

## DEFINING PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL IDENTITY IN POST 9/11 ERA: THE ROLE OF THE US AND INDIA

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### ABSTRACT

The research attempts to show as to how Pakistan's significant 'others' i.e. the US and India attempted to negatively construct Pakistan's identity in the post 9/11 era. Through the theoretical lens of constructivism and discourse analysis of selected editorials, films, dramas and speeches the discursive construction of Pakistan's identity by its significant 'others' has been brought to fore. They attempted to negatively construct Pakistan's identity by labeling it a 'failed state', a 'failing state', a 'rogue state', a 'garrison state', a 'terrorist state', and so on. Both India and the US branded Pakistan as a hotbed of terrorism and exporter of terrorism, both countries attempted to vilify Pakistan's nuclear program, Pakistan, army and ISI. The constructed representational identity of Pakistan as a hotbed and exporter of terrorism unleashed by the super power and the regional power aimed to project Pakistan's persona negatively to justify their identity constructs. These discursive strategies shaped their foreign relations with Pakistan. The key finding of the paper is that Pakistan post 9/11 image is not a neutral or value free reflection of Pakistan's actual identity rather it was constructed by its significant others: the US and India through their, political and media discourses

### INTRODUCTION

During the 1950s, when the world was caught in the throes of Cold War, Pakistan aligned itself with American camp by building on the ideational and material convergences between the two states. This alignment was further solidified during the 1980s through Pakistan's major alliance with the United States in the Afghan Jihad against the USSR. Consequently, the United States emerged as Pakistan's preferred patron to counterbalance India's hegemony.

The United States played a significant role in shaping Pakistan's identity through its alliance system and socialization processes from the 1950s to the 1980s. Middle Eastern Muslim countries, with whom Pakistan shared a desire for fraternal relations based on religious affinity, also joined forces with the United States in constructing Pakistan's identity to serve American interests in the region during the Afghan War. The cognitive normative framework of the US and Middle Eastern elites shaped the

ideational character of Pakistani state. Pakistani elites negotiated these structural influences and got on to construct a new persona of the state. In this phase of US' and Pakistan interaction the relationship was defined by complementarity of identities. The commonalities between the US and Pakistani identities were accentuated and the difference minimized.

However, after the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan found itself at a crossroad and faced a dilemma. The jihadist identity that the United States had sponsored, promoted, and valued was now deemed an anathema for American interests in the post-9/11 era. Pakistan was stuck in a quandary with regard to holding onto former jihadist identity and how to distance itself from the Taliban-led government in Afghanistan.

Unlike the period from the 1950s to the 1980s, when the United States and its allies played a role in positively constructing Pakistan's identity, this era witnessed a negative construction of Pakistan's

identity by the United States and its allies both ideationally and materially. It is important to recognize that norms and institutions are not inherently existing entities but are rather created and shaped by specific communities within specific contexts. Furthermore, these institutions reciprocally influence and shape those communities. Objective measures of what is considered good or bad, right or wrong, do not exist. Instead, judgments of what is perceived as good or bad, right or wrong, depend on the particular standpoint one adopts<sup>1</sup>. India, taking advantage of the rifts between the United States and Pakistan, capitalized on the narrative of terrorism to malign Pakistani identity in order to serve its regional interests and to affirm its identity constructs.

### The Euphoria of Initial years 2001-2005

Pakistan once again gained global attention by aligning with the United States in its efforts against terrorism, reminiscent of its prominence following the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The US fully knew that Pakistan's support is indispensable and pivotal for realization of US objectives. Pakistan's "geographic proximity and its vast intelligence information on Afghanistan were seen as crucial for any military action against the Taliban and al-Qaeda". The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks propelled Pervez Musharraf from a state of relative political

obscurity onto the international stage. Formerly marginalized and shunned as a dictator, Musharraf emerged as a pivotal ally of Western nations. He provided reassurances to the Western powers regarding his commitment to curbing the entrenched tendencies of his nation towards religious fundamentalism and extremist ideologies (Hussain, 2008).

During the early years of Afghan war Pakistan and US worked in unison to eliminate al Qaida from the region. The early years from 2001 to 2005 were marked by convergences between the US and Pakistan. Pakistan's government actively confronted the threat posed by al-Qaeda from the early stages of the war in Afghanistan. To track and intercept al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters, Pakistan deployed approximately 25,000 troops along its border with Afghanistan in late 2001 and 2002. The collaborative efforts between Pakistan and the United States in intelligence, law enforcement, finance, and military domains led to the successful apprehension of more than 500 suspected members of al-Qaeda and the Taliban<sup>2</sup> (U.S. Foreign Policy towards Pakistan, n.d.). Pakistan arrested top and mid-tier leadership of al Qaida like Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the third-senior most leader of al-Qaeda and the architect of the September 11 attacks<sup>3</sup>. In June 2004, a secret agreement between the CIA and ISI (Inter-Services

<sup>1</sup> For a more comprehensive view of the debate between the various ontological and epistemological factions, see Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (Routledge, 2006); Jeffrey Checkel, "Review: The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998): 324–48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25054040>; Steve Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: 'Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline,'" *International Studies Review* 4, no. 2 (2002): 67–85, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3186354>; Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, no. 1 (July 27, 1998): 171–200, <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.23.1.171>; Ronen Palan, "A World of Their Making: An Evaluation of the Constructivist Critique in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 26, no. 31 (2000): 575–98; Maja Zehfuss, *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)

<sup>2</sup> As a former CIA acting director wrote, al-Qaeda "went to prearranged safe houses in the urban areas of Pakistan

[in late 2001 ...] Over the next year, the CIA, with the assistance of Pakistani intelligence, systematically captured many al-Qaeda members." Michael Morell, "If we ease the pressure on Islamic State, we could be attacked again," *Washington Post*, December 30, 2018

<sup>3</sup> Al Qaeda members captured in Pakistani cities include Abu Zubaidah (March 2002), al Qaeda's then operational chief; Ramzi Bin al-shibh (September 2002), a coordinator of the September 11 attacks; Yassir al-Jaziri (March 2003), described as the seventh-ranking al-Qaeda member; Khalid bin Attash or Walid bin Attish (April 2003), involved in the October 2000 attack on the USS Cole; Naeem Noor Mohammed Khan (July, 2004), Tanzanian national Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani (July 2004), wanted in the 1998 attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; and Libyan Abu Faraj al-Libbi (2005), believed to be al Qaeda's then third-ranking member. In the late 2000s and early 2010s, other al Qaeda operatives captured in Pakistan were Indonesian Umar Patek (March 2011), involved in the 2002 Bali bombings; and Younis al-Mauritani and two

Intelligence) facilitated a joint counterterrorism campaign, which aimed at targeting al-Qaeda and its local affiliates, and was further expanded in 2008 to enhance the capabilities of the U.S. counterterrorism efforts (Mir, 2018).

The Pak US cooperation against al Qaida and its local affiliates continue to flourish in the mid to late 2010s when Pakistan in collaboration with the US clamp down the Islamic State (IS). Pakistan's actions against this group, which comprised defectors from the Pakistani and Afghan Taliban, aligned once again with U.S. counterterrorism objectives (Mistry, 2020).

This era of convergence between the US and Pakistan vis-à-vis terrorism and extremism soon ended and was substituted with the era of bickering discord and divergences. Washington considered Pakistani actions against Afghan Taliban who have sheltered in Pakistan's tribal area after being routed from Kabul insufficient. Not only the US considered Pakistan's actions against militants insufficient but it also expressed concerns over the alleged involvement of Pakistan's ISI's in not taking decisive action against the militant groups that target both International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.

