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Interpreting Elections

Independent Election Observer's Team Report

Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly Elections 2008

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CONTENTS

1	Acknowledgment	
2	Introduction	1
3	Phase I report	12
4	Phase II report	19
5	Phase III report	23
6	Phase IV report	27
7	Phase V report	30
8	Phase VI report	33
9	Phase VII report	35
10	Survey report	39
11	Conclusion	58
12	Annexure	59

Jammu Kashmir State Assembly Elections 2008: Survey and Observations

Historical Backdrop

Jammu and Kashmir came under military occupation in October 1947. But the armed resistance began only after 1988. The decades between 1947-87 saw people fight for the right of self-determination through non-violent militant struggle. Every step of the way was punctuated with obstacles either in form of direct physical assault or of arbitrary arrests, false cases, long periods of detention without trial, politics of proscription where organizations were banned and their literature seized, elections rigged. But what began in 1988 was something unprecedented in scale and magnitude.

Article 42 of the Hague Regulations (also called law of warfare) describes occupation as a “territory placed under the authority of the hostile army”. In the Fourth Geneva Convention 1949 this is attenuated. Article 2 provides that the convention shall apply even to an occupation that “meets with no armed resistance”. The rationale for this was that there is an inherent antagonism between the occupier and the people. Article 47 of the Fourth Geneva Convention provides that “the benefits under the Convention shall not be affected by any change introduced, as a result of occupation of territory, into the institutions or government of the said territory, nor by any agreement concluded between the authority of the occupied territory and the occupying power, nor by annexation by the latter of the whole or part of the occupied territory”. The conditions J&K conform to what is invested in the term “occupation”.

With heavy deployment of security forces empowered under Armed Forces Special Powers Act since October 1990, which provides impunity to the security forces, and other draconian laws such as Public Safety Act (1978), the Enemy Agent Ordinance (1948), The Egress and Internal Movement (control) Ordinance (1948), Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act (1963), Prevention of Suppression and Sabotage Act (1965), etc., soldiers are authorized to search, question, raid houses, detain without charge sheet, kill and injure on mere suspicion.

In our report “State of Human Rights in Jammu and Kashmir 1990-2006” [Published by JKCCS, Srinagar 2006] we had tried to show through our research that death toll in Kashmir was more than 70,000 for period between 1990-2005. Admittedly not everyone died at the hands of Indian security forces, some were victims of militants. What is indisputable, however, is the fact that but for the *war of suppression prosecuted by the Indian state*, to smother people's desire to exercise their democratic right to self-determination, there would not have been an armed resistance. In other words, the Indian state cannot shirk its primary responsibility for the destruction caused in J&K.

The Summer of Protests: Just two months prior to declaration of state assembly elections, on October 19, 2008, Jammu and Kashmir was in agitation. For over two months, in June to August 2008, masses of people came out in Kashmir to demand 'Azaadi' (freedom) from India. Militants silenced their guns in civilian areas. Simultaneously, in Hindu dominated three districts of Jammu region, namely; Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur, an agitation spearheaded by Hindu right-wing extremists declared a sort of war against Muslims by imposing economic blockade. By August 11, the Indian state proceeded to crack down on Kashmiris demanding freedom, but adopted a kid glove treatment for the Jammu based agitation. Strict curfew, i.e., with shoot-at-sight orders, was imposed, reminiscent of early 1990, protesters fired at resulting in loss of lives.

According to chronological data collected by us (J&K Coalition of Civil Society), in just two months of

July-August 80 people were killed, in contrast to year end total of 152 civilian deaths, with at least 2000 injured (of which nearly 600 suffered bullet injuries), doctors, ambulances and hospitals attacked by Indian security forces. There was complete ban on electronic channels and print media across Kashmir for days, journalists were beaten and their movement curtailed.

TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVILIANS KILLED IN 2008

MONTH	TOTAL NUMBER OF KILLINGS	BY SECURITY FORCES	BY MILITANTS	BY UNIDENTIFIED GUNMEN	IN THE CROSS FIRE OF MILITANTS SECURITY FORCES	BY OTHERS	EXPLOSION S
January	4	-	-	4	-	-	-
February	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
March	14	-	2	9	-	-	3
April	5	2	1	1	1	-	-
May	13	2	4	6	1	-	-
June	7	6	1	-	-	-	-
July	19	2	4	12	1	-	-
August	61	51	5	4	-	1(Killed by rioters on the Srinagar- Jammu highway)	-
September	8	3	-	3	-	-	2
October	9	3	-	4	-	-	2
November	8	5	-	3	-	-	-
December	3	1	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	152	75	17	47	4	1	8

TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE KILLED DURING 2002 ELECTIONS	
Aug 2002-Oct 8 2002	
Total number of soldiers killed	191
Total number of militants killed	393
Total number of civilians killed	222
Total number of political activists killed	41
Total number of counter insurgents killed	19
Total	866

Source: Public Commission on Human Rights

ATTACK ON MEDIAAND JOURNALISTS

Date	Name of journalist	Organization	Details of incident
July 05-2008	Raashid Wani	Sahara Samay	He was severely beaten by CRPF at near Jinab Sahib Shrine in Soura. The cameraman spent three days in the hospital.
August 12-2008	Bashir Ahmad	CNN-IBN cameraman	Bashir Ahmad Lone’s car was fired at near Lasjan. Raashid Wani was also beaten up in the incident. PRO CRPF later exclaimed that he wonders why the guy is beaten up every time.

August 13-2008	Javaid Ahmad Mir	Local cable TV channel	Javaid Ahmad Mir- was killed by a bullet from security forces near Bagh-e-Mehtab.
August 13-2008		Aaj Tak crew	The Aaj Tak crew was attacked. Their camera was broken when angry crowd attacked him inside the SMHS hospital; Srinagar and people bruised the cameraman.
August 13-2008	Amin Bhat	NDTV	Amin Bhat was injured when people attacked his vehicle at SKIMS.
August 13-2008	Ishfaq-ul-Hassan	Daily News Analysis (DNA)	Ishfaq-ul-Hassan was thrashed by people near Karan Nagar. He had earlier been stopped by police and was asked to give lift to one of their men. When people saw him carrying a policeman with him, they stopped him and started beating him.
August 19-2008	Amman Farooq	Greater Kashmir	Photojournalist, Amman Farooq was beaten up and his arm broken by CRPF at Bypass near Qamarwari.
August 22-2008	Muzamil Rashid	IBN 7	Muzamil was shooting at Habba Kadal when CRPF opened fire on protestors and then tried to snatch his camera.
August 22-2008	Sheikh Umar	News 24	Sheikh Umar was shooting at Habba Kadal when CRPF opened fire on protestors.
August 24-2008	Bilal Bhat	Sahara Samay	Bilal Bhat along with his team members Jan Mohammad, Rashid Mir and Muzzaffar were stopped by CRPF at Rambagh. Even though they had a curfew pass, they was thrashed. Sustained a fracture in his rib.
August 24-2008	Jan Mohammad	Sahara Samay	Bilal Bhat along with his team members was stopped by CRPF at Rambagh. Even though he had a curfew pass, he was thrashed. He sustained a fracture in his rib.
August 24-2008	Rashid Mir	Sahara Samay	Rashid Bhat along with his team members was stopped by CRPF at Rambagh. Even though they had a curfew pass, they were thrashed.
August 24-2008	Muzzaffar	Sahara Samay	Muzaffar along with his team members was stopped by CRPF at Rambagh. Even though they had a curfew pass, they were thrashed.
August 24-2008	S. Fayaz	UNI	S. Fayaz was stopped near SMHS hospital. Even though he had a curfew pass, CRPF personnel thrashed him.
August 24-2008	Touseef Mustafa	AFP photographer	Touseef Mustafa was sent back from Lal Chowk even though he had a curfew pass. The CRPF asked him for Curfew pass of his camera and lens.
August 24-2008	Jehangir Aziz	ETV	Jehangir Aziz was beaten by CRPF near Rambagh.
August 24-2008	Khalid Hussain	IBN7	Khalid Hussain was beaten by CRPF near Rambagh.
August 24-2008	Manoj Koul	ETV	Manoj Koul was thrashed by CRPF near Zero Bridge. He had called DIG operations, CRPF M P Nathanael, who told him that the previous curfew passes would be valid. But as he reached near old zero bridge, CRPF men thrashed him.

August 24-2008	Amin War	Tribune	Amin War was stopped near Bakshi stadium by the CRPF. The CRPF asked him to stuff his curfew passes back in his pockets and beat him up.
August 24-2008	Firdous Ahmad	News-X	Firdous Ahmad was stopped near Bakshi stadium by the CRPF. The CRPF asked him to stuff his curfew passes back in his pockets and beat him up.
August 24-2008	Amin Bhat	NDTV	Amin Bhat was stopped near Bakshi stadium by the CRPF. The CRPF asked him to stuff his curfew passes back in his pockets and beat him up.
August 24-2008	Umar Ganaie	Kashmir Monitor	A Superintendent of Kashmir Police in SMHS hospital thrashed Umar Ganaie. The photojournalist tried to show his curfew pass but the SP tore it apart. He was also beaten up by CRPF outside when a police officer asked them to beat him.
August 24-2008	Zahoor Ahmad	Greater Kashmir	The local newspapers were not allowed to distribute their copies. Greater Kashmir staff came under assault when Zahoor Ahmad, Mohd. Iqbal, Ghulam Mohammad were stopped early morning at Rambagh and beaten up by CRPF men while they were carrying copies for distribution
August 24-2008	Mohd. Iqbal	Greater Kashmir	The local newspapers were not allowed to distribute their copies. Greater Kashmir staff came under assault when Zahoor Ahmad, Mohd. Iqbal, Ghulam Mohammad were stopped early morning at Rambagh and beaten up by CRPF men while they were carrying copies for distribution
August 24-2008	Ghulam Mohammad	Greater Kashmir	The local newspapers were not allowed to distribute their copies. Greater Kashmir staff came under assault when Zahoor Ahmad, Mohd. Iqbal, Ghulam Mohammad were stopped early morning at Rambagh and beaten up by CRPF men while they were carrying copies for distribution
August 24-2008	Bashir Ahmad Dar	Greater Kashmir	CRPF men thrashed Bashir Ahmad Dar who was going to his editor's place with curfew passes.
August 24-2008	Mohammad Rafiq Margay	Greater Kashmir	CRPF men thrashed Mohammad Rafiq Margay who was going to his editor's place with curfew passes.
August 24-2008	Farooq Ahmad Mir	Greater Kashmir	CRPF men thrashed Farooq Ahmad Mir who was going to his editor's place with curfew passes.
August 24-2008	Majid Hyderi	Greater Kashmir	Majid Hyderi was intimidated at Hyderpora after CRPF men checked his I-Card and curfew pass.He was abused and was not allowed to go to office.
August 24-2008	Farooq Ahmad	Rising Kashmir	Farooq Ahmad was beaten at Batamaloo while he was carrying newspapers for distribution.
August 24-2008	Rahil	Rising Kashmir	Rahil was beaten at Batamaloo while he was carrying newspapers for distribution.

August 25-2008	Mir Ehsan	Indian Express	CRPF men patrolling the Tehsil Road in Baramulla smashed the front and back lights of the car of Mir Ehsan They also asked for his curfew pass.
August 25-2008	Asif Qureshi	Star News	Asif Qureshi was stopped at Hyderpora by CRPF and beaten up. His car was also smashed while he was coming back from Airport.
August 28-2008	Shujaat Bukhari	The Hindu	Shujaat Bukhari's home was raided by security forces as they were looking for separatist leaders.
August 29-2008	Hakeem Irfan	Rising Kashmir	The para military troopers at Rainawari downtown Srinagar beat up hakeem Irfan. "You were beaten only because you are a journalist," Irfan was told by troops.
August 29-2008	Ishfaq Tantray	Daily Etalaat	Ishfaq Tantray was stopped near Radio Kashmir in Srinagar and beaten up. He was beaten up. "You people are responsible for the problems)". Ishfaq was told by troops.
September 8-2008	Sajad Raja	Etalaat	Police cops confiscated all the newspaper supply – Greater Kashmir, Etalaat, Raising Kahsmir, Kashmir Uzam etc - meant for north Kashmir at Narbal, some 15-kilometers from Srinagar. The cops also destroyed the camera of Sajad Raja and also threatened him.
September 8-2008	Syed Muzzaffar	Srinagar Times	He was thrashed by CRPF.
September 8-2008	Mukhtar Ahmad	Srinagar Mail	He was thrashed by CRPF.
September 8-2008	Eight photojournalists of different agencies	Different agencies	Around eight photojournalists were thrashed by J-K police and Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in downtown city while covering a protest against the killing of a youth.

LOCAL MEDIA BANNED

Date	Details
August 24 to September 2-2008	For airing the wide-scale protests the local TV channels were taken off air from August 24 to September 2-2008. The government was forcing the local TV channels to sign an undertaking before resuming. According to local news channel SEN TV they refused to sign the undertaking. The ban was lifted after various rounds of meeting between government and the cable operators. Also the local newspapers failed to print the newspapers.
Sep 8-2008	<p>Police seize GK copies Police seized the copies of Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Uzma in north Kashmir Monday morning.</p> <p>The vehicle carrying the newspaper copies were first intercepted by police near Mirgund on Srinagar-Baramulla highway. After the intervention of top police officials, policemen later allowed the vehicle to proceed. However, the newspaper bundles didn't reach the destination before evening due to which the newspapers were not distributed among the readers.</p> <p>The newspapers were distributed during late hours. No reason has been given by the police for seizure of the newspaper copies.</p>

Under these circumstances questions remain over the representative character of an assembly, which is elected through a process guarded by a security force considered hostile by people. Besides, it is common knowledge, that such an assembly has no mandate to decide the future dispensation of J&K. It is powerless to

demilitarize J&K. It even lacks authority to release political prisoners without the sanction of Union of India's Ministry of Home Affairs. Notwithstanding the absence of what can be considered a democratic process, we do not belittle the formal conduct of elections. Even this casts some light on the social ground reality. Moreover, these elections were being held after more than three month long agitations in J&K. It is for this reason, as in earlier years, we decided to monitor the elections to the J&K state assembly of 2008.

It is in this existing condition elections to the state assembly 2008 were announced.

The EC announced an unusually long seven phase election, spread over six weeks, from November 17 to December 24. Extraordinary measures were adopted. For instance, security forces deployment of 667,000 for counter-insurgency was augmented by 452 companies of central paramilitary forces (cpmf). Since each company comprises approximately 100 persons, nearly 50,000 more troops were deployed inside those constituencies where elections were to be held. The counter-insurgency grid remained intact. But areas where polls were to be held were cut off from rest of Kashmir by imposing, what is euphemistically called, informal curfew. (See the table on Curfew/Hartal). It is called 'informal' because security forces do not announce declaration of curfew. Barbed wires blocked the highways and traffic was severely curtailed. No 'outsider' was allowed to be in area where polling was to be held. So much so that some Indian observers were placed under house arrest in Srinagar during the seventh and the last phase of polls because they were outsiders. This was unlike the 2002 assembly polls, where we had commended the Election Commission "for living up to its commitment of letting official or unofficial observers free access to polling booths and unhindered mobility" and lamented that "this lasted for less than a day." (1) This time mobility became a casualty and free access was denied to practically most people. In 2002 polls, 17 foreign observers oversaw the polls, this time foreign observers were not even invited and most foreign media and observers conspicuously absent. Separatist leaders, top to middle level, were booked under Public Safety Act, i.e., detained for two years. Not satisfied with this on November 2, 2008 secretary information, Mr K B Jandial, J&K government, through a circular directed the media to "refrain from publishing objectionable and seditious material failing which the government shall be constrained to take action under rules". What was objectionable and seditious were the publication of boycott call and appeal by separatist leaders. The High Court Bar Association (Srinagar) pointed out, two days later, on 4th November, that neither People's Representation Act considered a campaign for boycott of polls as unlawful and illegal nor is there a law, which compels the media not to publish boycott appeal. In other words the dice was, so to say, loaded against the separatists.

Another peculiar phenomenon was the incredibly large number of candidates per constituency. In all, 1354 candidates filed nominations. Which means an average of 15.56 per constituency. This is nearly three times the number in 2002, which was 5.81 per constituency. Remarkably, between 1983 to 2002, the average rose mildly: it was 4.38 in 1983, 4.69 in 1987, 4.92 in 1996, 5.81 in 2002, and 15.56 in 2008. An incredible number, 517, were independents.

What made these extra-ordinary measures unusual was the fact that Indian state has been playing down militancy, in particular rhetoric of "proxy war" levelled against a popular movement. Indian authorities have acknowledged that the number of infiltration bids, primary in determining all measurements of "proxy war", had fallen sharply: from 2417 in 2001 to 535 by 2007. In 2008, according to the army chief, there had been a 65% decline up to 31st July, 2008 i.e. to 150, as compared to the same period in 2007. (The Times of India, 23 August, 2008.) The Indian government also claimed a seventy percent decline in militancy related incidents between 1990 and 2007, from 3500 to less than 1000 incidents. Firing incidents came down from 671 to 183. Bomb explosions declined from 1000 to just 50. Killings of civilians declined from 914 to 153. (The Tribune, 12 December, 2007.) According to the army chief, the number of militants, "present and active" in J&K, is 750-800. It was also claimed that people are participating in existing political process and shunning 'separatists'. Besides, ceasefire was being observed by India and Pakistan along the LOC since November

2003 resulting in ending mortar shelling and a fall in infiltration.

By any indication these should have resulted in more and not less liberties, with unencumbered mobility and possibility of a vibrant public debate. Instead elections were conducted as some kind of a security force operation, which needed to be carried out Firmly and silently.

Table 1:Curfew and Hartal in 2008 in Kashmir

S No.	Date	Day	Strike called by pro-freedom groups	Spontaneous Strikes	Curfew
1.	26 th January	Saturday	Hurriyat called for a shut down against Indian Republic Day		
2.	11 th February	Monday	JKLF called for strike in remembrance of Maqbool Bhat		
3.	5 th April	Saturday	Hurriyat (G) called for a strike on alleged excesses on Kashmiri detainees		
4.	24 th May	Saturday	Hurriyat called for strike in protest against Indian President Pratiba’s visit to J&K		
5.	23 rd June	Monday		Spontaneous	
6.	24 th June	Tuesday		Spontaneous	
7.	25 th June	Wednesday		Spontaneous	
8.	26 th June	Thursday		Spontaneous	
9.	27 th June	Friday		Spontaneous	
10.	28 th June	Saturday		Spontaneous	
11.	29 th June	Sunday		Spontaneous	Undeclared Curfew
12.	30 th June	Monday		Spontaneous	
13.	5 th July	Sunday	Hurriyat Factions against police actions against Shabir Ahmad Shah at Hazratbal		
14.	13 th July	Sunday	On Martyrs Day both factions of Hurriyat		
15.	3 rd August	Sunday	Strike call given by Hurriyat (G) against anti-Muslim insurrection by Hindu fanatics in Jammu		
16.	4 th August	Monday	Hurriyat (G) against economic blockade		
17.	5 th August	Tuesday	Hurriyat (G) in protests against all Party meet called by Prime Minister to discuss prevailing situation in J&K		
18.	6 th August	Wednesday	Hurriyat (G) Economic blockade and harassment of Kashmiris by Jammu fanatics		
19.	7 th August	Thursday	JKLF Economic blockade		
20.	8 th August	Friday	JKLF Economic blockade		
21.	11 th Aug	Monday	Muzaffarabad Chalo call by both factions of Hurriyat and Trade organizations		Curfew

1.	12 th August	Tuesday	Strike call by co-ordination committee against the killing of Sheikh Aziz while he was leading a march		Curfew
2.	13 th August	Wednesday	Strike call by co-ordination committee		Curfew
3.	14 th August	Thursday	Strike call by co-ordination committee		
4.	15 th August	Friday	Strike call by co-ordination committee		
5.	16 th August	Saturday	Pampore Chalo call by co-ordination committee to pay tribute to Sheikh Aziz		
6.	18 th August	Monday	United Nation memorandum submitted on call of Co-ordination Committee		
7.	22 nd August	Friday	Idgah Chalo March called by Co-ordination Committee		
8.	24 th August	Sunday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
9.	25 th August	Monday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
10.	26 th August	Tuesday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
11.	27 th August	Wednesday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
12.	28 th August	Thursday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
13.	29 th August	Friday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
14.	30 th August	Saturday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
15.	31 st August	Sunday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
16.	1 st September	Monday	Lal Chowk Rally		Curfew
17.	2 nd September	Tuesday	CC calls for bandh after 4 PM		
18.	3 rd September	Wednesday	CC calls for bandh after 4 PM		
19.	4 th September	Thursday	CC calls for bandh after 4 PM		
20.	5 th September	Friday	CC calls for bandh after 4 PM		
21.	6 th September	Saturday	CC calls for complete shut down.		
22.	8 th September	Monday	CC calls for complete shut down		
23.	12 th September	Friday	CC calls for complete strike after 12:30 and protests after Friday prayers		
24.	19 th September	Friday	CC calls for complete strike after 12:30 and protests after Friday prayers		
25.	20 th September	Saturday	CC calls for complete strike		
26.	6 th October	Monday	CC calls for Lal Chowk Chalo		Curfew
27.	7 th October	Tuesday	Except Baramulla valley functioned normally		Curfew
28.	10 th October	Friday	Strike after Friday prayers		
29.	11 th October	Saturday	Civil Curfew against PM visits to the state		

1.	12 th October	Sunday		Spontaneous shut down in down town against the killings of two youth by troops	
2.	13 th October	Monday		Spontaneous shut down in down town against the killings of two youth by troops	
3.	24 th October	Friday	Shutdown by Hurriyat against UN Foundation Day		
4.	27 th October	Monday	Shut Down call by Hurriyat		Undeclared Curfew
5.	6 th November	Thursday	Shut down call by CC		Undeclared Curfew Imposed to thwart the Jamia Masjid Chalo call by CC
6.	7 th November	Friday	Shut down call by CC		Undeclared Curfew Imposed to thwart the Jamia Masjid Chalo call by CC
7.	14 th November	Friday	To foil anti election rally called by Hurriyat (G)		Undeclared Curfew
8.	17 th November	MONDAY	CC calls for march towards election constituencies to launch their anti election campaign		Undeclared Curfew
9.	21 st November	Friday	CC calls for anti election rallies		Undeclared Curfew
10.	23 rd November	Sunday	CC calls for march towards election constituencies to launch their anti election campaign		Undeclared Curfew
11.	28 th November	Friday	CC calls for anti election rallies		Undeclared Curfew
12.	30 th November	Sunday	CC calls for march towards election constituencies to launch their anti election campaign		Undeclared Curfew
13.	5 th December	Friday	CC calls for anti election rallies		Undeclared Curfew
14.	7 th December	Sunday	CC calls for march towards election constituencies to launch their anti election campaign		Undeclared Curfew
15.	12 th December	Friday	CC calls for anti election rallies		Undeclared Curfew

1.	13 th December	SATURDAY	CC calls for march towards election constituencies to launch their anti election campaign		Undeclared Curfew
2.	14 th December	Sunday	CC calls for a strike in protest against prime minister's visit		Undeclared Curfew
3.	17 th December	Wednesday	CC calls for march towards election constituencies to launch their anti election campaign		Undeclared Curfew
4.	19 th December	Friday	CC calls for anti election rallies		Undeclared Curfew
5.	23 rd December	Tuesday			Undeclared Curfew
6.	24 th December	Wednesday	CC calls for anti election rallies		Undeclared Curfew

It is under such extraordinary conditions that the electoral process was carried out.

