Portrayal Of Muslims In Bollywood Pre And Post 9/11

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Abstract:

Bollywood is one of the world famous film industries. Its reach and influence, both, is increasing tremendously. After 9/11, worldview about certain communities including Muslims have changed globally. In this context, it would be interesting to study how Bollywood is portraying Muslims, especially pre and post 9/11 and what changes the Muslim character has undergone over the past decades. Qualitative content analysis is carried out to discern changing trends and pattern with regards to portrayal of Muslims in Hindi films, a decade pre and post 9/11.

Keywords: Films, Bollywood, India, Muslims, Hindi cinema, stereotype, framing, 9/11

Defining Bollywood:

Hindi film industry is nicknamed as Bollywood. Unlike Hollywood, which exists as a distinct Los Angeles district, Bollywood is a national entity rather than a geographical place. The popular explanation of how Hollywood got its name is that it is derived from the California Holly that grows in the region. Bollywood has no such yarn to its credit. It was derived as a knock-off of Hollywood because India's primary film industry was located in what used to be Bombay. Although some of its leading lights resented this name, it has stuck. Bombay becoming Mumbai has not changed Bollywood to Mollywood (Rajghatta, 2008).

J. Desai and R. Dudrah write that while various narratives exist for the origin and history of the term Bollywood, as Madhava Prasad (2003) argues, it should be traced back to the older term Tollywood used by an American producer referring to the Tollygunge area of Calcutta/Kolkata in the 1930s. Over time, the term Bollywood has come to be used interchangeably with and replaced others such as Bombay/Mumbai cinema or popular Hindi cinema that marked films as regionally and linguistically specific. The use of the term Bollywood has increasingly been used to refer to the now globalized Mumbai's Hindi film culture industry. The term itself is by no means ubiquitous or universal in its usage. Bollywood is now synonymous for most viewers outside of India, at least, with national Indian cinema. Recent arguments by stars, directors and scholars reveal the schisms in perspectives around the term. Its critics charge that it overshadows and erases the diversity of other regional cinemas within India, privileging one particular region and language over others; that it is a poor second cousin to Hollywood, marking commercial Indian film industry as a derivative and mimic of its Western counterpart; and that it refers to the increasing globalization and diasporization of the film industry and its attendant industries (e.g. fashion, music, advertising, performances and media) which are proving to be more profitable than the films themselves.

Muslims and Hindi Cinema

Muslims have been characterised in varying roles in the Hindi film industry. Many Muslim iconic figures: actors, lyricists, singers, composers, directors, producers are from the Muslim background such as actor Dilip Kumar (aka Yusuf Khan), actresses Madhubala (aka Mumtaz Jehan Dehalvi), Waheeda Rahman and many more. There have been great directors such as Mehboob Khan, Kamal Amrohi and singers like Mohd Rafi. However the portrayal of the Muslim characters in the Hindi films has undergone certain changes from time to time.

The films in 50s and 60s, like Mumtaz Mahal (1957), Anarkali (1953), Mughal-e- Azam (1960), Mere Mehboob (1963), Bahu Begam (1967), Chadvin Ka Chand (1960) portrayed Muslim characters mostly as Kings and feudal lords. The central characters of these films were Muslims whose rich cultural tradition was portrayed as a part of the Indian society. During seventies, the films Pakeezah (1972) portrayed the same nawabs and aristocratic characters as hedonists whose sole aim was to enjoy life especially by splurging money on natuch girls, courtesans and visiting brothels was their favorite pastime. Films like Pakeezah are considered to fall under the Muslim social genre but generally the films of 50s and 60s exoticized Muslims because Muslim socials limited the representation of Muslims as aristocratic elites. The subject matter of such films only pertained to love and romance of the elites rather than political and socioeconomic issues of the whole Muslim community. Such films fantasized an Urdu-speaking elite culture and aroused nostalgia of the last beleaguered 'Islamicate' culture. The term 'Islamicate' does not directly refer to Islam or Muslims, but it is an adjective to describe the "social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even found among non-Muslims" (Madiha, 2011).

However Garm Hava (1973) directed by Mysore Shrinivas Sathyu, touched a different subject. It is about a Muslim family but is based on the theme of the partition of 1947. After eighties Bollywood began to show Muslims as gangsters and underworld characters like Gulam-e –Mustafa (1997) and Angar (1992). Smugglers wearing Arab robe puffing cigar, carrying briefcases became a common sight since in the eighties (S. A. Mujtaba, N.A). However Salim Langde Pe Mat Ro (1989) was somewhat different than the mainstream rhetoric of that time. The film depicts the impact of communal violence on the lives of Indian Muslims. Hindi cinema went through a significant shift in the late seventies and in the era of eighties since Muslims occupied marginalized characters in the Hindi films like Zhora Bai in Mukadar Ka Sikander (1978) and Rahim Chacha in Sholey (1975). They were no longer rich aristocrats who enjoyed a leisurely life or spoke flowery Urdu of the nawabs. Instead, they were shown as people who spoke "patois of the street". Such a marginalized Muslim character was merely an adjunct to a "Hindu" protagonist and was placed within a larger context of the society (Madiha, 2011). There was political unrest in the country during nineties and the films with themes of Indian secularism began to emerge.

