17%	24%	3%	31%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	72%	10%	17%		2%
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	68%	13%	13%	2%	3%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	65%	18%	13%	2%	2%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	62%	10%	23%	5%	
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	58%	25%	13%	2%	2%
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	50%	10%	15%	3%	22%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	47%	15%	15%	12%	12%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	30%	12%	47%	3%	8%
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	27%	2%	25%	5%	42%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	27%	18%	20%		35%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return	63%	21%	16%		
All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards	53%	5%	3%	3%	37%
Freeze the 1989 electoral list	47%	13%	18%	18%	3%
Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters	42%	29%	18%	11%	
1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs	42%	29%	5%	13%	11%
Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits	40%	29%	26%	3%	3%
Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley	34%	42%	18%	3%	3%
All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past	32%	18%	18%	8%	24%
Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees	26%	5%	21%	24%	24%
Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC	24%	16%	29%	8%	24%

7. General peace building solutions

With regards to general peace building solutions please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
We must learn from the past	84%	2%	2%	2%	
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	82%	3%	4%	3%	
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	78%	4%	4%	4%	
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	77%	4%	2%	6%	3%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	77%	4%	4%	5%	
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	76%	4%	4%	3%	
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	75%	4%	3%	6%	
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	75%	3%	3%	4%	3%
Build a secular pluralist society	73%	4%	5%	4%	
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	70%	6%	7%	4%	
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	70%	5%	5%	5%	3%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	66%	7%	5%	8%	29%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	66%	6%	4%	8%	
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	62%	5%	4%	8%	5%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	62%	7%	3%	13%	21%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	62%	9%	11%	5%	5%
Make travel across the LoC easier	57%	9%	5%	14%	37%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	55%	7%	4%	14%	3%
Separatists should participate in elections	45%	21%	21%	19%	50%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
We must learn from the past	84%	2%	1%	3%	
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	82%	3%	5%	2%	2%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	78%	4%	4%	5%	1%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	77%	4%	2%	6%	1%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	77%	4%	4%	4%	3%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	76%	4%	5%	3%	
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	75%	4%	3%	5%	
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	75%	3%	3%	4%	1%
Build a secular pluralist society	73%	4%	5%	4%	1%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	70%	6%	10%	4%	
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	70%	5%	5%	5%	2%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	66%	7%	6%	6%	13%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	66%	6%	3%	8%	1%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	62%	5%	4%	7%	2%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	62%	7%	1%	11%	11%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	62%	9%	11%	8%	2%
Make travel across the LoC easier	57%	9%	5%	12%	14%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	55%	7%	3%	11%	1%
Separatists should participate in elections	45%	21%	22%	18%	41%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
We must learn from the past	59%	25%	8%	4%	2%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	58%	19%	10%	6%	4%
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	56%	26%	9%	3%	3%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	56%	23%	10%	6%	4%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	55%	20%	13%	7%	4%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	51%	26%	12%	5%	4%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	49%	27%	13%	5%	4%
Build a secular pluralist society	48%	26%	12%	7%	4%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	47%	28%	14%	5%	3%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	44%	26%	14%	9%	5%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	43%	28%	14%	8%	6%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	41%	25%	16%	8%	7%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	40%	26%	19%	8%	6%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	39%	24%	16%	11%	9%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	37%	25%	18%	11%	7%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	35%	26%	22%	9%	5%
Make travel across the LoC easier	35%	23%	18%	13%	9%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	32%	23%	21%	13%	7%
Separatists should participate in elections	27%	18%	16%	16%	21%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	63%	21%	7%	2%	4%
We must learn from the past	61%	22%	8%	3%	2%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	58%	18%	11%	4%	4%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	58%	21%	9%	6%	4%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	54%	26%	11%	3%	2%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	53%	21%	14%	7%	3%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	49%	28%	14%	4%	3%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	46%	28%	15%	5%	4%
Build a secular pluralist society	45%	26%	14%	7%	5%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	45%	24%	16%	9%	3%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	45%	26%	18%	4%	4%
Make travel across the LoC easier	43%	24%	17%	8%	5%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	42%	25%	16%	10%	5%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	41%	25%	15%	8%	5%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	41%	25%	15%	8%	7%
Open boarders for social, cultural and economic exchange	41%	27%	19%	6%	4%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	38%	21%	15%	12%	11%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	37%	24%	22%	9%	4%
Separatists should participate in elections	27%	18%	17%	15%	21%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
We must learn from the past	58%	28%	8%	5%	2%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	57%	19%	11%	6%	6%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	55%	21%	10%	9%	5%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	54%	27%	10%	5%	3%
Build a secular pluralist society	52%	26%	9%	7%	4%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	49%	27%	13%	5%	4%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	47%	29%	11%	7%	5%
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	45%	34%	12%	5%	3%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	45%	29%	15%	7%	4%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	44%	33%	12%	7%	4%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	42%	27%	15%	9%	6%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	41%	25%	17%	9%	8%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	38%	30%	19%	8%	5%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	32%	27%	19%	13%	8%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	27%	25%	27%	13%	8%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	27%	26%	20%	14%	13%
Separatists should participate in elections	26%	19%	16%	20%	19%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	23%	21%	20%	20%	14%
Make travel across the LoC easier	23%	20%	19%	23%	14%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	87%	5%	8%		
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	82%	18%			
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	79%	5%	13%	3%	
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	74%	18%	8%		
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	74%	11%	11%		5%
All NGOs and Civil Society should cooperate to bring the common people together	71%	18%	8%		3%
Build a secular pluralist society	66%	24%	5%	5%	
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	66%	11%	16%	5%	3%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	61%	34%	5%		
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	47%	32%	8%	13%	
We must learn from the past	39%	39%	16%	5%	
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	39%	29%	16%	13%	3%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	37%	45%	13%	3%	3%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	34%	21%	13%	3%	29%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	34%	24%	24%	13%	5%
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	32%	42%	21%	3%	
Separatists should participate in elections	29%	5%	11%	5%	50%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	24%	21%	16%	18%	21%
Make travel across the LoC easier	8%	24%	32%		37%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	64%	21%	6%	2%	5%
We must learn from the past	63%	22%	7%	3%	1%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	62%	15%	11%	4%	4%
All NGOs and Civil Society should cooperate to bring the common people together	57%	26%	8%	2%	2%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	57%	21%	9%	6%	4%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	49%	23%	16%	6%	3%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	45%	25%	17%	6%	5%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	44%	24%	18%	8%	1%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	44%	29%	16%	4%	3%
Build a secular pluralist society	43%	24%	15%	8%	5%
Make travel across the LoC easier	42%	25%	19%	6%	5%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	41%	27%	22%	4%	3%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	40%	26%	19%	7%	3%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	40%	24%	16%	8%	6%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	39%	23%	18%	11%	5%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	38%	27%	20%	7%	4%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	37%	21%	14%	12%	11%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	36%	26%	16%	9%	10%
Separatists should participate in elections	24%	16%	16%	16%	22%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	63%	21%	7%	2%	5%
We must learn from the past	63%	21%	7%	3%	1%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	62%	15%	11%	4%	4%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	57%	26%	9%	2%	2%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	57%	21%	10%	6%	4%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	48%	24%	16%	6%	3%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	45%	25%	18%	7%	2%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	44%	25%	17%	6%	5%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	44%	30%	16%	4%	3%
Build a secular pluralist society	43%	24%	15%	8%	6%
Make travel across the LoC easier	43%	25%	19%	6%	5%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	41%	27%	22%	4%	3%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	40%	26%	19%	7%	4%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	40%	24%	17%	9%	6%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	39%	23%	19%	11%	5%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	39%	28%	20%	7%	4%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	38%	21%	15%	12%	11%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	36%	26%	17%	9%	9%
Separatists should participate in elections	24%	17%	17%	16%	22%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	73%	18%			9%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	73%	9%	9%	9%	
We must learn from the past	64%	18%	18%		
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	64%	9%	9%	18%	
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	55%	27%	9%	9%	
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	55%	18%		18%	9%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	55%	18%	18%		9%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	55%	36%	9%		
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	55%	46%			
Build a secular pluralist society	46%	18%	18%	18%	
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	46%	36%		9%	9%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	36%	55%		9%	
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	27%	9%	36%	9%	9%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	27%	36%		18%	18%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	27%	9%	27%	9%	18%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	27%	18%	27%	18%	
Separatists should participate in elections	18%	46%	9%	9%	18%
Make travel across the LoC easier	18%	27%	18%	18%	9%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	18%	18%	27%	27%	