The euphoria of initial years of alliance with Pakistan against the terrorists soon transformed and morphed into frustration of US. 2006 can be termed as a very consequential year for Pak US alliance. In 2006 Afghanistan saw resurgence of Taliban and resultant rise in attack on ISAF. Sudden rise in violence in Afghanistan was perplexing for the US. As the US fail to curb the resurgent Taliban in Afghanistan it started blaming Pakistan for its inability to stop Taliban from using its territory as a launching pad to attack ISAF in Afghanistan. The below mentioned references unequivocally illustrates Washington's frustration with Pakistan's actions (which the latter considered inadequate and insufficient) against the militants hiding in the tribal belt.

During their joint press conference on 4 March 2006, a visible unease was apparent in Musharraf as he stood alongside President Bush, who explicitly stated that his visit to Islamabad aimed to assess the Pakistani leader's continued commitment to the war

on terror. These remarks conveyed the mounting frustration of the American administration regarding Musharraf's perceived failure to effectively curtail the utilization of Pakistani territory by Taliban insurgents as a launching pad for attacks against coalition forces in Afghanistan. This issue had become a significant source of contention in the relations between Washington and Islamabad, exacerbated by the escalating violence in Afghanistan, which resulted in substantial casualties among U.S. troops. In fact, the number of American soldiers killed in early 2006 exceeded the combined total of the preceding four years since the removal of the Taliban regime in December 2001 (Hussain, 2008).

Before visiting Pakistan, Bush paid a three-day visit to India where the president spoke highly of Indian credentials that qualify it as an emerging global power and also signed the historic civil nuclear deal with India. In contrast to the previous day's events in New Delhi, where the U.S. President praised India as an emerging global power and granted it an exceptional civilian nuclear technology agreement, Musharraf was publically lectured in the press conference to toughly deal the Taliban, accompanied by ambiguous commitments of future economic, military, and technological aid (Bush Rules Out a Nuclear Deal With Pakistanis - The New York Times, n.d.).

Professor Dinshaw Mistry of University of Cincinnati also echoes the growing divergences between the US and Pakistan after initial years of convergences in 2000s. He avers that in the initial years of the Afghanistan war, there was a notable alignment between the United States and Pakistan, as the Taliban had not yet reestablished their presence and Pakistan took action against al-Qaeda. However, in the 2010s, a substantial shift occurred, leading to significant divergence between the two parties. During this period, the Taliban experienced a resurgence, posing a significant threat to the U.S. military operations, while Pakistan was accused of failure in addressing the existence of Taliban safe havens within its border (Mistry, 2020).

Another two issues that bedeviled Pak US relations in late 2000s were alleged Pakistani inaction against

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others in a September 2011 joint operation between the CIA and ISI.

Haqqani network and the Quetta Shura. Washington accused Pakistan of turning a blind eye on the activities of these networks. It was alleged that Islamabad displayed limited direct military intervention against the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani network (Topich, 2018; Coll, 2018). By 2002, numerous Afghan Taliban fighters, accompanied by some members of Al-Qaeda, infiltrated Pakistan's tribal regions. Seeking sanctuary, a majority sought refuge in the South Waziristan and North Waziristan agencies, while others fled northward into the Mohmand and Bajaur agencies. Within Pakistan's borders, they regrouped, subsequently reestablishing control over certain rural Pashtun areas in Afghanistan by 2005 and launching an offensive in southern Afghanistan in 2006 (Farrell & Giustozzi, 2013; Jones, 2008). In the years spanning from 2007 through the 2010s, Pakistan's military gradually deployed into the tribal areas, primarily engaging in combat against Pakistani militants. As a consequence, Afghan Taliban fighters were displaced from these regions, although they managed to escape to alternative areas and cross the border into Afghanistan.

Furthermore, the leadership of the Afghan Taliban took refuge in Pakistani cities such as Quetta, Peshawar, and Karachi, strategically positioning themselves beyond the reach of U.S. drone strikes. From these locations, they exercised command and control over their operations and raised funds to sustain the insurgency in Afghanistan (Jones, 2013). Additionally, Pakistan refrained from conducting military operations against the Haqqani network, a semi-autonomous faction of the Taliban's Quetta Shura, while maintaining a financial separation but expressing allegiance to it (The Tenacious, Toxic Haqqani Network | Middle East Institute, n.d.). In 2011, following the Haqqanis' attack on the U.S. embassy in Kabul, Admiral Michael Mullen, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had previously endeavored to cultivate relations with Pakistan's military leadership, openly accused the group of serving as a "veritable arm" of the ISI (US Admiral: 'Haqqani Is Veritable Arm of Pakistan's ISI' - BBC News, n.d.).

According to Pakistani journalist Anwar Iqbal based in Washington, the year 2011 proved to be a transformative period, much like 2001, as it revealed the delicate and precarious state of the relationship between Pakistan and the United States. Iqbal draws a parallel between these two years, stating that while the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, brought Pakistan back into the international arena, the events unfolding in 2011 are pushing the country to be marginalized and excluded from the global stage (The Washington Diary - Pakistan - DAWN.COM, n.d.).

The events of 2011 which exposed the fragile nature of Pak US relations include Raymond Davies affairs, unilateral raid of Navy Seals on compound of Osama Bin Laden (OBL) in Abbottabad and attack of NATO ground and aerial forces on two Pakistani check posts in November 2011. (United States-Pakistan Relations: Facing a Critical Juncture | ISPU, n.d.)

When OBL was taken down it spurred widespread suspicion in the US whether Pakistan was complicit in hiding OBL in the compound since 2005 until eventual demise in 2011 (Riedel, 2011). This incident, along with Pakistan's incarceration of a Pakistani doctor who played a role in locating bin Laden, significantly strained the relationship between the United States and Pakistan (Mistry, 2020).

Speaking in press conference, during her Visit to Pakistan in October 2011, US Secretary of State said "We think that Pakistan for a variety of reasons has the capacity to encourage, to push, to squeeze ... terrorists, including the Haqqanis and the Afghan Taliban, to be willing to engage in the peace process.". She goes on to urge take actions against the militants without any differentiation because they all the terrorists are lethal for all. "You can't keep snakes in your backyard and expect them only to bite your neighbors"<sup>4</sup>. These blunt remarks shared in press conference were illustrative of Washington's frustration with lack of Pakistan's support in pressing Haqqani Network and Afghan Taliban and to bring them on table for negotiation.

Additionally, certain tribal areas remained untouched by the Pakistani military for several years,

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/snakes-in-your-backyard-wont-bite-only-neighbours-hillary-to-pak-573412> accessed on 12th June, 2023.

providing a sanctuary for some al-Qaeda members as well as numerous Taliban fighters (Gunaratna & Nielsen, 2008). Moreover, various al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders found refuge within Pakistani cities (Levy & Scott-Clark, 2017). Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's deputy, operated from Pakistan and announced the establishment of al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent in 2014. Reportedly, some of its members were based in Karachi, where they sought recruits and financial support through the city's financial networks and madrassahs<sup>5</sup>.

The aforementioned divergences outlined in the preceding pages and embedded in political discourse establish the backdrop for the shaping of Pakistan's identity by the United States in the post-9/11 era. The existing divergences between the United States and Pakistan, with the latter not fully conforming to the former's expectations, international pressure was intensified through the negative portrayal and construction of Pakistan's image and identity within U.S. media, political discourses.

The foregoing section has attempted not only to dwell on the nature of political discourse vis-a-vis representation of Pakistan but it also brought to fore the conflictual points that led to negative representation of Pakistan in political discourse. In the next section, representation of Pakistan in American dramas and Hollywood movies will be analyzed.

It is pertinent to mention that Pakistan's identity has not just been shaped through dramas and movies. Construction of Pakistan's identity has also been carried out through knowledge production in Western Think Tanks, Area Studies, Academia and through pedagogical practices of US professors of International Relations. This aspect of Pakistan's identity construction has been meticulously and exhaustively analyzed by Ahmed Waqas Waheed in his masterpiece titled "Constructing Pakistan through Knowledge Production in International Relations and Area Studies" (Waheed, 2020).