In nineties, the characterization of the Muslims in the films like Roja, Sarfarosh, Maa Tujhe Salam, Pukar, Gadar was as terrorists, troublemakers and anti-nationals. M. S. Sathyu and Javed Akhtar expressing their views on the issue of 'Pakistan' in Indian films in an interview by Tavishi Alagh in the book Filming the Line of Control (2008) speak about the era of nineties. M. S. Sathyu, a leading film director, stage designer and art director from India says that there were a series of disturbing films in the nineties when the 'communal party' [the BJP] was in power. Films like Gadar, Border, Refugee and Sarfarosh were highly prejudiced and especially disturbing because, in the guise of being patriotic, they were anti-Pakistan. In the process they also become anti-Muslim. Since these films condemn Muslims, Sathyu calls it a 'big distortion' and believes that, "there is a large communal element in the Indian film industry, even though it may not seem so outwardly".

Commenting on the representation of Pakistan, Javed Akhtar adds that in some films like Gadar, Pakistan and the Muslim identity overlap while as the Hindu identity and Indian identity is seen as one and the same thing. Nineties was a difficult time communally and some films were very careless since they preached wrong ideas. Javed Akhtar points three things that were happening in that era. Some filmmakers were making mistakes intentionally while as some were careful about the times and took care not to step into areas that could create trouble. Then there were others who were deliberately stoking a certain kind of religious/jingoistic passion (Tavishi Alagh, 2008).

After 9/11, the wave of Islamophobia engulfed the world and the Hindi films began to increasingly depict that all Muslims are not terrorists but all terrorists are Muslims.

The event of 9/11

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) chronicles the history of 9/11 attacks on their website (www.bbc.co.uk) and writes that on the morning of 11 September 2001, 19 hijackers took control of four commercial passenger jets flying out of airports on the east coast of the United States. Two of the aircraft were deliberately flown into the main two towers (the Twin Towers) of the World Trade Center in New York, with a third hitting the Pentagon in Virginia. The fourth plane never reached its intended target, crashing in Pennsylvania. It is believed that the passengers and crew overpowered the hijackers and took control of the plane. The Twin Towers were widely considered to be symbols of America's power and influence. The Pentagon is the headquarter of the US Department of Defense. Both 110-floor World Trade Center towers subsequently collapsed and substantial damage was caused to one wing of the Pentagon. Numerous other buildings at the World Trade Center site in lower Manhattan were destroyed or badly damaged. The website records that the total loss of life on 9/11 was nearly 3,000, including the 19 hijackers. It was the worst loss of life due to a terrorist incident on US soil. The days that followed saw a significant effect on world economic markets and international confidence. Suspicion soon fell on the radical Sunni Islamist group, al-Qaeda ('The Base' in Arabic) founded in 1988 and led by Saudi-born Osama Bin Laden. (The 9/11 terrorist attacks, www.bbc.co.uk)

Methodology:

The study analyses the change Muslim characters in the Hindi films have witnessed over decades and tries to figure out the possible reasons behind the change. It focuses on the presentation, construction of characters and identity, content, symbols, narrative and also the messages that are overtly or subtly conveyed by the Hindi films about the Muslim community. Qualitative content analysis of the films is done and different frames are identified in the study that are used by the Bollywood filmmakers to portray Muslims over the decades. The analysis is done using stratified random sampling and purposive sampling methods. The sample consists of films made a decade before 9/11 and a decade after 9/11. The current research has an inductive approach since it works from specific observations to broader generalizations, also known as 'bottom up' approach. The study begins with observing patterns and analyzing portrayal of Muslims in the selected Bollywood films a decade before and after the incident of 9/11.

Review of the films

Pre 9/11

1. Roja

• Release Date: 1992

• Genre: Crime, Romance, Thriller

Summary:

Roja, a young woman born and brought up in Southern India, prays that the handsome young man Rishi coming to see her sister will be her future brother-in-law, only to have the tables turned on her when he openly choses her over her sister (as her sister loves another). So Roja marries Rishi and they leave the village to settle in the city, where both fall in love. Rishi, who works for the Indian Government, is instructed to go to the troubled state of Kashmir on a classified mission. Roja also goes along. Then her innocent world is shattered when Rishi is abducted and held for ransom by a group of militants who want an independent Kashmir and the release of a terrorist Wasim Khan, held by the Indian military forces.

Roja's efforts to apprise the politicians of her suffering and pain are successful as a minister pities her and offers to help. The government decides to release Wasim Khan in exchange for Rishi. Rishi, not wanting to be used as a pawn to release a dangerous terrorist escapes. The terrorist Liaqat catches up with him and holds him at gun point but Rishi convinces the terrorist who surrenders to the Indian Army. Rishi and Roja are united once again.