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
We must learn from the past	57%	27%	7%	5%	3%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	57%	18%	11%	8%	5%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	54%	22%	10%	8%	4%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	53%	26%	11%	5%	5%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	51%	31%	10%	5%	3%
Build a secular pluralist society	51%	27%	10%	6%	4%
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	50%	31%	11%	4%	2%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	48%	29%	13%	6%	4%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	47%	29%	12%	6%	4%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	46%	30%	11%	8%	5%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	44%	27%	15%	8%	6%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	42%	27%	14%	8%	6%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	38%	27%	17%	11%	8%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	38%	27%	17%	10%	8%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	32%	25%	17%	14%	11%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	31%	27%	24%	11%	7%
Separatists should participate in elections	29%	20%	15%	17%	18%
Make travel across the LoC easier	29%	21%	17%	20%	12%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	24%	20%	21%	18%	11%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	61%	23%	9%	2%	1%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	57%	18%	12%	10%	4%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	57%	24%	7%	5%	5%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	57%	28%	7%	5%	3%
We must learn from the past	55%	26%	6%	5%	5%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	52%	23%	12%	5%	4%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	52%	27%	11%	5%	5%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	50%	26%	10%	5%	2%
All NGOs and Civil Society should cooperate to bring the common people together	48%	28%	15%	5%	4%
Build a secular pluralist society	47%	31%	11%	4%	3%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	46%	23%	11%	15%	5%
Make travel across the LoC easier	45%	23%	13%	12%	6%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	44%	37%	10%	4%	3%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	44%	29%	9%	8%	5%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	43%	31%	11%	9%	5%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	42%	27%	18%	7%	5%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	38%	22%	14%	13%	13%
Separatists should participate in elections	34%	24%	16%	10%	15%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	29%	19%	25%	14%	5%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
We must learn from the past	58%	28%	7%	5%	2%
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	57%	19%	11%	6%	6%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	54%	28%	10%	5%	3%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	54%	21%	10%	9%	5%
Build a secular pluralist society	52%	26%	9%	7%	4%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	50%	27%	13%	5%	4%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	48%	29%	11%	7%	5%
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	45%	35%	12%	5%	3%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	45%	29%	15%	7%	4%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	44%	33%	12%	7%	4%
All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together	42%	27%	15%	9%	6%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	41%	25%	17%	9%	8%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	38%	30%	19%	8%	5%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	32%	27%	19%	13%	9%
Separatists should participate in elections	27%	19%	16%	20%	19%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	27%	26%	27%	13%	7%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	27%	27%	19%	14%	13%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	23%	21%	19%	20%	15%
Make travel across the LoC easier	23%	20%	19%	23%	14%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	83%	9%	7%	1%	
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	78%	10%	2%	9%	1%
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	76%	6%	14%	2%	2%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	73%	12%	13%	1%	
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	67%	17%	11%	1%	3%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	59%	14%	19%	5%	2%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	58%	19%	18%	3%	1%
All NGOs and Civil Society should cooperate to bring the common people together	57%	24%	13%	4%	1%
Build a secular pluralist society	57%	23%	11%	7%	1%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	56%	26%	11%	7%	
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	55%	26%	14%	2%	2%
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	55%	20%	10%	13%	1%
We must learn from the past	53%	26%	19%	2%	
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	53%	18%	20%	6%	2%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	36%	23%	21%	6%	13%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	34%	24%	18%	12%	11%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	33%	28%	30%	9%	1%
Make travel across the LoC easier	29%	21%	29%	7%	14%
Separatists should participate in elections	27%	6%	15%	11%	41%

Ladakh Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	85%	12%	3%		
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	82%	3%	13%		2%
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	75%	5%	3%	15%	2%
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	73%	8%	17%	2%	
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	72%	3%	22%	3%	
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	70%	15%	10%	2%	3%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	65%	15%	18%	2%	
We must learn from the past	62%	17%	22%		
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	60%	13%	12%	13%	2%
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	55%	25%	13%	2%	5%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	53%	20%	15%	12%	
Build a secular pluralist society	52%	23%	15%	8%	2%
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	50%	17%	25%	8%	
All NGOs and Civil Society should cooperate to bring the common people together	48%	28%	17%	7%	
Make travel across the LoC easier	42%	20%	27%	12%	
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	40%	27%	20%	8%	5%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	37%	25%	27%	8%	3%
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	28%	27%	38%	7%	
Separatists should participate in elections	25%	7%	18%	15%	35%

Ladakh Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict	87%	5%	8%		
Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development	82%	18%			
Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines	79%	5%	13%	3%	
Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion	74%	18%	8%		
Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process	74%	11%	11%		5%
All NGOs and Civil Society should cooperate to bring the common people together	71%	18%	8%		3%
Build a secular pluralist society	66%	24%	5%	5%	
Pakistan should be our friend but not our master	66%	11%	16%	5%	3%
Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs	61%	34%	5%		
Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so	47%	32%	8%	13%	
We must learn from the past	40%	40%	16%	5%	
Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded	40%	29%	16%	13%	3%
Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution	37%	45%	13%	3%	3%
Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns	34%	21%	13%	3%	29%
Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange	34%	24%	24%	13%	5%
Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming	32%	42%	21%	3%	
Separatists should participate in elections	29%	5%	11%	5%	50%
Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides	24%	21%	16%	18%	21%
Make travel across the LoC easier	8%	24%	32%		37%

8. Negotiation solutions

With regards to negotiations which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	81%	4%	2%	9%	3%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	76%	3%	3%	4%	8%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	72%	6%	6%	5%	
India should have a debate on solution	70%	7%	4%	11%	13%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	69%	9%	13%	4%	
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	68%	5%	5%	5%	
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	68%	7%	6%	9%	
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	68%	5%	5%	6%	3%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	67%	4%	4%	4%	
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzaffarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	61%	6%	5%	7%	3%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	60%	6%	6%	6%	29%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	57%	10%	13%	6%	3%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	56%	10%	12%	7%	
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	53%	20%	26%	11%	13%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	53%	12%	9%	15%	50%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	50%	12%	9%	18%	
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	45%	24%	26%	23%	29%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	36%	38%	47%	23%	18%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	34%	27%	31%	23%	3%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	32%	27%	31%	22%	