It is a moot point whether these conditions can be considered conducive for a “free and fair elections” one in which “(t)he will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government”, as laid down under Article 21(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). But even within the constraints spelled above out there were other infirmities found in the electoral process.

Under Section 6 (1) of the Registration of Electors Rules 1960, “the names of electors in each part of the roll shall be arranged according to house number”. In 1996 and 2002 assembly elections, the state Election Commission (EC) undertook summary revision, which places onus on people to come forward and register themselves. The Chief Electoral Officer of J&K was reported as telling the media, on October 9, 2002, that “there was no master copy of the electoral rolls, no intensive revision had been done; electoral rolls were not even in proper serial number”. According to the EC rolls were not revised during 2007. However they were revised in 2006 and in 2008. But how effective was the revision in 2008 when two months before the polls agitation had virtually paralysed the administration?

The electoral rolls released on October 19, 2008 shows the final published roll with 6,538,111 electors for a population projected to be 12,630,246 in the year 2008. As in 1996 and 2002 the ratio of population to electors, in the region of Jammu and Kashmir, remained skewed in favour of Jammu. According to EC, the projected population for 2008 of Kashmir and Jammu were 6,922,091 and 5,408,782, and the electorate were 3,260,282 and 3,077,266 respectively. In other words whereas the ratio of electorate to population was 0.47 in Kashmir it was 0.57 in Jammu. In 2002 voters in Jammu even numerically outnumbered those in Kashmir, namely 2,892,290 in Jammu to 2,546,913 in Kashmir. While in actual numbers this discrepancy appears to have been rectified in the 2008 electoral roll. However, the fact is that the ratio of electorate to population remains skewed in favour of Jammu. This is most striking when it is recalled that as per the census data for 2001 shows the population of Kashmir rising by 73% between 1981-2001, as against 60% for Jammu, in the corresponding period. Thus in 2002 population in Kashmir was 5.44 million as against 4.39 million for Jammu. In 2008 the projected population in 2008 electoral rolls was 6.9 million and 5.4 million respectively.

Table 2: Electors in Jammu and Kashmir

Year	Kashmir	Jammu	Ladakh
1987	1878310	1539269	95101
1996	2381949	2240769	138467
1999	2422631	2463744	143719
2002	2809578	3015173	174083
2008	3260282	3077266	143595
Final 2008	(3305700)	(3115626)	(158882)

Note: See “Independent Election Observers Report: J&K State Assembly Elections 2002, pp 3 and ceojammuandkashmir@nic.in

Table 3: Ratio of Population to Electorate

Year	Kashmir	Ratio	Jammu	Ratio
2002	(5440000) 2809578	0.53	(4390000) 3015173	0.72
2008	(6900000) 3260282	0.47	(5400000) 3077266	0.57

In other words a large portion of the electorate, as much as 15 per cent, remains unrecorded in the electoral rolls of Kashmir region. It is important to note that identity cards are vital for residents of J&K; its absence can result in summary action by the security forces. Electoral Photo Identity Cards (EPICs) are the most sought after IDs. Intriguingly, EPIC coverage, which was just 26.35 as on 30th June 2008 rose by November to a 68% coverage! Between July and November, three out of five months were affected by the agitation. And yet the EC managed to increase the EPIC coverage to 68 per cent, while it failed to perform under less strenuous conditions?

This does raise questions about the representative character of the electoral roll. In the game of election turnout, averages play a role, and any allegation about a rigged electoral roll would be a matter of concern. How does the Indian election commission explain this skewed nature of electoral rolls election after election? Why has it been unable to remove this anomaly? Does the under recording of electorate bring down the average turnout? How are such processes identifiable as 'democratic'?

Thus, the staging of elections supervised by security forces which is perceived as being hostile towards Muslims of J&K, in conditions where separatists had been incarcerated, media warned against carrying messages of electoral boycott, and questionable recording of region-wise electors, raises serious concerns about the efficacy, purpose and trustworthiness of the process itself and its outcomes.

Monitoring Elections

A seven phased election process spread over six weeks of winter months of November-December would make the work of monitoring by voluntary groups something of a problem, anywhere in the world. The troubles mount given the conditions operating on the ground in J&K, as mentioned in earlier pages. While fewer observers could come from outside J&K we had to rely on our own local resources. But even here, barring those who are accredited press persons, travelling to, and inside, the constituencies where polling was held, was difficult. Nevertheless, few observers did manage to come from outside J&K for each phase of the 2008 polls, admittedly far less numbers as in earlier years. Thus our survey becomes of critical importance to our analysis of the elections.

Our survey posed nine questions, of which six seeks to elicit from respondents whether they voted; if so, why; if not, why not; coercion experienced in either voting or not voting; whether polling was free and fair according to them; and impact of elections on the J&K conflict.

A total of 6500 questionnaires were distributed. Of these 5423 came back to us filled. These were keyed in by two of our activists, working over three weeks. Answers had to be crosschecked against the forms.

We have tried to be rigorous in our work. Nevertheless, we do not claim infallibility. In this spirit, when we share our analysis and perceptions, we welcome and value criticism.

In the following pages we share our analysis of the survey as well as our observations on monitoring of the polls.

Foot note:

1. Independent Election Observers Team Report: J&K State Assembly Elections-2002. J&K Coalition of Civil Society, Srinagar, 2002.

1st PHASE OF ELECTIONS

Elections were held in the first phase in 10 constituencies of the state on November 17, with 102 candidates in fray. The constituencies were: Gurez, Bandipora and Sonawari in the Kashmir region, Leh, Nobra, Zaskar and Kargil in the Ladakh region, and Surankote, Mendhar and Poonch-Haveli in the Jammu region.

In Sonawari and Bandipora, 22 and 19 candidates, respectively, were contesting the elections, 6 in Gurez, 13 in Poonch-Haveli, Mendhar 12, Surankote 11, five each in Kargil, Leh and Zaskar, and four in Nobra.

We at JKCCS sent different teams for monitoring the elections in the Valley.

BANDIPORA CONSTITUENCY

Our team visited different booths in Bandipora, with a questionnaire for the voters. Men and women were found outside the booths in spite of the cold weather. Their number was clearly far more than the previous elections. Many of those whom we talked to made it absolutely clear elections had nothing to do with the larger issue Kashmir's political future.



“There should be somebody (in the Assembly) to address our day-to-day concerns like roads, electricity and unemployment,” the voters said in unison.

Militant-turned-renegade-turned-politician Usman Majid, who was contesting elections as an independent candidate, entered a booth in Bandipora town where our volunteers were waiting outside. The locals had earlier warned us about the informers' network in Bandipora.

Our questionnaire was aimed at knowing the reasons for voting and that whether any political party represents his/her aspirations and whether his/her vote has any impact on the Kashmir dispute.

Usman Majid, after coming out of the booth, was apparently annoyed over the presence of JKCCS team members who were led by our president Pervez Imroz. In the meantime, about 30-35 local women appeared from a narrow alley, yelling anti-India and pro-independence slogans. The protesters were dispersed with batons and teargas canisters, injuring many of them. A photojournalist also received injuries to his head in the police action.

Police and CRPF troopers, without any provocation, assaulted our team members, Imroz in particular. He was beaten on his head with a bamboo stick, bundled into a vehicle and shifted to police station Bandipora. Prof. Babaiah (civil rights activist from Karnataka) unsuccessfully tried to jump into the jeep carrying Imroz.

Later Prof. Babaiah rushed to the police station and met a superintendent of police, explaining him the reasons for monitoring the elections. But the officer was not interested. “Let the election be over,” he said, “then only Pervez Imroz would be set free.”

It was however only at 10 pm when police released Imroz.

*“India want to hoodwink the international community”,
Bilal Ahmad
Parray, Sumbal*

*“I will vote only under UN supervision”,
Abdul Majeed
Reshi, Nesbal,
Sonawari*

*“I lost my son, can't betray martyrs”,
Mohammad
Abdulla Bhat,
Ward No.3,
Bandipora*

Kehnoosa: The village, located 14 kms from Bandipora town, is separated by a mountain from Baramulla district. The total number of voters here is 1998. Two polling booths had been set for them.

Kehnoosa A: Our team visited Kehnoosa-A booth at around 10:30 am; 70 votes had been cast by then. We talked to a large group of people mostly youth sitting outside the booth. They said that “only polling agents and their families” had cast votes, while rest of the population was for election boycott.



*“It is better to have a representative”,
Sabkatullah Qureshi,
Chaliwan,
Chittibandi,
Bandipora*

When our researchers asked for their names they refused, fearing harassment from the troops. They said they actively took part in the non-violent protests during the Amarnath land row. “But afterwards the soldiers made our lives hell,” they said. “Troopers of Army's 15 Rashtriya Rifles arrested a village youth. He was released after severe thrashing and the soldiers also took away an amount of rupees 8000 from him.”

“In this climate of state-sponsored terror do you expect us to vote and betray the sacrifices of thousands of Kashmiris for freedom from terror and occupation,” the villagers asked.

*“I don't want Indian occupation”,
Nazir Ahmad Mir, Naidkhai,
Sonawari*

Kehnoosa B: Here 131 votes out of 950 had been cast till 10:40 am, the polling officers told our team. A group of people waiting in queue to cast votes said, “We belong to Gujjarpatti village. We'll cast our votes so that we could get a representative who can provide us roads, water, electricity and other basic amenities.”

When asked if elections could impact the status of Kashmir dispute, they said that nobody appeared to be sincere towards the resolution of the issue. As the people were talking to our team, a posse of paramilitary Border Security Force troopers stopped to listen to the conversation.

One Khatoon Begum of Gujjarpati said, “We're poor and we have no roads and electricity. I will cast vote...” Another woman, Begum Jan who was waiting for her turn to cast vote said, “In the past elections not a single problem of ours was resolved, but now I hope that the candidate we elect will help us. Many members of my family are unemployed; they should be given some source of livelihood.”

*“To get STF disbanded I did vote”,
Ghulam Qadir Malla,
Batmohalla*

On seeing the people in queue, a local youth Ishfaq Ahmad said, “I reject these elections. We want freedom from tyranny and persecution. On August 12, 2008 we lost four youth at Aloosa and around 15 others were injured when army fired on a peaceful protest.” He added: “I don't want to vote because we're the victims who have been denied justice. Only the agents of political parties are voting, while others have been given some money by a contesting candidate.”

Ashtengo: The village is around 10 kms from Bandipora town. Two polling booths were set up in the village for over 2000 registered voters.

Ashtengo A: Some 135 votes out of 975 had been polled when our visited the booth at 11:15 am. Many voters were waiting outside for their turn.

Azad Ahmad, an 18-year-old student, said, “I will cast my vote because the number of unemployed youth in our village is very high. Perhaps they'll get a job when new government takes over. Furthermore, the government will address our day-to-day problems like roads and electricity.”

In the same tone, Azad however added that elections were no solution to the Kashmir problem because there have been elections in the past as well.

Outside the polling booth, a group of youth mobbed the JKCCS team. They said, “80% population of our village is boycotting these phony elections. We don't want roads or jobs; our only demand is that India should leave us alone.”

Ashtengo B: In this polling booth, 230 votes out of 1059 votes had been cast by 11:30 am. Presiding officer Farooq Ahmad Mir said: “Since yesterday when we were brought here we had no food to eat and no heating arrangement.” He however said that elections were going smoothly but many voters didn't have voter cards and they cast votes after they were given slips by polling agents of different political parties.

Manzoor Ahmad, 45, before casting his vote said, “I will vote to select a candidate who will work for the betterment and development of our area.”

Ahmad added, “Elections and Kashmir issue are two different things. Elections are just for developmental purposes and have nothing to do with the Kashmir problem. In the past when elections couldn't help in Kashmir resolution how can they do it now?”

Kaloosa: For Kaloosa area three polling booths had been set up in the Boys Hr. Secondary School. When our monitoring team visited the polling station soldiers deployed there didn't allow the team to enter the booths with an excuse that some observer has come to visit the polling station. Eventually, we were able to visit booth 35D where some 385 votes out of 715 had been polled by 2 pm.

Onagam: In this village two polling booths 24 B and 25 Chad been set up.

Onagam 24 B: Here 407 votes out of 1064 had been cast by 2:50 pm. One Bashir Ahmad Ganai who was waiting for his turn to cast vote said, “Nobody has forced us to vote; we're voting for the development of our village, and we want to select a candidate who would be really helpful, unlike the previous legislator who only exploited people.”

Onagam 25 C: At 2:20 pm when we first visited the booth, some 210 votes out of 849 had been polled. Here too the polling staff complained of lack of facilities.

A man entered the booth to cast his vote. He said

*“To choose the best representative I cast my vote”,
Ghulam Hussain
Dar, Odina,
Sonawari*

*“I voted for opening of new schools and placement of staff”,
Ghulam Rasool,
Bandipora*

*“My husband was killed in 1990, how I can vote”,
Haleema,
Tulmulla,
Ganderbal*



his name was Manzoor Ahmad (voter ID No. 817). But when the polling staff cross-checked ID No. 817 from the list, it didn't match. But still the man, after an argument with the staff, was allowed to vote.

Outside the booth, one Nisar Ahmad was waiting along with many other villagers to cast his vote. He said, “This problem (Kashmir dispute) will never solve because people are not sincere. Neither pro-India nor pro-freedom parties are sincere. We are voting for our basic needs, and our sentiments for freedom are reserved in our hearts.”

Zahoor Ahmad Sofi, a driver, said, “I don't want Usman Majeed to represent us in the Assembly once again, as he's hand in glove with Army and renegades. They made our lives hell during last six years.”

Mangnipora: Mangnipora is a small hamlet with 850 registered voters. A polling station had been set up in a private school building. By 3 pm when our team visited the booth some 525 votes had been cast. A group of people who talked our researchers said they'd come out willingly to vote.

Garoor: Garoor is situated some 15 km from Bandipora town. Our team visited polling booth G 99 where the people had assembled outside the polling booth shouting at each other. There had been an altercation between supporters of two different parties (PDP and PDF) who were accusing each other of hiring voters.

There were 10 to 15 BSF troopers at the polling booth who were assisted by only two local policemen. Many BSF troopers were inside the polling booth, hence throwing the rules and regulations laid down by Election Commission of India to dustbin.

Polling agents were fighting with each other over the identity of voters, as majority of people were without voter cards. Some 115 votes out of 1073 registered votes had been polled by 10 am.

Abdul Nabi Lone, 56, who had cast his vote, said that there was no coercion from any quarter to vote.

Argam: Argam is small village some 8 km ahead of Bandipora town. There was a lot of commotion outside polling station 97 A when our team reached there. Polling agents were shouting at each other over the issue of voter I-cards.



*“Election under India rule is not acceptable to me”,
Shabir Ahmad
Bhat, Tulmulla,
Ganderbal*

*“I cast my vote because my husband is unemployed and I have been promised a job”,
Rafeeqa Bano,
Bamloora,
Ganderbal*

*“For voting I have been assured of financial support”,
Mohammad
Amin Najar,
Saloor, Ganderbal*

Abdul Rasheed Wagay, the presiding officer, said his staff had been instructed to entertain the voters who don't have voter cards or election cards but possess the voting slips issued by polling agents.

The polling station had 908 registered voters with 420 females. By 10:20 am, about 140 votes had been cast. Most of the voters our team talked to said that were not against the Kashmiri struggle “but the issues of bijli, sadak, pani can be addressed through elections only.”

Gund Dachina: The village, some 10 km from main town Bandipora, had a decent turnout. About 220 voters had cast their votes out of 696 registered voters by 10:45 am.

The voters gave myriad reasons for their participation in election. Ghulam Mohammad, 60, said he voted because he believes the elected representatives would stop Army from committing atrocities on people. After 2002 elections, he said, there was some relief in Army atrocities, “but now the soldiers are back in action.”

Mohammad Yousuf, 40, said, “The villagers have been at the receiving end since 1990 when Indian troops were deployed in the area. Now we want an end to these atrocities.”

Mukhtee Begum, 65, had different reasons. She said, “My family is living in poverty. I have three sons who are unemployed. I have voted for a candidate who I believe will give employment to my sons.”

Gundpora, Rampora: When our team visited the polling station No. 75 at 11.00 am, 130 votes out of 1194 had been cast. There was however less activity in and outside the booth. Many local residents we talked to expressed their support to the election boycott call of the separatists.

Ghulam Mohammad Wagay, 40, of Gundpora, said, “The people who voted here are relatives of candidates. I have not voted, I am with the boycott call because pro-freedom groups represent our aspirations and sentiments.”

Noor Mohammad, 40, said he didn't vote because he didn't want to betray the sacrifices rendered for freedom from India. “How can I vote when only two months back Indian forces killed five youths in this area,” he asked.

Takia Ahmad Shah: Polling booth No. 77 of Takia Ahmad Shah village of Bandipora has 361 registered votes out of which 203 had been polled by 12 pm. Many people outside the booth said they had no alternative than participating in elections as their area has been neglected in terms of development.

Mohammad Lateef Khan, election agent of a political party said, “Election is the only solution to our day-to-day problems. I think Kashmir issue will never be solved. It's better for us to remain with India.”

*“India will mislead the world by this election...”
Reyaz Hussain Mir, Arampora, Ganderbal*

*“India will project our vote as plebiscite”,
Tariq Ahmad Sofi, Saloora, Ganderbal*

*“We have suffered a lot by Indian troops”,
Shahzada Bano, Saloora, Ganderbal*

SONAWARI CONSTITUENCY

Our teams visited more than 20 polling booths in Sonawari constituency. We found that anti-India sentiment was strong here even among the people who had voted. At many places, people who boycotted the elections, gathered near the polling stations raising slogans for freedom from India.

We noticed a strongest anti-election rally at Anderkut High School, Sumbal that housed four polling booths. Some 200 locals, including children were shouting slogans like “No election, no selection, we want freedom,” “Boycott, boycott, election Boycott,” and “Martyrs, we salute you.”

In the meantime, a group of pro-freedom activists rushed to a polling station and confronted with police. A 13-year-old boy Ishfaq Ahmad was hit on the head. He was removed to hospital.

Most of the people who had boycotted elections were literates. They alleged that many candidates lured the gullible villagers with money. There were also allegations of unfair polling. And we observed that the allegations were not unfounded.

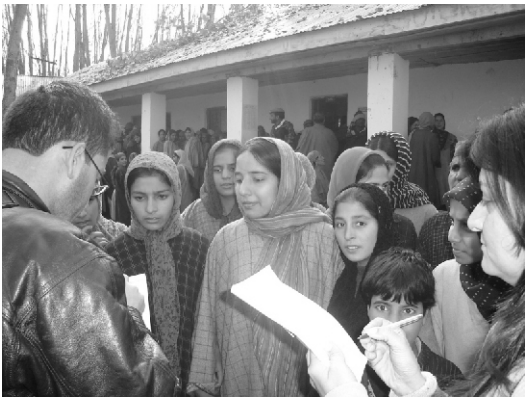
For instance, school students had cast votes in many polling stations of Sonawari, while several others had queued up, with voting slips in hand.

At Pushwari polling of primary classes had voting machines or turn.

Many underage voters 18 years' in the voters of Kulsuma, a 15-year-cast vote at Rakha Sonawari, a booth that voting.



Kulsuma's age was shown as 35 in the voters list. At the same booth, another underage voter Muhammad Ashiq Dar, a VIII standard student, had been shown as 30-year-old. Muzaffar Ahmed Wani and Mohammed Arif Malla (both IX standard students) had voted at Ganasthan-B polling station. Another such case was of Sahad Sadha, a 15-year-old girl who cast vote at the Rakha Sham polling booth in Sonawari. Sadha's age was shown as 28 in the voters list.



“For employment, development and for resolution of Kashmir issue”,
Mohan Lal, Khanoo, Langate

“I was forced to cast vote (I am for freedom of Kashmir)”,
Hameeda Bano, Bamloora, Ganderbal

booth we found students either pressed electronic were waiting for their

had been shown 'above list. One such case was old student, who had Sham polling booth in did not register a high

“I will vote only for Referendum”,
Mir Hafizullah, Haril, Langate



In many booths, the names of voters in the list were found to be different from their real names. One such case involved Rozia, a class IX student of Gund Jehangir high school, whose name in the voters list was mentioned as Misra and her age as 18. Even at Saderkote Bala, a polling booth near Hajin where anti-election sentiment was very strong, a large number of underage people had voted. Among them was Sajad Ahmad, a class X student of Ajas High School, who said he voted

because his entire family voted.

Sonawari sitting MLA and deputy speaker in Assembly, Muhammad Akbar Lone of the National Conference was in the Pushwari polling station when our team reached. “I am not in favor of freedom because we got it in 1947,” he said to our query.

At Inderkut village, some voters carrying the EPIC cards issued to them in the 2002 elections were demanding to be allowed to vote. They alleged they had been left out this time because they belong to Shia community and were supporting a particular independent candidate from Sonawari.

At Saderkute Bala, we met some people who had assembled near a polling booth and urging people to boycott polls. They said there were around 3500 villagers who boycotted the election because a village youth, Shahid-ul-Islam, was killed by CRPF troopers during the agitation in August 2008.

“Indian soldiers are killing our boys. We want freedom from India,” the people shouted as they mobbed journalists and our team.

*“To stop
innocent killings
and for honour I
did vote...”
Shakeela
Begum,
Baramulla*

*“Election is not
plebiscite”,
Haji Abdul
Rehman Bhat,
Sayed Kareem,
Baramulla*

*“My vote will
not solve
Kashmir issue”,
Haneefa Begum,
Gania Hamam,
Baramulla*

2nd PHASE OF ELECTIONS

On November 23, elections were conducted in the second phase in six constituencies of the state two from Kashmir division and four from Jammu division.