<sup>5</sup> An offshoot of al-Qaeda is regrouping in Pakistan," Washington Post, June 3, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> For a more comprehensive comparison between 'benevolent' US aid and Pakistan's economic losses, see Muhammad R. Shahid, "Pakistan's Economic Aid and

Pakistan has suffered the loss of nearly 9,000 security personnel and approximately 23,000 civilians as a result of the War on Terror (Crawford, n.d.). Additionally, Pakistan has faced a substantial economic burden since 2001, amounting to an estimated 250 billion US dollars, which is seven times higher than the foreign aid it has received (Pasha, n.d.). Despite these realities, the discourse often emphasizes the supposed benevolence of US aid to Pakistan and its "significant" contribution to the country<sup>6</sup>. Similarly, discussions surrounding Pakistan's nuclear status tend to disregard the deep-rooted hostility and rivalry between India and Pakistan, as well as the historical developments that led to Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear technology. Western discourse wields significant power in determining which interpretations of knowledge are privileged, who is considered the authoritative subject, and how that subject is positioned within the discursive field. This perpetuates a specific interpretation of Pakistan's identity and actions (Waheed, 2020).

By adding on and building on the monumental work of Waheed, the next section of the paper will attempt to bring to fore the representation of Pakistan identity in American Dramas and Hollywood movies. The choice of the dramas and the movies have been firstly made due to their role in projection of the priorities set by the elites of the country and secondly due to wide range of semiotic discourse offered by them. The semiotic richness of the medium sheds further light on construction of Pakistani identity. The Hollywood movies and American dramas invariably toe the line of US establishment.

### **Construction of Pakistan Identity through American Dramas and Hollywood Films**

The Centre for Research on Globalization asserts that there has been a significant level of collaboration between Hollywood and government agencies such as the Department of Defense and the CIA since the early 21st century<sup>7</sup>. Films like "Black Hawk Down"

Losses in the War on Terror," Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis 6, no. 5 (2014): 10–15.

<sup>7</sup> Julie Levesque, "Screen Propaganda, Hollywood and the CIA," Centre for Research on Globalization, last modified Feb 1, 2014, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/screen-propaganda-hollywood-and-thecia/5324589>; There are

(2001), "Zero Dark Thirty" (2012), and "Argo" (2012) are cited as examples of Hollywood productions that appear to align with and promote U.S. foreign policy objectives (Screen Propaganda, Hollywood and the CIA - Global ResearchGlobal Research - Centre for Research on Globalization, n.d.). In 1996, the CIA established its Media Liaison Office to provide guidance and support to the film industry (Lights, Camera... Covert Action: The Deep Politics of Hollywood - Global ResearchGlobal Research - Centre for Research on Globalization, n.d.). Furthermore, the CIA released a report in 1991 titled the "Task Force Report on Greater CIA Openness," which acknowledged the agency's involvement in reviewing film scripts and maintaining relationships with major news networks, influencing journalists to alter, withhold, or delay stories that could impact national security interests (Lights, Camera... Covert Action: The Deep Politics of Hollywood - Global ResearchGlobal Research - Centre for Research on Globalization, n.d.). In the documentary "Militainment," Roger Stahl highlights various instances of collusion between the U.S. state policy apparatus and the entertainment industry (Stahl, 2010).

The portrayal of Arabs or Muslims as a common adversary in Hollywood films, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union, has been observed by scholars like Jack Shaheen. This trend was not limited to the post-9/11 era but had been prevalent even prior to that event. Shaheen highlights that Hollywood had produced approximately 1100 movies featuring Arabs depicted in stereotypical ways, with many films before 9/11 consistently emphasizing the superiority of Westerners and

dehumanizing Arabs, often accompanied by negative depictions of Islam (Shaheen, 2015).

The events of September 11, 2001, had a profound impact on shaping the perception of Muslims as terrorists within the American public consciousness. Consequently, the U.S. government shifted its approach to counterterrorism, adopting a comprehensive "War on Terror" strategy (Powell, 2018). According to Powell, the Arab and Muslim individuals involved in the 9/11 attacks became representative figures of Islam in the eyes of media influencers, perpetuating the equation between Muslims and terrorism. Powell highlights the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media, wherein acts of terrorism, no matter how horrific, possess the ability to captivate and command the attention of the media (Powell, 2018).

The stereotypical portrayal of Muslims extends beyond Arabs and is also prevalent in the representation of non-Arab Muslims, including Pakistanis<sup>8</sup>. As the 2008 U.S. Presidential elections approached, Pakistan became a prominent topic not only among politicians but also among the American public and the global community. President Obama adopted a tough stance towards Pakistan and advocated for escalated drone attacks (Lyon & Bolognani, 2011).

Subsequently, the arrest of Faisal Shahzad, a Pakistani expatriate accused of planning a car bombing in Times Square in 2010, further reinforced the association of "Pakistani" with "terrorist." Additionally, the discovery of Osama bin Laden hiding in Pakistan solidified the perception of Pakistanis as terrorists within the consciousness of the American public<sup>9</sup>. Pakistan has been recurrently mentioned in the US media as a source of

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numerous articles and books outlining Hollywood's relationship with political institutions such as the CIA, and how US foreign policy works with the film industry to achieve its goals. Oliver Boyd-Barrett, David Herrera and Jim Baumann's work on the relationship between the film industry and foreign policy offers a good account of how culture and foreign policy are intertwined. See Oliver Boyd-Barrett, David Herrera and Jim Baumann, *Hollywood and the CIA: Cinema, Defense and Subversion* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 6-25

<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that most people in the Western world equate all Muslims as Arabs and fail to recognize

that many Muslims such as Pakistanis, Afghans and Iranians are in fact, not Arab. Muslims are thus homogenized even though they are an ethnically diverse group.

<sup>9</sup> Deborah Feyerick, "Times Square Bomb Plotter Sentenced to Life in Prison," CNN, last modified October 5, 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/CRIME/10/05/new.york.terror.plot/>; CNN Library, "Death of Osama Bin Laden Fast Facts," CNN, last modified May 12, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/09/09/world/death-of-osama-bin-laden-fast-facts/>

radicalization and as a breeding ground for terrorism. The characterization of Pakistan as the fountainhead of radicalization and extremism evokes the insecurity imaginary of average white citizens.

In the present section negative construction of Pakistani identity in US popular culture will be unearthed through analysis of the popular US crime show 'Numbers', 'Homeland 2011-2015' "The Sopranos," and films Iron Man 3 'Zero Dark Thirty' and 'G.I Joe: Retaliation'. The analysis of these TV shows and films show negative portrayal of Pakistanis. In the below mentioned sections these shows and films will be analysed one by one to illustrate negative construction of Pakistani identity. The depiction of Pakistan and its diaspora in popular culture in the United States has undergone a significant shift towards a more politically ambiguous and threatening portrayal. In the last 15 years, especially since the events of 9/11, Pakistani characters have often been prominently featured in procedural crime and political thriller television series, where their representation is highly politicized and negative. For instance, in the FBI procedural crime show "Numbers," a Pakistani charity becomes the focal point of a terrorist investigation conducted by the FBI<sup>10</sup>. Although the episode seemingly attempts to convey that not all Pakistanis are terrorists or sympathizers, it inadvertently suggests that it is difficult to discern which Pakistanis may harbor terrorist intentions or sympathies. Additionally, it implies that innocent-looking individuals as well as guilty ones from the Pakistani community may have close social network connections with potentially harmful implications (Lyon & Bolognani, 2011).