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	81%	4%	2%	7%	1%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	76%	3%	2%	5%	3%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	72%	6%	7%	5%	
India should have a debate on solution	70%	7%	4%	8%	8%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	69%	9%	16%	5%	1%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	68%	5%	6%	5%	
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	68%	7%	7%	7%	1%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	68%	5%	4%	6%	7%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	67%	4%	4%	4%	20%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzaffarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	61%	6%	6%	5%	1%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	60%	6%	6%	5%	16%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	57%	10%	13%	7%	11%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	56%	10%	13%	9%	
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	53%	20%	28%	15%	10%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	53%	12%	7%	13%	37%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	50%	12%	12%	14%	1%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	45%	24%	26%	21%	42%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	36%	38%	53%	27%	18%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	34%	27%	34%	24%	7%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	32%	27%	32%	22%	28%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	63%	18%	8%	5%	4%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	49%	20%	14%	5%	9%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	49%	27%	13%	6%	3%
India should have a debate on solution	45%	25%	12%	7%	7%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	45%	27%	12%	7%	6%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	44%	24%	16%	8%	5%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	41%	27%	14%	8%	5%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	40%	28%	14%	7%	7%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	39%	28%	18%	7%	4%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	38%	23%	19%	11%	6%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	34%	19%	13%	10%	20%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	34%	23%	17%	11%	10%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	32%	28%	18%	11%	6%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	30%	23%	18%	13%	12%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	29%	28%	19%	11%	10%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	26%	18%	16%	12%	24%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	26%	24%	17%	14%	12%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	19%	17%	13%	11%	38%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	18%	16%	15%	16%	27%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	16%	17%	18%	16%	27%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	72%	16%	6%	3%	2%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	61%	21%	7%	5%	3%
India should have a debate on solution	52%	22%	12%	5%	4%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	48%	17%	14%	6%	13%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	47%	27%	13%	4%	4%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	47%	22%	14%	7%	5%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	47%	26%	13%	6%	6%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	46%	24%	14%	7%	5%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	42%	25%	16%	7%	6%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	42%	28%	13%	6%	5%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	37%	27%	16%	8%	6%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	34%	21%	16%	11%	12%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	34%	26%	17%	10%	9%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	30%	23%	16%	12%	9%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	29%	18%	14%	10%	26%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	27%	19%	14%	10%	26%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	26%	29%	20%	10%	13%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	16%	15%	11%	9%	47%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	16%	15%	14%	15%	31%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	12%	17%	16%	16%	31%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	50%	27%	14%	5%	4%
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	47%	22%	10%	10%	9%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	41%	22%	13%	12%	11%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	40%	30%	13%	10%	5%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	39%	25%	20%	10%	5%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	39%	26%	16%	12%	6%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	38%	33%	11%	7%	9%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	36%	27%	18%	13%	6%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	35%	26%	18%	13%	7%
India should have a debate on solution	32%	30%	13%	13%	11%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	28%	37%	22%	9%	4%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	27%	30%	25%	11%	4%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	25%	18%	18%	15%	23%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	24%	24%	26%	17%	7%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	23%	21%	17%	15%	23%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	23%	20%	21%	19%	15%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	23%	32%	21%	16%	6%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	20%	19%	17%	19%	23%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	19%	27%	16%	18%	18%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	19%	17%	22%	18%	22%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	79%	13%	5%	3%	
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	76%	16%	5%	3%	
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	71%	13%	11%	3%	3%
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	68%	11%	16%	3%	3%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	61%	18%	8%		13%
India should have a debate on solution	58%	16%	11%	3%	13%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	58%	13%	26%	3%	
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	55%	11%	8%	18%	8%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	55%	32%	8%	5%	
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	53%	32%	16%		
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	37%	29%	21%	11%	3%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	34%	21%	5%	11%	29%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	34%	26%	5%	16%	18%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	29%	29%	37%	5%	
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	26%	16%	37%	18%	3%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	26%	11%	55%	8%	
Give refugees representation in negotiations	26%	18%	32%	21%	3%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	24%	16%	37%	24%	
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	18%	8%		24%	50%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	16%	16%	13%	26%	29%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	74%	13%	6%	3%	2%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	67%	19%	6%	4%	2%
India should have a debate on solution	52%	22%	11%	5%	4%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	52%	26%	11%	3%	3%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	52%	20%	13%	6%	6%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	50%	21%	14%	5%	7%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	45%	15%	15%	6%	16%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	45%	23%	14%	8%	6%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	43%	29%	13%	6%	4%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	39%	23%	17%	8%	7%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	38%	26%	14%	8%	6%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	35%	20%	14%	11%	13%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	34%	27%	17%	10%	7%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	30%	20%	17%	12%	12%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	28%	19%	13%	9%	26%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	24%	16%	16%	11%	28%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	24%	27%	19%	11%	13%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	15%	13%	9%	6%	53%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	10%	17%	17%	16%	32%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	10%	17%	16%	15%	34%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	74%	13%	6%	3%	2%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	68%	19%	5%	4%	2%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	53%	20%	13%	6%	7%
India should have a debate on solution	52%	22%	12%	5%	4%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	52%	26%	11%	3%	3%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	50%	21%	14%	5%	7%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	46%	15%	16%	6%	16%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	46%	23%	14%	8%	6%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	44%	29%	13%	6%	4%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	39%	24%	17%	7%	7%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	38%	27%	14%	8%	6%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	35%	21%	15%	11%	13%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	34%	28%	17%	10%	7%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	31%	20%	17%	12%	12%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	28%	19%	13%	9%	27%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	24%	17%	16%	10%	28%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	24%	28%	20%	11%	13%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	14%	13%	9%	7%	53%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	10%	17%	18%	16%	32%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	10%	17%	16%	15%	34%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	82%	9%			9%
India should have a debate on solution	73%	9%		9%	
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	55%	18%	18%		9%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	55%	18%	18%	9%	
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	55%	9%	9%	9%	9%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	55%	27%		9%	9%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	55%		27%	18%	
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	46%	27%	9%	9%	9%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	46%	27%			27%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	46%	18%	18%	18%	
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	36%	18%	18%		27%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	36%	18%		27%	18%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	36%	9%	9%	27%	18%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	36%	9%	18%	9%	18%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	18%	9%	9%	9%	55%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	18%	36%	18%	18%	9%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	18%	9%	9%	27%	36%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	9%	27%	27%		36%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	9%	9%	27%	18%	27%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory		27%	9%	36%	27%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	52%	23%	9%	7%	7%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	50%	25%	13%	5%	5%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	41%	26%	17%	8%	5%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	40%	32%	12%	6%	7%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	39%	22%	11%	11%	15%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	38%	26%	15%	10%	6%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	38%	34%	11%	9%	5%
India should have a debate on solution	37%	29%	13%	10%	8%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	33%	35%	18%	8%	5%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	33%	29%	18%	11%	7%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	31%	26%	18%	12%	9%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	29%	30%	24%	9%	4%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	27%	25%	22%	16%	5%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	27%	21%	20%	16%	13%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	26%	31%	21%	14%	5%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	25%	19%	18%	15%	21%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	21%	21%	15%	15%	27%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	21%	27%	15%	17%	14%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	19%	17%	15%	18%	24%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	17%	17%	20%	17%	22%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	65%	23%	6%	2%	2%
India should have a debate on solution	51%	23%	13%	4%	5%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	50%	22%	12%	6%	9%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	47%	29%	11%	6%	6%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	44%	29%	12%	7%	5%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	44%	31%	13%	6%	4%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	36%	24%	17%	10%	9%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	36%	28%	12%	8%	7%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	34%	31%	19%	6%	5%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	34%	27%	16%	13%	3%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	34%	43%	9%	6%	5%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	33%	22%	9%	10%	23%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	33%	30%	19%	11%	5%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	28%	33%	19%	7%	11%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	27%	30%	12%	13%	5%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	25%	21%	20%	13%	20%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	25%	25%	19%	11%	12%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	19%	13%	11%	15%	28%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	18%	22%	11%	13%	35%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	11%	19%	15%	17%	25%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	50%	27%	14%	5%	3%
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	47%	23%	10%	10%	9%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	42%	22%	12%	12%	11%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	40%	25%	20%	9%	5%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	40%	31%	13%	10%	5%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	39%	26%	17%	12%	6%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	38%	33%	11%	7%	9%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	35%	26%	18%	13%	7%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	35%	27%	17%	13%	6%
India should have a debate on solution	32%	31%	13%	13%	11%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	27%	37%	22%	9%	4%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	27%	30%	25%	11%	4%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	25%	18%	18%	16%	22%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	23%	21%	17%	15%	22%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	23%	24%	26%	17%	7%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	23%	21%	22%	19%	15%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	23%	32%	21%	16%	6%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	20%	19%	17%	19%	22%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	19%	27%	16%	18%	18%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	19%	17%	22%	18%	22%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	73%	13%	11%	1%	1%
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	72%	7%	5%	8%	7%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	67%	11%	11%		10%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	65%	15%	13%	5%	
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	64%	13%	17%	4%	1%
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	62%	15%	20%	2%	
India should have a debate on solution	58%	19%	12%	2%	8%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	58%	18%	20%	2%	1%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	56%	12%	14%	14%	3%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	53%	7%	3%	9%	28%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	47%	11%	36%	6%	
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	44%	23%	18%	7%	7%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	39%	18%	22%	10%	10%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	39%	24%	30%	6%	1%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	37%	22%	32%	8%	1%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	34%	13%	23%	13%	16%
Give refugees representation in negotiations	33%	15%	30%	11%	11%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	32%	12%	23%	12%	20%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	29%	12%	9%	8%	42%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	22%	13%	8%	19%	37%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	77%	15%	8%		
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	73%	3%	2%	12%	10%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	72%	7%	13%		8%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	72%	5%	17%	5%	
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	68%	13%	12%	5%	2%
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	62%	10%	23%	3%	2%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	60%	12%	23%	5%	
India should have a debate on solution	58%	22%	13%	2%	5%
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	57%	13%	18%	12%	
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	53%	15%	30%	2%	
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	48%	20%	13%	2%	17%
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	48%	20%	17%	5%	10%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	45%	22%	25%	7%	2%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	45%	12%	30%	5%	8%
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	43%	27%	28%	2%	
Give refugees representation in negotiations	37%	13%	28%	5%	17%
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	37%	3%	2%	13%	45%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	30%	3%	35%	10%	22%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	25%	7%	12%	7%	50%
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	25%	17%	13%	17%	28%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory	79%	13%	5%	3%	
Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	76%	16%	5%	3%	
Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory	71%	13%	11%	3%	3%
Resolve the conflict through negotiation	68%	11%	16%	3%	3%
Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K	61%	18%	8%		13%
India should have a debate on solution	58%	16%	11%	3%	13%
Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other	58%	13%	26%	3%	
Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue	55%	11%	8%	18%	8%
All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion	55%	32%	8%	5%	
Don't stop talking because of political radical groups	53%	32%	16%		
Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir	37%	29%	21%	11%	3%
America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute	34%	21%	5%	11%	29%
India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir	34%	26%	5%	16%	18%
Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat	29%	29%	37%	5%	
India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue	26%	16%	37%	18%	3%
Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee	26%	11%	55%	8%	
Give refugees representation in negotiations	26%	18%	32%	21%	3%
India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue	24%	16%	37%	24%	
Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K	18%	8%		24%	50%
Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir	16%	16%	13%	26%	29%