Dominant discourse: Roja is a tale of the dedication of a wife to free her husband from the clutches of terrorists. But the major themes in the film are patriotism of Rishi - an Indian, who does not want his freedom at the cost of freeing the terrorists, the issue of the conflict in Kashmir, the 'misguidance' of the Kashmiri youth and the hand of Pakistan behind the tumult in Kashmir. The frames 'fanatic', 'insurgent' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

2. Bombay

Release Date: 1995

Genre: Drama, Musical, Romance

Summary:

A south Indian Hindu man Shekhar Mishra Narayan falls in love with a Muslim woman Shaila Bano - taboo in the small village from which they hail. They marry against family wishes and move to Mumbai, where he works as a reporter for a daily newspaper. Eventually, the couple has twin boys. The rest of the film is set during the December 1992-January 1993 period when the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy raised religious tension in Mumbai and other parts of India, which sparked rioting and violence. The couple is separated from their children and the fathers of both parents are killed when their home is burned by rioters. Shekhar is shown interviewing politicians from both factions as well as the police. An underlying moral of thinking of oneself as an Indian rather than a Hindu or a Muslim is prevalent throughout the latter part of the film. The family is finally reunited after much searching through hospitals, morgues and shelters but the violence left indelible impressions in the minds of the children.

Dominant discourse: Bombay is a love story of a Hindu man and a Muslim woman against a backdrop of the riots between Hindus and Muslims in India after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. It is the second in Mani Ratnam's trilogy, Roja (1992) and Dil Se (1998) and portrays that the bias of people against each other on the basis of faith is destructive for all the religious communities. The film promotes secularism through an inter-religious marriage, rejection of which is irrational on part of the families of bride and groom. The frames 'nationalist' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

3. Ghulam-E-Mustafa

Release Date: 1997

Genre: Crime, Action, Drama

The film revolves around Mustafa, a gangster, who along with his friend Sudama was adopted by a powerful don Shanta Prasad who he calls Abba (father). Shanta Prasad's rivals are Verma brothers: Mahesh, Rohan and Bipin in whose club Kavita dances. Mustafa falls for her, Kavita leaves the club dancing and this fans the flames of enmity. Kavita is killed by Vermas which makes Mustafa leave the crime world and help the honest Dixit and his family. Mustafa wants to leave the crime world forever by surrendering himself to police. Political pressures led Shanta Prasad to, unwillingly, give orders to kill Mustafa. Mustafa surrenders in Vidya's (Dixit's daughter) marriage ceremony and is therefore shot. The enraged Sudama shoots Abba in return. Both Abba and Mustafa die in the end.

Dominant discourse: Ghulam-E-Mustafa is both an action film and a social drama. The first half of the film portrays the gangster Mustafa and his action filled stunts while as the second part focuses his reformation which leads him to leave the underworld. However the frame 'outlaw' characterise the Muslims in the film.

4. Earth

• Release Date: 1998

• Genre: Drama, Romance, War

Summary:

Earth is shown from the perspective and memories of an eight year old Parsee girl Lenny. This story revolves around a few families of diverse religious backgrounds, namely, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, and Parsi, located in Lahore, British India. While the Parsi family, a known minority in present day India, is prosperous, the rest of the families are shown as struggling to make a livelihood. Things change for the worse during 1947, the time when the British decide to grant independence to India. And that's when law and order break down and chaos, anarchy and destruction take over, resulting in millions of deaths and millions more rendered homeless and destitute. In this particular instance, Shanta a Hindu maid with the Sethna (Parsi) family, who is in love with Hassan, a Muslim decided to get married. While Dil Nawaz loves Shanta and wants her to be his wife, she prefers Hassan over him. Her decision of marrying Hassan has disastrous effects on everyone concerned, including the ones involved in smuggling Hindus across the border into India. These three characters, Dil Nawaz, Shanta and Hassan, provide a reflection of a maddening society, where friends become enemies and are even prepared to kill each other.

Dominant discourse: Earth is based on Bapsi Sidhwa's novel, Cracking India and is the second in Deepa Mehta's trilogy, Fire (1996) and Water (2005). It is a story of the time before and during the partition of India in 1947. It portrays that how the partition of 1947 proved a bad idea since the communities of different faiths who lived harmoniously for ages in British India began hating and killing each other. The frames 'nationalist', 'insurgent' and 'radical' characterise the Muslims in the film.

5. Train to Pakistan

Release Date: 1999

• Genre: Drama, War

Summary:

The film is adapted from Khushwant Singh's novel Train to Pakistan (1956). The film revolves around the love affair of small-time Sikh dacoit, Jagga with a local Muslim girl, Nooran who live in a village Mano Majra that is on the border of India and Pakistan where Sikhs and Muslims live in harmony. Tensions run high near the border of British India which is about to be partitioned with a new country called Pakistan. Sikhs living in this border town have heard numerous stories of Muslims killing, raping, and looting other Sikhs, Hindus and Christians and many of whom are their friends and relatives. Enraged at the loss of law and order, they plan their own attack on a train full of Muslims leaving British India. The train is overcrowded with tens and thousands of migrating passengers, who are even perched on the windows and seated on the roof of this train. The plot is to tear the bridge down when the train is on it. Jagga risks his life to save the passengers. He gets killed but saves the train.

Dominant discourse: Train to Pakistan portrays how harmoniously Muslims and Sikhs used to live in a village. The film depicts that all Muslims did not want to go to Pakistan and how partition caused the Muslims, against their wishes, to flee from India. The partition of the British India in 1947 and the formation of Pakistan are shown to have caused only bloodshed and nothing good has come out of it. The frame 'nationalist' characterise the Muslims in the film.