In the sixth season of the widely acclaimed mafia television series, "The Sopranos," a fictional FBI agent named Dwight Harris seeks the assistance of Tony Soprano to identify individuals of Pakistani Americans who are implicated in a credit card fraud scheme and suspected of providing financial support for international terrorism. Once again, the underlying message is evident—Pakistanis are portrayed as untrustworthy. Despite their seemingly secular and assimilative character, individuals of Pakistani origin in the United States are portrayed as having potential connections to global networks of

political violence. This portrayal suggests that regardless of their apparent alignment with American values and lifestyles (which can vary across different regions of the country), they are perceived as posing a potential threat.(Lyon & Bolognani, 2011).

By applying the discursive strategy of framing on "The Sopranos" we can examine how narrative of the story constructs a particular perspective or interpretation of events. Pakistanis are framed within the framework of criminality and terrorism. Only Ahmed and Muhammad are the two Muslim characters in the season six who are involved in stealing credit cards. By not including other Pakistani characters the duo of Ahmed and Muhammad has been treated as representative faces of Muslims. Besides their involvement in credit card scam they have also been suspected of being part of al Qaida's sleeper cells.

In the movie Iron Man 3 released in 2013 in a particular scene involving War Machine (James Rhodes, portrayed by Don Cheadle) in the movie, an unfortunate reinforcement of a casual and offhand stereotype about Muslims in general and Pakistani women in particular occurs. War Machine, an enhanced U.S. agent/liaison, is dispatched to investigate a suspected Mandarin broadcast point in Pakistan. During this sequence, he forcibly enters a room where Muslim women wearing black niqabs are diligently sewing at individual desks.

This portrayal is significant due to minimum contribution of Muslim females playing active role in the media, particularly during the period when the movie was released in 2013. The depiction of this group in the film perpetuates a narrative of weakness, fear, and enslavement of Muslim women in general and Pakistani women in particular. The conspicuous use of niqabs not only emphasizes their religious identity but also erases their individuality, as they are all depicted in identical attire. What compounds the problematic nature of this scene is the subsequent development: a white Extremis soldier, working for the Mandarin, removes her niqab and incapacitates War Machine. The implication, intentional or not, is that beneath traditional Islamic attire lies malicious intent or, more specifically, terrorism. In a mere thirty seconds, two harmful stereotypes are normalized, perpetuating damaging narratives.

<sup>10</sup> Episode 18, season 4. "When Worlds Collide," CBS

Framing of the story also perpetuates the image of Pakistan as a place infested and teeming with terrorists of all hues. In the story Pakistan has only been presented as a host of terrorists. No other representation of Pakistan has been made in the story. By excluding other facets and pictures of diverse and vibrant Pakistan society the movie aims to rearticulate and revalidate dominant political discourses of the time: Pakistan as nothing but a nursery and safe haven of terrorism.

The movie, 'Zero Dark Thirty' narrates the sensational story of OBL's recovery by CIA and his subsequent elimination through an aerial raid on his compound in Abbottabad by the US Navy Seals in May 2011. The movie claims to be true to real events. The movie 'Zero Dark Thirty' reinforce existing political discourses. In the movie Pakistan has been stereotyped as most dangerous and unsafe place and safe haven of terrorists. Maya complained that in Islamabad there are check posts everywhere. This was to imply that Islamabad; the capital of Pakistan is unsafe. The stereotype of Pakistan as an unsafe place was again reinforced when Maya came under intense gun attack in broad daylight and the assailant escaped easily. This was to imply the helplessness or complicity of Pakistan as terrorist strike their target at will and are moving scot free in the heart of capital. Maya's dialogue aims to construct Pakistan as unsafe by saying 'In Pakistan every American is on hit list of terrorists whether he belongs to CIA or not'. Pakistan was also stereotyped as an unsafe when Joseph Broadly was called back to Washington to save his life because the family of a victim who was killed in a drone strike was protesting outside US embassy and demanding that he be put behind the bars.

Pakistan was also stereotyped as a safe haven of terrorists. Ammar was apprehended in Karachi. And Maya said that two Pakistani cities namely Peshawar and Rawalpindi are brimming and festering with terrorists of Al-Qaida.

ISI has also been stereotyped as uncooperative and complicit in harboring terrorists. Thrice in the movie ISI has been spoken of as uncooperative and complicit. Firstly, Dane told Maya that he complained to CIA Station Chief regarding slow response of ISI in nabbing terrorist in Lahore. This was to imply that ISI by giving a slow response gave an opportunity to terrorists to escape. Secondly,

when Joseph Bradley was called back due to safety reasons, Maya told him that ISI deceived him. Thirdly, ISI was accused of not cooperating with CIA when the latter wanted to track Ibrahim Syed, OBL's courier. ISI has been portrayed as perfidious and treacherous agency.

The movie frames Pakistan as a hotbed of terrorism and safe haven of terrorist. In the story when Pakistan was introduced for the first time, the landmark of a mosque was shown to show the Islamic component of Pakistani identity reductively and depriving it of its rich socio cultural diversity and heritage. The image of Pakistan has been reduced to violence, a safe haven of terrorists and insecurity, depriving it of its rich socio-cultural ethos and life.

The film 'G I Joe Retaliation' was released in 2013. In the movie Pakistan has been portrayed as a failed state in the wake of the events that started after killing of its fictional president. After the killing violence erupted in Pakistan and militants took over Pakistan's nuclear weapons thus threatening the global peace and security. The US has been shown as a responsible state which acts with alacrity to preserve global peace by sending the Joe squad to Pakistan to take over its nuclear weapons.

The film deploys several discursive strategies to paint Pakistan in negative light. Firstly, by showing assassination of Pakistan's fictional president and the ensuing violence, compounded further by Pakistan's inability to secure its nuclear weapons. These events aim to frame Pakistan as an unstable and unsafe place. It validates the dominant political discourse that hypothesis the possibility of Pakistan's nuclear weapons falling into the hands of terrorists. Just as the events of the film raised serious questions over the safety and security of Pakistan nuclear weapons similarly the dominant political discourses visualize such a possibility where nuclear weapons can fall into the wrong hands thus endangering global peace and security.

In the movie Pakistan has been stereotyped as a fragile and a failed state. Pakistan has also been stereotyped as a highly probable source of nuclear terrorism. Depiction of violence and chaos also reinforce the stereotype image of Pakistan as a violence prone state. The ease with which militants gained access to Pakistan's nuclear weapons shows the incapacity, inability and irresponsibility of Pakistani state in preserving its strategic weapons. It



also implies that since Pakistan can't not secure its strategic weapons therefore it poses threat to global peace and the best means to preserve global peace is to denuclearize Pakistan. The turban wearing terrorists clad in Shalwar Qameez who got hold of Pakistan's nuclear weapons perpetuates the threat of nuclear terrorism emanating Pakistan which concomitantly present Pakistan as a threat to global peace and security.

By employing the rhetorical devices like visual representation, underscoring the ease with which the Joe Squad took over Pakistan's nuclear weapons, validates negative characterization of Pakistan as a failed state.