9. Constitutional solutions

With regards to constitutional reform which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Muslim Un-acceptable	Hindu Un-acceptable	Buddhist Un-acceptable
J and K should be a secular state	68%	8%	11%	4%	26%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	60%	13%	9%	18%	66%
Consultation between all Districts	59%	10%	11%	10%	
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	56%	8%	9%	7%	66%
No political borders in Kashmir	50%	19%	14%	27%	37%
Kashmir should be an independent country	48%	29%	15%	51%	58%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	48%	19%	15%	24%	34%
Kashmir should be with India	46%	31%	47%	6%	
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	44%	23%	26%	19%	
Ladakh should remain with India	44%	28%	41%	7%	
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	44%	20%	21%	18%	5%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	42%	16%	20%	11%	8%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	40%	19%	22%	14%	32%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	37%	37%	34%	44%	5%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	36%	26%	21%	35%	58%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	34%	22%	27%	17%	3%
Present status should continue	32%	39%	54%	13%	8%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	32%	30%	37%	16%	50%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	32%	24%	26%	19%	53%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	32%	24%	25%	20%	47%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	31%	35%	37%	33%	16%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	31%	37%	31%	47%	34%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	30%	29%	35%	20%	5%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	28%	40%	54%	18%	18%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	28%	31%	30%	31%	63%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	26%	46%	53%	34%	18%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	24%	42%	50%	30%	37%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	24%	50%	49%	51%	58%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	14%	64%	62%	66%	90%

	All Essential or Desirable	All Un-acceptable	Valley Un-acceptable	Jammu Un-acceptable	Ladakh Un-acceptable
J and K should be a secular state	68%	8%	13%	5%	10%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	60%	13%	9%	14%	46%
Consultation between all Districts	59%	10%	12%	10%	3%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	56%	8%	10%	7%	
No political borders in Kashmir	50%	19%	12%	23%	33%
Kashmir should be an independent country	48%	29%	7%	44%	55%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	48%	19%	14%	23%	17%
Kashmir should be with India	46%	31%	63%	8%	2%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	44%	23%	29%	19%	15%
Ladakh should remain with India	44%	28%	52%	11%	
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	44%	20%	24%	18%	3%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	42%	16%	23%	11%	15%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	40%	19%	26%	14%	20%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	37%	37%	36%	40%	9%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	36%	26%	21%	29%	44%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	34%	22%	30%	17%	8%
Present status should continue	32%	39%	68%	18%	5%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	32%	30%	43%	19%	38%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	32%	24%	30%	19%	22%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	32%	24%	28%	20%	28%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	31%	35%	44%	30%	11%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	31%	37%	31%	42%	39%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	30%	29%	41%	19%	29%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	28%	40%	64%	21%	30%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	28%	31%	31%	29%	44%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	26%	46%	60%	37%	27%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	24%	42%	52%	34%	46%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	24%	50%	49%	51%	55%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	14%	64%	61%	65%	89%