6. Sarfarosh

Release Date: 1999

• Genre: Action, Adventure, Drama

Summary:

Ajay Rathod is a police officer from Mumbai Crime Branch. Long time ago his elder brother was killed by terrorists which caused him to quit his medical studies and join Indian Police Service. He is a great admirer of Pakistan-based ghazal singer Gulfam Hassan. During one of Hassan's concerts, they meet for the first time and become great friends. Meanwhile, Ajay's investigation into the Pakistan-supported cross-border terrorism takes him to Rajasthan and truth about Gulfam Hassan is revealed. Gulfam Hassan, along with Pakistan, plots against India and Ajay feels betrayed when he learns of Gulfam's treachery. Ajay makes Gulfam Hasan realise that his actions are not benefiting people of any religion and Gulfam, unable to stand the humiliation and guilt, commits suicide.

Dominant discourse: The film portrays the different tactics used by Pakistan to harm India in one or the other way. For instance, Pakistan finances the anti-social elements in India and plants sources like artists that can be least suspected to carry out acts of terrorism on the Indian soil. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic', 'insurgent and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

7. Mission Kashmir

Release Date: 2000

Genre: Drama

Summary:

Set in the turmoil of the disputed Kashmir Valley between 1989 and 1999, the mission actually starts after a series of life-altering events. Inayat Khan plays an Indian Muslim police officer, who in the line of duty and accidentally kills a Muslim Kashmiri family. The sole survivor of the clan is the young Altaf. The police officer adopts him at his wife's insistence since they both just lost their own son in an accident. When the traumatized boy finds out that the masked man in his nightmares who murdered his family is his new stepfather, he flees, swearing revenge. He joins a terrorist group with Hilal Kohistani as its head. Altaf uses his childhood friend Sufiya Parvez to blow up the TV tower of Srinagar. Eventually, Khan finds out that the true goal of Mission Kashmir is to blow up the local Muslim mosque and the local Hindu temple to escalate Hindu-Muslim conflict. Altaf comes to know about the evil plot of the terrorists and that they were just using Altaf for their vicious agenda. Finally the terrorists are killed and Altaf reconciles with Sufiya and Khan.

Dominant discourse: The film discusses few dimensions of the Kashmir conflict and the role of Pakistan in it. It portrays that some agencies in Pakistan are taking advantage of the tragedies happened to the Kashmiris throughout the conflict and using it for their own gains. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

8. Refugee

• Release Date: 2000

• Genre: Drama, Musical, Romance

Summary:

A Bangladeshi Muslim family must relocate to Pakistan, for which they must cross two borders, one with India and Bangladesh and the second with India and Pakistan. The family head Manzur Ahmed hires a nameless Refugee to guide the family over the immense desert to reach Pakistan. Refugee is a man of self-discipline and refuses to be emotionally involved with the he helps to cross borders. Then he meets Manzur's daughter, Nazneen and soon they fall in love with each other. Officials on both sides of the border are aware of the human trafficking and Refugee comes under their scanner. Indian officer of the border security forces, Raghuvir Singh and the Pakistani Ranger, Mohammad Ashraf, up the ante to stop all the illegal activities on the border. Mohammad Ashraf also falls in loves with Nazneen and his conflict with Refugee heightens. To complicate matters, Raghuvir Singh apprehends Refugee with a load of RDX

explosives and Nazneen's parents arrange her marriage with Mohammad Ashraf. Refugee is beaten up by Pakistanis rangers and sent to India. Refugee joins the BSF and fights the terrorists who laid siege to his village. The film ends with the union of Nazneen and Refugee and Nazneen giving birth to a child at the border between the two nations.

Dominant discourse: The film depicts the patriotism of Indians who can kill and get killed for their motherland. It portrays that humanity and nationalism is above religion and Indians and Pakistanis should jointly fight the evil that is destroying both neighboring countries. The frames 'nationalist', 'insurgent' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

9. Fiza

• Release Date: 2000

• Genre: Drama, Romance

Summary:

Fiza narrates the story of a sister Fiza in search of her missing brother Amaan who disappears during the 1993 Bombay Riots. Nishatbi is a widow and mother of Fiza and Amaan. Fiza loves Anirudh while Amaan is in love with Shehnaz. People believe that Amaan is dead. Fiza feels that he is alive and starts searching for him and in the process she encounters strong opposition from both the religious groups who want to exploit Fiza for political reasons. Later she discovers that Amaan is alive and has joined a group of terrorist lead by Murad Khan. He does not want to return as he had killed some people while saving his life and he feels that he would not get justice. But on Fiza's insistence, he returns home where does not get a job and finds out that Shehnaz got married. He returns back and finds out that Murad Khan is also using him. He does not want to get killed either by the police or the terrorist, hence he asks Fiza to eliminate him. So Fiza shoots him.

Dominant discourse: The film depicts the helplessness of people like Amaan who want to leave the world of crime but are unable to find a proper place in the society and the way terrorist outfits exploit this issue for their own benefit. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic' and 'insurgent' characterise the Muslims in the film.

