

## Chapterisation

The study is divided into five main chapters. This first chapter develops an analytical framework for examining the form, meaning, and conceptualisation of nationalism. The section explores the development of the concept of nationalism through theoretical debates. It further examines how exclusion and the desire to access later power result in nationalism. It looks at the sources of other nationalisms and what instrumental factors combine to form other nationalisms. It further tries to find out the goals and objectives of other nationalisms.

The second chapter locates the origin of Kashmiri nationalism by examining the historical, political, and social factors that contributed to its development. It sketches out how Kashmir and Kashmiri nationalism is understood in the popular imagination. It also examines whether Kashmiri nationalism is geographically exclusive to a particular territory or extends to the state's length and breadth. Additionally, it traces how the religious and ethnic complexities of the Kashmiri society have interacted with Kashmiri nationalism. The role of different political formulations in defining and promoting Kashmiri nationalism will also be examined. The chapter argues that to garner a better picture of Kashmiri nationalism, one needs to evaluate its interaction with forces of modernity. A deeply rooted sense of regional identity in Kashmir was channelled when education offered access to understanding the nature of Kashmiri nationalism. The development of education, social communications, and the growth of print enabled the masses to think of themselves profoundly.

The third chapter explains the transition of Kashmir nationalism from the political to militant terrain. It traces the assertions and objectives of different political actors. The chapter examines how civic Kashmiri nationalism remains a cornerstone in mainstream and separatist projects and how and where the differences are marked. Further, it examines how the militant transition also brings ethnic Kashmiri nationalism to the fore, which otherwise had been latent. It looks at how the contestations within the militant groups are a contestation of ethnic and civic variants of nationalism. The chapter explains the transition of

political nationalism into militant nationalism through critical political developments from 1950 to 1980 and how these episodes provided a temporal map for the transition. Parallel to the political developments, counter-histories provided newer meanings and forms for political nationalism. The sense of political betrayal and humiliation added to the urgency of the transition. The chapter examines the political groups and organisations beyond the visible political zone and mobilised opinion for civic nationalism. Thus deflating the myth that 1989 was the starting point for Kashmiri nationalism.

The fourth chapter examined how external factors have impacted Kashmiri nationalism. The chapter looks at the external factors that influence Kashmiri nationalism. It tries to investigate the intervention of various political actors through civic and ethnic nationalism, respectively. It tries to determine whether political actors have changed their positions due to the changing geopolitical situations. The chapter looks at the relationship between the Kashmiri diaspora and Kashmiri nationalism. It talks about how Pakistan functions as a factor in Kashmiri Nationalism and how, through deploying centralising tendencies, it has tried to contain Kashmiri nationalism.

The fifth chapter examines contestations to Kashmiri nationalism. It explores how polarising tendencies within the Jammu division emerged as a challenge to Kashmiri nationalism and examines contestations within the nationalist camp. In this context, changes in the form, meaning, and conceptualisation of Kashmiri nationalism are explored.