### **Construction of Pakistan's identity in US print media in post 9/11 era**

In this section it has been attempted to find out construction of Pakistan's identity in post 9/11 era through discourse analysis of the editorials published in two leading American dailies, New York Times (NYT) and Washington Post (WP) between 2001 to 2022. The newspapers have been selected due to their wide readership and influence in local and global news market. In 2021, NYT had 7.8 million digital and print subscribers (New York Times Q1 2021 Earnings - The New York Times, n.d.). Similarly, WP had nearly 3 million subscribers across digital and print media in 2020 (The Washington Post Is Nearing 3 Million Digital Subscribers | Nieman Journalism Lab, n.d.). Selection of NYT is also important because it appeals to both local and global educated readers. WP is important because it caters to the news need of the people interested in American politics. Firstly, the discourse analysis of the editorials brings to fore that Pakistan particular Pakistan army and ISI have been stereotyped and framed as sponsor or complicit partners in promoting terrorism in the region. Secondly, Pakistan has been framed as an irresponsible nuclear state due to its poor anti proliferation record and due to vulnerability of its nuclear program to perpetrators of nuclear terrorism. Thirdly, Pakistan has been framed as a dangerous country. Fourthly, Pakistan has been stereotyped as an unsafe place for journalists. Fifthly, Pakistan's democracy has been represented as weak and fragile. Sixthly, Pakistan has been alleged to use terrorists as a hedge against Indian interests in Afghanistan and Kashmir. Seventhly, unlike

Pakistan, India, Pakistan's arch rival has largely been presented positively. Positive projection of India, Pakistan's dominant and oppositional other further contributes to negative representation of Pakistan. The text of the editorials has been analyzed with NVivo 12.

The aim of doing the discourse analysis of editorials is to bring to fore that as to how Pakistan has been represented in the US print media. The discourse analysis brings to fore that Pakistan's identity have been negatively constructed. The section highlights that Pakistan has been stereotyped and framed in particular way. The negative representation in the print media aligns with broader political discourse. In fact, the negative representation of Pakistan's identity has been reproduced in the print media.

Firstly, the analysis of the editorials shows that Pakistan in general and Pakistan Army and ISI in particular play a double game with the US. They have been accused of harboring those militants who serve their interest in Afghanistan and Kashmir. They were accused of only targeting the militants belonging to al Qaida and TTP.

Pakistan's complicity in promoting terrorism in the region or its alleged practice of differentiating between good militants and bad militants have been most frequently highlighted in the editorials. The node of Pakistan's representational identity i.e. Pakistan a sponsor of terrorism or alleged actor playing double game, has been mentioned 97 times in these editorials. Pakistan received negative characterization and representation as an abettor of terrorists notwithstanding the myriad of operation it launched against the terrorists, thousands of civilian and military casualties and billions of dollars lost to the economy. This thematic node has the highest representation in the editorials.

Secondly, the discourse analysis of the editorials also brings to fore that Pakistan has been framed as an irresponsible nuclear state due to the issue of nuclear proliferation exacerbated with disclosure of A Q Khan network in February, 2004. The revelation of the so-called network and prevalence of terrorism in the country made the situation more tenuous. In consequence of the revelation of the network, Pakistan has been framed as an irresponsible nuclear state whose nuclear weapons are vulnerable to terrorists. In the editorials 40 references have been made to Pakistan's nuclear program. These

references paint only a negative picture of Pakistan's nuclear program. Pakistan has been dubbed as a nuclear pariah state, 'a merchant of nuclear bomb technology', fastest growing nuclear power and how the fragility, insecurity of the state makes Pakistan's nuclear weapons vulnerable to the perpetrators of nuclear terrorism.

Thirdly, the editorials present Pakistan in general and Pakistan army and ISI in particular as abettors of terrorists. It is framed that Pakistan in general and Pakistan Army and ISI in particular use some militants as a hedge against Indian interests in Afghanistan and Kashmir. The discourse dubs Pakistan, its army and intelligence service as duplicitous in promoting militants to neutralize Indian influence and interest in the region. The discourse attributes Pakistan's espousal of some militants to neutralize Indian interests in the region to Pakistan's 'outmoded vision of India as a mortal enemy'. Pakistan has been framed as a creator of Taliban, Haqqani Network and facilitator of Kashmir focused militant organizations like Jaish-e-Muhammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba. In the editorials 21 references have been made regarding Pakistan's alleged act of using militants as a hedge against Indian interests in Afghanistan and Kashmir.

Fourthly, the discourse in the editorials stereotype Pakistan as a praetorian state. Pakistan's shortcomings in terms of its democratic credentials have been widely enunciated and democratic progression underrated. Negative representation of Pakistan as a failing democracy or a nonfunctional diplomacy is understandable that from 1999 to 2008 Pakistan was directly ruled by the dictator, General Pervez Musharraf. Representation of Pakistan as fragile democracy aligns with broader political discourse. The rhetoric of democracy is used to coerce Pakistan into submission by maligning its image as a fragile and nonfunctional democracy. More than 21 references have been made in the text of the editorials to construct Pakistan's image as a fragile and ever failing democracy.

Fifthly, Pakistan has been represented as a country where media curbs are a norm. The ecosystem of media has been represented as marred with violence, intimidation and self/ state censorship of media. Pakistan has been framed as a most dangerous place for journalists where press is muzzled, where state apparatus is intolerant of dissenting voices, where

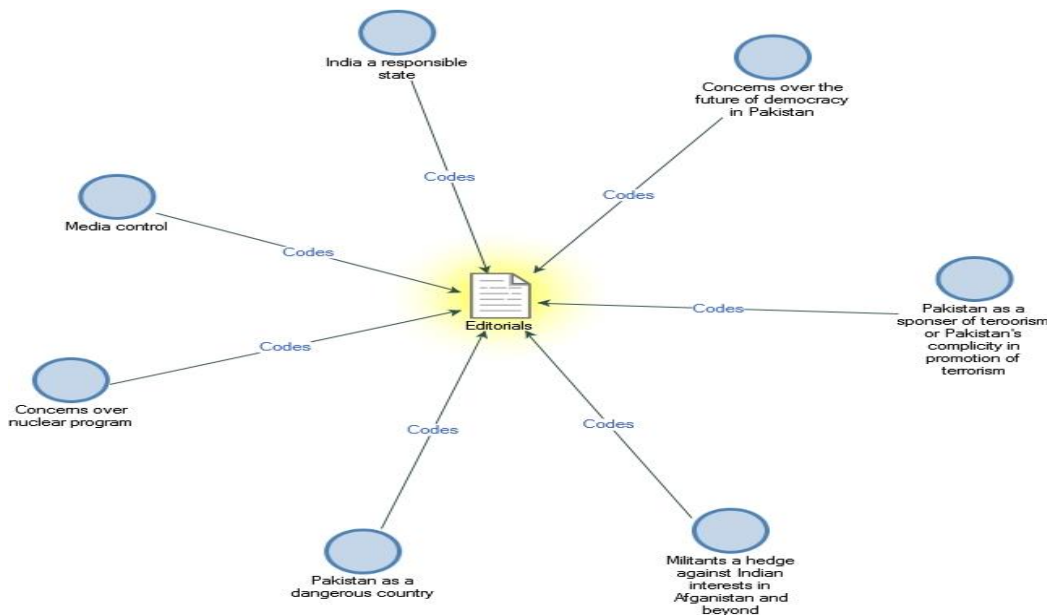
media persons are subjected to repression, torturer, systematic intimidation and to even outright assassinations.

Sixthly, Pakistan has been framed as a dangerous country, generally speaking of the discursive practices embedded in the editorial discourse as highlighted in the foregoing themes of Pakistan as an irresponsible nuclear state, Pakistan as a supporter and abettor of militants, curbs on media, fragile democracy by extension represent Pakistan as a dangerous country. Besides this general characterization of Pakistan as a dangerous country, in the editorial discourse Pakistan has been specifically framed as a dangerous country. The discourse dubs Pakistan as a threatened state, a failing state where extremists are on the rampage threatening the very existence of state, the country roiling in mortal danger, a crippled and chaotic state, a state least bothered by the presence of combustible triggers that pose gravest threat to its survival and earned a dubious reputation of being a fastest growing nuclear weapons state.