The constituencies which went to polls were: Ganderbal and Kangan (Kashmir), and Nowshehra, Darhal, Rajouri and Kalakote (Jammu). JKCCS sent a team to Ganderbal and Kangan to monitor the polls.

GANDERBAL CONSTITUENCY

According to the Election Commission, 12 candidates contested for Ganderbal while 10 tried their fortune in Kangan constituency. Out of 179 polling stations, the commission had declared 105 as hypersensitive and 74 sensitive.

Duderhama, Ganderbal: Our team started from polling station No.17 situated in the Boys Higher Secondary School, Ganderbal. Two commanding officers of paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) were in courtyard of the polling booth. As some journalists tried to enter the polling booth, one of the commanding officers, Ravi Kumar Tiwari stopped them. "I have seen and read these (cards issued by the Election Commission of India to journalists). But we won't allow to go inside the booth," Tiwari told them.

Amid the argument, a polling officer came out and gave the details, according to which, some 85 votes out of 1147 had been polled by 10 am.

An elderly man, Habibullah Mir, standing in the voters queue said, "I would have not come here but when I saw National Conference supporters coming out in huge numbers to vote I decided to cast my vote."



Some minors were also spotted among the voters. One of them, a Class XI student, Mohammad Ashraf Rather son of Abdul Qayoom Rathar of Safapora, admitted that he was ineligible for voting, but had come to cast his relative's vote. A posse of policemen standing guard at the booth didn't bother to check the voters' identity cards.

A number of men who had gathered outside the booth said they didn't subscribe to the election boycott theory of separatist groups. They said the separatist leaders seldom bother to come out of their "palatial houses" and enquire about the people particularly those living in far-off villages.

*"How can I vote, my father was killed in custody by troops",
Farooq Ahmad Naikoo, Bagh-e-Islam,
Baramulla*

*"To stop innocent killings, I did vote",
Ali Mohammad Khan,
Arampora,
Baramulla*

*"I cast my vote to end the Governor rule",
Mohammad Akbar,
Paliharan,
Baramulla*

Bagoo, Rampora: In this village the lone polling booth was set up in Government Middle School, with 850 registered voters. By 10.25 am, 52 votes had been polled.

Some voters said they wanted to elect a candidate who will solve their day-to-day problems. They also said that in the past the parties in power exploited them and did not work for their welfare.

Tulmulla: Two polling booths with 1395 registered voters had been established in the Government Boys High School, Tulmulla. About 150 votes had been polled when our team visited the booths at around 11 am.

A group of people waiting for their turn to vote said they were not coerced by police or troops to come out. "It's our independent decision," they said, "We need better roads, electricity, and an end to unemployment. Don't we deserve that?"

Here too most of the people sought to delink elections from the Kashmir dispute.

Dangarpora: Out of 654 registered voters, about 160 votes had been cast when our team visited the booth inside the Government Middle School Larsan at 11.15 am.

The presiding officer Ghulam Rasool Dar testified to the free and fairness of the polling.

Barsoo: Here two polling booths with 1376 registered voters had been set up. By 11.30 am, nearly 240 people had exercised their franchise while many more were eagerly waiting in a long queue.



Outside the booth, however, a group of people, including some women, staged an anti-India and anti-election demonstration. Before police and CRPF troops could disperse them with batons, the agitators hurled stones towards the booth.

Abdul Rehman Ganai, who said he was 58-years-old, told our team: "I don't know why some youth are pelting stones at us. Our participation in elections will have no bearing on the Kashmir's freedom struggle, nor will it turn us into traitors. One should understand that Hurriyat Conference or any other pro-freedom group is not in a position to address our basic needs. Though they represent our aspirations and sentiments, they can't give us roads and electricity."

Ganai added in an angry tone: "Government of India should not misread these elections as an endorsement of its illegitimate and forcible occupation of Kashmir. Elections or no elections, Kashmir is there, mocking at the world conscience and awaiting resolution." Many local women charged the CRPF troopers with barging into their houses and ransacking the household goods after anti-election protests there.

As the women were talking to journalists, a group of youth appeared at the spot, chanting anti-India and pro-azadi slogans. The women joined them, and soon another round of protests and clashes took place in the village.

*"Election is an insult to our injuries, for freedom",
Basharat Ahmad,
Badmulla,
Baramulla*

*"My vote will adversely affect Kashmir issue",
Khursheed Ahmad,
Fathegad,
Baramulla*

*"Elections only hoodwink international community",
Benazir Begum,
Malpora,
Baramulla*

The women sung in praise of the martyrs of Kashmir, while the youth shouted "No election no selection, we want freedom." Leading the angry women was one Haseena Begum, wife of Ghulam Qadir Bhat. She alleged that she was abused and kicked by the CRPF troopers who had barged into her house.

Haseena and other women narrated to journalists what they called 'CRPF terror' in the presence of station house office of Kherbhawani police station, Sajjad Parray. Parray however denied the charges leveled against the CRPF personnel.

Kurhama: This village, the village of martyrs as called by the locals was the only exception in Ganderbal constituency on a day of high turnout. Here entire population was on roads demanding freedom from India and protesting against "fraudulent elections."

Hundreds of men, women, and children greeted our team and some journalists from three private Indian television channels with vociferous sloganeering when they arrived at Kurhama at 12 pm.

The villagers had hoisted lampposts and trees. They paramilitary CRPF houses and beat up the coming out to vote.

"In the morning we were houses. When we resisted Women and children mercilessly, is this Indian want to vote. We reject these sham elections. We can't compromise with the blood of our martyrs," the villagers said.

They added that the votes polled in the two polling booths at Kurhama were cast by the agents of different political parties.

As the protests subsided, our researchers visited the two polling booths. In the first booth (37 A), 217 votes had been cast out of total 930 registered voters, and in the second booth (36 A), 273 votes had been polled out of 903 up to 12:20pm.

In the meantime, a party of infamous Special Operations Group of police headed by DSP Operations, Anwar-ul-Haq appeared in the village along with dozens of policemen and CRPF troopers. Without bothering about the presence of reporters and researchers, the cops ruthlessly beat up the peaceful protesters and smashed the windowpanes of many houses.



*"First right to self-determination than voting",
Rayees Ahmad Bhat,
Fathepora,
Baramulla*



green flags on the said the troopers from barged into many inmates for not

forced to come of our we were beaten up. were beaten democracy? We don't

*"By conducting election Indian wants to justify its claim over Kashmir",
Hilal Ahmad Mir, Khanpora,
Baramulla*

*"I am voting to get rid of draconian laws",
Abdul Majeed Dar, Malikpora,
Baramulla*

The ding-dong clashes intensified prompting our team members to leave the place.

Laar: In Laar town, there were long queues of voters, with women present in good numbers.

In women's queue there were many minor girls who carried name slips in their hands but no voter registration cards. We found most of the voters were without voter ID cards.

Some unregistered female voters we talked to identified themselves as Arifa Bano, Shabnam, Shameema Bano, Rubeena and Yasmeena. They were students of 9th and 10th standards. The rigging and voting by minors was visible in this polling station.



*"I cast vote for my own safety, as I am on the radar of military agencies",
Ghulam Mohiuddin Lone, Larihama, Rafiabab*

Behama: Our team visited the two polling booths set up at Behama, in the heart of Ganderbal town, in the office of District Development Commissioner.



At around 2 pm, we didn't find any voter inside the booths. Officials said 66 votes out of 1288 had been cast in the two booths.

Outside the Development Commissioner's office there was a heavy deployment of armed forces. But that didn't prevent the local youth to pelt stones towards the polling stations. As mediapersons began gathering at Behama town to cover the protests, police and CRPF personnel swung into action and used batons and teargas canisters to disperse the agitating

youth.

*"I am voting to support our candidate to take our grievances to the state assembly for redressal",
Ab. Hameed Lone, Larihama, Rafiabab*

In **Darend, Nagbal** area some protesters had tied small flags of the National Conference and the Peoples Democratic Party around the neck of a street dog. The animal roamed through the town giving policemen a tough time.

Saloor: Here three polling booths had been established where 266, 61 and 250 votes out of 900, 626 and 842, respectively, had been polled by 2:45 pm. The people who had voted said they wanted to elect a representative who could address their non-political issues.

*"I cast my vote for promotion in job",
Mohammad Ramzan Hajam, Hadipora, Rafiabab*

3rd PHASE OF ELECTIONS

On November 30, elections were held in the third phase for five constituencies of north Kashmir's Kupwara district. The constituencies were: Kupwara, Handwara, Langate, Lolab and Karnah.

As many as 3.41 lakh voters including 1.63 lakh women were eligible to exercise their franchise. About 450 polling stations had been set up in the district. Seventy-one candidates, including 31 Independents, were in the fray, while in the 2002 elections the number of candidates was 46. Kupwara segment had the highest number of 19 candidates followed by 15 in Langate, 14 in Karnah, 13 in Handwara and 10 in Lolab.

Among the five women candidates, Shabnum Gani Lone, daughter of slain Hurriyat Conference leader Abdul Gani Lone was contesting as an Independent candidate from Kupwara constituency.

The JKCCS sent a team to monitor the elections in the district. The team visited several places.

Kulangam: Kulangam falls in the jurisdiction of Handwara constituency. Our team started from the polling booths 87 and 87-A, situated in a school premises at Kulangam. By 10 am, 23 people had voted in booth No. 87 and 126 in 87-A out of 707 and 653 voters, respectively. Saja Begum, a 60-year-old woman, who was in a queue, said, "Our youth are unemployed and there are no facilities in our area. I will cast my vote to a candidate who addresses our problems."

Many minors were also spotted in the queue. Mohammad Rafiq War, who said he was a Class XI student, had a slip in his hand. He said, "I have come to vote on my brother's behalf." He however candidly admitted he didn't understand the purpose of elections.

Langate: Scores of people, including many women, had come to the Boys Higher Secondary School Langate for voting. About 450 votes out of over 1800 had been polled in the two booths by 10.30 am.

Here too many minors were conspicuous. But a posse of cops and CRPF troopers didn't bother to question them.

One such minor voter was Posha Bano who revealed her age as 18 years. When asked about her eligibility to vote, she said a polling agent had given her a 'name slip' with a voter registration number 774 written on it. She said she wanted to vote for an Independent candidate who was her neighbour.

Kargam, Langate: In the Kargam village the polling booth had been set up in the Girls Middle School. By 11 am, 80 votes had been polled out of total 782 registered voters. Some voters who chose to speak to our team said it was unavailability of basic necessities like electricity and water that drove them to the polling booths.



"I favour elections; I am for peace and prosperity", Hajra Begum, Loriham, Rafiabad

I didn't cast my vote as we (Kashmiris) have been viewed as terrorists by Indians and Indian army suppression", Shahnawaz Hussaain, Watergam, Rafiabad

"For relief from atrocities", Mehraj-ud-Din Peer, Dangiwach, Rafiabad

"I participated in protest marches called by pro-freedom groups during the Amarnath land agitation. But election is a different issue. If we don't vote our day-to-day concerns will remain unaddressed," said Bashir Ahmad Bhat, a first-time voter.

He quickly added: "If there's another call by the Hurriyat for a long march, I would be the first to join it. Elections can't replace our passion for freedom from India."

Another youth, Imtiyaz Ahmad, 18, said he had also participated in at least two big pro-freedom rallies in Srinagar. And like others, Ahmad also defended his decision to vote, saying "elections or no elections, Kashmir struggle will continue."

Handwara: Five polling booths had been set up at the Girls Higher Secondary School in Handwara town. People were seen in long queues, eagerly waiting for their turn to vote.



Here too the heavy presence of CRPF troopers didn't prevent many minors, some of whom were as young as 12 years old, from exercising their "right to vote." A police officer tried to justify the bogus voting by saying that voter ID cards had been issued to only a few people.

Umar Farooq Rather, who said he was 16 years old, told our team that soldiers of Army's counterinsurgency Rashtriya Rifles had allegedly threatened many villagers of dire consequences if they didn't vote.

"If we don't vote we fear Army harassment, as they have been beating us," Rather said. Two youth Mohammad Aarif Chopan and Umar Jan said: "We could have gone for the election boycott but that won't serve any purpose because the government of India, by hook or by crook, will install government in Kashmir. Securing freedom from India is not a month's struggle; it will surely take a long time. But we have been and will remain committed to the struggle."

Our team recorded the figures in the five polling booths at 11.30 am as under:
In polling booth No. 52, 184 votes had been polled out of 1042 votes; 336 votes had been polled out of 950 in booth No. 53-A; 207 votes had been polled out of 791 in booth No. 54; in booth No. 55, 268 votes had been polled out of 885 votes; in booth No. 57, 283 votes had been polled out of 730 votes.

Chotipora, Handwara: On reaching the village, a group of youth intercepted our vehicle. They said they're for election boycott. They led the team members to a house whose member, a woman, had been killed during the 2008 summer agitation.

Fahmeeda, 22, the wife of Fayaz Ahmad Sheikh, and the mother of a one-year-old kid was shot dead in cold-blood by the troopers of 21 Rashtriya Rifles



*"I vote for setting up of Angawari (Social Welfare Centre)",
Taja Begum,
Seelu, Sopore*

*"To resist election process"
Farooq Ahmad Lone, Hadipora, Rafiabad.*

*"History will never allow me to vote Indian rule",
Showkat Ahmad Mir, Yadipora, Rafiabad*

on August 25. The villagers said Fahmeeda was murdered when she tried to save a village youth who was being beaten up by the soldiers.

A large group of people while talking to our volunteers said that they can't betray the movement for freedom from India. "Not a single soul from our village," they said, "has gone to polling booth because we don't believe in Indian democracy."

"Our conscience doesn't permit us to vote for oppressors and for those who persecute us day in and day out," they said.

Fahmeeda's father, Abdul Rehman Sheikh, who also happens to be the village headman, said that many agents and some contesting candidates had visited his house. They wanted an appeal from him to the villagers to vote for them.

"But I rejected everyone," Sheikh said. "What for we shall vote, we're victims; we want justice, not elections."

At around 12 pm, our team visited the polling booth which had been established in the Middle School, Chotipora. Six votes had been cast out of 572 votes by that time. In the school compound there was a huge deployment of CRPF troopers.

The villagers were right; not a single soul could be found in the booth. The village was on boycott.

Trehgam: This village is the birthplace of Mohammad Maqbool Butt, the founder of pro-independence Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Butt was hanged in New Delhi's Tihar Jail on February 11, 1984 on the charges of murdering an intelligence officer.



On reaching the village, our team found hundreds of troopers carrying guns and bamboo sticks deployed on the streets. The team visited the three polling booths, which were set up in a government school. In polling booth No. 42, 312 voters out of 963 had cast their votes, while in 44-B, 267 votes out of 1026 had been polled. In polling booth 45-C, 270 votes had been polled.

There were many minor voters in the booths. Some women who had come to vote said they wanted an end to their sufferings at the hands of Indian soldiers. "We hope that our representative would help us in getting rid of the Army rule," said 60-year-old Bakhti Begum.

Anti-election protests had erupted in the localities of Mir Mohalla and Butt Mohalla of Trehgam in the morning. A group of people at Mir Mohalla said CRPF troopers and policemen used force to quell the protest. They said at least 10 persons received injuries in the baton charge.

"To show the world that majority of the people are with freedom of Kashmir",
Tariq Ahmad
Parray,
Parraypora,
Rafiabad

"Politicians always betrayed the nation. Why should I vote"
Mushtaq Ahmad
Sheikh,
Behrampora,
Rafiabad

"To elect a candidate is imperative to get local problems addressed",
Gh. Hassan
Gania,
Behrampora,
Rafiabad



Mehmooda Begum, 38, sister of JKLF founder Maqbool Butt and her daughter Khalida were among the injured. Mehmooda said: "In the morning I and my three daughters went out to protest against these farce elections. But the Indian soldiers pounced on us and thrashed us severely with sticks and guns. I received a few blows on my left hand. My daughter Khalida was beaten on the legs and abdomen and was dragged by the troopers. Even women aren't spared. This is Indian democracy!"

*"To oust governor"
Damoodhar Singh,
Deedarpora,
Langate*

Mehmooda added: "These elections are fraudulent. They're conducted to hoodwink the international community. We should see through the designs of Indian government and its paid agents in Kashmir like the National Conference and the PDP."

Mehmooda also questioned the claims of New Delhi that elections have been free and fair in Kashmir, given the deployment of thousands of soldiers in every nook and corner of the Valley.

*"My brother-law is NC worker; I vote Umar Abdullah for progress",
Meema Begum,
Chundina,
Ganderbal*

According to the eyewitnesses, Firdous Ahmad Malik son of Abdul Rehman, a student of 12th standard was injured critically in the CRPF action. Another student who was a guest in the house of local tehsildar (Revenue official) was also injured seriously. Both of the injured had been removed to Srinagar.

Two elderly women, Saja Begum, 55, and Misra Begum, 50, alleged that besides beating up the inmates the troopers damaged the windowpanes of their houses.

Regipora: Here polling booth was set up in a government school building on the foot of a small mountain. The area also houses a martyrs' graveyard where around 250 unidentified bodies have been buried since the beginning of the anti-India militancy in Kashmir in 1990.

Our team arrived in village at 3:10 pm, and by then 208 votes had been polled out of 592. A youth Javaid Ahmad Malik said that he voted for good governance. Many voters said till noon they were for boycott of polls, but when the supporters of National Conference came out to vote "we changed our mind and rushed to the polling booth because we don't want NC to come in power for its anti-Kashmir policies."

Some non-voters like Ashiq Ahmad Mir also gave vent to their feelings. Mir said, "What for should we vote? The brutal Indian forces killed my father (in custody) in March 1994. Even after 14 years, police is reluctant to file an FIR against the troopers of Rashtriya Rifles who killed my father...so why should we participate in these sham elections."

*"My father was a NC worker. So I cast my vote",
Mushtaq Ahmad,
Chundina,
Ganderbal*

Cherkote, Lolab: Brisk polling was in progress when our volunteers arrived in this frontier village. About 775 votes had been polled out of over 1300 votes in the two polling booths at around 4 pm.

Doniwari, Lolab: One polling booth was established in Doniwara village where 533 people had cast their vote out of a total of 873 registered voters.

4th PHASE OF ELECTIONS

On December 7, elections were held in the fourth phase for 18 more constituencies in Jammu and Kashmir. The JKCCS sent teams to Baramulla and Budgam districts of the Valley to monitor the elections.

BARAMULLA

Pattan: A large number of people, including many women, had gathered outside a polling station in Pattan town that houses one of the largest garrisons of Indian Army. There was a huge deployment of troops across the town; however people did not raise allegations of coercion by the soldiers. Almost all voters our volunteers spoke with said they're voting with the hope that their day-to-day problems would be addressed by the new dispensation in the state.



Sangrama: Here the polling booth presented a deserted look. There was nobody inside except the polling staff and some CRPF troopers. By 10 am, not a single vote had been polled, though there're a number of people on the roads. "We're for election boycott because elections are no solution to the Kashmir issue. We want freedom from Indian occupation," said Farooq Ahmad. Residents said they were still mourning the death of four local young men in police/CRPF firing on August 11, 2008 when Hurriyat's Coordination Committee that spearheaded the agitation against the land transfer had called for 'Muzaffarabad chalo.'

Sopore: Protests, clashes and arrests marked the election day in this Apple Town. When our entered into the town hundreds of people had assembled on road at Chankhan Bridge, yelling anti-India, anti-election and pro-azadi slogans. Firing of teargas canisters failed to disperse the protesters, many of whom included elderly men. Besides being the hometown of Hurriyat (G) chairman Syed Ali Geelani, Sopore has the reputation of keeping the torch of Kashmir's struggle alive despite odds. Since the beginning of the armed struggle in the Valley in 1989, Sopore town was set ablaze at least half-a-dozen times by Indian soldiers to avenge militant assaults on them. In one such incident, at least 55 people were gunned down by the paramilitary BSF troopers after arson-and-fire at Iqbal Market in 1992.



voters, we later found, were in fact polling agents of different parties who had cast their vote and left quietly.

"We've resisted Indian occupation and will continue to do so till our victory," Ishtiyaq Ahmad, a 28-year-old student told our volunteers near Ashpeer Mohalla. "Nobody will sell his conscience, nobody will vote here," Ahmad said in a confident tone. The dismal voting figures supported Ahmad's confidence. In four polling booths set up in the Degree College Sopore, just 15 out of about 2300 votes had been polled by 11.00 am. The 15

*"I did vote to elect a good government for having a bright future",
Mohammad Ali, Marmer Kangan, Kangan*

*"I want NC to come into power as other parties try to divide J&K",
Reyaz Ahmad Malik , Kangan*

*"No political party is ready to do what we want. Right to self determination",
Showkat Ahmad, Ganderbal*

When our team reached Arampora, a massive anti-election and pro-freedom protest was underway. The protesters, comprising many women and children, were marching towards Sopore police station, with a battery of photojournalists and reporters covering the march. Soon, hundreds of policemen and CRPF troopers appeared at the spot. And without any provocation from the protesters, they resorted to heavy baton charge and fired rubber bullets and teargas canisters at the protesters, injuring at least a dozen people.

The cops didn't even spare the journalists, and beat and injured six of them. Some of the injured journalists included Habib Naqash (Greater Kashmir), Mukhtar Khan (Associated Press), Tauseef Mustafa (AFP), Syed Muzaffar (Srinagar Times) and Mohammad Afzal (ANI).

Mukhtar Khan received critical injuries and was later removed to Srinagar where he was hospitalized. According to him, police deliberately targeted him and his colleagues on the orders of additional superintendent police of Sopore B S Tuti, an Indian Police Service (IPS) officer.



"When we were covering the protest, I heard the officer telling his men 'Media waloo ko bhi sabak shikana (teach a lesson to pressmen as well).' I thought he was only trying to intimidate us. But after chasing the protesters the cops beat us ruthlessly," Khan told reporters in a Srinagar hospital where he was admitted.

JKCCS cameraman Sameer Ashraf was also beaten up by the CRPF troopers, while his camera was damaged by them.

Later, an FIR was lodged against the police officer B S Tuti at police station Sopore.

Dooru: Dooru is the native village of Syed Ali Geelani. When our team reached there, it seemed entire village was on roads to hold protests. The three polling booths in the village wore a deserted look with only poll staff and CRPF troopers present inside. It was no wonder then that no vote had been cast in any of the booths by 12 pm.