10. Gadar: Ek Prem Katha

Release Date: 2000

• Genre: Drama, Romance

Summary:

Gadar - Ek Prem Katha is set in 1947 during the Partition of India, the film tells the story of a truck driver, Tara Singh, a Sikh, who falls in love with a Muslim girl, Sakina, belonging to an aristocratic family. During the Hindu-Muslim riots that erupted soon after the Partition, Tara saves Sakina from a murderous mob chasing her. Subsequently, Sakina starts living in Tara's house and the respect culminates into love. Sakina and Tara get married and become parents of a baby boy. Their life seems like a bed of roses, till Sakina lays her hands on an old newspaper that has a photograph of her father Ashraf Khan, who she believes had been killed during the riots that took place during the partition. The father is now the Mayor of Lahore and when Sakina calls him from the Pakistani Consulate in Delhi, he arranges to fly her to Lahore. But Tara and their son, who are supposed to accompany her to Lahore, are told at the last minute that their visa formalities have not been completed, which compels them to stay back on the Indian soil. Sakina reaches Lahore but is totally oblivious of her father's plans who want her to get married to a Pakistani and take up politics as her career and forget all about India, her marriage and her son. After waiting for long time, an agitated Tara lands up in Lahore to get his wife back but faces the hatred of Sakina's father and relatives. When this matter starts to generate nationwide attention, Sakina's dad puts

forth a number of conditions that Tara must fulfill to let Sakina be his wife. Some of which are that he change his religion to Islam and yell out as loud as he can "Victory to Pakistan", and "Death to India". All the conditions are accepted by Tara in public but the insult against his country enrages him. He fights the mob, manages to escape with Sakina and his son and catch a cotton mill train to India. Ashraf Ali's men try to stop them and in the process Sakina gets shot by her own father. Ashraf Ali regrets and the film ends with Ashraf Ali accepting Tara as his son-in-law and they return to India.

Dominant discourse: The film portrays the blunders caused by the partition of 1947 and the irrational hatred harboured by the Pakistanis against Indians and how Islam is used to justify such hatred. The frames 'nationalist' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

Post 9/11

1. Mr and Mrs Iyer

Release Date: 2002

• Genre: Drama

Summary:

A bus is setting out to Calcutta from a village in West Bengal. Meenakshi Iyer, who is from a strict orthodox Hindu background, is leaving to Chennai for her husband, with her young child, after the vacation with her parents. By chance, she gets a co-passenger Raja, a photographer, who is also going to Chennai. During the journey they build a good relationship. But a Hindu-Muslim communal riot sets out in the meantime, in some areas they had to travel. Then she comes to face the fact that Raja is not a Hindu but a Muslim whose real name is Jehangir. Even though she curses herself at that time but when some Hindu fanatics evade their bus she saves Raja introducing him as her husband Mr. Iyer. The police officer, who was patrolling provides them shelter at an abandoned forest bungalow where they discover each other's beliefs and understanding of religion. The next day, they board the train towards their destination. However an unspoken love is evident between them. Meenakshi is received by her husband when she reaches her destination where she introduces Raja to her husband as Jehangir Chowdhury, a Muslim man who helped her (a Hindu woman) during the curfew.

Dominant discourse: The film portrays various facets of the distrust of other communities on Muslims like Muslims are considered blameworthy by default and the doubt that is casted on Muslims by the other religious communities in India. However the frame 'neutralist' characterise the Muslims in the film.

2. Yahaan

Release Date: 2005

• Genre: Drama, Romance

Summary:

Adaa is a Kashmiri woman torn between her army officer love Aman and her Jehadi insurgent brother Shakeel. Trouble ensues when Aman's superiors come to know of his involvement with the sister of a terrorist and implicate him as an accomplice. Thus, Adaa begins a valiant attempt to save Aman from the perils of a court-martial and Shakeel is torn between his family's happiness and safety and his own jehadi cause. Finally Shakeel is caught by the army and Amam and Adaa are united.

Dominant discourse: The role of foreign agencies like Pakistan in flaming the already complex Kashmir conflict is discussed in the film. The film depicts how Pakistan uses the conflict torn Kashmiris against India and even appoints Afghanis to worsen the situation in Kashmir. The film highlights the tactics used by the Pakistan to disrupt peace in the valley and the reconciliation of Kashmiris with the Indian agencies

can bring back the peace. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic' and 'insurgent' characterise the Muslims in the film.

3. Fanaa

Release Date: 2006

• Genre: Drama, Musical, Romance

Summary:

Zooni, a blind Kashmiri girl, meets Rehan Qadri, a local tour guide and an incorrigible flirt, who goes from city to city exploring their architecture and also the women. Rehan wants Zooni to regain her vision and gets her admitted to a local hospital, while she invites her parents to witness her regaining her sight as well as meet her lover. But Rehan has another side of his life that he has kept from her. Rehan is a terrorist. He leaves Zooni for the sake of his mission. After five years, on a stormy snowy night, Major Rajvir Singh, seriously wounded and in need of urgent medical attention comes to Zooni's home. The family eventually discovers that he is Rehan and he has managed to get a hold of a nuclear trigger, which when attached to a nuclear device could result in an explosion killing millions. Zooni tries to convince him to give her the trigger but he refused and she finally kills him.

Dominant discourse: The film portrays the existence of Kashmir as an independent entity is a foolish idea and the merger of Kashmir with India is the only viable option for the Kashmir to prosper. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic' and 'insurgent' characterise the Muslims in the film.