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
J and K should be a secular state	46%	22%	13%	9%	8%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	42%	18%	12%	10%	13%
Kashmir should be with India	35%	11%	13%	8%	31%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	34%	22%	19%	11%	8%
Kashmir should be an independent country	33%	14%	10%	11%	29%
Consultation between all Districts	33%	26%	15%	11%	10%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	32%	16%	18%	12%	19%
Ladakh should remain with India	31%	13%	13%	12%	28%
No political borders in Kashmir	31%	19%	15%	11%	19%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	27%	17%	15%	15%	20%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	25%	18%	16%	13%	23%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	23%	14%	12%	11%	37%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	21%	21%	18%	19%	16%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	20%	20%	19%	15%	19%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	18%	16%	19%	16%	22%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	18%	17%	15%	16%	26%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	18%	14%	16%	13%	35%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	17%	14%	17%	19%	29%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	17%	15%	20%	17%	24%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	17%	13%	13%	14%	37%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	16%	16%	19%	15%	30%
Present status should continue	15%	17%	16%	10%	39%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	15%	16%	23%	17%	24%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	14%	14%	14%	15%	40%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	12%	14%	12%	13%	46%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	12%	12%	16%	15%	42%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	12%	16%	18%	18%	31%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	11%	13%	10%	12%	50%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	8%	6%	9%	11%	64%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	54%	17%	7%	7%	9%
Kashmir should be an independent country	48%	17%	10%	8%	15%
J and K should be a secular state	44%	21%	13%	9%	11%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	39%	16%	14%	11%	15%
No political borders in Kashmir	36%	20%	15%	9%	14%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	32%	21%	18%	13%	9%
Consultation between all Districts	31%	25%	17%	11%	11%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	27%	16%	15%	12%	26%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	26%	14%	12%	11%	34%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	24%	16%	14%	17%	21%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	20%	20%	16%	15%	21%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	20%	14%	14%	14%	31%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	20%	19%	18%	17%	20%
Kashmir should be with India	19%	9%	15%	8%	47%
Ladakh should remain with India	19%	10%	13%	12%	41%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	18%	14%	16%	18%	26%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	17%	12%	16%	18%	27%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	17%	20%	21%	13%	22%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	15%	13%	15%	15%	37%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	15%	15%	22%	17%	25%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	13%	11%	10%	10%	54%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	13%	13%	19%	13%	37%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	13%	11%	17%	17%	35%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	13%	15%	17%	17%	30%
Present status should continue	11%	12%	10%	10%	54%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	11%	14%	10%	11%	49%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	10%	14%	8%	11%	53%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	10%	9%	14%	12%	50%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	8%	8%	10%	10%	62%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be with India	58%	16%	11%	9%	6%
J and K should be a secular state	50%	25%	12%	8%	4%
Ladakh should remain with India	50%	19%	12%	12%	7%
Consultation between all Districts	37%	27%	12%	12%	10%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	37%	24%	20%	10%	7%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	29%	21%	17%	12%	18%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	26%	22%	18%	20%	14%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	25%	20%	20%	15%	18%
No political borders in Kashmir	25%	18%	14%	15%	27%
Present status should continue	23%	26%	24%	12%	13%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	22%	25%	19%	23%	11%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	21%	15%	25%	14%	24%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	21%	24%	19%	16%	19%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	21%	14%	19%	12%	33%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	20%	22%	22%	19%	16%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	19%	19%	18%	23%	20%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	19%	22%	24%	16%	17%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	16%	13%	18%	18%	34%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	16%	17%	27%	18%	19%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	16%	13%	14%	20%	35%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	15%	18%	23%	24%	18%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	15%	14%	12%	13%	44%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	15%	17%	17%	20%	30%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	14%	20%	27%	17%	20%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	13%	12%	12%	15%	47%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	12%	11%	11%	14%	51%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	10%	19%	20%	19%	31%
Kashmir should be an independent country	9%	12%	10%	17%	51%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	8%	4%	8%	13%	66%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be with India	92%	8%			
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	84%	8%	3%		5%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	79%	11%	5%		5%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	74%	13%	11%	3%	
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	63%	13%	13%	5%	5%
Ladakh should remain with India	61%	13%	24%	3%	
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	61%	24%	11%	5%	
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	58%	18%	8%	8%	8%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	53%	18%	21%	5%	3%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	47%	21%	11%	5%	16%
J and K should be a secular state	42%	11%	11%	11%	26%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	42%	8%	8%	11%	32%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	39%	29%	8%	5%	18%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	34%	24%	16%	8%	18%
Consultation between all Districts	34%	26%	34%	5%	
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	29%	3%	18%	3%	47%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	26%	8%	13%	16%	37%
No political borders in Kashmir	26%	13%	24%		37%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	21%	5%	16%	24%	34%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	21%	8%	5%	13%	53%
Present status should continue	18%	29%	34%	11%	8%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	16%	11%	16%		58%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	16%	24%	18%	8%	34%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	13%	5%	11%	8%	63%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	11%	11%	5%	24%	50%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	8%	11%	18%	5%	58%
Kashmir should be an independent country	5%	3%	24%	11%	58%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	3%	11%	8%	13%	66%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan				11%	89%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be an independent country	62%	14%	8%	6%	7%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	59%	17%	5%	4%	9%
J and K should be a secular state	39%	22%	13%	10%	13%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	39%	16%	14%	12%	14%
No political borders in Kashmir	39%	20%	14%	9%	12%
Consultation between all Districts	31%	22%	17%	11%	12%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	28%	12%	9%	11%	36%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	28%	13%	12%	12%	29%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	28%	21%	20%	13%	10%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	22%	14%	11%	14%	31%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	20%	18%	18%	15%	22%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	19%	16%	14%	20%	24%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	17%	17%	19%	17%	23%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	14%	13%	16%	17%	30%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	14%	15%	14%	19%	30%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	14%	15%	20%	16%	28%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	14%	13%	15%	15%	31%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	12%	11%	19%	11%	43%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	12%	20%	18%	15%	26%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	12%	14%	8%	12%	49%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	11%	13%	14%	13%	44%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	10%	8%	13%	12%	52%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	10%	8%	18%	18%	41%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	8%	7%	7%	9%	64%
Present status should continue	8%	8%	5%	8%	68%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	7%	13%	6%	11%	60%
Ladakh should remain with India	7%	8%	14%	14%	52%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	6%	9%	10%	11%	61%
Kashmir should be with India	6%	6%	14%	8%	63%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be an independent country	62%	15%	7%	6%	7%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	60%	18%	5%	4%	8%
No political borders in Kashmir	41%	20%	13%	9%	12%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	40%	15%	14%	12%	13%
J and K should be a secular state	39%	22%	13%	10%	13%
Consultation between all Districts	31%	23%	17%	12%	12%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	28%	12%	8%	11%	36%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	28%	13%	12%	12%	30%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	28%	22%	20%	13%	10%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	22%	14%	11%	14%	31%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	20%	15%	14%	20%	24%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	20%	19%	18%	15%	22%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	17%	17%	19%	17%	23%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	14%	13%	16%	17%	31%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	14%	16%	13%	19%	30%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	14%	15%	20%	16%	29%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	14%	13%	16%	16%	31%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	12%	10%	19%	11%	42%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	12%	21%	18%	15%	26%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	12%	15%	8%	12%	49%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	11%	13%	14%	13%	44%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	10%	8%	13%	12%	52%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	10%	8%	18%	18%	41%
Present status should continue	8%	8%	5%	8%	68%
Kashmir should be with India	7%	6%	14%	8%	63%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	7%	7%	7%	9%	65%
Ladakh should remain with India	7%	8%	14%	15%	52%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	6%	10%	10%	11%	61%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	6%	14%	6%	11%	59%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	55%	18%	9%		9%
J and K should be a secular state	55%	18%		18%	9%
Kashmir should be an independent country	46%	9%	9%		27%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	46%	9%	27%	18%	
Consultation between all Districts	36%	18%	9%	9%	18%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	27%	9%	36%	9%	18%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	27%	18%	9%	27%	9%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	27%	18%	9%	27%	9%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	27%		27%	18%	18%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	27%	9%	36%	27%	
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	18%	18%	9%	18%	27%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	18%	9%	18%	36%	18%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	18%			18%	64%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	18%	36%	27%	9%	9%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	18%	9%	18%	27%	18%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	18%	9%		9%	64%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	18%	9%	18%	9%	27%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	18%	9%	18%	9%	36%