Local residents made it clear they won't betray the freedom movement and sacrifices of over one lakh people of Kashmir. "The election process is a drama; we have seen earlier how unpopular rulers were imposed on us," they said.

When the protests intensified, police and CRPF troopers arrived in the village to disperse the people. Many persons sustained injuries in the ding-dong clashes that continued for a couple of hours.

Baramulla town: Baramulla town observed a complete poll boycott amidst protests in many parts like Bungalow Bagh, Old Town, Azad Gunj, Jamia Qadeem and Bagh-e-Islam. "To vote or not to vote is an independent choice, but the police and CRPF troopers have been harassing us, ordering us to vote. We don't want to be a party to these sham elections," Muhammad Rafiq, 32, told our team near Bungalow Bagh.

"I am voting to get rid of NC and PDP they did nothing. To elect Sheikh Ishfaq"
 Mohammad Abdullah,
 Laway Mohalla,
 Ganderbal.

"To make Baba sahib (a local candidate) happy who promised me of a govt. job",
 Gh. Mohi-ud-Din Magray,
 Chundina,
 Ganderbal

"Elections can't solve Kashmir problem"
 Khursheed Ahmad,
 Chundina,
 Ganderbal

Locals said Police picked up a teenager Ishfaq Ahmad Gadda, son of Abdul Khaliq Gadda from the locality on the eve of elections.



*“My vote hardly matters, as they all are for kust power”,
Javed Ahmad,
Chundina,
Ganderbal*

In each polling booth at Banglow Bagh, only two votes had been polled by 3:30 pm out of 394 and 802 votes, respectively. The voters, the polling staff admitted, were polling agents.

At Sayed Karim, not a single vote was polled till 4:00 pm.

BUDGAM

Our team arrived in Charar-e-Sharief constituency of Budgam, some 40 km from Srinagar, at around 11:00 am. In the Charar-e-Sharief town three polling booths had been set up at a government school.

Many people were present inside the school compound to cast their vote. They insisted their vote was not a vote for India, or against the Kashmir cause. "Please don't take us wrong. We are not voting for Indian rule. We want basic amenities, we want colleges and schools.”

Chadoora: Elections and protests were going together in this constituency when our team reached Wathoor at around 12:00 pm. Most of the voters were elderly people, and the mood was festive.

*“Situation may improve by voting, and for employment”,
Gh. Nabi Bhat,
Dadasar, Tral.*

The voters who chose to speak with our team said they're voting for a change. One of them, Ali Mohammad Waza, 55, said, "We're fed up of shutdowns, we want a change, we want development.”

Outside the polling booths, a group of young men stopped our vehicle. They said they'd boycotted the elections which they believed were not substitute to right to self-determination.

"Indian government has detained hundreds of Hurriyat workers and their leaders. Still, they claim these elections are a democratic process. Who's going to buy their propaganda," the youth said.

Budgam town: Here two polling booths had been set up in the block development officer's office. About 50 percent people had cast their voters when our team visited the booths at 3:00 pm.

*“I hate India”,
Manzoor
Ahmad,
Dadasar, Tral*

40-year-old Ali Mohammad Malik said he voted for democracy. He said that election is the backbone of a democracy. "We want democracy to win. We are fed up of strikes and violence. We want business now. We want future of our children," he said.

Reyaz Ahmad, 25, a first-time voter, said, "No one has forced me to vote. I want my future and the future of my Kashmir. By boycotting the polls we get nothing.”

Away from the crowd was one Ajaz Ahmad Bhat, 37. He said, "It's painful to see the people voting. We have suffered a lot. We are fighting for freedom from India, not for development. Even if all Kashmiris vote. I will not...I am not against elections but elections under occupation is a different affair."

5th PHASE OF ELECTIONS

On December 13, elections were held in the fifth phase for 11 more constituencies in Jammu and Kashmir. They were: Tral, Pampore, Pulwama, Rajpora, Wachi and Shopian in Kashmir province; Bani, Basohli, Kathua, Billawar and Hiranagar in Jammu. Our team visited various polling booths of Pampore, Pulwama and Shopian constituencies where amidst anti-poll protests, heavy polling was witnessed at several places. The fifth phase also marked first civilian casualty during the election in the state when CRPF troopers and police fired at anti-poll protesters in Quil village of Pulwama district, killing a youth and injuring two others critically.

Shirmal and Heff Shirmal: These two villages fall in Shopian constituency. Polling stations for the two villages were set up in a government school at Heff Shirmal. When our team visited the polling stations huge deployment of troops was seen outside. The troopers were also moving in civilian vehicles. However, voters were conspicuous by their absence. At 11:35 am, in polling booth No. Heff 56-B out of 1146 registered voters only 18 votes had been polled. While in Heff 65-A, 55 out of 453 votes were polled.

Many local residents who later talked to our volunteers gave varied reasons for boycotting the elections. Abu Tayib, 35, said, “It is futile to vote because our village has been always neglected by successive regimes. So it hardly matters for us which party makes the government. They make promises only to forget them when they come in power.”

Abdullah Lone, 40, offered political reasons for the poll boycott. “Democracy means freedom. But we Kashmiris are not free. Indian government holds elections in Kashmir to hoodwink the international community,” Lone said.

He added: “Participating in amounts to betraying the hundreds of thousands of can't sell the blood of our



Some youngsters from the Army soldiers with barging and threatening them of dire consequences if they didn't vote. However, a few elderly men from the village who had cast their votes denied any coercion from the soldiers. They said the soldiers did visit the village in the morning “but they did not beat anybody. We voted for the development of our village.

Shopian: Shopian town presented a deserted look on election day. There was a heavy deployment of CRPF troopers, police, Special Task Force (of police). In fact the troopers and policemen, who were armed with automatic rifles and bamboo sticks, seemed to outnumber the civilian population.

Small groups of youth were seen in many lanes. They said they wanted to launch anti-India and anti-election protests but the omnipresence of armed forces prevented them from doing so. “We are for election boycott. What answer will the people who voted give to the family of a youth who fell to CRPF bullets during the Amarnath land agitation three months ago,” they said.

“Elections should be held under UN supervision”,
Nisar Ahmad,
Dadasar, Tral

“Under Indian constitution it is sin to vote”,
Firdous Ahmad,
Dadasar, Tral.

e l e c t i o n s
s a c r i f i c e s
o f
K a s h m i r i s .
W e
m a r t y r s .”

Shirmal charged
into the houses

“I was eager to
vote, as it was
my first vote”,
Joz, Dadasar,
Tral.

A police vehicle halted outside the polling booth and the policemen who disembarked from it beat up a youth who was sitting on the pavement. They later dragged him into the vehicle and whisked him away to police station. The locals identified the youth as Altaf Ahmad Shah of Baba Mohalla Shopian.



*"I cast my vote, just for formality",
Gh. Nabi Mir,
Dadasar, Tral*

When our team members asked police officer Javiad Mattu about the reasons for the youth's thrashing and his subsequent arrest, he said the police had received a complaint that the youth was attempting to vote for second time. But why was he beaten and kicked? "I did not see anybody beating him up," the officer replied.

Local residents however gave different reasons for the youth's arrest. They said the police was arresting young men in the town in its bid to scare away protesters. During last one week, they said around two dozen people were arrested. They said many youth have migrated from the town and would return once "election drama" is over.

Despite the volatile situation in town, the polling booths had however registered a good voter turnout. For instance, in polling booth No. 5 Shopian-E, about 250 votes out of 938 had been polled by 12:30 pm. Similarly, 33 and 228 votes had been polled out of 144 and 1185 votes in two more polling booths of the town.

*"It's sin to boycott",
Mohammad
Subhan,
Dadasar, Tral.*

"We boycotted the last election but our village was neglected by the government," said Mohammad Hussain Zargar, 40. "That is why we decided to vote this time."

In the nearby Aaliyalpura village people had taken to streets to hold protests. They shouted slogans like "No election no selection, we want freedom."

Pulwama: Despite the killing of a youth in CRPF firing, moderate to heavy polling was witnessed in many parts of Pulwama district.

For example, in all the three polling stations of Dangerpora village, about 600 votes had been polled out of 1700 votes at 2:00 pm.

The villagers said they had voted for the development of the village. They too sought to delink the elections from the larger issue that of Kashmir's political future. By taking part in the elections, they said, they didn't commit any treason. "Seeking freedom from India is like an article of faith for us. Elections or no elections, Kashmir awaits resolution," the people said.

*"Independent candidates may live up to the expectations of the people",
Suhail Ahmad,
Dadasar, Tral.*

Quil: When our team reached the village, hundreds of people were on roads with the body of a youth, Muzaffar Mushtaq, son of Mushtaq Ahmed Ganai, who had died in CRPF firing earlier in the day.

An undergraduate student, Muzaffar, according to eyewitnesses, was killed after the CRPF

troopers opened unprovoked firing on a group of people who had staged an anti-election demonstration in the village.

Two other youth namely Muhammad Ayub Kumar, son of Ghulam Muhammad Kumar, and Zeeshan Ali, son of Ali Muhammad, also received bullets in the shootout. The trio was removed to Srinagar's SMHS hospital where Muzaffar was declared 'brought dead' by doctors.

Eyewitnesses said panic gripped the village early in the morning when CRPF and SOG personnel barged into houses, ordering people to vote. This prompted many villagers to come on roads and assemble near a mosque where the shootout occurred.

Abdul Rashid, a local resident, said the villagers were holding a peaceful protest when CRPF and SOG personnel appeared at the spot. They resorted to baton charge and lobbed teargas shells to disperse the people.

As the protesters refused to budge, CRPF troopers fired at them, causing the casualties.

Many photojournalists who had rushed to the spot were also thrashed by the troops, eyewitnesses said.

In the evening, divisional commissioner of Kashmir Masood Samoon said that government has ordered a magisterial probe into the killing of the youth. He said deputy commissioner Pulwama had been appointed as inquiry officer who would submit the report within a fortnight.

*“Can't specify, I was eager to vote”,
Janifa,
Dadasar, Tral.*

*“The elected government has to follow the Indian constitution”,
Umar Nazir;
Dadasar, Tral.*



*“Candidates represent Indian constitution and support Indian occupation”,
Tajamul Islam,
Umar Nazir;
Dadasar, Tral.*

6th PHASE OF ELECTIONS

Sixteen constituencies went to polls in the sixth phase of J&K elections on December 17. They were: Noorabad, Kulgam, Homeshalibugh, Anantnag, Devsar, Doru, Kokernag, Shangus, Bijbehara, Pahalgam, Kishtwar, Inderwal, Doda, Bhaderwah, Ramban SC, and Banihal.

The JKCCS sent a team to Anantnag, Kulgam, Devsar, Dooru and Bijbehara. Brisk polling was observed in all these constituencies amidst anti-poll protests at a few places.



Bijbehara town: In Bijbehara town, enthusiasm was visible among the people who had queued up to vote. In fact, females outnumbered the males. At polling booth No. 25-G, 75 votes had been polled out of 936 at 9:30 am, with many more people voting for their turn to vote.

People said they're voting willingly. Like other parts of the Valley, here too it was the issue of bijli, sadak and pani which, according to the people, drove them to the polling booths.

K Kalan: Both the Bijbehara village voting. About 150 votes of 635 votes were polled booths by 10:30 am. However, a sizeable group gathered outside the election slogans. They boycotting the elections freedom; the people who polling agents or relatives of different candidates. They are traitors and betrayers of freedom movement.”



polling stations of this observed vigorous out of 578 and 85 out in the two polling

group of people booths, raising anti-said, “We are because we want voted here are either



Sirigufwara: More than 500 votes out of 1250 had been polled in two booths of Sirigufwara, a part of Pahalgam constituency, by 11:30 am. Hundreds of villagers who were waiting outside the booth to vote didn't allege any kind of coercion.

Anantnag town: The town wore a deserted look when our team reached there at 1:00 pm. Paramilitary CRPF and policemen had been deployed in strength to prevent people from taking

to streets to hold anti-election demonstrations.

Local residents said some youngsters had tried to take out a protest in the morning. But they were dispersed with batons and teargas shelling.

At 1:30 pm, 85 out of 552 votes and 116 out of 466 votes were polled in the two polling booths set up in the town.

Many people who spoke to our volunteers said, “We want freedom from Indian occupation. We didn't vote because it would amount to accepting Indian occupation in Kashmir.” They didn't hesitate to label the people who voted as “traitors.”

Mohalla Sayed Sahib, Kadipora: Election boycott was evident in this area of Anantnag town. Groups of people had occupied the streets, shouting “Boycott, boycott, election boycott.” They said that elections were no solution to the Kashmir dispute.

The people also claimed that the contesting candidates had paid Rs 500 rupees each to voters. They however couldn't give any evidence to substantiate their claim.

During the preceding night, we were told, the people had come on roads to protests against elections during which angry youth also pelted stones at the polling booth, injuring an official Bashir Ahmad. Due to the commotion in the area our team could not visit the polling station.



Bun-Namal: There were two long queues of males and females who had come to vote. In the two polling booths, 239 out of 676 votes and 194 out of 625 votes had been polled by 12:00 pm. The people said they were voting to ensure their village is not ignored in terms of development.

Qazigund: Heavy polling was registered in this south Kashmir town which is gateway to the Valley from Jammu. At 2:00 pm, 330 and 575 votes were polled out of 879 and 985 votes in the two polling booths here.

Kulgam town: Despite the boycott observed by some people, Kulgam town witnessed brisk polling throughout the day. About 600 votes were polled out of 1121 votes by 3:00 pm.

“We voted to get our day-to-day problems solved,” said Jan Mohammad, a local resident. However, some people particularly youth said that they did not vote because their participation in election would be “a setback to the freedom movement.”

“We understand that elections can't impact the Kashmir issue, but the government of India sells them as triumph of its democracy in Kashmir,” said Suhail Ahmad, a postgraduate student.

He said the people who voted were “mostly illiterates who don't understand the political niceties. Their participation in elections provides ammunition to India's biased media.”

7th PHASE OF ELECTIONS

Twenty-one constituencies eight in Srinagar district of the Kashmir division and 13 in Jammu division went to polls in the seventh and final phase of J&K elections on December 24, 2008.

They were: Hazratbal, Zadibal, Eidgah, Khanyar, Habbakadal, Amira Kadal, Sonwar, and Batmaloo in Srinagar; Samba, Vijaypur, Nagrota, Gandhinagar, Jammu East, Jammu West, Bishnah, R S Pura, Suchetgarh, Marh, Raipur Domana, Akhnoor and Chhamb SC in Jammu division.

The JKCCS sent monitoring teams to different constituencies of the capital city where an undeclared curfew was imposed even a day before the polls. There was a heavy deployment of armed forces, and Srinagar looked like a garrison. According to media reports, an additional 70,000 police and paramilitary personnel had been



deployed in Srinagar, a city of one-million souls, to ensure smooth polls. Barricades were erected and rolled barbed wires laid at various places in the city.

Sonwar constituency: Our team visited many polling stations of this constituency at around 10:00 am. By then 23 votes had been polled out of 1291 in polling booth No. 23-Sonawar, while in polling booth NO. 24-Iqbal Colony, 22 out of 796 votes had been cast.



There was massive deployment of CRPF troopers in and outside the polling station. A few people, mainly from the minority Sikh community, who had come to vote, refused to talk to our volunteers.

Three polling booths had been set up in Burn Hall missionary school for the residents of Gupkar and the adjoining localities. Since the area houses residences of high-profile pro-India politicians, the people who had come to vote

were either politicians or their relatives. In polling booth No. 25-Bonumsar, 17 votes were polled out of 638; in polling booth No. 26B-Bonumsar, 34 votes out of 637 had been polled, while in the polling booth No. 24 Munshi Bagh, 25 voters had cast their votes out of total 744 voters.

Amira Kadal constituency

Rawalpura: Long queues of people, including some women, were found outside the three booths established in a government school Rawalpura. The people said they were voting for development.

By 10:45 am, 125 people had cast their votes out of 905 votes in polling booth No. 74-A; in 75-B, 64 votes had been polled out of 998, while in polling booth No. 76-C, out of 1108 votes, 69 had been polled.

Javaid Ahmad, an auto rickshaw driver, said, “The candidate for whom I voted has promised me to facilitate a bank loan of Rs 100,000. With that money I would be able to buy my own auto rickshaw to feed my wife and two kids. I have otherwise never voted in my life.”

Firdous Ahmad of Qayoom Colony, Rawalpura said he had actively participated in the summer protests. Asked why he'd voted then, he shot back: “Freedom movement and elections are two different things.”

Peerbagh: Here roads were deserted. It was obvious the people had chosen to boycott the elections. Our team went to the three polling booths. By 11:00 am, in the first booth (68-A) not a single vote had been polled out of 450 registered votes, while 12 and one votes out of 962 and 998 had been polled in booth No. 68-B and 67-A, respectively.

Hyderpora: Hyderpora is one km south of Peerbagh. Four booths had been set up here. In booth No. 65-C, 20 votes had been polled out of 851; three out of 939 in 66-D; 16 out of 724 in 64-B, and in the fourth booth (63-Hyderpora) 75 votes had been cast out of 1162 by 11:15am.

A few voters who were present in the booths refused to speak to our team.

Barzulla: When our volunteers arrived in the area, youth were shouting anti-India, anti-election and pro-freedom slogans from mosque loudspeakers. Scores of youngsters had also occupied streets near local Jamia Masjid. They were chanting slogans like “No election no selection, we want freedom” and “Boycott, boycott, election boycott.” The protesting youth were carrying green flags in their hands and had also hoisted flags on rooftops of some houses.



Some elderly women who spoke to our team said: “During the last 19 years of tehrik (movement), our children were killed and tortured. Thousands disappeared in the custody of Indian troops. Our daughters were molested. Should we still vote?”

Later, our team recorded poll figures of the five booths at Barzulla at 11:50 am as under:

81 Barzulla12 out of 654 votes; 81A12 out of 573; 82 Barzulla54 out of 1105; 83 Barzulla20 out of 614; and 84 B28 out of 559.

Chanapora: Clashes were going on between paramilitary CRPF troops and angry youth when our team visited the area at 12:00 pm. The youth were also pelting stones towards the polling booths in the area.

Our team recorded poll figures in the four booths as under:

6 out of 574 votes in 48-Alnoor Colony; 48 out of 668 in 48-Channapora; 14 out of 671 in 49-Madin Bagh; and 33 out of 595 in 49A-Madin Bagh.

Solina: Here low to moderate polling was witnessed in three booths set up in a school. In polling booth 118-Solina, 150 votes out of 649 had been cast; in polling booth 119-Solina, only 9 votes were polled out of 466; and in polling booth 120-Tulsi Bagh, 24 votes were polled out of 724.

Batmaloo constituency

Batmaloo: This area, located in the heart of the Srinagar city, has always stood at the forefront of separatist movement in the state. The people here have had to suffer for their political views. In 1965, for example, entire Batmaloo was set on fire by the Indian Army for allegedly providing shelter to suspected Pakistani soldiers who had sneaked into the city. Also, since the beginning of the ongoing movement, scores of youth from the area have died in encounters and in custody of the troops and police. Many vanished without a trace after their arrest by different agencies. By despite suffering at the hands of state and its agencies, the people of Batmaloo refuse to give up.

“We reject these bogus elections,” a group of elderly women from Lashmanpora locality of Batmaloo told our team. “We don't believe in Indian democracy.”

Earlier in the day, residents of Lashmanpora had taken to streets and held protests after paramilitary CRPF troops forced entry into many houses and beat up the inmates. Many people, eyewitnesses said, received injuries when the CRPF personnel used force to disperse the protesters. Besides, windowpanes and doors of many residential houses were damaged by the troopers.



We also learned that a few men who had dared to come out to vote were given a thrashing by the local residents. “As we're coming out of the polling booth, a large group of people attacked us with *Kangris* (fire pots) and stones. My nose and forehead was injured in the incident,” said Abdul Hameed, chief agent of Peoples Democratic Party.

At 12:55 pm, in polling booth Lashmanpora-98, 55 voters had been cast out of 664; in Lashmanpora-99B, not a single vote had been cast out of 891; and in Lashmanpora-98A, 42 voters had cast their ballot out of 643 votes.

Qamarwari: In the Qamarwari area of Batmaloo constituency, the team visited a polling station set up in a private school where many people were present. A number of minors were also in the queue while many had already voted. The polling staff refused to give any comment over the minors voting.

Nearly 200 out of about 2500 votes had been polled in the four booths by 2:00 pm.

Eidgah constituency

Noorbagh: While some people had chosen to cast their ballot, many youth were injured in clashes with paramilitary troopers in this area of Eidgah constituency. Local residents said the CRPF troopers had barged into many houses on the eve of elections and beat up the inmates. At least 10 persons, they said, received injuries in the “terror unleashed by the men-in-uniform.”

Some of the injured were identified as: Sajad Ahmad Sheikh, son of Ali Mohammad; Sajad Ahmad Butt, son of Ghulam Mohammad; Mohammad Latief Malla, son of Abdul Ahad; Abdul Hameed Sheikh, son of Mohammad Yasin; Nisar Ahmad Dar, son of Abdul Rahim;

Umar, son of Abdul Ahad; Zahid Ahmad Dendroo, son of Mohammad Yousuf; and Irfan Ahmad Dendroo, son of Ghulam Nabi.



One of the injured, Sajad Ahmad Sheikh, said he was attacked with a knife by the troopers. He said: “I have a leather manufacturing workshop. I had to go to there along with my non-Kashmiri (Assamese) workers. When we were crossing the road, a CRPF soldier carrying a knife attacked me. He tried to slash my throat but I resisted. My three fingers were injured in the incident. And to save my life I hurled a kangri at the brute trooper. While escaping from the spot, the bastards hit me on the back with bamboo sticks.”

Later our team visited two polling booths where 72 and 192 votes had been polled out of 727 and 704 by 2:30 pm. Many underage voters were also in these booths. One of them, who identified himself as Sameer Ahmed, revealed he had cast three votes.

Safa Kadal: Six polling booths were set up in a government school where nearly 500 voters out of about 3000 registered voters had cast their ballot.

Some youth present outside the polling station spoke to our team. They said, “Nobody from our area cast vote except a few agents of political parties. These agents brought mobile voters who seemed to belong to villages in Sumo vehicles.”

They added: “When we held anti-election protests in morning we were identified by local agents of political parties and they gave our particulars to the police. Police later raided our houses and is searching for us.”

Nawa Kadal: Here streets looked deserted except for the huge presence of CRPF troopers and stray dogs. A polling station was set up in a government girls school where about 180 votes out of nearly 3200 had been polled in the five booths by 3:15 pm.