4. Anwar

• Release Date: 2007

• Genre: Drama, Romance

Summary:

Anwar is a Muslim and is doing a research on ancient Hindu Mandirs. His family rents out a room to a poor widow and her attractive daughter, Mehru. Anwar falls for her and is certain of Mehru's love for him, but is shocked when he finds out that she has eloped with Udit, his Hindu friend, who is about to immigrate to America. He informs her mother, who in turn calls upon her nephew and other kith and kin, to locate Mehru. They do locate the couple abroad a bus, Udit is killed, while Mehru is beaten and ultimately she hangs herself. A guilt-ridden Anwar takes shelter in an ancient Mandit in Dholpur and his bag, which contained drawings of Mandirs and notes on 'Lord Krishna', 'Devi Maa Meera', and 'Mehru'. This bag ends up with the Police and they believe that Anwar is a terrorist who is planning to detonate bombs in sacred Hindu temples. The place is surrounded by Police, politicians who are anxious to win the Hindu vote, the media, and a huge crowd who are here to see the show. Anwar contemplates his life and gets visits from 3 people. The first is an extremist Imam, who tells him to kill himself rather than surrender; the second is Police Superintendent Ashok Tiwari, who wants him to surrender quickly so that he can be with his ailing wife and young daughter; and the third is media-person, Anita, who wants a live interview so that she can establish her credibility with her boss. He finally comes out of the temple and is shot dead.

Dominant discourse: How politicians use communal politics and Hindu-Muslims divide for their vote bank. The frames 'nationalist' and 'radical' characterise the Muslims in the film.

5. Chak De India

Release Date: 2007

• Genre: Drama, Family, Sport

Summary:

Kabir Khan lives a middle-class lifestyle along with his widowed mother in Delhi, India, and is the Captain of the Indian men's hockey team. He fails to score at the last tournament resulting in Pakistan winning the World Cup amidst allegations that he was more inclined toward his opponents due to his religion. Kabir and his mother move away and virtually disappear for seven years. Thereafter Kabir surfaces to be a Coach for the women's hockey team, consisting of 16 players from all over India, some of who do not communicate well. Kabir's disciplinarian style ends up offending the players, who decide not to participate unless he resigns. Things change after a brawl with eve-teasers at the local McDonald's. The girls accept Kabir as their coach and the team is dispatched to Melbourne, Australia. The team wins the world cup and Kabir regains his respect.

Dominant discourse: Chak De India has two dominant themes i.e. the double standards of the society in dealing with women and Muslims. It depicts the how women in India are considered worthless and Muslims need to prove their patriotism towards India. The frame 'nationalist' characterise the Muslims in the film.

6. Shoot on Sight

Release Date: 2007

Genre: Crime, Drama, Thriller

Summary:

Lahore-born Tariq Ali is a Commander in the London Police Department and lives with his Caucasian wife, Susan, and two children, Zara, and Imran. He is much respected, and hopes to be promoted as Deputy Assistant Commissioner. After the 7/7 bombings in the city, a Muslim male student, Baqir Hassan, is shot dead by a uniformed police officer at Charing Cross Underground Station. Amidst media frenzy that the killing was racially motivated, he is assigned this investigation along with a subordinate, Ruby. While attempting to deal with his truant daughter, Zara, and welcoming his nephew, Zaheer Khan, from Pakistan, Tariq opens the investigation, meets with the victim's mother and sister as well as their lawyer. Tariq finds his life changing after photographs appear in leading newspapers of his meeting with Imam Junaid, his childhood friend from Lahore. It is this information that not only creates tension at home but he is also sidelined for the promotion; removed from the investigation as well as asked to go on leave. He also finds that people who had known him all their lives now shun and look at him with suspicion. Eventually he comes to know that his nephew Zaheer Khan is also a terrorist and is going to blow himself up in a shopping mall. He along with the force reaches the shopping mall and tries to stop Zaheer who refuses, hence he shoots his nephew.

Dominant discourse: The story is based on a real event in which a Brazilian youth in London suspected to be a suicide bomber is shot by the police. After 7 July 2005 London bombings, the police adopted the 'shoot-to-kill' policy to deal with suspected suicide-bombers and the film justifies doubting Muslims since there are some Muslims like Imam Junaid that are settled in the western region of the world like London and recruit terrorists there as well as from their home countries like Pakistan to carry out terrorist attacks in the west. The frames 'nationalist', fanatic', 'insurgent', 'critic' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

7. Kurbaan

Release Date: 2007

Genre: Action, Crime, Drama

Summary:

Delhi University's Professor Avantika Ahuja meets fellow professor Ehsan Khan in typical Bollywood filmy style and both fall for each other. They get married and subsequently re-locate to live in the United States. They buy a house, settle in and are welcomed by their neighbors. A few days later Avantika's world turns upside down when she finds out that their neighbors are terrorists who want to avenge the deaths of innocent Iraqi and Afghani civilians massacred by British and American forces and that her husband is one of them who married her just to legitimately obtain Social Security Cards and a new identity in the USA since Avatika is a US citizen. Riyaz, a journalist whose fiancée is killed by the terrorist attack planned by Ehsan and his allies manages to somehow become a part of their organization. Riyaz co-ordinates with Avantika and with the help of forces foil the next mission of the terrorists. All the terrorists are killed and Ehsan saves Avantika and finally shoots himself.