Lastly India, contrary to Pakistan relatively received positive representation. The discourse frames India as the fastest growing economy and the biggest democracy in the world. Contrarily, Pakistan has been framed as a fragile and violence prone democracy, a failing state and the country with fastest growing nuclear weapons. US' Civilian nuclear deal with India is not challenged and disputed in the editorial discourse. India has also been framed as a responsible state that showed remarkable restraint in response to Mumbai attacks. The editorial discourse brings home the point that Pakistan has largely received negative representation in the editorial discourse. The editorial discourse frames Pakistan as a boiling pot of terrorism and extremism where nuclear weapons are dangerously vulnerable to take over of terrorists. The negative representation of Pakistan in the editorial discourse of NYT and WP can be traced back to era of 1990s in post-Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. But in the initial years of the Pak US alliance against war of terror, Pakistan's negative representation relatively declined but it picked unprecedented pace and intensity after exposure of A.Q Khan's network and ISAF's growing losses in Afghanistan. After the invasion of Afghanistan in October, 2001, 2006 was the bloodiest year for the allied troops in

Afghanistan. From this year onwards, Taliban resurgence became a norm. Resultantly, the US in its political discourse started a well-orchestrated campaign to dub Pakistan in general and its army and premiere security agency in particular as abettors of Afghan Taliban especially Haqqani network, Kashmir focused militant organizations like Jaish-e-Muhammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba and the same discourse was reproduced in the editorial discourse of NYT and WP. The negative representation is also evident from the themes of Pakistan being an

Figure-I



irresponsible state that dangerously flirts with espousal of militants to serve their narrow interests of its military and intelligence service and its espousal of tactical nuclear weapons. The discourse also frames Pakistan as a dangerous state, a repressive and dangerous state for media where democracy barely breathes under the oppressive weight of praetorian state apparatus. The below given diagram illustrate the negative representation of Pakistan in the editorials of NYT and WP from 2001 to 2022.

**The Indian Construction of Pakistan's Identity**

Pakistan, from its inception as an independent sovereign state, confronted significant material and ideational insecurities in relation to India, its significant other. The partition plan, deemed unjust, coupled with India's hegemonic behavior, further exacerbated Pakistan's already existing insecurities. The founding father of Pakistan, at one point, expressed disappointment over India's conduct and the complicity of the British in enabling India to weaken the newly established nation, leading to the characterization of Pakistan as a "moth-eaten and truncated" entity.

Typically, nation states achieve independence through the resolution of major contentious issues, allowing stakeholders to reconcile and collaborate towards shared goals and interests. However, in the

case of Pakistan, the case was opposite. India, refusing to accept partition from heart, pursued a post-independence trajectory that propelled Pakistan to seek external patrons for its defense against India's hegemonic material and ideational onslaught. The pattern has persisted to this day.

It is logical to expect from India, Pakistan's arch rival to negatively represent Pakistan's identity in its discourses. India, has always attempted to paint Pakistan in bad light. However, after 9/11, India seized upon the opportunity created by unfavourable global narratives about Pakistan and a few attacks of militants it faced on its soil to implicate Pakistan in global terrorism discourse.

The representation of Pakistan's identity will be analyzed through the discourses that travel beyond India and have a global appeal or address global

audience. For this purpose, the representation of Pakistan embedded in the speeches made by successive Indian leaders at annual UN General Assembly session between 2001 to 2022, will be analyzed to highlight Indian employment of discursive strategies in relation to Pakistan's representational identity.

Moreover, discourse analysis of selected Bollywood movies has also been carried out to highlight the constructed representational identity of Pakistan. The choice of Bollywood movies has been made due the influence these movies exert beyond India. Cinema has gained acknowledgment as a highly influential visual medium that warrants examination for its portrayals, the establishment and reinforcement of stereotypes, and its role in shaping and challenging traditions (Bharat & Kumar, 2012). Lastly Pakistan's representational identity generated through Indian global network of disinformation will be examined.

#### **Bollywood Films and representation of Pakistan**

Raksha Kumar, an award winning Multimedia journalist, wrote an op-ed in New York Times titled 'How Bollywood's views on Pakistan Evolved'. In this op-ed she brought to fore the evolution Bollywood's views regarding portrayal of Pakistan since independence to 2012, the year when the op-ed was published. She posits that Bollywood movies avoided Pakistan as a subject in its movies. Raksha Kumar traces the origin of Indian jingoistic films to era of 1960s, an era marked by strengthening of India identity. Pakistan was the convenient foil which was used to promote Indian unity (Bharat & Kumar, 2012)

Prof. Nirmal Kumar who co-edited the book "Filming the Line of Control" with Meenakshi Bharat attributes absence of Pakistan as a subject in post-independence Bollywood cinema to the Pakistan's association with tragic incident of partition. They aver that "Partition was a personal embarrassment for various people in the industry, therefore, one never saw any films that referred to Pakistan, even diagonally, in the initial years of India's formation". They go on to says that following an initial period of silence, a discourse of hostility and cultural antagonism emerged, finding expression within cinematic narratives. This manifested in various forms, ranging from cultural confrontation to explicit criticism of Pakistan. One

notable example of early Hindi films directly referencing Pakistan is Upkar (The Favour, 1965). The India-Pakistan theme gained significant prominence with Hindustan Ki Kasam (Swear by India, 1973). Gadar, a film characterized by its vehement anti-Pakistan stance, marks the turning point in Indian cinema vis-a vis negative representation of Pakistan. The film despite being rabidly anti Pakistan, achieved substantial commercial success (Bharat & Kumar, 2012).

Jannat Asrar in her op-ed published in Daily Times quotes Mira Hashmi, a celebrated actress and TV host who says that Indian films do reflect the dominant social or political ideologies i.e Nehruvian ideology and Modi's ideology (Bollywood's Cinematic Perception of Pakistanis: Fantasy or Propaganda? - Daily Times, n.d.).

Representation of Pakistan in Bollywood movies align with concurrent dominant social and political trends in India. The objectives of the Hindutva ideology have become evident through certain events, such as the demolition of the Babri Mosque and the implementation of new immigration laws in India. These events, directly or indirectly influenced by the RSS, reflect the ideological agenda. Following the 1990s, Hindi cinema began featuring contentious, negative, and nationalistic content, particularly portraying Muslims and Islam in a critical light, while favoring Hindi nationalism (Rajgopal, 2011). Movies such as Raja (1992), Sarfarosh (1999), Bombay (1995), Gaddar (2001), Mission Kashmir (2000), and Pinjar (2003) exemplify the inclusion of content aligned with Hindu nationalism. These films depict Hindu male protagonists engaged in the defense of their motherland against predominantly Muslim adversaries (Anantha Murthy et al., 2016). Meenakshi Bharat and Nirmal Kumar avers that films like "Main Hoon Na", 2004 a blockbuster movie, paint Pakistan neutrally if not positively, similarly the super hit movie Veer-Zaara has romanticized the need to foster friendly relations between India and Pakistan (Bharat & Kumar, 2012). Both these movies were released in 2004 which aligned with resumption of dialogue between India and Pakistan with initiation of composite dialogue. After 2004 a series of anti-Pakistan movies were made in Bollywood and the trend continues to this day.

A host of writers have dwelled on negative representation of Muslims in Indian movies (Gietty, 2019; Athique, 2008; Bhat, 2019; Qutub, 2013; Iedema, 2001; Lichtner, 2008; Abbas, 2013; Balraj, 2011; Mubeen, 2022 and Bhutto, 2023). These writers have brought to fore negative representations of Muslim movies in post 9/11 era. Review of the anti-Pakistan films shows that anti-Pakistan movies can be classified into two groups: one that implicate Muslims as terrorists or facilitators of terrorists by stereotyping them as intolerant and extremist and the second group of Indian movies that target Pakistan army and ISI as a promoter of terrorism. The latter category of movies is a recent phenomenon exception being "Hero: A Spy's Love Story" which was released in 2003. Bollywood movies like 'Agent Vinod', 'Ek Tha Tiger', and 'D Day' have portrayed the military, intelligence services, and religious groups of Pakistan in an overwhelmingly negative manner (Bollywood Is Obsessed with Pakistan. We'd Be Flattered If It Weren't so Nasty | Bollywood | The Guardian, n.d.).