Present status should continue	9%	9%	9%	18%	55%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	9%	27%	36%	18%	9%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	9%	9%	18%	18%	46%
Ladakh should remain with India	9%	18%	9%	27%	36%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	9%	18%		18%	55%
No political borders in Kashmir	9%	18%	36%	18%	18%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	9%	9%	27%		46%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	9%	18%	36%	18%	9%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan			27%	9%	55%
Kashmir should be with India		9%	18%	27%	36%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh		9%	18%	45%	27%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be with India	53%	17%	13%	8%	8%
J and K should be a secular state	50%	23%	13%	8%	5%
Ladakh should remain with India	46%	18%	12%	10%	11%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	36%	23%	19%	10%	7%
Consultation between all Districts	34%	29%	14%	11%	10%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	31%	18%	17%	14%	14%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	28%	20%	16%	12%	18%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	26%	17%	21%	12%	23%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	25%	20%	21%	17%	14%
No political borders in Kashmir	25%	18%	15%	14%	23%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	22%	14%	18%	14%	30%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	22%	25%	18%	22%	11%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	21%	23%	19%	16%	19%
Present status should continue	20%	25%	23%	12%	18%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	19%	19%	18%	21%	19%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	18%	21%	20%	19%	19%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	18%	19%	22%	17%	17%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	17%	19%	20%	21%	21%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	17%	16%	26%	17%	19%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	17%	17%	13%	19%	29%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	16%	16%	14%	12%	40%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	16%	18%	25%	19%	20%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	15%	14%	17%	16%	37%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	14%	12%	14%	15%	42%
Kashmir should be an independent country	13%	16%	10%	16%	44%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	13%	16%	18%	18%	34%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	12%	12%	11%	13%	51%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	10%	4%	8%	11%	65%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	10%	20%	19%	20%	29%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
J and K should be a secular state	50%	20%	15%	7%	7%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	44%	14%	10%	13%	8%
Kashmir should be with India	39%	19%	19%	9%	14%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	37%	19%	13%	9%	22%
Ladakh should remain with India	36%	17%	14%	8%	20%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	36%	22%	15%	12%	9%
Consultation between all Districts	29%	32%	16%	9%	10%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	26%	18%	14%	13%	17%
No political borders in Kashmir	26%	21%	19%	12%	18%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	26%	14%	16%	18%	25%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	25%	18%	27%	10%	15%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	25%	26%	18%	19%	12%
Kashmir should be an independent country	23%	24%	12%	12%	28%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	21%	20%	17%	15%	27%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	21%	23%	22%	15%	17%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	19%	26%	12%	16%	16%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	18%	21%	17%	10%	33%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	18%	13%	16%	22%	19%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	18%	14%	24%	22%	19%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	17%	12%	23%	17%	19%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	17%	14%	19%	15%	31%
Present status should continue	16%	23%	17%	13%	30%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	15%	5%	10%	7%	62%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	15%	18%	18%	18%	20%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	14%	21%	17%	18%	25%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	14%	16%	14%	12%	42%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	12%	14%	12%	11%	49%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	10%	22%	19%	20%	27%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	9%	13%	17%	14%	46%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be with India	59%	16%	11%	8%	5%
J and K should be a secular state	50%	25%	12%	8%	4%
Ladakh should remain with India	50%	19%	12%	11%	7%
Consultation between all Districts	37%	28%	12%	12%	9%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	37%	25%	20%	10%	7%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	30%	21%	17%	12%	18%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	26%	22%	18%	20%	13%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	25%	20%	20%	15%	18%
No political borders in Kashmir	25%	18%	14%	15%	27%
Present status should continue	23%	27%	25%	12%	13%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	22%	25%	18%	23%	11%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	21%	15%	25%	14%	25%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	21%	24%	18%	16%	19%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	21%	14%	19%	12%	33%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	20%	22%	22%	19%	16%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	19%	19%	18%	22%	20%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	19%	22%	24%	16%	17%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	16%	14%	18%	18%	34%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	16%	17%	27%	18%	19%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	15%	18%	23%	24%	18%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	15%	14%	12%	13%	44%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	15%	18%	17%	20%	30%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	15%	13%	14%	20%	35%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	15%	20%	27%	17%	20%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	12%	12%	12%	15%	48%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	11%	11%	11%	15%	51%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	10%	19%	20%	19%	31%
Kashmir should be an independent country	9%	12%	10%	17%	52%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan	8%	4%	7%	13%	66%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be with India	89%	6%	2%		2%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	82%	7%	8%		3%
Ladakh should remain with India	80%	8%	11%	1%	
J and K should be a secular state	64%	11%	8%	6%	10%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	57%	19%	14%	9%	
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	56%	7%	5%	3%	29%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	54%	11%	24%	3%	8%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	51%	13%	12%	8%	15%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	48%	5%	13%	11%	22%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	47%	11%	25%	8%	9%
Consultation between all Districts	45%	28%	21%	3%	3%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	43%	15%	13%	13%	15%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	41%	12%	19%	7%	20%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	40%	17%	11%	5%	27%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	37%	18%	10%	5%	30%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	36%	7%	21%	18%	17%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	32%	18%	27%	12%	11%
No political borders in Kashmir	29%	16%	18%	4%	33%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	22%	10%	18%	5%	44%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	22%	11%	32%	7%	28%
Present status should continue	21%	18%	41%	14%	5%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	21%	9%	17%	14%	38%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	20%	7%	16%	10%	46%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	18%	17%	9%	9%	46%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	17%	16%	18%	9%	39%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	11%	8%	21%	15%	44%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	10%	9%	18%	7%	55%
Kashmir should be an independent country	5%	3%	27%	10%	55%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan		4%		7%	89%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Ladakh should remain with India	92%	5%	3%		
Kashmir should be with India	87%	5%	3%		3%
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	80%	7%	12%		2%
J and K should be a secular state	78%	12%	7%	3%	
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	65%	3%	18%	10%	3%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	55%	7%	25%	2%	12%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	55%	17%	17%	12%	
Consultation between all Districts	52%	28%	13%	2%	5%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	45%	8%	25%	15%	7%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	42%	5%	5%	5%	43%
Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	40%	10%	13%	5%	32%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	40%	15%	27%	5%	13%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K	38%	15%	7%	3%	37%
All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future	37%	10%	32%	10%	12%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State	37%	13%	13%	12%	25%
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	33%	13%	17%	17%	20%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	32%	10%	18%	5%	35%
No political borders in Kashmir	30%	18%	15%	7%	30%
The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	28%	22%	10%	7%	33%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K	28%	8%	25%	8%	30%
Present status should continue	23%	12%	45%	17%	3%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	22%	17%	37%	17%	8%
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	18%	17%	40%	10%	15%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	18%	12%	18%	10%	42%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	17%	7%	18%	7%	52%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	10%	10%	28%	20%	32%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	7%	8%	20%	12%	53%
Kashmir should be an independent country	5%	3%	28%	10%	53%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan		7%		5%	88%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Kashmir should be with India	92%	8%			
Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture	84%	8%	3%		5%
Establish Union Territory of Ladakh	79%	11%	5%		5%
Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J & K state	74%	13%	11%	3%	
All the Districts of J & K should be allowed to decide their own future	63%	13%	13%	5%	5%
Ladakh should remain with India	61%	13%	24%	3%	
Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village	58%	18%	8%	8%	8%
Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh	53%	18%	21%	5%	3%
Make LoC the permanent boundary	47%	21%	11%	5%	16%
J and K should be a secular state	42%	11%	11%	11%	26%
Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu	42%	8%	8%	11%	32%
Make 3 separate states under India - Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh	40%	29%	8%	5%	18%
Direct Rule from Delhi in J & K	34%	24%	16%	8%	18%
Consultation between all Districts	34%	26%	34%	5%	
Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir	29%	3%	18%	3%	47%
Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution	26%	8%	13%	16%	37%
No political borders in Kashmir	26%	13%	24%		37%
Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953	21%	5%	16%	24%	34%
Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin	21%	8%	5%	13%	53%
Present status should continue	18%	29%	34%	11%	8%
Joint management by Pakistan and India	16%	11%	16%		58%
Make Line of Control irrelevant	16%	24%	18%	8%	34%
Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan	13%	5%	11%	8%	63%
Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J & K	11%	11%	5%	24%	50%
Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil	8%	11%	18%	5%	58%
Kashmir should be an independent country	5%	3%	24%	11%	58%
The people of J & K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions	3%	11%	8%	13%	66%
Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues	3%	11%	8%	13%	66%
Kashmir should be with Pakistan				11%	90%