Zadibal constituency

Gojwara: Here polling station had been set up in the historic Islamia High School, Rajouri Kadal. No voter was present inside the booths, and just two votes out of 400 had been polled in booth No. 14-Rajouri Kadal by 3:30 pm. The two votes, we were told, had been cast by polling agents.

Khanyar constituency

The team visited a few booths in Khanyar constituency. In all localities of Khanyar there was a curfew-like situation and nobody was on roads. The team first visited the Saifudin Pora booth number where only 8 votes out of 354 had been polled by 4:00 pm. While in Shampora, Nowhatta polling booth, 279 votes had been polled out of 833 votes. Shampora was the only booth where the team recorded the highest polling percentage in entire old city.

Polling Booth Data

S. No	Name of polling booth	Village/Town/City	Constituency	Total No of Registered		Time of visit	No of votes cast	
1.	92 - D	Trigam-D	Sonawari 11	644		4:00 PM	487	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				339	305		299	188
2	31 A Girls Middle School, Nesbal Hilalabad	Nesbal	Sonawari 11	681		1:50 PM	422	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				352	329		229	193
3	32-B Girls Middle School Nesbal Hilalabad	Nesbal	Sonawari 11	626		1:55 PM	472	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				314	312		239	233
4.	33-C Nesbal Panchayat Nesbal	Nesbal	Sonawari 11	1172		2:05 PM	481	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				595	577		311	120
5	70-C Sumbal Inderkote	Sumbal	Sonawari 11-C	641		2:35 PM	527	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				313	328		306	221
6	71-D Inderkoot Sumbal	Inderkote, Sumbal	Sonawari 11	647		2:45 PM	520	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				325	322			
7	72-E Sumbal Inderkote	Sumbal	Sonawari 11 AC	883		2:40 PM	446	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				443	400		246	200
8	73-F Sumbal Inderkote	Sumbal	Sonawari	892		2:40 PM	363	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				444	448		186	177
9	PS 74 Sumbal Inderkote	Sumbal	Sonawari	1001		2:20 PM	432	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				515	486			
10	75-Wangipora A	Wangipora	Sonawari 11	673		12:30 PM	322	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				362	311		188	134
11	76-Wangipora B	Wangipora	Sonawari 11	607		12:40 PM	290	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				312	295		149	141
12	Dangerpora Panchayat	Dangerpora	Sonawari	1472		3:36 PM	703	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							509	194
13	Lawaypora A	Lawaypora	Bandipora	915		2:45 PM	405	
				Male	Female		Male	Female

14	66 Haritrath	Haritrath	Pattan	578		10:00 AM	22	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				297	281		8	14
15	Ashtingo A	Ashtingo	Bandipora	1059		9:00 AM	23	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							22	1
16	Odina 11-88	Odina	Sonawari	838		4:10 PM	552	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				415	423		290	262
17	Odina 11-87	Odina	Sonawari	815		4:15 PM	589	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				399	416		290	299
18	96-D Nowgam Panchayatghar	Nowgam	Sonawari	691		4:00 PM	350	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				262	329		185	165
19	97-E Nowgam Panchayat Ghar	Nowgam	Sonawari	844		4:30 PM	500	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				433	411		170	330
20	99-Rakhi Sultanpora BMS Gundipora	Gundipora	Sonawari	512		3:00 PM	300	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				243	267		180	220
21	39-Hajin A	Hajin	Sonawari 11	658		2:45 PM	305	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							203	102
22	39-Hajin A 11	Hajin	Sonawari 11	565		2:40 PM	112	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				299	266		77	35
23	Gund Jehangir A	Gund Jehangir	11-58 A	395			225	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
24	Garoor A	Garoor A	Bandipora 10	1073		3:49 PM	674	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				513	491		345	323
25	Malapora A	Malapora, Sumbal	Sonawari	938		4:30 PM	480	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				470	468		280	298
26	60 Poshwari A	Poshwari	Sonawari 11	763		11:50 AM	310	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				394	369		150	160
27	62-A Govt. School	Ganstan	Sonawari	2100		3:00 PM	700	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				1200	900		400	300

28	28 Rakhi Asham	Rakhi Asham	Sonawari 11	500		11:10 AM	42	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				253	247		42	0
29	84 Ganstan A	Ganstan	Sonawari	1081		9:00 AM	45	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				571	510		25	20
30	74 Inderkote G	Sumbal	Sonawari	1001		10:20 AM	192	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				515	486		50	142
31	85 Ganstan B	Ganstan	Sonawari 11	719		9:30 AM	83	
							Male	Female
				Male	Female			
				373	346		52	31
32	61 B Poshwari	Poshwari	Sonawari 11	738		11:45 AM	194	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				373	365		164	30
33	60-Gada Khud	Gamdoo	Sonawari	1200		4:20 PM	1020	
	Govt Higher			Male	Female		Male	Female
	Secondary						35 %	40 %
34	School, Gamdoo			700	500			
	61Govt. Primary	Sumbal	Sonawari	636		3:30 PM	586	
	School Hajan			Male	Female		Male	Female
35				350	280		400	186
	Watpora Payeen	Watpora	Bandipora	1100		3:45 PM	1000	
							Male	Female
36				Male	Female			
				600	500		480	520
	Qazipora 10	Qazipora	Bandipora	1200		3:30 PM	950	
38				Male	Female		Male	Female
				700	500		560	390
	H. Handew	H. Handew	Wachi	743		4:30 PM	620	
39				Male	Female		Male	Female
	Manloo 60/36	Karewa Manloo	Shopian	624		4:00 PM	455	
40				Male	Female		Male	Female
							232	223
	Melhora A	Melhora	Wachi	784		4:00 PM	262	
41	77/35			Male	Female		Male	Female
							209	53
42	Molvi Dager	Halka	Wachi	1393		2:40 PM	169	
	Pora	Dangerpora		Male	Female		Male	Female
				843	550		140	29
43	Mantribug A -	Mantribug	Wachi	677		4:30 PM	330	
	45			Male	Female		Male	Female
							220	110
43	Losedenew A	Krawoora	Wachi	920		4:30 PM	415	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				480	440		278	137

44	Nadigam 25	Nadigam	Wachi	911		2:55 PM	397	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				481	430			
45	K. Malik Gund	Kulara	Wachi	595		4:30 PM	157	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				314	281		137	20
46	35 / 24 C Baskucha	Baskucha	Wachi	993		4:30 PM	368	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							311	57
47	K. Malik Gund B		Wachi	573		4:30 PM	207	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							177	30
48	26 Manzinpara	Manzinpara	Wachi	1134		3:33 PM	595	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				593	541			
49	Imam Sahib 14	Imam Sahib	Wachi	972		1:40 PM	307	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
50	Mohandpora	Mohandpora	Wachi	729		4:00 PM	360	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							251	109
51	Losedanow B	Losedanow	Wachi	477		4:30 PM	294	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				234	226		174	120
52	Imam Sahib 15	Imam Sahib	Wachi	1042		1:45 Pm	335	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				525	517			
53	30 A K malik Gund	Kiloor a	Wachi	595		4:00 Pm	156	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				314	281		123	33
54	Heff A	Heff	Wachi	453 in A		4:00 Pm	187	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				243	210			
55	41 B Harmain	Harmain	Wachi	993		4:00 Pm	630	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				501	492		337	293
56	29 Hajipora	Hajipora	Wachi	1131		4:00 Pm	528	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
57	22 Aloora	Aloora	Wachi	482		4:00 Pm	382	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				253	229		233	149
58	42 Landoora	Landoora	Wachi	598		4:00 Pm	322	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				313	285		218	110
59	40 A Harmain	Harmain	Wachi	1006		4:00 Pm	513	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				498	508		346	167

60	36-Sikandarpora A		Beerwah	780		1:00 PM	400	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				413	367			
61	5- A1 Serhama	Serhama	Bijbehara	693		4:25 Pm	500	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				347	346		264	236
62	6- B Serhama	Serhama	Bijbehara	804		4:40 Pm	520	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				407	397		270	250
63	5-A Serhama	Serhama	Bijbehara	800		4:58 Pm	555	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				414	386		312	243
64	6-A Serhama	Serhama	Bijbehara	734		5:10 Pm	554	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				391	343			
65	78-Batpora	Batpora	Pahalgam	925		4:00 Pm	656	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				498	446		331	325
66	51 Viddy	Viddy	Bijbehara	656		Not mentioned	Not mentioned	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				262	239			
67	67 GMS Budroo	Budroo	Pahalgam	1264		3:30 Pm	900	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							441	459
68	18 Sofipora	H Khathal	Pahalgam	725		1:00 PM	602	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
69	Wallarhama-19	Wallarhama	Pahalgam	1091		4:00 Pm	724	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
70	H Khathal	H Khathal	Pahalgam	625		1:00 PM	502	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
71	Khiram	Khiram	Bijbehara	1161		2:10 Pm	513	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
72	Khiram Durpora A	Khiram	Bijbehara	813		1:20 PM	394	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
73	64 MS Liver	Liver	Pahalgam	1158		4:30 PM	848	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				592	566		440	408
74	GHS Katsoo 66	Katsoo	Pahalgam	605		3:00 Pm	470	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
75	GPS Katsoo 66	Katsoo	Pahalgam	730		3:00 Pm	430	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
76	46 Buran	Buran	Pattan	1042		1:30 Pm	320	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				549	495			

77	25 Buran	Buran	Pattan	1134		1:35 Pm	333	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							281	52
78	27 Gujpora	Gujpora	Pattan	703		1:03 PM	172	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				362	341		132	40
79	Khudwani	Khudwani	Devsar	1200		4:00 Pm	512	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							300	212
80	40-Redwani-A	Redwani	Home Shaliboug	896		10:45 Am	155	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				472	427		89	66
81	53-Khrew	Wanpoh	Home Shaliboug	1208		10:35 Am	151	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				621	587		90	61
82	Seer Jager	Path Seer	Sangrama	1480		11:10 am	35	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				876	604		35	0
83	Seer Jager	Gurseer	Sangrama	1536		11:40 am	49	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				820	716		47	2
84	MET College	Naseembagh	Sopore	1260		10:25 am	12	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				642	618		5	7
85	Chewdara-66	HS Chadoora	Beerwah	Not mentioned		4:00 pm	671	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							370	301
86	Chewdara-67	Chewdara	Beerwah	Not mentioned		4:00 pm	456	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							260	194
87	Govt. Middle School Changam	Changam	Beerwah	1600		10:00 am	600	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				1000	600		300	300
88	44 F Matipora	Kripal Sari	Pattan	998		4:00 PM	547	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				540	458		347	200
89	28-B Sikandarpora	Sikandarpora	Beerwah	1155		1:05 Am	345	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				797	358		267	78
90	57-Nurshingpora	Nursingpora	Beerwah	524		12:30 Pm	281	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				283	241			
91	Malapora Khag	Not mentioned	Beerwah	585		1:11 Pm	271	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				301	284		216	55

92	Gamboora	Not mentioned	Beerwah	1025		4:30 Pm	591	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				533	492			
93	Iqbal Colony Rose Wood School	Sonwar	Sonwar	796		3:17 Pm	65	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							49	16
94	26-Bansar Burn Hall School	Sonwar	Sonwar	637		1:00 PM	74	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				332	305		44	30
95	21-A Sonwar	Sonwar	Sonwar	557		12:00 PM	18	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				297	260		13	5
96	Iqbal Colony Rose Wood School	Sonwar	Sonwar	796		10:00 AM	23	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				410	386		18	5
97	57-Bonigam	Bonigam	Devsar	849		4:00 PM	680	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				360	320			
98	Agroo	Agroo	Devsar	998		2:00 PM	350	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				560	438		200	150
99	Agroo	Agroo	Devsar	965		4:00 PM	238	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				528	437		138	100
100	Vessu A	Vessu	Devsar	1248		4:00 PM	785	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				758	490		505	280
101	Sofi Gund	Sofi Gund	Home Shalibugh	528		3:00 PM	470	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				300	228		280	190
102	Talbi Klan PHE	Charer-e-Sharief	Charer-e-Sharief	944		3:55 Pm	692	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				477	397		398	294
103	Sub Stien 267	Charer-e-Sharief	Charer-e-Sharief	445		3:15 Pm	285	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				202	182		165	120
104	48 Bogund A Govt. Middle School	Bogund	Kulgam	830		4:30 PM	540	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				496	334			

105	Govt. Middle School	Brazloo	Kulgam	670		3:00 PM	430	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
106	GPS Zadipora	Zadipora	Kulgam	930		3:30 Pm	730	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				496	534			
107	38 HS Srandoo		Kulgam	1153		3:20 Pm	832	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				600	553			
108	35 A Mirpura	Ashmuja	Kulgam	690		2:50 Pm	414	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
109	32 MS Kulpora	Kulpora	Kulgam	987		4:00 PM	160	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				530	457			
110	35 Cheki Ashmuji	Ashmuji	Kulgam	740		4:00 PM	350	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
111	36 Cheki Ashmuji	Ashmuji	Kulgam	700		3:30 Pm	402	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
112	36- A Ashmuji	Ashmuji	Kulgam	730		4:00 PM	395	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
113	16 - 13 Yaripora	Yaripora	Home Shalibugh	1038		4:10 PM	699	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
114	21 - Bardoo	Bardoo	Home Shalibugh	646		2:55 Pm	493	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				336	310		279	214
115	39- Home Shalibugh	Kujjar	Home Shalibugh	1173		2:30 Pm	522	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							313	209
116	21 - A Badroo	Badroo	Home Shalibugh	650		2:50 Pm	531	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				333	317			
117	75- Koker Gund	Koker Gund	Kulgam	794		3:15 PM	253	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				412	382		238	15

118	46-A Kujar	Kujar	Home Shalibugh	471		2:30 PM	311	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				256	215		183	138
119	Middle School	Lakhtipora	Home Shalibugh	717		1:00 PM	303	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				356	361		196	107
120	32 A Arwani	Arwani	Home Shalibugh	649		1:00 PM	125	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				328	321		79	46
121	33 Arwani	Arwani	Home Shalibugh	1136		12:30 PM	74	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				568	568			
122	32 Arwani	Arwani	Home Shalibugh	702		12:36 PM	183	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				335	367		122	61
123	2 A Frisal C	Frisal	Home Shalibugh	754		1:45 PM	185	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							108	77
124	Frisal C 20	Frisal	Home Shalibugh	801		1:50 PM	356	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							180	176
125	18 Frisal A	Frisal	Home Shalibugh	1039		2:06 PM	378	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				539	500		213	165
126	19 B Frisal	Frisal	Home Shalibugh	474		2:00 PM	286	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				254	220		168	118
127	19 Home Shalibugh	Home Shalibugh	Home Shalibugh	756		3:30 PM	492	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							276	216

128	17 A Home Shalibugh	Home Shalibugh	Home Shalibugh	580		3:20 PM	374	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				289	291		216	158
130	73 Buchoo	Buchoo	Tral	1065		1:32 PM	444	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							169	
131	64 D Dadasar	Dadasar	Tral	725		3:20 PM	129	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				375	350			
132	63 C Dedsar	Dedsar	Tral	739		3:25 PM	166	
							Male	Female
				Male	Female		118	48
133	61 A Dedsar	Dedsar	Tral	736		3:20 PM	254	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				374	362		134	120
134	62 B Dedsar	Dedsar	Tral	607		3:15 AM	112	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				318	289		71	41
135	53 C Tral	Tral	Tral	900		4:00 PM	900	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				500	400		500	400
136	Govt. Middle School Shikargah	Shikargah	Tral	987		4:30 PM	569	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				479	518		312	257
137	46 Choker	Choker	Gulmarg	776		11:30 AM	159	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				413	363		131	28
138	Krishhama	Krishhama	Gulmarg	1037		11:00 AM	129	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				537	502		129	0

139	Yall 41	Yall	Gulmarg	895		3:00 PM	427	
							Male	Female
				Male	Female			
				453	442			247 180
140	42 Sonum	Sonum	Gulmarg	611		12:30 PM	230	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				316	295		190	40
141	Sariwara Pora A	Sariwara Pora	Gulmarg	946		11:05 AM	212	
							Male	Female
				Male	Female		165	47
				466	480			
142	62-Walioo Kralpora	Walioo Kralpora	Gulmarg	804		11:50 AM	324	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							200	124
				614	180			
143	109 Kangam Doru	Kangam Doru	Gulmarg	860		11:00 AM	200	
							Male	Female
				Male	Female		125	75
				400	460			
144	Govt. Boys Middle School Biyawa	Biyawa	Gulmarg	945		4:00 PM	314	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							185	129
				485	459			
145	39-Kunzar	Kunzar	Gulmarg	1155		12:25 PM	321	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
							174	147
				571	584			
146	Wader Payeen	Wader Payeen	Handwara	763		3:50 PM	670	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				435	328		430	240
147	Audoora Mawar	Audoora Mawar	Kupwara	700		4:30 PM	400	
				Male	Female			

148	65 B Sinngpora	Sinngpora	Pattan	584		3:55 PM	289	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				300	284		186	103
149.	65 A Sinngpora	Sinngpora	Pattan	730		3:50 PM	400	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				373	357		237	163
150	75- Budibugh Govt. Middle School	Budibugh	Pattan	830		8:30 AM	60	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				415	415		40	20
151	73 Amar Gund	Amar Gund	Pattan	750		12:45 PM	100	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
152	74 Habbak Tangoo	Habbak Tangoo	Pattan	644		1:00 PM	400	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				344	300		250	150
153	75 Arampora	Arampora	Pattan	800		4:00 PM	600	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				450	350		275	325
154	Tantraypora A	Tantraypora Palhallan	Pattan	869		10:38 AM	80	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				448	421		77	3
155	Tantraypora B	Tantraypora Palhallan	Pattan	742		11:03 AM	120	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				372	370		119	1
156	8-B Palhallan	Palhallan	Pattan	1190		12:14 PM	25	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				611	579		22	3
157	Gund KH Qasim 72	Gund KH Qasim	Pattan	675		11:05 AM	225	
				Male	Female		Male	Female

158.	20 A Pattan	Pattan	Pattan	895		12:39 PM	227	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				478	417		153	74
159.	21 B Pattan	Pattan	Pattan	1059		12:43 PM	344	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				573	482			
160.	22 C Pattan	Pattan	Pattan	942		12: 47 PM	147	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				488	474			
161	23 D Pattan	Pattan	Pattan	526		12:00 PM	58	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				283	243		47	11
162.	43 6 Matipora	KP Bla	Pattan	838		4:00 PM	397	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				411	427		201	196
163	44 F Matipora	Kripal Sari	Pattan	998		4:00 PM	547	
				Male	Female		Male	Female
				540	458		347	200

Data Analysis

Our survey covered all the ten districts of Kashmir valley. We restricted the survey to Kashmir as JKCCS has networks in all the valley districts, which it does not have in the Jammu region. Secondly, our election monitoring work was non-funded where expenses were raised locally, and monitors from outside J&K bore the burden of travel. Given this, we had to be focused in defining the scope of our work. We also emphasised the participation of local groups, who covered the Kashmir region, to make sure that the sample was not too skewed. Therefore, it was decided that survey should be confined to Kashmir.

Our survey covered Kashmir where the electorate is overwhelmingly Muslim. Comparatively, the social composition of the electorate in Jammu is very different. For instance the population ratio at regional level is comprised of 60% Hindus and 40% Muslims, but at the district level, Jammu, Kathua, and Udhampur are Hindu dominated, while the rest of the districts in Jammu, i.e., Doda, Kishtwar, Ramban, Rajouri and Poonch, are Muslims dominated.

1. Is the survey representative?

The sample size was 5423. Out of the 5423 respondents from the Kashmir Valley, the first things to note is that around 20 per cent of the respondents were women. This can imply that in so far as women are concerned this survey is not adequately inclusive. However, it must be noted that, on many occasions, given the political situation in the Valley, women faced various constraints that made it difficult or impossible for them to participate.

We nevertheless believe that the data offers various insights and that there is much of value that these responses reveal. We can draw fairly reasonable inferences in the process of reading the numbers and analysing them.

The survey shows that of the total sample size 53%, or 2900 respondents, cast their votes, whereas 2523 respondents or, 47%, boycotted the polls. Is this reflective of a clear divide or is it because it was relatively easier for the survey to access voters at the polling booth than to reach the boycotters at their residence?

This could also account for the participation of fewer women in the survey because women do not linger or wander outside, as much as men tend to do, which impacted women's participation in the survey, which was held at the polling booths.

However, a statistical difference of 6%, give or take, couple of percents for error, is not *too* significant a difference.

The age-wise break up of the respondents shows that 2045 were in the age group between 18-30 and 1666 in age group 31-45 and 885 were above 46 years. Whereas, 827 failed to provide information.

Among the respondents who cast their vote there were more respondents in the age group 31-45 (1020) than in the other two 18-30 (883) or 46 plus (575). For those who did not vote, the respondents belonging to age group 18-30 (1162) outnumbered the combined total of 956 from the other two age groups, (646 in the age group 31-45 and 310 in 46 plus). It is interesting to note that a relatively larger number of those who were young (18-30) boycotted the polls even in absolute terms; 1162 versus 1020.

2. Was their coercion in the voting process?

First thing to note is that 4737 respondents categorically rejected coercion as being a reason for either voting or not voting. However, when they were asked whether they considered the poll process to be free and fair, 2363 out of 2900 respondents who voted (81%) said yes, whereas 1771 out of 2523, or 70% respondents, who boycotted claimed that it was neither free nor fair.

Put it another way, 2793 respondents out of 5423, or 52%, considered the process to be free and fair, whereas 40% considered it not to be free or fair. A 12% difference between the two cannot be wished away especially as because crackdowns on boycott campaign or restrictions placed on press etc., were fairly well known features. Yet if majority of respondents considered the polls free and fair then does it mean that perhaps there was tacit endorsement for the crackdown or perhaps such measures were considered so common that they ceased to be a consideration among those who wanted to cast their vote?

Conversely, as 2377 respondents heeded the call of boycott while 1771 considered the elections not to be free and fair, 606 respondents did not share this view? Could it be that they did not consider a crackdown on the boycott campaign, in the given situation in J&K, as anything unusual? The standard formal process of free and fair polls have been rather low in J&K. Therefore, the vantage point from which they look upon what comprises free and fair polls is diminished.

Blatant forms of rigging, which were so common in Jammu & Kashmir in the past decades, was replaced by an atmosphere of relatively rigged free elections in 2008, one in which booth capturing or rigged results were not witnessed. Besides, people do respond positively to any relaxation in their highly controlled lives, even if it is for a brief period. [This was something we had come across even in 2002 assembly elections too.] Whatever be the reason, at the level of popular perception, all out repression was moderated, with localized constituency-wise relaxation during the casting of votes.