Dominant discourse: The film portrays that there are Muslims organizations operating in the West that twist the Islamic beliefs and plan terrorist attacks to avenge the death of their people killed by the Western forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic', 'insurgent' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

8. New York

Release Date: 2009

• Genre: Crime, Drama, Thriller

Summary:

After being apprehended, detained, humiliated, and denied legal counsel by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Omar Ehzaz, originally from Delhi's Lajpatnagar, relates to the investigator, Roshan. Roshan is assigned to his case and to find out how Omar arrived in New York during 1999; his friendship with Samir Shaikh and Student Counselor, Maya and the events of September 11, 2001. Roshan finally tells Omar that Samir is a terrorist and is running a sleeper cell and that he wants Omar to be an undercover FBI agent and live with Samir and Maya and find out the truth about Samir. Omar finds out that Samir was arrested and detained for a period of nine months as a suspected terrorist which made him to become a terrorist and his plan now is to blow up the FBI headquarters. At the final moment Maya and Omar convinces Samir to not do so and he agrees but the snipers shot him anyway and Maya is killed by a stray gunfire. The film ends with side note describing the after effects of 9/11.

Dominant discourse: New York shows that many Muslims were detained after 9/11 and later released due to lack of evidence but the experience changed them and their lives forever. The film portrays different dimensions of the effect that 9/11 had on Muslims particularly in the West and the presents the reasons of why Muslims were detained without any proof in the first place. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic' 'insurgent' and 'critic' characterise the Muslims in the film.

9. My name is Khan

Release Date: 2010

• Genre: Romance, Drama, Thriller

Summary:

Rizvan Khan, a Muslim man from India, moves to San Francisco and lives with his brother and sister-in-law. Rizvan, who has Asperger syndrome, falls in love with Mandira, a Hindu woman originally from India. Despite protests from his family they get married and start a small business together. They are happy until September 11, 2001 when attitudes towards Muslims undergo a sea-change. Mandira's son from her first marriage, Sam, is killed because he is a Muslim. Mandira is devastated and leaves Rizvan. To win her back, he embarks on a touching and inspiring journey across America to tell the President of the

Unites States that, 'My name is Khan and I am not a terrorist'. The film ends with The President of the Unites States consoling Mandira and Rizvan for the loss of their son.

Dominant discourse: The film portrays the discrimination faced by Muslims in America after 9/11 and the subsequent measures taken by the American government to undo the damage. It also depicts that Muslims should prove that they are not terrorists. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic', 'insurgent' and 'critic' characterise the Muslims in the film.

10. Lamhaa: The Untold Story of Kashmir

• Release Date: 2010

• Genre: Action, Drama, Thriller

Summary:

Indian Military Intelligence assigns their agent, Vikram Sabharwal, to travel to Kashmir. There he is to locate the person(s) behind the violence, under the guise of a press reporter, Gul Jahangir. Once there, he begins his investigation by visiting highly sensitive areas. Vikram meets up with Aziza Abbas Ansari, and her mentor, Haji Sayyed Shah, and aspiring political leader, Aatif Hussain. What seems like a routine investigation ends up being an operation that changes the perspectives and ideologies of both Vikram and Aziza as it exposes the dirty secrets of a state's fight for freedom, the corrupt nexus of politicians, intelligence, militancy and the crucifixion of idealistic and passionate people.

Dominant discourse: Role of Pakistan and the 'separatists' in Kashmir in worsening the Kashmir conflict. The film also highlights the changing nature of the conflict since people from the 'separatists' join the mainstream politics to change the situation in Kashmir. The frames 'nationalist', 'fanatic', 'insurgent' and 'intruder' characterise the Muslims in the film.

Analysis of the films:

Film: A film or a movie can be defined as the sequence of images projected on a screen rapid enough to create the illusion of movement and continuity. The story or narrative is presented through the interaction of characters. Narrative is defined by the Oxford dictionary as, "An account of a series of events, facts, etc., given in order and with the establishing of connections between them; a narration, a story, and account."

Andrew Vassiliou (2006) in a study Analysing Film Content: A Text-Based Approach explains that each narrative has two parts, the actual story and how it is communicated (discourse). The study quotes Chatman, a leading narratologist, who makes a distinction between a story (histoire) and discourse (discourse). As per Chatman, "In simple terms, the story is what in a narrative that is depicted and the discourse the how..." It is considered that films have a film grammar and edit-effects such as fades, wipes, transitions between shots and scenes can be seen as punctuation in film grammar.

Frames: Frames function in the following ways:

Since the concept of framing has been increasingly applied in media research and is therefore widely used in a mass media like cinema. The Hindi cinema being one of the most flourishing cinemas in the world also uses frames to portray about 15% of the population of India – Muslims. Some of the frames like 'good' Muslims, 'bad' Muslims, 'the gangster', 'modern' Muslims, 'the Pakistani' and 'intolerant' Muslims are identified and used in some of the previous researches done on the subject. While as the current study identifies the following frames: 'Nationalist', 'Fanatic', 'Insurgent', 'Neutralist', 'Critic', 'Radical', 'Outlaw' and 'Intruder'. The study analyses each frame, starting with its description and following are the reasons that made the characters in the films fit in a particular frame of the Bollywood.