10. A constitutional package for Kashmir

With regards to a constitutional package for Kashmir please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Per cent 'Unacceptable'	A L L	M U S L I M	H I N D U	B U D D H I S T	V A L L E Y	M U S L I M	H I N D U	J A M M U	M U S L I M	H I N D U	L A D A K	M U S L I M	B U D D H I S T
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	74	71	78	84	69	69	64	77	73	79	87	88	84
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	32	16	58	74	7	7	0	50	31	59	62	55	74
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	49	49	50	63	53	53	27	47	40	50	48	38	63
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	32	27	40	55	22	22	36	39	35	40	49	45	55
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	34	47	12	3	58	58	73	17	30	11	3	3	3
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	23	27	15	61	34	34	27	14	13	15	33	15	61
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	34	49	10	13	63	63	46	13	20	10	13	13	13

All - Jammu – Kashmir - Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	8%	4%	5%	8%	74%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	33%	12%	12%	10%	32%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	12%	11%	14%	13%	49%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	14%	15%	19%	17%	32%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	22%	16%	15%	11%	34%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	21%	22%	18%	14%	23%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	33%	13%	10%	9%	34%

All - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	9%	5%	7%	7%	71%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	49%	14%	14%	7%	16%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	13%	12%	14%	10%	49%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	17%	17%	23%	14%	27%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	14%	10%	14%	13%	47%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	21%	17%	17%	15%	27%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	20%	10%	11%	8%	49%

All - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	6%	2%	3%	11%	78%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	9%	8%	9%	16%	58%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	9%	9%	14%	17%	50%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	11%	13%	12%	24%	40%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	38%	25%	15%	10%	12%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	21%	32%	18%	14%	15%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	54%	19%	8%	9%	10%

All - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	3%		3%	11%	84%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	3%	8%	11%	5%	74%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	24%	3%	8%	3%	63%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	8%	3%	13%	18%	55%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	16%	29%	39%	13%	3%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	11%	13%	13%	3%	61%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	39%	13%	16%	18%	13%

Kashmir Valley	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	7%	5%	8%	9%	69%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	63%	15%	10%	4%	7%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	12%	10%	11%	11%	53%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	18%	20%	24%	12%	22%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	11%	7%	10%	12%	58%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	18%	14%	15%	16%	34%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	9%	8%	9%	9%	63%

Kashmir Valley - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	7%	6%	8%	9%	69%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	63%	15%	10%	4%	7%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	12%	10%	11%	11%	53%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	18%	20%	24%	12%	22%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	11%	7%	10%	12%	58%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	18%	14%	16%	16%	34%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	9%	8%	9%	9%	63%

Kashmir Valley - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province		9%	18%	9%	64%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	64%	9%	9%	18%	
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	46%	9%	9%	9%	27%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	36%	18%	9%		36%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	9%		9%	9%	73%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	9%	18%	27%	18%	27%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	9%	27%	18%		46%

Jammu Province	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	8%	3%	3%	8%	77%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	12%	10%	12%	15%	50%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	10%	11%	16%	16%	47%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	11%	11%	15%	23%	39%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	32%	22%	17%	11%	17%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	22%	29%	20%	13%	14%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	49%	18%	10%	8%	13%

Jammu - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	14%	6%	4%	2%	73%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	21%	15%	21%	12%	31%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	12%	15%	22%	10%	40%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	12%	9%	20%	20%	35%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	19%	15%	19%	15%	30%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	26%	24%	23%	13%	13%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	37%	18%	16%	8%	20%

Jammu - Hindu	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	6%	2%	3%	11%	79%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	8%	8%	9%	16%	59%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	9%	9%	14%	18%	50%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	11%	13%	12%	25%	40%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	39%	25%	15%	10%	11%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	21%	33%	18%	14%	15%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	55%	19%	8%	9%	10%

Ladakh	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	3%		5%	5%	87%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	5%	4%	20%	8%	62%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	24%	10%	14%	3%	48%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	17%	7%	17%	8%	49%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	21%	28%	42%	6%	3%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	26%	17%	18%	6%	33%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	59%	9%	9%	9%	13%

Ladakh - Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	3%		7%	2%	88%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	7%	2%	27%	10%	55%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	25%	15%	18%	3%	38%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	23%	10%	20%	2%	45%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	25%	27%	43%	2%	3%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	35%	20%	22%	8%	15%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	72%	7%	5%	3%	13%

Ladakh - Buddhist	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province	3%		3%	11%	84%
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their borders with Pakistan, India and China	3%	8%	11%	5%	74%
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India	24%	3%	8%	3%	63%
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks	8%	3%	13%	18%	55%
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance	16%	29%	40%	13%	3%
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India	11%	13%	13%	3%	61%
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State	40%	13%	16%	18%	13%

And finally do you want all the questions in this poll to be asked in Pakistan-administered Kashmir?