3. Why did people vote?

What do the patterns in voting in 2008 indicate? Of the 2900 that voted, 78 per cent cast their vote because of the promise of development. The remaining 658 respondents (22%) gave varying reasons. Among them, respondents stated their participation to be a step toward 'democracy', 'desire for civil government', 'need for resolution (of the dispute)', 'for peace', adding up to 299, or 11 per cent. Another 114 voted 'to defeat' India-aligned parties (Congress, CPI (M), NC and PDP), whereas 116 did not offer reason as to why they cast their vote. Among those who boycotted, 2377 respondents out of 2523 heeded the call of boycott. Five per cent, or 131 respondents, provided no answers for boycotting polls or suggested that they were too busy to find time to cast their vote. Thus, if a desire for development was the primary reason cited by those who did cast their vote, the call to boycott by all the pro-Freedom groups persuaded those who did not cast their vote.

4. Did party affiliations play a role in persuading people to cast their vote or to boycott polls?

The sample shows that 50% of the respondents who voted were supporters of PDP (28%) and NC (23%). Another 10% of the respondents were affiliated to the Congress and PDF. These four parties account for the affiliations recorded among 61% (1762) of the respondents. Again, 834 respondents, or 28%, had either no affiliation or did not wish to divulge their affiliation. This compares with those who boycotted, which is to say that 1470 or nearly 60% of those who boycotted belonged to pro-freedom groups. But what is interesting to note here is the fact that 840 respondents, or nearly 29% of those who did vote, had either no party affiliation or did not want to divulge it. But it is important to note that a much larger percentage of respondents, 40% or 1021 respondents, who offered no party affiliation, boycotted rather than voted in the polls.

Placed against the kind of constraints placed on the boycott campaign, and considering the fact that 60% of

the respondents expressed affiliation with the PDP, NC, Congress or PDF, this stratum of unaffiliated boycotters acquires significance. It ought to be borne in mind that it is not just ones own cadre's turnout which determines success or failure, but that a key indicator of success is how far one reaches amongst the undecided/unaffiliated voters. From that perspective alone, it is suggested that were there no suppression of boycotters, their campaign would have been politically effective.

5. Will these polls have any impact on the J&K conflict?

By far the most important results of the survey is that, among those who cast their vote, 1320 respondents (45%) felt that these elections would have no impact in determining a resolution to the conflict, and among those who boycotted, 944 (35%) felt that these elections will have no impact in determining a resolution to the conflict. Even more interesting is the fact that as against 1173 persons, (40%), who voted, that felt that these elections will have some impact, among those who boycotted, 1235, or nearly 50%, believed that these elections will have some impact on the J&K conflict.

This offers some crucial insights. A comprehensive reading of the data suggests that while those who voted were less sanguine about the assembly elections, in so far as the resolution of the J&K conflict was concerned, they saw the polls more in terms of affording tangible improvements in their material existence and security. In contrast, among those who boycotted, 2377 (92%) out of 2523 respondents heeded the call for boycott, and, of *this* 92%, (1235, who constitute 60% of the total respondents surveyed) perceived the elections to have some impact on the J&K conflict. This expression of hope, which was indeed far more present among boycotters, was suggestive of a remarkable and robust attitude among the respondents towards the future. Could it be indicative of expressions of self-confidence gained in the wake of the land struggle and anti-economic embargo?

Put it another way, 2264 respondents (40%) out of 5423 believed that these elections would have no impact, whereas 2368 (42%) believed that they would have some impact. What this suggests is that both among those who boycotted as well as those who voted there is an overlap in so far as perceptions of the impact of the elections on the J&K conflict is concerned. For both, the reference point is common since 4632 respondents, or 91%, have a point of view on J&K conflict. Put it another way, respondents were clear in their mind as to how they read the elections in so far as the resolution of the fundamental issue of concern for them. As a result, even when persons cast their vote they were clear to not read the elections as amounting to a resolution. Thus, to believe that the assembly elections amounted to an endorsement of Indian rule, in so far as this survey is concerned, stands negated by the sheer fact that an overwhelming majority of 91% believed that the J&K conflict awaits resolution. Yearning for a democratic closure to the 61-year dispute united the boycotters and the voters. This, we believe, is singularly the most evocative inference to be drawn from our survey.

Total Respondents	5423	
	Male	Female
	4512	911
Respondents who cast their vote	2900	
	Male	Female
	2381	519
Respondents who did not cast their vote	2523	
	Male	Female
	2131	392

Age groups 2900 Respondents who cast their vote			
N.A	18 to 30 years	31 to 45 years	46 above
422	883	1020	575

Age groups 2523 Respondents who did not cast their vote			
N.A	18 to 30 years	31 to 45 years	46 above
405	1162	646	310

Reasons for voting by 2900 respondents	
<i>Respondents may have given more than one reason at times</i>	
For Development	2252
For Democracy	142
Against Congress, CPI (M), NC and PDP	114
Against SOG	6
Cannot say	116
Coercion	37
Followed Others	35
For Civil Government	30
For Money	12
For Resolution	77
For Peace	13
Local Candidate	44
Party Association	22

Parties representing those who cast their votes (2900 respondents)	
ANC	24
Awami League	4
BJP	4
BSP	4
Cannot say	160
Congress	141
CPI (M)	39
Don't Know	6
DPN	9
Hizbul Mujahideen	2
Hurriyat	26
Independent Candidate	123
Jamaat-e-Islami	3
JKDU	1
JKLF	1
Lok Jan Shakti Party	5
National Conference	653
NDP	1
None	674
Panthers Party	4

PDF	149
People's Democratic Nationalist (PDN)	4
People’s Democratic Party	819
People's Conference	2
PP	4
Rashtriya Janta Dal	2
Socialist Democratic Party	2
Samaj Wadi Party	26
Tehreek-e-Hurriyat	8

Coercion felt by those who cast their votes (2900 respondents)	
Cannot say	87
No	2668
Societal Pressure	8
Militant Coercion	1
Army Coercion	112
Political Party Coercion	24

Impressions of those who cast their votes (2900 respondents) on the freeness and fairness of elections	
Cannot say	139
Yes	2363
No	398

Impressions of those who cast their votes (2900 respondents) on any impact on Jammu & Kashmir conflict	
Cannot say	287
Negative Impact	102
No Impact	1320
Positive Impact	18
Some Impact	1173

Reasons for not voting by 2523 respondents	
Boycott	2377
Busy	32
Cannot say	99
Societal Pressure	1
Long Queue	1
Militant Coercion	2
Name not enlisted	5
Vote Already Cast by Somebody	6

Parties representing those who did not cast their votes (2523 respondents)	
Pro-Freedom Groups	1470
Awami Action Committee (11), Hurriyat (M) (11), Mahaz-e-Azadi (2), National Front (2), People's League (3), Democratic Freedom Party (15), Coordination Committee (216), Hizbul Mujahideen (4), Hurriyat (781), Dukhtaran-e-Millat (2), Hurriyat (G) (159), Jamaat-e-Islami (51), Muslim League (14), Tehreek-e-Hurriyat (89), Jamait-e-Ahle-Hadees (2), Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (87), Lashkar-e-Toiba (3), People's Conference (6), Umat-e-Islami (20)	
Cannot say	45
Congress	2
National Conference	11
None	976
People's Democratic Party	11

Coercion felt by those who did not cast their votes (2523 respondents)	
Cannot say	94
No Coercion	2049
Societal Pressure	1
Militant Coercion	2
Army Coercion	355
Political Party Coercion	22

Impressions of those who did not cast their votes (2523 respondents) on the freeness and fairness of elections	
Cannot say	322
Yes	430
No	1771

Impressions of those who did not cast their votes (2523 respondents) on any impact on Jammu & Kashmir conflict	
Cannot say	259
Negative Impact	35
No Impact	944
Positive Impact	None
Some Impact	1235

In Lieu of Conclusion

T*he contents of this report, namely the introduction which highlights the context within which the elections took place, the survey carried out by us, as well as the observations of monitors, provide a comprehensive account of the elections to state Assembly 2008. We want to add or detract nothing from the analysis and narrative, barring point towards one unalterable fact, the overwhelming support for “azaadi” which cuts across the divide between the voters and boycotter. This is remarkable given the repressive conditions in which these polls were carried out and shows the immensely inventive ways in which people of Kashmir continue to express themselves.*

Annex-I

Constituency: Bandipora (10)			District: Bandipora			
Date of Polling: 11/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 114			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
46079	41517	87596	49995	57.07%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Iftikhar Ahmed Peerzada		SP	M	39	815	1.63%
Bashir Ahmed Khan		IND	M	34	701	1.4%
Habib Ullah Bhat		IND	M	70	1533	3.07%
Habib Ullah Pahloo		IND	M	62	883	1.77%
Reyaz Ahmed Wani		BSP	M	32	244	0.49%
Shamsu Din Khan		BJP	M	55	775	1.55%
Abdul Rehman Thikriya		RJD	M	34	554	1.11%
Usman Abdul Majid		IND	M	48	12231	24.46%
Gh. Rasool Mir		JKN	M	60	633	1.27%
Gh. Mohi Din Bhat		JKANC	M	46	3557	7.11%
Gowsia Bashir		IND	F	26	770	1.54%
Mohd. Ismaiel Bhat		IND	M	53	3907	7.81%
Mohd. Iqbal Jan		JKNPP	M	33	1524	3.05%
Mohd. Anwar Wani		LJP	M	51	991	1.98%
Mohammad Abdullah Wani		PDF	M	50	5356	10.71%
Mohd. Qasim Mir		IND	M	43	1296	2.59%
Manzoor Ahmed Khan		AIFB	M	33	305	0.61%
Nizamuddin Bhat		JKPDP	M	60	13051	26.1%
Noor Mohammad Sheergojri		IND	M	48	869	1.74%

Constituency: Gurez (9)			District: Bandipora			
Date of Polling: 11/17/2008		No of Polling Station: 25				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
8088	7302	15390	11392	74.02%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Mohd. Iqbal Lone		AIFB	M	38	132	1.16%
Nazir Ahmad Bhat		JKPDP	M	37	170	1.49%

Nazir Ahmad Khan	JKN	M	35	5817	51.06%
Riyaz Ahmed Wani	BSP	M	32	114	1%
Abdul Aziz Wani	IND	M	50	74	0.65%
Faqir Mohd. Khan	INC	M	48	5085	44.64%

Constituency: Sonawari (11)			District: Bandipora		
Date of Polling: 11/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 106		
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors		Votes Polled	Turn Out
43621	40781	84402		50595	59.95%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Afroz Ahmed Malik	IND	M	36	254	0.5%
Imtiaz Ahmed Parray	JKAL	M	26	6472	12.79%
Zulfikar Ali Malla	IND	M	32	199	0.39%
Syed Abbas	PDF	M	48	493	0.97%
Shabiir Ahmed Mir	IND	M	30	374	0.74%
Zahoor Ahmed Mir	IND	M	29	465	0.92%
Abid Hussain Ansari	IND	M	62	7951	15.71%
Abdul Aziz Hurra	LJP	M	62	528	1.04%
Abdul Majid Lone	IND	M	48	838	1.66%
Ali Mohd. Kawa	JKANC	M	41	182	0.36%
Ghulam Ahmed Lone	IND	M	51	98	0.19%
Ghulam Hassan Dar	INC	M	58	3218	6.36%
Ghulam Mohd. Mir	JD(U)	M	48	305	0.6%
Mohd. Aslam Fafoo	IND	M	37	929	1.84%
Mohd. Ashraf Reshi	BJP	M	43	379	0.75%
Mohd. Ashraf Sheikh	JKNPP	M	35	289	0.57%
Mohd. Akbar Dar	BSP	M	58	400	0.79%
Mohd. Maqbool Malla	IND	M	47	534	1.06%
Mohd. Yousuf Rather	SP	M	36	314	0.62%
Mushtaq Ahmed Ganie	IND	M	30	280	0.55%
Yasir Reshi	JKPDP	M	32	5985	11.83%
Mohd. Akbar Lone	JKN	M	63	20108	39.74%

Constituency: Ganderbal (17)			District: Ganderbal	
Date of Polling: 11/23/2008			No of Polling Station: 97	
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out
39835	37074	76909	39818	51.77%

CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Ahmad Bhat	RJD	M	49	759	1.91%
Syed Ali Mohammad Shah	IND	M	40	96	0.24%
Sheikh Ishfaq Ahmad	INC	M	38	8077	20.28%
Ab Rashid Sheikh	BJP	M	30	551	1.38%
Ali Mohammad Baba	BSP	M	60	374	0.94%
Omar Abdullah	JKN	M	37	16519	41.49%
Gh Hassan Dar	IND	M	47	737	1.85%
Farooq Ahmad Dar	IND	M	30	2622	6.58%
Farooq Ahmad	JKNPP	M	30	375	0.94%
Qazi Mohammad Afzal	JKPDP	M	65	8304	20.85%
Nissar Ahmad Bhat	IND	M	32	726	1.82%
Nazir Ahmad Lone	IND	M	36	678	1.7%

Constituency: Kangan (16)		District: Ganderbal				
Date of Polling: 11/23/2008		No of Polling Station: 81				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
30874	27800	58674	34939		59.55%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Altaf Ahmad		JKN	M	48	19210	54.98%
Bashir Ahmad Mir		JKPDP	M	30	11495	32.9%
Abdul Rashid Ganie		JKNPP	M	32	315	0.9%
Ghulam Ahmad Rather		INC	M	60	721	2.06%
Gh Mustafa Kasana		BSP	M	60	429	1.23%
Nazir Ahmad Raina		BJP	M	37	869	2.49%
Shabir Ahmad Mir		IND	M	26	440	1.26%
Mohammad Sultan Lone		JP	M	34	563	1.61%

Rafiq Ahmad	IND	M	45	607	1.74%
Mohd Amin Sofi	IND	M	32	290	0.83%

Constituency: Handwara (4)			District: Kupwara		
Date of Polling: 11/30/2008			No of Polling Station: 105		
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out
39784	36565	76349	57678		75.55%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Pawan Kumar	IND	M	37	883	1.53%
Chowdary Mohd Ramzan	JKN	M	61	27907	48.38%
Hanifa Bagum	BSP	F	32	437	0.76%
Sajad Ahmad Tantary	IND	M	29	219	0.38%
Shafiq Bagum	JKNPP	F	39	199	0.35%
Anatullah Lohar	IND	M	40	269	0.47%
Gh Mohi-Ud-Din Sofi	IND	M	58	16317	28.29%
Gh Mohd Mir	JKPDP	M	57	3471	6.02%
Gh Nabi Shah	IND	M	39	731	1.27%
Mohd Akbar Lone	IND	M	35	308	0.53%
Mohd Shafi Dar	JKANC	M	50	1562	2.71%
Mohd Abdulla Chatwal	IND	M	55	550	0.95%
Mohd Yaseen Bhat	IND	M	64	4825	8.37%

Constituency: Karnah (1)		District: Kupwara				
Date of Polling: 11/30/2008		No of Polling Station: 59				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
14013	13085	27098	21458		79.19%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Taja Parveen		PDF	F	67	226	1.05%
Javid Ahmad Mirchal		IND	M	30	2911	13.57%
Jehangir Khan		JKNPP	M	33	182	0.85%
Raja Manzoor Ahmad Khan		JKPDP	M	53	2616	12.19%
Saiyda Bagum		BSP	F	38	133	0.62%
Syed Yasin Shah		INC	M	60	2245	10.46%
Shahnaz Ahmad		IND	M	34	295	1.37%

Ziyafat Lone	IND	M	28	484	2.26%
Ab Rehman Bhadana	JKANC	M	66	2962	13.8%
Ali Asgar Khan	IND	M	69	2642	12.31%
Kafil Ur Rehman	JKN	M	53	4110	19.15%
Lal Din Plout	SP	M	45	174	0.81%
Mohd Abas	IND	M	57	1708	7.96%
Mohd Naseem	IND	M	48	770	3.59%

Constituency: Kupwara (2)			District: Kupwara			
Date of Polling: 11/30/2008		No of Polling Station: 120				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors		Votes Polled	Turn Out	
46452	42490	88942		55525	62.43%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Ahmad Awan		IND	M	45	575	1.04%
Sonaulla Bhat		IND	M	39	814	1.47%
Chowdry Salam - Ud -Din		INC	M	58	2046	3.68%
Sardar Khan		BSP	M	38	463	0.83%
Samer Raina		IND	M	33	375	0.68%
Syed Mohd Rafiq Shah		JKNPP	M	36	310	0.56%
Shabnam Gani Lone		IND	F	42	11050	19.9%
Abdul Ahad Mir		PDF	M	42	2495	4.49%
Abdul Rehman Lone		IND	M	43	697	1.26%
Abdul Majeed Khan		IND	M	58	2673	4.81%
Abdul Majeed Sheikh		IND	M	43	2237	4.03%
Fayaz Ahmad Mir		JKPDP	M	31	11514	20.74%
Gulzar Ahmad Lone		IND	M	31	591	1.06%
Mohd Ismail Zargar		RJD	M	45	474	0.85%
Mohd Sadiq Malik		LJP	M	38	504	0.91%
Mohd Maqbool Mir		JKANC	M	59	612	1.1%
Manzoor Ahmad Mir		IND	M	35	640	1.15%
Mir Saifullah		JKN	M	48	16696	30.07%
Nazir Ahmad Khan		BJP	M	48	759	1.37%

Constituency: Langate (5)			District: Kupwara		
Date of Polling: 11/30/2008			No of Polling Station: 80		

Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled			Turn Out
31084	28319	59403	36429			61.33%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Ahmad Wani		PDF	M	48	1408	3.87%
Javid Ahmad		JKNPP	M	29	227	0.62%
Javid Iqbal Mir		IND	M	47	804	2.21%
Syed Mohd Haneef		JKANC	M	61	949	2.61%
Shadi Lal Kanth		IND	M	48	572	1.57%
Sharif-Ud-Din Shariq		JKN	M	73	5266	14.46%
Ab Ahad Tantary		BSP	M	48	361	0.99%
Ab Ahad Wani		IND	M	63	1513	4.15%
Ab Rashid Sheikh		IND	M	43	7964	21.86%
Ab Lateif Mir		IND	M	48	905	2.48%
Gh Mohiudin		IND	M	58	578	1.59%
Gh Mustafa		IND	M	44	443	1.22%
Mohd Amin Khan		INC	M	64	3497	9.6%
Mohd Sultan Pandithpori		JKPDP	M	70	7754	21.29%
Mohd Abdullah Advocate		IND	M	51	4188	11.5%

Constituency: Lolab (3)		District: Kupwara			
Date of Polling: 11/30/2008		No of Polling Station: 116			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out
44861	39381	84242	57382		68.12%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Barkat Ali Khan	JKANC	M	55	1195	2.08%
Abdul Haq Khan	JKPDP	M	55	23337	40.67%
Abdul Rehman Wani	PDF	M	55	4087	7.12%
Abdul Aziz Naik	IND	M	63	477	0.83%
Farooq Ahmad Mir	INC	M	45	4417	7.7%
Qaisar Jamsheed Lone	JKN	M	29	17990	31.35%
Mohd Maqbool Shah	BSP	M	55	3265	5.69%
Manzoor Ahmad Ganie	IND	M	34	446	0.78%
Muneer Ahmad Khan	JKNPP	M	35	602	1.05%
Maha Wali Khan	IND	M	54	1566	2.73%

Constituency: Baramulla (13)			District: Baramulla		
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008		No of Polling Station: 108			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out
38069	35043	73112	24355		33.31%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Raja Begum	JKNPP	F	45	168	0.69%
Saboor Ahmad Khan	BSP	M	25	95	0.39%
Ghulam Din Shah	JKANC	M	70	166	0.68%
Ghulam Hassan Pathan	SP	M	65	118	0.48%
Ghulam Mohammad Mattoo	JKDPN	M	62	167	0.69%
Mushtaq Ahmad Parray	RSP	M	29	404	1.66%
Mushtaq Ahmad Mir	INC	M	50	1367	5.61%
Muzaffar Hussain Beigh	JKPDP	M	64	13019	53.46%
Nazir Hussain Khan	JKN	M	54	7621	31.29%
Shakeela Bano	IND	F	28	77	0.32%
Ghulam Mohiuddin Akhoon	IND	M	35	226	0.93%
Harmeet Singh	IND	M	35	927	3.81%

Constituency: Gulmarg (14)			District: Baramulla			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008		No of Polling Station: 113				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
43133	39802	82935	49592		59.8%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Shah Ahmad Shah		AIFB	M	31	372	0.75%
Syed Noor Ul Amin		JKANC	M	34	766	1.54%
Shafiq Ahmad Jogal Naz		NCP	M	40	455	0.92%
Sheikh Mushtafa Kamal		JKN	M	65	11812	23.82%
Abdul Hamid Malik		LJP	M	29	1322	2.67%
Gh Hassan Mir		JKDPN	M	58	18253	36.81%
Gh Rasool Malik		SP	M	49	749	1.51%
Gh Mohi Ud Din Sheikh		JKPDP	M	60	8854	17.85%
Mohd Shafi Bhat		BSP	M	46	1037	2.09%
Mohd Maqbool Malik		JKNPP	M	36	1974	3.98%

Nazir Ahmad Mir	BJP	M	37	998	2.01%
Irshada Akhtar	IND	F	34	1219	2.46%
Tej Kirshan Dhar	IND	M	35	556	1.12%
Abdul Ahad Malik	IND	M	41	819	1.65%
Mohd Akram Mir	IND	M	63	406	0.82%

Constituency: Pattan (15)			District: Baramulla			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008		No of Polling Station: 100				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
41075	38553	79628	40486		50.84%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Iftikhar Hussain Ansari		JKPDP	M	67	20703	51.14%
Rafiq Bano		JKANC	F	28	420	1.04%
Ashiq Hussain Lone		BSP	M	26	517	1.28%
Abdul Ahad Yatoo		INC	M	45	5152	12.73%
Abdul Rashid Shaheen		JKN	M	55	682	1.68%
Abdul Rashid Najar		SP	M	55	9432	23.3%
Ghulam Mohammad Bhat		JKNPP	M	32	563	1.39%
Mohammad Ashraf Pandit		BJP	M	33	410	1.01%
Mohammad Akbar Rather		LJP	M	35	444	1.1%
Ab Hamid Wani		IND	M	42	316	0.78%
Ghulam Ahmad Malla		IND	M	45	449	1.11%
Mohammad Qazim Dar		IND	M	50	351	0.87%
Manzoor Ahmad Ganai		IND	M	27	1047	2.59%