Throughout its history, Bollywood has consistently mirrored the prevailing political trends in India. The films of the 1950s captured the sense of optimism and romanticism in the newly independent country. In the 1970s, the protagonist was often portrayed as a proud yet marginalized individual battling against powerful and corrupt forces. During the 1990s, there was an influx of films depicting neo-liberal yuppies, situated in Dubai, enjoying the nightlife of London discos, and driving luxurious Mercedes cars. However, since the rise of Narendra Modi and his right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) nearly nine years ago, Bollywood has readily embraced his contentious political agenda (Bollywood Is Obsessed with Pakistan. We'd Be Flattered If It Weren't so Nasty | Bollywood | The Guardian, n.d.).

In this section discourse analysis of two films released in 2023 namely 'Pathaan' and 'Mission Majnu' will be conducted to prove sustained negative portrayal of Pakistan in Indian movies. The choice of these two movies is very instructive as the movies make negative representation of two important elements of Pakistani state, Pakistan's nuclear weapons and its army. These movies merit close attention in relation to Pakistan's representational identity as the film 'Mission Majnu' attempted to malign Pakistan's nuclear program by

branding it as a symbol of power projection and 'Pathaan' attempted to tarnish the image of Pakistan's professional army as a rogue army. Vilification of Pakistan army and Pakistan's nuclear program in the movies aligns with broader global and Indian discourses that brand Pakistanis as intolerant and extremists and frame Pakistan army and ISI as a sponsor of terrorism in the region and beyond.

### **Representation of Pakistan's identity in the movie 'Pathaan'**

The film begins in Lahore and the image of Badeshi mosque is shown. Then the scene shifts to the oncologist's clinic where the oncologist told the general Qadir Fareed who is diagnosed with brain tumor and was told that due to the nature of the disease he may have at most only three years to live. Meanwhile a news is flashed on TV which announces that India has revoked article 370 of Indian constitution. The general fumes with anger and says that it is declaration of war. He proclaims that three years are enough for him (to bring India to its knees). He says now is the time to befriend Satan. He contacts a deranged terrorist (Jim) to bring India to its knees by wreaking havoc on India. Jim abducts Indian scientists in Dubai who have gone there to attend a seminar and starts making biological weapon (a deadly mutated variant of smallpox) for General Qadir, in order to attack Indian cities with the biological weapons. 'Pathaan' an operative of RAW along with his team is given the responsibility to neutralize the biological weapon made by Jim.

The film attempt to represent Pakistan army as an unprofessional force where extremists like General Qadir Fareed can rise to one of the highest posts in the army and can act with impunity and audacity without any institutional check and balances. Through the character of general Fareed attempt has been made to frame Pakistan army as an intuition which is infested with rogue elements that have linked with terrorists. Dr. Rubina Khalid, the renegade ISI operative who have switched her loyalties to Pathaan's mission of saving Indian cities from the biological weapon attack frames general Qadir Fareed as a rogue element in the army when she said "General Qadir is not one of us, when our people will come to know of his nefarious plan, they will hang him". General Qadir (Representative of rogue elements in Pakistan army) is presented as a

client of a terrorist. Jim says that I have made the biological weapon for my client (general Qadir). Pakistani generals have also been stereotyped as filthy rich (can lavishly fund terrorists) with no mechanism of check and balances in place to hold them accountable for misusing resources which are at their disposal. The only representation of Pakistan army in the film is, general Qadir, alternative perspective or the institutional response has been totally ignored, to show that rogue elements in Pakistan army can not only act alone sans monitoring and control of the institution they also have immense resources at their disposal. When Dr. Khalid enquired Jim whether the Pakistani government also complicit in this plan of general Qadir or not. Jim replied in negative and said “No, but extremist elements in ISI are with him (Jim)”. Here too ISI has been framed as partner and a sponsor of terrorists. In the film an attempt has also been made to stereotype the Kashmir freedom struggle by linking it with agenda of terrorists. Jim warns Indian government to “vacate Kashmir, after 24 hours if one Indian soldier, one tank and one tricolor is found in Kashmir, India will be attacked with the biological weapon”. The legitimate freedom struggle and the right of self-determination of Kashmiri people have been stereotyped, violence in Kashmir is caused by terrorists who are funded and supported by Pakistan army. Moreover, Indian unwillingness to negotiate with Pakistan on the pretext of Pakistan’s alleged support to India focused militant organization has been justified through the dialogue of Colonel Ruthra when he says “We don’t negotiate with terrorists”. Through the character of renegade operative of ISI, Dr. Rubina Khalid, ISI is again stereotyped as cruel and inhuman intelligence agency. Dr. Rubina left ISI to satisfy her conscience because she couldn’t remain the part of the organization that does not value human life. When she decided to team up with Pathaan to foil the biological attack, Pathaan warned her that her actions and moves will be closely watched and if she takes one wrong step she will be eliminated. In reply Dr. Rubina says “I Won’t take any wrong step, I have already taken wrong steps. Now the time has come to erase them”. Through this dialogue ISI has been stereotyped as inherently evil organization and all the people associated with it are evil doers and to recompense for evil deeds they need to joint just forces like RAW.

The protagonist of the film, ‘Pathaan’, who has been lovingly named ‘Pathaan’ by Afghan villagers whose children he saved from a drone attack on a religious seminary while he was working with Americans in Afghanistan. This portrays the hero, an operative of RAW as inherently kind and compassionate, the one who saves Afghan Children from the scourge of a drone attack. He is a hero of the villagers. He has been presented as a foil to the character of Jim and General Qadir who in their vengeance do not differentiate between innocent people and combatants and are amoral beasts. The beastly nature of the general is shown through the dialogue” Khair nahi, Qahar Chiya ( I don’t want goodness, I only want furious vengeance” . The protagonist has also been presented as a messiah who doesn’t even hesitate to sacrifice his own life to save innocent Indian people from the attack of the biological weapon.

#### **Representation of Pakistan’s identity in the movie ‘Mission Majnu’**

The Netflix film, Mission Majnu released in January 2023, is a story of RAW’s covert operation carried out by its agents, prominent among them, Amandeep Singh, the protagonist who impersonate as a Muslim with the name Tariq. The mission of the RAWs operative is to know the secret location of Pakistan’s atomic program.

Like other jingoistic Indian films, Mission Majnu also stereotypes Pakistan as untrustworthy and undemocratic polity. Contrary to Pakistan’s representation as an immoral state, India has been projected as a principled state. India is projected as a progressive and a cosmopolitan state when Amandeep says “How can I forget the Sardarji, who sheltered me in the Gurdwara and made sure that I never sleep hungry and Father Joseph who fought with everyone to let me study in that school”. Again through another dialogue attempt has been made to project India as a tolerant and peaceful state. Kao, head of RAW says “We are India, we didn’t grow up with hatred, we grew up with love. In fact, we got freedom on the basis of love and peace”. At another place a character sings the praise of India’s incomparable beauty “is there any country in the world like India?”. Pakistan is contrarily branded as a “fanatic country” and “untrustworthy”. Since both India and Pakistan treat each other as a foil (other) in

relation to their respective identities. Hence, India's self-projection as a peaceful state means that Pakistan is not a peaceful state.