	Yes	No
All - Jammu - Kashmir - Ladakh	74%	13%
All Muslim	77%	12%
All - Hindu	69%	15%
All - Budhist	74%	24%
Kashmir Valley	76%	9%
Kashmir Valley - Muslim	77%	9%
Kashmir Valley - Hindu	64%	27%
Jammu Province	71%	16%
Jammu - Muslim	73%	19%
Jammu - Hindu	70%	15%
Ladakh	81%	15%
Ladakh - Muslim	85%	10%
Ladakh - Buddhist	74%	24%

SAMPLING REPORT STRUCTURE

1. Sample Type : Stratified Random Sample

2. Coverage : Urban & Rural ; the survey design covers 100 % area geographically and demographically.

3. Detailed Sampling Procedure:

Assignment: To conduct a random survey of 2000 respondents (18+ years of age) in the India Administered state of Jammu and Kashmir

<p>Target Population, Population coverage, Geographic coverage</p>	<p>The target population for this survey has been all the adult (more than 18 years of age) population of the state that is eligible for voting. To draw out our sample from this we have gone for multiple levels of stratified random sampling scheme.</p>
<p>Sampling design (Sampling stages, Clusters, Primary/secondary sampling units, Selection procedures)</p>	<p>Stage 1: From among the entire assembly segment we have gone for random selection of an exclusive set of 200 polling units. Through the use of a routine written using visual basic. These selected units are proportional to population; even if they are geographically small in size, selection is being based on the size of the target population.</p> <p>Stage 2: The sample (respondent) selection from these areas is based on the latest electoral list. In each selected area a team worth 6 man-days is sent.</p> <p>Stage 3: Locality Selection Guide: 1 polling booth area randomly selected from the EC list of that assembly segment</p> <p>Stage 4: Household Selection Guide: First household of a randomly selected respondent from the EC list in that booth area is to be taken as first and after that, every tenth respondent on the list was interviewed..</p> <p>Stage 5: Respondent selection Guide: Only one respondent per household to be picked from among the respondents (greater than 18 yrs of age) present/not present at the time of interview.</p>
<p>Remark (Problems, deviations, modifications, substitution)</p>	<p>Through this sampling scheme we have been able to ensure the age profile and the representation of the SC/ST and the Minority respondents.</p> <p>In case if the respondent is not available in the house at the time when the researcher visits the researcher has to move to the next respondent immediately adjacent to the previous one. No attempt was to be made to revisit the house in which the required respondent was not found.</p>
<p>Sample size (Gross sample size, expected net sample size)</p>	<p>Gross sample size = 3500 Completed sample size = 2034 Response rate= 58% approximately</p>

<p>Special Features of the design (Unequal sampling probabilities etc.)</p>	<p>Field Work Quality Control: Every step has been taken to ensure the quality of the data collected. The team in each constituency is led by one of the researchers of cvoter, who has been trained for the fieldwork exercise in house. This coordinator heads a team of six to ten local researchers who have been selected from our past database of researchers.</p> <p>At least one questionnaire is administered in presence of the coordinator by each of the researcher. The coordinator also has the responsibility to check that the researchers code in the responses legibly in the OMR response sheet. Before taking the researchers to the field the coordinator thoroughly briefs his team and clarifies their doubts.</p> <p>Thus about 10% of the samples were back checked or spot checked. Most of the times our coordinators have themselves spot-checked the personal profile part of the respondent so as to ensure that the sampling methodology has been followed properly.</p> <p>Data Analysis Tools and data preparation for analysis: We have used excel and SPSS for the data analysis and data preparation. Microsoft excel has been used for the general data preparation tasks due to its relatively easy interface and also its easy programmability through the use of visual basic macros.</p> <p>Also all the random selection routines and the data weighing /balancing exercises have been carried out by the use of excel. SPSS has been used for the frequency calculations and the cross tabulations of different variables.</p>
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4. Weights

The sampling scheme selected allowed for achieving a proper demographic profile thus no response balancing was required depending upon those parameters.

5. Comments

Due to the sensitive nature of the survey subject; most of the non-response is from the conflict and refugee areas, specially the female respondents in Muslim localities of the Valley, who practically know a lot but were silent due to the fear factor as well as the cultural factors (low response rate of female respondents to male interviewers). This makes the females under-represented in the final completed data file.

Demographic Questions from the Team CVoter Foundation

C1 Gender

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

C2 Write the exact age after asking the interviewee

C3 Education

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Literate(Can Read) | 4 | Graduate |
| 2 | Primary | 5 | Post Graduate/
Professional |
| 3 | High School | 0 | Illiterate |

C4 Occupation

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------------------|
| 1 | Student/ Unemployed | 6 | Government Job |
| 2 | Housewife | 7 | Private Job |
| 3 | Farmer | 8 | Self employed / Business |
| 4 | Farming Labor | 9 | General Labor |
| 5 | Fishery/Poultry/Dairy/Fruits&
Vegetables | 0 | Others |

C5 Monthly Family Income

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | Less than 3000 | | |
| 2 | 3000-6000 | 5 | More than 20,000 |
| 3 | 6000-10000 | 0 | Can't Say |
| 4 | 10,000-20,000 | | |

C6 Social Group

Hindu

- 1 SC/ST
- 2 OBC
- 3 UCH
- 4 Other Hindus

Muslim

- 5 Shia
- 6 Sunni
- 7 Other Muslims

Others

- 8 Buddhists
- 9 Sikhs
- 0 Others

C7 Many People say that elections in J&K are always rigged. Do you agree or disagree?

- 1) Yes, they were always rigged and will be rigged even in future
- 2) Yes, they were rigged earlier, but not any more
- 3) No, elections in the state were always free and fair.
- 0) cant say

If we talk about last few elections, in which of these you voted?

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| C8 | Last assembly elections in 2002 | 0 | Did not vote |
| C9 | Last Lok Sabha Elections in 2004 | 1 | National Conference |
| | | 2 | PDP |
| | | 3 | Congress |
| | | 4 | BJP |
| | | 5 | BSP |
| | | 6 | Panthers Party |
| | | 7 | CPI-M |
| | | 8 | J&K Awami League |
| | | 9 | Others |

C10 Will you vote in coming elections?

- 1) Yes, definitely
- 2) I wish to, but can't say
- 3) I don't wish but may be I will vote
- 4) I don't want and I will not vote

If the elections are held today and you have to vote, then for whom you will vote?

- | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---------------------|
| C11 | If the Assembly elections are held today | 0 | Will not vote |
| C12 | If the Lok Sabha elections are held today | 1 | National Conference |
| | | 2 | PDP |
| | | 3 | Congress |
| | | 4 | BJP |
| | | 5 | BSP |
| | | 6 | Panthers Party |
| | | 7 | CPI-M |
| | | 8 | J&K Awami League |
| | | 9 | Others |

C13 Should the Hurriyat Conference take part in elections?

- 1) Yes, it should contest election without any condition
- 2) Yes, but only if solution to Kashmir problem is guaranteed by its participation
- 3) No, they should contest only after Kashmir problem is solved
- 4) Cant say

C14 If the elections are held today and Hurriyat decides to contest the elections, then for whom you will vote?

- 0 Will not vote
- 1 National Conference
- 2 PDP
- 3 Congress
- 4 BJP
- 5 BSP
- 6 Panthers Party
- 7 CPI-M
- 8 J&K Awami League
- 9 Others

How is the work performance of the various state governments in recent past?
Which government was better among all these?

C15 Electricity Supply

C16 Water Supply

C17 Fuel / LPG / Karosene
Supply

1) Improved

C18 Local Roads

2) As it was

C19 Law & Order Situation

3) Worsened

C20 Health Facilities/ Hospital

4) Don't Know/ Can't Say

C21 School/College/ Education

C22 Human rights situation

C23 Employment opportunities

C24 Corruption in the system

c25 All together, your status /
quality of life

c26 Which Kashmiri Valley Leader do you trust the most ?

- 1 Shabbir Shah
- 2 Gilani
- 3 Yasin Malik
- 4 Mufti Mohd. Sayeed
- 5 Farrukh Abdulla
- 6 Mehbooba Mufti
- 7 Omar Abdulla
- 8 Sajjad Lone
- 9 Mriwaiz Omar Farrukh
- 0 Others / Can't say

Do you regularly follow news and current affairs from following media options?

C27 Radio

1) Yes; very regularly

C28 Newspapers/Magazines

2) Yes; but not very
regular

C29 Satellite TV

3) Not at all

C30 Internet

0) Can't Say

Thank you.