Constituency: Rafiabad (7)			District: Baramulla			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008			No of Polling Station: 96			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
36724	34176	70900	36778	51.87%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Sona Ullah Lone		BSP	M	48	437	1.19%
Javaid Ahmad Dar		JK	M	31	13198	35.89%
Abdul Khaliq Sheikh		AIFB	M	70	388	1.05%
Abdul Gani Vakil		INC	M	50	7523	20.46%
Ghulam Ahmad Dar		JKANC	M	55	670	1.82%

Ghulam Nabi Parray	RLD	M	37	280	0.76%
Mohammad Dilawar Mir	JKPDP	M	58	460	1.25%
Farooq Ahmad Yatoo	IND	M	30	12982	35.3%
Harbajan Singh	IND	M	45	840	2.28%

Constituency: Sangrama (12)			District: Baramulla			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008			No of Polling Station: 84			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
30612	28401	59013	27809		47.12%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Sonaullah Baig		AIFB	M	60	181	0.65%
Javaid Ahmad Malik		NLHP	M	26	166	0.6%
Syed Basharat Ahmad		JKPDP	M	46	7812	28.09%
Sheikh Mushtaq Ahmad		JKDPN	M	35	454	1.63%
Shiraz Ahmad Azhari		BCDP	M	29	6482	23.31%
Ghulam Qadir Bhat		JKN	M	31	1031	3.71%
Mohd Muzaffar Parray		INC	M	58	246	0.88%
Mohd Yaqoob Malik		JKANC	M	40	396	1.42%
Nissar Ahmad Shah		BJP	M	38	2441	8.78%
Naseer Ahmad Buchh		PDF	M	38	3962	14.25%
Naseer Ahmad Sheikh		BSP	M	25	270	0.97%
Syed Fida Hussain		IND	M	39	1563	5.62%
Shoaib Nabi Lone		IND	M	29	1032	3.71%
Abdul Hamid Dar		IND	M	38	356	1.28%
Irfan Hafiz Lone		IND	M	26	328	1.18%
Ghulam Mohammad Shah		IND	M	38	408	1.47%
Mohd Maqbool Dar		IND	M	55	340	1.22%
Mushtaq Ahmad Ganie		IND	M	37	128	0.46%
Wali Mohammad Wani		IND	M	47	213	0.77%

Constituency: Sopore (8)			District: Baramulla			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008			No of Polling Station: 127			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
46918	43374	90292	18017	19.95%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %

Ishfaq Yousuf Bhat	BSP	M	27	87	0.48%
Shabir Ahmad Peer	JKNPP	M	32	147	0.82%
Ab Khaliq Bhat	JKPDP	M	58	2357	13.08%
Abdul Rashid Dar	INC	M	55	3304	18.34%
Abdul Rashid Lone	RLD	M	38	108	0.6%
Gh Rasool shah	JKANC	M	65	551	3.06%
Feroz Ahmad Malik	LJP	M	29	344	1.91%
Mohd Ashraf Ganie	JKN	M	60	4368	24.24%
Mohd Abdullah Dar	JKDPN	M	45	527	2.93%
Mohd Latief Mirchal	SDP	M	37	207	1.15%
Khazir Mohd Ganie	IND	M	50	421	2.34%
Roshan Lal Pandith	IND	M	40	130	0.72%
Gh Ahmad Lone	IND	M	68	269	1.49%
Gh Rasool Dar	IND	M	50	135	0.75%
Gh Rasool Kar	IND	M	88	1555	8.63%
Gh Mohd Mir	IND	M	47	563	3.12%
Gh Nabi Dar	IND	M	27	92	0.51%
Ghulam Nabi Lone	IND	M	42	422	2.34%
Farooq Ahmad Wani	IND	M	43	143	0.79%
Kifayat Hussain Mir	IND	M	38	922	5.12%
Mohd Ismail Zargar	IND	M	45	216	1.2%
Mohd Maqbool War	IND	M	48	94	0.52%
Nazir Ahmad Naikoo	IND	M	55	840	4.66%
Vijay Chikkan Koul	IND	M	55	215	1.19%

Constituency: Uri (6)			District: Baramulla			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008		No of Polling Station: 115				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
34874	31154	66028	53964		81.73%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Taj Mohi-Ud- Din		INC	M	63	24036	44.54%
Halima Bano		BJP	F	34	655	1.21%
Sajid Naseer Khan		BSP	M	34	1020	1.89%
Syed Showkat Hussain Geelani		JKANC	M	44	1033	1.91%
Shabir Ahmad Mangral		JKPDP	M	39	1550	2.87%
Mohammad Akbar Qureshi		SP	M	57	123	0.23%
Mohammad Shafi		JKN	M	65	276	0.51%

Naseer Ahmad Sheikh	RSP	M	38	244	0.45%
Malik Noor ul Amin	AIFB	M	35	545	1.01%
Zafar Ullah Mir	IND	M	43	22157	41.06%
Abdul Qayoom Khan	IND	M	34	1177	2.18%
Mohammad Altaf Mir	IND	M	38	274	0.51%
Mohammad Mushab Khan	IND	M	54	874	1.62%

Constituency: Chadoora (26)			District: Budgam			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008			No of Polling Station: 93			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors		Votes Polled		Turn Out
37649	35520	73169		39354		53.79%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Abdul Khaliq Bhat		BSP	M	30	302	0.77%
Ghulam Mohammad Paul		NCP	M	60	235	0.6%
Ghulam Nabi Mir		INC	M	68	2515	6.39%
Ali Mohammad Dar		JKN	M	51	13338	33.89%
Javaid Mustaffa Mir		JKPDP	M	39	16278	41.36%
Mohmad Iqbal Parray		JKNPP	M	25	91	0.23%
Ab Rashid Dar		BCDP	M	40	100	0.25%
Abdul Rashid Ganie		UCP	M	54	275	0.7%
Bashir Ahmad Matoo		LJP	M	39	3066	7.79%
Bashir Ahmad Mir		JKANC	M	52	563	1.43%
Ghulam Nabi Ganie		PDF	M	59	849	2.16%
Haji Mohammad Abdullah Dar		SP	M	55	114	0.29%
Mohammad Latief Thakur		SDP	M	32	296	0.75%
Mohammad Shafi Bhat		RLD	M	41	292	0.74%
Firdous Ahmad Dar		IND	M	35	106	0.27%
Ghulam Mohamad Hajam		IND	M	65	578	1.47%
Ghulam Mohammad Malla		IND	M	55	235	0.6%
Tasduq Hussain Bhat		IND	M	32	121	0.31%

Constituency: Budgam (27)			District: Budgam		
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008		No of Polling Station: 111			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out
45928	42785	88713	48942		55.17%

CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Aga Syed Ruhullah	JKN	M	32	19652	40.15%
Hakim Mohammad Yaseen	PDF	M	60	8383	17.13%
Ghulam Mohi Ud Din Mir	RJD	M	25	366	0.75%
Ghulam Nabi Ganai	JKANC	M	51	5952	12.16%
Mohammad Ibraheem Khan	BSP	M	30	277	0.57%
Mohammad Ashraf Azad Hajam	BJP	M	40	222	0.45%
Mohammad Kamal Malik	JKPDP	M	53	56	0.11%
Manzoor Ahmad Badoo	AIFB	M	61	116	0.24%
Mir Fayaz Rahat	INC	M	61	382	0.78%
Aga Syed Mehmood	IND	M	53	215	0.44%
Bashir Ahmad Najar	IND	M	38	1051	2.15%
Syed Mujtaba	IND	M	35	353	0.72%
Abdul Ahad Sheikh	IND	M	49	9692	19.8%
Ab Gani Naseem	IND	M	60	385	0.79%
Mohammad Ashraf Ahanger	IND	M	33	1312	2.68%
Nazir Ahmad Wani	IND	M	35	528	1.08%

Constituency: Beerwah (28)			District: Budgam		
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008			No of Polling Station: 111		
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out
43737	40213	83950	47992		57.17%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Ahmad Beigh	JKANC	M	37	1015	2.11%
Sona ullah Dar	PDF	M	53	4180	8.71%
Syed Bashir Kauser	SP	M	62	782	1.63%
Syed Parveez Hilal	LJP	M	39	946	1.97%
Shafi Ahmad Wani	JKPDP	M	55	11720	24.42%
Abdul Ahad Wani	SDP	M	48	558	1.16%
Ab Majid Matoo	JKN	M	63	11556	24.08%
Ali Mohammad Dar	JKNPP	M	27	487	1.01%
Mohammad Ashraf Lone	BSP	M	35	837	1.74%
Nazir Ahmad Khan	JKDPN	M	46	9958	20.75%
Aga Syed Mehmood Mosvi	IND	M	53	3190	6.65%
Bashir Ahmad Dar	IND	M	28	458	0.95%

Bilal Ahmad Khan Lodhi	IND	M	45	222	0.46%
Reyaz Ahmad Mir	IND	M	32	421	0.88%
Aisha Parveen	IND	F	40	271	0.56%
Ab Rashid Qurashi	IND	M	33	423	0.88%
Mohmmad Sarfaraz Matoo	IND	M	47	968	2.02%

Constituency: Khansahib (29)			District: Budgam			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008		No of Polling Station: 96				
Date of Counting: 12/28/2008		Election Observer: -				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
37903	34266	72169	54030		74.87%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Parveena Akther Bhat		JKNPP	F	28	446	0.83%
Hakim Mohammad Yasin		PDF	M	60	22616	41.86%
Saif Ud Din Bhat		JKPDP	M	55	14221	26.32%
Tariq Mohi Ud Din		JKN	M	53	10658	19.73%
Abdul Rahman Parray		JKANC	M	58	525	0.97%
Ali Mohmad Mir		BJP	M	40	649	1.2%
Ghulam Mohammad Dar		SP	M	63	404	0.75%
Nazir Ahmad Malla		LJP	M	38	2076	3.84%
Mohamad Ashraf Khan		BSP	M	35	657	1.22%
Bashir Ahmad Khan		IND	M	25	826	1.53%
Abdul Gani Naseem		IND	M	60	952	1.76%

Constituency: Chrari Sharief (30)			District: Budgam			
Date of Polling: 12/7/2008			No of Polling Station: 87			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
35368	32861	68229	50883		74.58%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Aftab Ahmad Mir		LJP	M	33	683	1.34%
Bashir Ahmad Bani		BSP	M	35	230	0.45%
Abdul Rasid Parra		JKNPP	M	43	781	1.53%
Abdul Rahim Rather		JKN	M	54	24579	48.3%
Ghulam Nabi Lone		JKPDP	M	55	18204	35.78%
Mohammad Maqbool Malla		INC	M	55	2036	4%

Bashir Ahmad Dar	JKANC	M	30	630	1.24%
Nazir Ahmad Yattoo	PDF	M	36	3232	6.35%
Ferooz Ahmad Bhat	IND	M	28	508	1.00%

Constituency: Pampore (32)			District: Pulwama			
Date of Polling: 12/13/2008			No of Polling Station: 93			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
35884	33604	69488	30178	43.43%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Assad Ullah Mir		IND	M	48	2019	6.69%
Bashir Ahmad Wani		JKNUF	M	43	536	1.78%
Zahoor Ahmad		JKPDP	M	36	11117	36.84%
Ab Ahad Yattoo		IND	M	57	984	3.26%
Abdul Rouf Renzoo		PDF	M	46	102	0.34%
Gh Mohammad Yattoo		IND	M	51	327	1.08%
Gh Nabi Bhat		IND	M	55	2871	9.51%
Gh. Nabi Mir		JKN	M	50	3686	12.21%
Fayaz Ahmad Magray		BSP	M	35	274	0.91%
Gowher Ahmad Reshi		JKNPP	M	26	360	1.19%
Mohd Altaf Dar		IND	M	36	674	2.23%
Mohd Anwar Bhat		INC	M	50	5969	19.78%
Dr, Mohd Hussain Bhat		IND	M	33	423	1.4%
Mohd Ramzan Dar		JKANC	M	45	547	1.81%
Mohd Yousuf Dar		LJP	M	32	289	0.96%

Constituency: Pulwama (33)			District: Pulwama		
Date of Polling: 12/13/2008			No of Polling Station: 95		
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out	
37140	34326	71466	29188	40.84%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Imtiyaz Nabi Mir	SAP	M	25	442	1.51%
Bashir Ahmad Nengroo	IND	M	57	2318	7.94%
Haji Sona Ullah Dar	IND	M	68	4003	13.71%

Javid Abdullah	JKDPN	M	34	849	2.91%
Riyaz Ahmad Mir	BSP	M	28	240	0.82%
Sanjay Koul	IND	M	42	82	0.28%
Syed Masood Ahmad Indrabi	JKNPP	M	53	186	0.64%
Suhail Ahmad Mir	NLHP	M	30	113	0.39%
Abdul Qayoom Mir	PDF	M	38	1643	5.63%
Abdul Gani Shah	IND	M	66	223	0.76%
Ab Rehman Thoker	IND	M	35	292	1%
Gh. Mohammad Bhat	LJP	M	40	330	1.13%
Gh. Mohammad Reshi	JD(S)	M	42	301	1.03%
Gh. Nabi Wani	JKN	M	54	3246	11.12%
Gulzar Ahmad Nengroo	RJD	M	33	307	1.05%
Haji Mohammad Ibrahim Dar	IND	M	63	511	1.75%
Mohannad Ayoub Thoker	JKANC	M	38	261	0.89%
Mohd Khalil Bandh	JKPDP	M	55	10639	36.45%
Mohammad Maqbool Baht	IND	M	52	3202	10.97%

Constituency: Rajpora (34)			District: Pulwama	
Date of Polling: 12/13/2008			No of Polling Station: 103	
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out
41789	38255	80044	40508	50.61%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY				

Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Irshad Ahmad Wagay	LJP	M	37	840	2.07%
Sajad Ahmad Dar	JKANC	M	37	1186	2.93%
Sanjay Koul	IND	M	42	141	0.35%
Syed Bashir Ahmad Shah	JKPDP	M	53	10177	25.12%
Syed Abid Ahmad Shah	JKNPP	M	27	191	0.47%
Shamim Ahmad Shiekh	PDF	M	26	853	2.11%
Abdul Salam Wani	IND	M	62	272	0.67%
Abdul Gani Dar	INC	M	55	4371	10.79%
Gh Mohiudin Shah	SAP	M	45	509	1.26%
Gulam Mohi-Ud-Din Mir	IND	M	42	9230	22.79%
Gulam Nabi Khanday	IND	M	34	391	0.97%
Gh Nabi Wani	JKN	M	39	7222	17.83%

Gulam Nabi Itoo	CPI	M	56	692	1.71%
Farooq Jan Para	JKDPN	M	40	1300	3.21%
Fayaz Ahmad Dar	BSP	M	45	1070	2.64%
Mohd Ramzan Khanday	SP	M	40	903	2.23%
Mohammad Maqbool Wagay	BJP	M	43	185	0.46%
Mir Gulam Nabi Patel	SDP	M	56	975	2.41%

Constituency: Shopian (36)			District: Shopian			
Date of Polling: 12/13/2008			No of Polling Station: 95			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
37514	34008	71522	37704	52.72%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Ishtiyag Ahmad Paswal		IND	M	28	353	0.94%
Imtiyaz Ahmad Malik		SDP	M	36	369	0.98%
Reyaz Ahmad Khan Rajput Manhas		BJP	M	36	969	2.57%
Syed Athar Syed		BSP	M	32	92	0.24%
Syed Mohd Ayub		RJD	M	41	234	0.62%
Shabir Ahmad Kulley		JKN	M	47	4929	13.07%
Sheikh Mohd Rafi		JKANC	M	47	4001	10.61%
Zafar Mahmood Qureshi		IND	M	47	525	1.39%
Abdul Razaq Wagay		JKPDP	M	67	8006	21.23%
Abdul Waheed Rather		JKDPN	M	32	1034	2.74%
Gulam Hassan Khan		IND	M	62	1001	2.65%
Gulam Mohamad Sheikh		CPI	M	61	1930	5.12%
Gh Nabi Shah		SP	M	57	1612	4.28%
Gulzar Ahmad Bhat		IND	M	42	1253	3.32%
Gulshan Parveen		SAP	F	28	299	0.79%
Mohd. Shafi		INC	M	57	748	1.98%
Mohd Abdullah Wani		CPM	M	37	5208	13.81%
Mohd Alyas Kumar		IND	M	37	1652	4.38%
Mohd Yousif Bhat		JKNPP	M	42	596	1.58%
Mohd Yousuf Gorse		IND	M	44	145	0.38%
Mir Hussain		IND	M	60	2748	7.29%

Constituency: Tral (31)			District: Pulwama			
Date of Polling: 12/13/2008			No of Polling Station: 97			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors		Votes Polled		Turn Out
39499	35493	74992		36510		48.69%
CANDIDATE						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Ahmad John		IND	M	61	617	1.69%
Bashir Mohd Sadiq		JKANC	M	60	329	0.9%
Javaid Ahmad Lone		PDF	M	36	764	2.09%
Jawahir Lal Pandit		BJP	M	58	338	0.93%
Surjeet Singh		IND	M	49	232	0.64%
Surinder Singh		INC	M	45	3158	8.65%
Shabir Ahmad Shah		BSP	M	37	340	0.93%
Abdul Rashid Sheikh		JKDPN	M	44	2997	8.21%
Abdul Gani Lone		SP	M	53	624	1.71%
Gulam Hassan Reshi		IND	M	55	809	2.22%
Gh. Mohd Mir		IND	M	57	3733	10.22%
Gh Mohi Udin Shah		IND	M	60	1070	2.93%
Gh. Nabi Bhat		IND	M	53	1229	3.37%
Farooq Ahmad Mohind		IND	M	43	333	0.91%
Krishan Singh		JKNPP	M	45	203	0.56%
Khaim Singh		IND	M	65	410	1.12%
Mohd Ashraf Bhat		JKN	M	58	6586	18.04%
Mohd Ayoob Band		LJP	M	44	686	1.88%
Mohmmad Shafi Bhat		FB(S)	M	33	290	0.79%
Mushtaq Ahmad Shah		JKPDP	M	53	10393	28.47%
Nazir Ahmad Badana		IND	M	42	1369	3.75%

Constituency: Wachi (35)			District: Shopian			
Date of Polling: 12/13/2008			No of Polling Station: 86			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
36012	33521	69533	33749		48.54%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Autar Krishan Pandita		BJP	M	44	671	1.99%
Dawark Nath Raina		RPI(A)	M	53	216	0.64%
Sayeed Ahmad Wani		JKDPN	M	50	345	1.02%

Showkat Hussain Ganie	JKN	M	33	4474	13.26%
Aishya Nishat	JKANC	F	33	1130	3.35%
Bashir Ahmad	IND	M	50	917	2.72%
Abdul Rashid Dar	NDP	M	45	582	1.72%
Abdul Qayoom Shah	SDP	M	46	1358	4.02%
Ghulam Hassan Mir	AIFB	M	53	428	1.27%
Gh. Hassan Wani	SP	M	40	1296	3.84%
Kul Bushan Kaw	IND	M	52	1123	3.33%
Mehbooba Mufti	JKPDP	F	48	12810	37.96%
Mohd. Amin Ganie	NLHP	M	47	408	1.21%
Mohd Ayoub Bhat	BSP	M	35	235	0.7%
Mohammad Khalil Naik	CPM	M	62	2366	7.01%
Mohd. Mutafta Malik	RJD	M	53	831	2.46%
Muzaffer Ahmad Wagay	IND	M	38	1490	4.41%
Manzoor Ahmad	JKNPP	M	40	557	1.65%
Nazir Ahmad Shah	INC	M	54	2512	7.44%

Constituency: Anantnag (40)			District: Anantnag	
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 95	
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out
39446	36765	76211	31499	41.33%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY				

Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Iftikar Hussain Misgar	PDF	M	39	1530	4.86%
Bashir Ahmad Pahalwan	JKANC	M	58	197	0.63%
Bilal Ahmad Mir	JP	M	31	157	0.5%
Jawahira Begum	IND	F	45	51	0.16%
Rafiq Ahmad Ganie	JKNPP	M	47	67	0.21%
Roop Krishan Raina	IND	M	60	530	1.68%
Sajad Hussain Malik	IND	M	41	527	1.67%
Syed Bilal Ahmad	LJP	M	33	200	0.63%
Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah	RJD	M	71	68	0.22%
Showkat Hussain Wani	IND	M	45	47	0.15%
Tariq Ahmad Mir	JD (S)	M	31	293	0.93%
Ashiq Hussain Dar	BJP	M	26	303	0.96%
Ghulam Ahmad Thookro	JKDPN	M	58	928	2.95%

Ghulam Rasool Wani	IND	M	60	304	0.97%
Gulzar Ahmad Mir	IND	M	28	396	1.26%
Liyaqat Ali Khan	IND	M	37	1895	6.02%
Mujieb-Ur-Rahman	SP	M	42	282	0.9%
Mirza Mehboob Beigh	JKN	M	58	7548	23.96%
Mufti Mohmad Sayeed	JKPDP	M	71	12439	39.49%
Manzoor Ahmad Ganai	INC	M	55	1537	4.88%
Naresh Koul	SDP	M	38	184	0.58%
Nazir Ahmad Khan	BSP	M	38	333	1.06%
Hilal Ahmad Shah	IND	M	33	1683	5.34%

Constituency: Bijbehara (45)			District: Anantnag			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 99			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
39366	37588	76954	46752	60.75%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Ishfaq Ahmad Dar		BJP	M	33	567	1.21%
Ajaz Ahmad Thakroo		JKNPP	M	30	181	0.39%
Bashir Ahmad Shah		JKN	M	41	13046	27.9%
Bashir Ahmad Lone		IND	M	39	393	0.84%
Tanveer Hassan Ganie		IND	M	25	259	0.55%
Hajra		AIFB	F	40	330	0.71%
Abdul Rehman Bhat		JKPDP	M	52	23320	49.88%
Abdul Gani Bhat		SP	M	58	1553	3.32%
Ghulam Qadir Tak		IND	M	60	4612	9.86%
Fayaz Ahmad Ganie		PDF	M	50	599	1.28%
Gulzar Ahmad Mir		JKANC	M	45	1189	2.54%
Mushtaq Ahmad Sheikh		BSP	M	34	703	1.5%

Constituency: Devsar (41)			District: Kulgam	
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 90	
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out
40920	36127	77047	52914	68.68%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY				

Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Asif Jeelani	AIFB	M	38	335	0.63%
Tribhawan Krishan Kaul	NCP	M	57	97	0.18%
Khurshid Ahmad Malik	BSP	M	30	237	0.45%
Sheela Bhat	BJP	F	53	257	0.49%
Abdul Rehman Tantray	JKANC	M	61	991	1.87%
Abdul Gani Ganie	IND	M	48	189	0.36%
Ali Mohmad Sheikh	IND	M	83	389	0.74%
Peerzada Ghulam Ahmad Shah	JKN	M	58	10174	19.23%
Ghulam Mohmad Mantoo	IND	M	40	302	0.57%
Fayaz Ahmad Bhat	SP	M	38	1268	2.4%
Mohmad Amin Bhat	INC	M	35	5450	10.3%
Mohmad Jamal Najar	JKNUF	M	65	526	0.99%
Mohmad Rafiq Bhat	SAP	M	29	1093	2.07%
Mohmad Rafiq Khan	IND	M	38	7778	14.7%
Mohmad Rafiq Wani	LJP	M	39	2169	4.1%
Mohmad Sartaj Madni	JKPDP	M	58	14175	26.79%
Mohmad Manzoor Hussain Parray	IND	M	42	1761	3.33%
Mohmad Yaqub Ganai	CPM	M	41	4941	9.34%
Mohmad Yousuf Malik	JKNPP	M	45	162	0.31%
Vijay Kumar Kaul	IND	M	58	620	1.17%

Constituency: Doru (42)			District: Anantnag			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 83			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
32891	29971	62862	43855	69.76%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Akhter Hussain Gojar		BSP	M	33	1198	2.73%
Ashok Kumar Raina		JKNUF	M	46	103	0.23%
Bashir Ahmad Sheikh		JKDPN	M	38	191	0.44%
Peerzada Abdul Hamid		LJP	M	56	190	0.43%
Javaid Ahmad Khan		NCP	M	39	766	1.75%
Syed Farooq Ahmad Andrabi		JKPDP	M	43	9952	22.69%
Syed Manzoor Ahmad		IND	M	55	2504	5.71%
Zaffar-Ullah Khan		JKANC	M	43	1473	3.36%
Ab. Rashid Rather		IND	M	52	244	0.56%
Ab. Gani Zargar		SP	M	65	269	0.61%

Ab. Majeed Naik	IND	M	44	689	1.57%
Ghulam Ahmad Mir	INC	M	48	15870	36.19%
Gh. Nabi Malik	CPM	M	60	820	1.87%
Gh. Nabi Padder	RPI	M	29	307	0.7%
Farooq Ahmad Wani	SAP	M	35	352	0.8%
Gull Mohmad Mir	BJP	M	51	679	1.55%
Mohd. Akbar Ganie	JKN	M	63	7674	17.5%
Mohd. Hussain Bakshi	IND	M	42	227	0.52%
Nisar Ahmad Khan	AJKMP	M	35	91	0.21%
Nisar Ahmad Singh	BSKRP	M	28	256	0.58%

Constituency: Homeshalibugh (39)			District: Kulgam			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 87			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
34558	32230	66788	36309	54.36%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Abdul Rehman Malla		IND	M	65	3730	10.27%
Abdul Gaffar Sofi		JKPDP	M	55	12249	33.74%
Abdul Majeed		JKN	M	47	7439	20.49%
Anayatullah Rather		INC	M	32	5223	14.38%
Gulam Rasool Dar		IND	M	65	315	0.87%
Gulam Mohmad Itoo		JKANC	M	51	447	1.23%
Gulam Nabi Dar		IND	M	60	1219	3.36%
Gulzar Ahmad Wani		IND	M	30	128	0.35%
Mohmad Amin Dar		CPM	M	40	3782	10.42%
Mohmad Ayub Shiekh		IND	M	37	367	1.01%
Mohmad Ramzan Bhat		BSP	M	60	245	0.67%
Manzoor Ahmed		JKNPP	M	28	644	1.77%
Nazir Ahmed Lone		AIFB	M	42	521	1.43%

Constituency: Kokernag (43)			District: Anantnag		
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 88		
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out	
37604	33528	71132	50030	70.33%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					

Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Irshad Hussain Bhat	IND	M	32	267	0.53%
Bashir Ahmad Ahanger	PDF	M	41	978	1.95%
Prince Ahmad Sheikh	AJKMP	M	32	181	0.36%
Peerzada Mohd. Syed	INC	M	55	13384	26.75%
Syed Aejaaz Hussain Qadri	IND	M	46	316	0.63%
Sehar Iqbal	JKPDP	F	27	9223	18.43%
Abdul Rahim Rather	IND	M	49	2714	5.42%
Abdul Salam Reshi	JKDPN	M	55	5858	11.71%
Ali Amohd. Pampori	m	M	53	303	0.61%
Ali Mohd. Wani	BSP	M	28	238	0.48%
Ghulam Rasool Malik	JKANC	M	57	1352	2.7%
Gulam Nabi Bhat	JKN	M	58	12114	24.21%
Fayaz Ahmad Sheikh	IND	M	25	422	0.84%
Kanya Lal Pandita	IND	M	58	610	1.22%
Mohd. Saleem Ganie	SP	M	32	814	1.63%
Mohd. Shafi Naikoo	IND	M	50	633	1.27%
Mohd. Yousuf Chirag	IND	M	31	76	0.15%
Mohd. Yousuf Ganie	JKNPP	M	41	20	0.04%
Mohd. Mushtaq Dar	RPI(A)	M	42	120	0.24%
Manzoor Ahmad Rather	LJP	M	35	407	0.81%

Constituency: Kulgam (38)			District: Kulgam			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 104			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
42636	38712	81348	50163	61.66%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Bashir Ahmad Reshi		RJD	M	41	432	0.86%
Peer Nizam Ud Din		IND	M	51	1344	2.68%
Hamidullah Mir		IND	M	35	229	0.46%
Rashida Akbar		IND	F	32	829	1.65%
Rakesh Pardesi		CPI	M	41	632	1.26%
Rafiq Akhter		JKNPP	F	26	344	0.69%
Roshan Lal Pandita		IND	M	57	242	0.48%
Reyaz Ahmad Shah		IND	M	31	431	0.86%
Safder Ali Khan		JKN	M	49	5792	11.55%
Abdul Rashid Lone		IND	M	50	660	1.32%

Mohmad Ahsan Mir	BSP	M	60	281	0.56%
Mohmad Ayoub Dar	IND	M	45	2116	4.22%
Mohmad Maqbool Teli	IND	M	45	343	0.68%
Mohmad Yousuf Bhat	IND	M	45	587	1.17%
Mohmad Yousuf Lone	IND	M	65	975	1.94%
Mohmad Yousuf Rather	CPM	M	60	17175	34.24%
Manzoor Ahmad Paray	BJP	M	37	812	1.62%
Nazir Ahmad Laway	JKPDP	M	42	16939	33.77%

Constituency: Noorabad (37)			District: Kulgam			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008		No of Polling Station: 79				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
32711	29483	62194	46092		74.11%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Arshid Hussain Baba		IND	M	30	502	1.09%
Bashir Ahmad Malik		IND	M	65	956	2.07%
Chowdhary Ghulam Hussain Mohnian		IND	M	33	65	0.14%
Rayees Ahmad Andrabi		JKNPP	M	28	60	0.13%
Riyaz Ahmad Naik		IND	M	30	227	0.49%
Syed Gowher Rashid Andrabi		BSP	M	25	370	0.8%
Sakina Itoo		JKN	F	38	16240	35.23%
Abdul Rashid Bhat		IND	M	50	606	1.31%
Abdul Aziz Zagar		JKPDP	M	82	11722	25.43%
Abdul Majeed Padder		INC	M	50	11156	24.2%
Abdul Majeed Parray		SP	M	62	323	0.7%
Gulzar Ahmad Dar		JKANC	M	40	3043	6.6%
Mohmad Rafiq Kuttey		IND	M	28	211	0.46%
Mushtaq Ahmad Malik		IND	M	35	182	0.39%
Manzoor Ahmad Dar		LJP	M	33	429	0.93%

Constituency: Pahalgam (46)			District: Anantnag			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008			No of Polling Station: 99			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
36410	33825	70235	49334	70.24%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Altaf Ahmad Wani		JKN	M	35	13394	27.15%

Khadim Hussain	IND	M	38	699	1.42%
Rafi Ahmad Mir	JKPDP	M	53	24316	49.29%
Shabir Ahmad Padder	JKANC	M	31	759	1.54%
Shabir Ahmad Shah	SAP	M	25	309	0.63%
Irfan Ahmad Bhat	IND	M	30	3861	7.83%
Abdul Gani Bhat	INC	M	62	778	1.58%
Ghulam Doyee	JD (U)	M	33	517	1.05%
Fayaz Ahmad Wani	BSP	M	30	438	0.89%
Majid Ashraf Mir	LJP	M	27	1093	2.22%
Mohammad Khalil Bhat	IND	M	40	468	0.95%
Mohammad Yousuf Sofi	BJP	M	48	2702	5.48%

Constituency: Shangus (44)			District: Anantnag			
Date of Polling: 12/17/2008		No of Polling Station: 92				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
37318	34154	71472	49495	69.25%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Imtiyaz Ahmad Rather		PDF	M	37	3456	6.98%
Popinder Singh		IND	M	39	209	0.42%
Peerzada Mansoor Hussain		JKPDP	M	45	13853	27.99%
Peerzada Wajahat Hussain		JKDPN	M	44	597	1.21%
Peer Mohd. Shafi		IND	M	53	402	0.81%
Chowdary Abdul Hamid Chahra		JKANC	M	36	552	1.12%
Sweeti Koul		BJP	F	43	378	0.76%
Abdul Hamid Reshi		LJP	M	40	672	1.36%
Abdul Rashid Dar		IND	M	60	7144	14.43%
Abdul Gani Bhat		IND	M	65	587	1.19%
Abdul Majeed Mir		IND	M	50	2645	5.34%
Gulzar Ahmad Wani		INC	M	46	12423	25.1%
Mohd. Iqbal Mir		IND	M	48	640	1.29%
Mohd. Amin		SP	M	58	647	1.31%
Mohd. Syed Khan		JKN	M	45	4217	8.52%
Mushtaq Ahmad Bhat		RPI(A)	M	35	756	1.53%
Nisar Ahmad Khan		BSP	M	42	317	0.64%

Constituency: Amirakadal (23)			District: Srinagar			
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008		No of Polling Station: 105				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
38889	36388	75277	11274	14.98%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Ambreen Badar		INC	F	55	407	3.61%
Afroza Qadir		IND	F	32	23	0.2%
Amanullah Khan		IND	M	58	99	0.88%
Imtiyaz Ahmed Bhat		IND	M	30	322	2.86%
Parvaiz Ahmed Bhat		JKPDP	M	37	3103	27.52%
Parvaiz Ahmed Sheikh		LJP	M	32	38	0.34%
Parikshit Koul		BJP	M	39	149	1.32%
Sona Ullah Tamiri		IND	M	58	41	0.36%
Javaid Ahmed Najar		JKNPP	M	27	18	0.16%
Khazana Aziz		IND	F	25	21	0.19%
Rajesh Kumar		JKNUF	M	40	58	0.51%
Sabiya Qadiri		IND	F	41	686	6.08%
Siraj Ahmed Dar		JKDPN	M	35	105	0.93%
Shuban Krishen Dudha		PDF	M	48	164	1.45%
Shakil Ahmed Wali		IND	M	46	40	0.35%
Zahoor Ahmed Kutay		IND	M	38	39	0.35%
Ashiq Hussain Bhat		IND	M	41	25	0.22%
Ashiq Rafiq Khan		NCP	M	28	153	1.36%
Abdul Rashid Rather		IND	M	50	11	0.1%
Gul Mohammad Dar		IND	M	49	91	0.81%
Mohd. Altaf Dar		IND	M	36	934	8.28%
Mohd. Altaf Ganai		JP	M	39	38	0.34%
Mohd. Muzaffar Shah		JKANC	M	52	368	3.26%
Mohd. Yousuf Sultan		IND	M	45	176	1.56%
Nasir Aslam Wani		JKN	M	42	3922	34.79%
Nazir Ahmed Zargar		IND	M	51	97	0.86%
Wali Mohd. Khan		SAP	M	52	41	0.36%
Hilal Ahmed Bhat		IND	M	50	49	0.43%
Hilal Ahmed Shiekh		IND	M	27	56	0.5%

Constituency: Batamaloo (25)		District: Srinagar
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008	No of Polling Station: 154	

Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out
55155	50404	105559	21054		19.95%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY					
Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Ishtiyag Ahmad Qadri	IND	M	59	188	0.89%
Ashok Kumar Bhat	JKNUF	M	47	154	0.73%
Aftab Jeelani Wani	JKDPN	M	25	733	3.48%
Peer Shabir Ahmad	SDP	M	30	183	0.87%
Tanveer Hasan Ganai	RJD	M	25	36	0.17%
Javid Ahmad Ashai	JKANC	M	46	230	1.09%
Shameema Begum	JKNPP	F	58	93	0.44%
Tariq Hameed Karra	JKPDP	M	54	6738	32%
Abdul Hamid Rather	INC	M	47	1547	7.35%
Ab Rashid Bhat	IND	M	60	156	0.74%
Gulzar Ahmad Khuroo	JD(U)	M	46	177	0.84%
Mujeeb Ahmad Sidiqi	IND	M	31	504	2.39%
Mohammad Idrees Bhat	LJP	M	31	128	0.61%
Mohmad Ashraf Beigh	IND	M	28	226	1.07%
Mohamad Irfan Shah	JKN	M	41	9444	44.86%
Mohmad Yousuf Beigh	BSP	M	52	248	1.18%
Mohmad Yussouf Reshi	IND	M	31	232	1.1%
Mohammad Yousuf Naikoo	SAP	M	51	37	0.18%

Constituency: Habbakadal (22)			District: Srinagar			
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008			No of Polling Station: 60			
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
25582	24085	49667	5769	11.62%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Aftab Ahmed Laway		JKANC	M	42	82	1.42%
Bilal Ahmed Parra		IND	M	40	292	5.06%
Bharat Raina		IND	M	46	179	3.1%
Peer Farooq Ahmed		IND	M	39	12	0.21%
Jayant Kumar Shakdar		JKDPN	M	59	31	0.54%
Rattan Lal Bhan		JKNPP	M	58	52	0.9%
Raman Mattoo		IND	M	47	280	4.85%

Riyaz Ahmed Shah	SAP	M	35	19	0.33%
Saira Sameer	NCP	F	33	31	0.54%
Sanjay Saraf	LJP	M	40	493	8.55%
Sunil Kumar Dutt	IND	M	40	109	1.89%
Shuban Ji	IND	M	44	77	1.33%
Shamima Firdous	JKN	F	42	2374	41.15%
Abdul Hameed Bhat	JKPDP	M	57	344	5.96%
Mohd. Sadiq Gujar	IND	M	39	77	1.33%
Moti Lal Koul	INC	M	73	211	3.66%
Maharaj Krishen Koul	IND	M	64	18	0.31%
Nana Ji Wattal	SP	M	42	15	0.26%
Hira Lal Chatta	BJP	M	65	671	11.63%

Constituency: Hazratbal (18)			District: Srinagar			
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008		No of Polling Station: 119				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
44963	40551	85514	24720		28.91%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Akhoon Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din		JKANC	M	-	287	1.16%
Asiea		JKPDP	F	-	6769	27.38%
Aga Syed Mohasin		INC	M	-	2913	11.78%
Dilawar Ahmad Reshi		BSP	M	-	115	0.47%
Rakesh Handoo		JKNUF	M	-	199	0.81%
Syed Showket Saleem		IND	M	-	63	0.25%
Sheikh Abdul Rashid		IND	M	-	977	3.95%
Ab Hamid Malik		BJP	M	-	107	0.43%
Ali Mohammad Wani		IND	M	26	370	1.5%
Ghulam Hussain Latoo		IND	M	-	164	0.66%
Farooq Abdullah		JKN	M	66	11041	44.66%
Gurmeet Singh		SAP	M	-	110	0.44%
Mohammad Jaffer Hajam		LJP	M	-	112	0.45%
Mohamad Qasim Akhoon		IND	M	-	151	0.61%
Mohammad Yasin Baba		AIFB(S)	M	-	232	0.94%
Mohamad Yaqoob Doonu		JKNPP	M	-	162	0.66%
Mufti Nazim Ud Din		IND	M	-	587	2.37%
Mehraj Ud Din Budoo		IND	M	-	361	1.46%

Constituency: Idgah (20)		District: Srinagar				
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008		No of Polling Station: 82				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out		
29623	26527	56150	12390	22.07%		
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Aasif Sidiq Ronga		IND	M	-	257	2.07%
Asifa Tariq Qara		JKPDP	F	-	2778	22.42%
Imtiyaz Ahmad Bhat		BSP	M	-	73	0.59%
Bakshi Mohmad Ashraf		IND	M	-	576	4.65%
Tauseef Ahmad Shah		JKANC	M	-	225	1.82%
Jabeena Jan		IND	F	-	54	0.44%
Abdul Gani Khan		INC	M	-	330	2.66%
Ali Mohammad Wani		IND	M	-	1916	15.46%
Ghulam Nabi Bhat		JKDPN	M	-	862	6.96%
Ghulam Mohammad Wani		IND	M	-	565	4.56%
Mubarak Ahmad Gul		JKN	M	-	4457	35.97%
Mufti Nazeem-Ud-Din		IND	M	-	84	0.68%
Mehraj-Ud-Din Bhat		IND	M	-	138	1.11%
Nazir Ahmad Wani		SAP	M	-	75	0.61%

Constituency: Khanyar (21)			District: Srinagar			
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008		No of Polling Station: 86				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
25800	23100	48900	8512		17.41%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Dilnawaz Koul		BSP	M	46	67	0.79%
Showkat Ahmad Hafiz		JKPDP	M	37	806	9.47%
Ali Mohammad Sagar		JKN	M	54	6313	74.17%
Firdous Ahmad Sheikh		IND	M	32	644	7.57%
Gowhar Ahmad Farooqi		IND	M	48	57	0.67%
Mohamad Aslam Dar		INC	M	45	138	1.62%
Mohmad Altaf Rather		SAP	M	37	28	0.33%
Mohmad Latif Lone		IND	M	33	212	2.49%
Mohammad Maqbool Sheikh		JKNPP	M	45	73	0.86%
Mushtaq Ahmad Jan		JKANC	M	54	174	2.04%

Constituency: Sonawar (24)			District: Srinagar			
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008		No of Polling Station: 89				
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled		Turn Out	
35394	32402	67796	26852		39.61%	
CANDIDATE SUMMARY						
Candidate Name		Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Amin Dar		IND	M	40	107	0.4%
Bashir Ahmed Katoo		JKNPP	M	48	894	3.33%
Rafi Ud Din Ahmed		IND	M	33	530	1.97%
Sanjay Kachroo		BJP	M	40	165	0.61%
Syed Irsha Hussain		IND	M	39	88	0.33%
Syed Mohd. Shah		IND	M	33	743	2.77%
Syed Maqsood Shah		IND	M	43	232	0.86%
Sheikh Ghulam Qadir Pardesi		JKPDP	M	70	6924	25.79%
Abdul Rashid Lone		RPI	M	40	209	0.78%
Abdul Rashid Wani		SAP	M	45	155	0.58%
Abdul Rehman Khan		IND	M	43	82	0.31%
Abdul Ghaffar Mir		IND	M	55	296	1.1%
Ghulam Hassan Bhat		PDF	M	30	480	1.79%
Ghulam Mohd. Bawan		IND	M	65	277	1.03%
Ghulam Mohiuddin Bhat Alias Saleem		SDP	M	55	423	1.58%
Ghulam Mohd. Reshi		SP	M	70	211	0.79%
Farooq Abdullah		JKN	M	66	7018	26.14%
Farooq Ahmed Dar		UCP	M	43	143	0.53%
Khem Lata Wakhloo		INC	F	67	6301	23.47%
Gowhar Ahmed Malik		IND	M	27	210	0.78%
Merajuddin Ganai		RJD	M	38	712	2.65%
Madhusudan Lal Bhat		RKSP	M	-	86	0.32%
Mohd. Hussain Bhat		AIFB	M	33	58	0.22%
Mohd. Shafi Mir		JKANC	M	55	168	0.63%
Nazir Ahmed Ganai		NDP	M	36	87	0.32%
Wajahat Hussain Jan		IND	M	40	253	0.94%

Constituency: Zadibal (19)			District: Srinagar	
Date of Polling: 12/24/2008			No of Polling Station: 95	
Male Electors	Female Electors	Total Electors	Votes Polled	Turn Out
37419	34400	71819	12427	17.3%
CANDIDATE SUMMARY				

Candidate Name	Party	Gender	Age	Votes Polled	Vote %
Abul Hassan Khan	IND	M	-	240	1.93%
Abdul Qayoom Khan	IND	M	-	59	0.47%
Peer Aafaq Ahmed	JKN	M	-	4335	34.88%
Tanvir Sadiq Ali	IND	M	-	2759	22.2%
Rabia	IND	F	-	134	1.08%
Raja Iftikhar Hussain	JKANC	M	-	136	1.09%
Sohail Amin Qzi	AIFB	M	-	17	0.14%
Syed Ajaz Ahmed Rizvi	IND	M	-	166	1.34%
Shahi Jahan Dar	JKPDP	M	-	3094	24.9%
Mohd. Haneef Khan	SDP	M	-	85	0.68%
Mohd. Haneef Mahajan	IND	M	-	47	0.38%
Mohd. Yousuf Shair	PDF	M	-	176	1.42%
Mushtaq Ahmed Tantray	INC	M	-	715	5.75%
Muzaffar Hussain Reshi	JKDPN	M	-	127	1.02%
Nasir Ahmed Naikoo	BSP	M	-	227	1.83%
Nisar Ahmed Ahangar	IND	M	-	110	0.89%

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELECTORS

1. Name/Age/Gender: _____
2. Village/town/City: _____
3. Constituency: _____
4. Did you vote? _____
5. If yes;
- a) What were the reasons for you to vote?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- b) Which political party represents your aspirations?
- _____
6. If not;
- a) What are the reasons for you to not vote?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- b) Which political party represents your aspirations?
- _____
- _____
7. Is there any coercion from any side on you to vote or not to vote? If yes, then please explain.
- _____
- _____
- _____
8. Do you think that the elections are free, fair and inclusive?
- _____
- _____
- _____
9. Will your vote have any impact on the Jammu and Kashmir conflict?
- _____
- _____
- _____

Fraudulent Election Identity Cards