In the film Pakistan's nuclear program has also been framed and stereotyped as a project which was initiated to project its power. The introductory or the tagline of the film equates nuclear weapons with power. The tagline is, "nuclear weapons, the ultimate symbol of power". The discourse attempt to construct Pakistan's nuclear program as a project dictated by the dictates of power projection rather than as a means to ensure deterrence. Another stereotype pertaining to Pakistan's nuclear program is representation of Pakistan's nuclear program as an illicit and illegitimate venture whereas India nuclear program is projected as legitimate and lawful. Kao while referring to Indian nuclear program says "we did everything legally to make the bomb".

Contrarily he attempted to project Pakistan's nuclear program as a product of an illegitimate network of nuclear smugglers. The film also stereotypes A.Q Khan, the father of Pakistan's nuclear program as a rogue, unprincipled and untrustworthy person. R.N Kao dubs him as "the world most dangerous scientist". In a meeting headed by the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a participant of the meeting suggested the name of A.Q Khan to Bhutto for acceleration of Pakistan's nuclear program. A participant of the meeting objected to his name (A.Q Khan's name) his alleged violation of many rules while he was in Pakistan. The participant goes on to say we can't trust him because he can do anything (moral or immoral act) to get the desired results. Prime Minister Bhutto immediately interrupted the participant with the words "then he is the man we want".

The foregoing discussion stereotypes Khan as a Machiavellian hero for whom the ends justifies the means. Pakistan's nuclear program has also been framed and stereotyped as having links with terrorists and that Pakistan is as an irresponsible nuclear state which poses greatest threat to global peace and security. Kao says that Colonel Qaddafi has funded 500\$ million for Pakistan's nuclear weapon program. He goes on to say that "for the world he is a terrorist but for Pakistan he is a close friend". By calling Qaddafi a terrorist and linking him with Pakistan's nuclear program attempt is made to stereotype Pakistan's nuclear program and its

links with alleged perpetrators of nuclear terrorism. To further link Pakistan's nuclear program with terrorists and to frame it as an Islamic bomb. R.N Kao, head of RAW says to Moraji Dosai that "Pakistan has made a deal with Qaddafi, in exchange of his funding, they will provide him nuclear weapons and then a time will come when every Muslim terrorist will have nuclear weapons".

In the movie Pakistan has also been stereotyped as a garrison and praetorian state where military reigns supreme. R. N Kao frames Pakistan as a praetorian state when he says "Pakistan is not run by the civilian government it is run by the military". Bhutto the civilian leader is only marginally shown in the film, it is Zia-ul-Haq, the military dictator who is used as a face of Pakistani government. He is projected as uncouth, duplicitous and cruel ruler. The character of Moraji Dosai serves as a moral foil of Zia-ul-Haq. Discourse analysis of the aforementioned films shows how India attempts to negatively define and represent Pakistan in its movies. The analysis put forward in the section also bring to fore that the discourse generated in these movies represent or even reproduce the larger local and international political narratives about Pakistan. Discourse analysis of the film confirms to earlier studies conducted to prove negative representation of Pakistan in Bollywood in post 9/11 era. What sets these films apart from the earlier movies is the alignment of the discourse generated in these films with Western discourse on Pakistan. These films touched upon the three highly sensitive representations of Pakistan in the West, vulnerability of Pakistan's nuclear program to the perpetrators of global terrorism, branding Pakistan as a sponsor and facilitator of terrorists and presence of rogue elements in Pakistan Army, ISI and the threat it poses to global peace and security.

### **Representation of Pakistan through the Speeches Made By Successive Indian Leaders at the Annual Sessions of UNGA from 2001 To 2022**

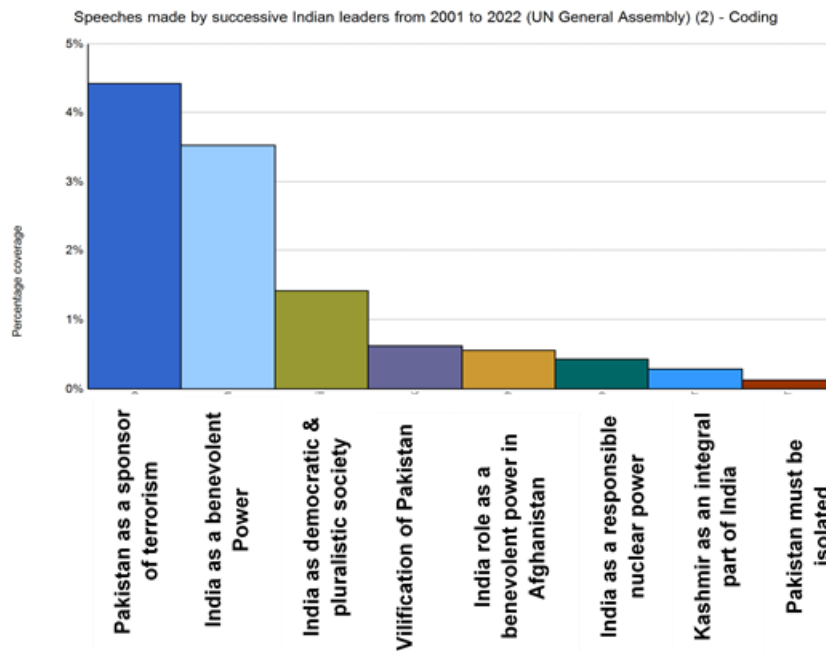
The speeches delivered by successive Indian leaders at the annual sessions of UNGA between 2001 and 2022, provide a rich source for finding representational identities of India and Pakistan. Through the speeches successive Indian leaders not only defined themselves as to what India is, and as to what it stands for a sovereign state but its leaders also

attempted to use Pakistan’s representation as a foil, a foil which is conveniently and extensively used to represent the positive identity of India. Since identity is a relational concept, it naturally drives sources of its self-identification from its designated others. In the construction and representation of identities besides the domestic sources of identity (culture, values and traditions etc) the external sources also play a major part in actualizing identities of states. Both India and Pakistan ‘otherised’ each other in their respective representational identities. The contrarian and oppositional representation of India and Pakistan will be discussed in the succeeding paragraph.

Firstly, in the speeches, Pakistan has been branded as an epicenter, exporter and sponsor of terrorism. Contrarily India, has been represented as a benevolent power in the world. Secondly, Pakistan is represented as an irresponsible nuclear power,

Contrarily India, has been presented as a responsible nuclear state. Thirdly, Pakistan has been represented as a source of instability in Afghanistan, India contrarily, has been represented as a source of stability and benevolence. Fourthly, India has been represented as the largest democracy with rich linguistic, religious and cultural diversities, when India prides itself as a democracy it takes a dig at Pakistan due to the latter’s chequered political history. When India takes pride in its diverse religious landscape it again makes a veiled jibe at Pakistan for absence of religious diversity or the lack of it, in comparison to India. Fifthly, India considers Kashmir as an integral part of its territory that is opposite of how Pakistan defines Kashmir in relation to its identity. The text of the speeches has been analyzed with NVivo 12.

**Figure-II**



The paper has brought forth as to how Pakistan’s significant ‘others’. The US and India attempted to negatively construct Pakistan’s identity in the post 9/11 era. Through the discourse analysis of editorials, films, dramas and speeches the discursive construction of Pakistan’s identity by its significant ‘others’ has been brought to fore. Both the US and India identically and negatively define Pakistani

identity in the era under review. Both India and the US branded Pakistan as a hotbed of terrorism and exporter of terrorism, both countries attempted to vilify Pakistan’s nuclear program, Pakistan, army and ISI. This ideational onslaught on characterization of Pakistan as a hotbed and exporter of terrorism unleashed by the super power and the regional power aimed to project Pakistan’s persona



negatively to serve their respective national interests. The key finding of the paper is that Pakistan post 9/11 image is not a neutral or value free reflection of Pakistan's actual identity rather it was constructed by its significant others: the US and India through their political and media discourses.

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