Films Pre 9/11	FRAMES							
9/11	'Nationalist'	'Fanatic'	'Insurgent'	'Neutralist'	'Critic'	'Radical'	'Outlaw'	'Intruder'
Roja		Wasim Khan	Liyaqat 1					Pakistan Army
Bombay	Shaila Bano 1							Indirect reference to Pakistan
Ghulam- E- Mustafa							Mustafa	
Earth	Hassan, Imam chacha 2		Dilnawaz 1			Dilnawaz's friend - the butcher		
Train to Pakistan	Nooran, Her father, Muslims of the village							
Sarfarosh	Saleem 1	Haji 1	Sultan 1					Pakistan Army
Refugee	Refugee 1		Jaan Mohammad 1					Tausef Ahmad
Fiza	Fiza, her mother and Shehnaz	Muraad Khan	Amaan 1					

Mission	Doctor	Malikul	Altaf				
Kashmir	Akhtar, Inayat Khan, Sofiya	Khan, Hilal 2	1				
Gadar: Ek Prem Katha	Gul Khan						Ashraf Khan
TOTAL	15	5	6		1	1	5

Films Post 9/11	FRAMES								
	'Nationalist'	'Fanatic'	'Insurgent'	'Neutralist'	'Critic'	'Radical'	'Outlaw'	ʻIntruder	
Mr and				Jehangir					
Mrs Iyer				1					
Yahaan	Adda	Al-Sami	Shakeel						
	1	1	1						
Fanaa	Zooni, Zulfikar Ali	Rehaan's grandfather	Rehaan						
	2	1							
Anwar	Anwar, Master Pasha					Mehru's relatives			
	2					1			
Chak De India	Kabir Khan								
Shoot on sight	Tariq Ali, Yunis 2	Imam Junaid 1	Zaheer, Zaheer's African comrade		Riyaz Masood's father			Imam Junaid 1	
Kurbaan	Riyaz Masood, Rehana	Bhaijaan 1	Ehsaan, Hakeel 2					Ehsaan, Bhaijaan	
	2							2	
New York	Roshan, Omar	People who helped Sameer to become a terrorist.	Sameer 1		Zirge				

My name is Khan	Rizwan, His mother, Hasina 2	Dr Faisal Rahman 1	One of the supporters of Dr Faisal Rahman		Zakir 1		
Lamhaa	Adda 1	Haji Syed Shah 1	Aziza 1				Badshah 1
TOTAL	15	7	9	1	3	1	4

The tables show the frames used in the Bollywood films and the characters that fit in them among the films that are analysed in the study.

'Nationalist'

Characteristics: 'Nationalists' are 'good' Muslims, 'good' Indian citizens and advocates of nationalism. They hate violence especially if it is used against India. They help Indian forces against anybody who doesn't agree with the interpretation of reality and worldview of the Indian government. If the film is set outside India, then the 'nationalists' help the government of that country to fight against what the government calls the 'terrorists' or 'extremists'. 'Nationalists' are secular, patriot, pluralist and consider themselves Indians, Americans or the national of the country, they live-in, first and Muslims second. Mostly the 'nationalists' are Muslims by name and not by practice and religion is usually the last thing on their minds. They might agree that the system has done some mistakes due to which innocents suffered but justify it by giving an excuse to the system.

Shaila Bano in the film Bombay (1995) does not conceal her Muslim identity when she introduces herself to the landlord in Mumbai which shows she is not ashamed of being a Muslim. There are many reasons that make her a 'nationalist' for Bollywood. She dons burkha before marriage but accepts a Hindu - Shekher as her life partner. She elopes with Shekher and takes the Qur'an and its blessings with her to Mumbai. Upon hearing Shekher's apprehension about whether they would manage children or not, she assures him that their children have two Gods means a Hindu god and a Muslim god which shows her pluralistic nature. Hence monotheism – the fundamental principle of Islam is not a big deal for her and her Muslim identity does not affect any aspect of her life. She does not resort to violence when her home, mother, father-in-law is burnt, her children go missing or whatever bad happens to her and her family during the riots. She consoles herself by crying and does not question the functioning of the system.

In Sarfarosh (1999), Saleem – the inspector is a 'nationalist' as he is ready to do anything for his country India. Haji wanted Saleem to join hands with him because he thinks that they are both Muslims and that Saleem should not help his non-Muslim boss Ajay Rathod. But Saleem gets angry at people like Haji who use Islam to unite for an evil cause. He blames the likes of Haji and their evil actions due to which whole community of the Muslims is accused of terrorism. It saddens Saleem when people of the police department doubt him just because his is a Muslim and it hurts him when ACP Ajay Rathod accuses him of not considering India to be his motherland. However Bollywood does not consider anybody but Muslims responsible for this notion since Saleem already blames Haji and his ilk for it.

Hassan is a 'nationalist' in the film Earth (1998) since he believes that Hindus and Muslims have lived together since ages and this brotherhood is such that they have same language, same way of living and same enemies. Hassan rebukes his Muslim friend for insulting a Sikh friend of their friend circle and pacifies the fight by saying that Sikhism came to unite Hindus and Muslims. Hassan wants his friends of different faiths to stand by each other no matter what happens and he himself tries to help his friends in all circumstances irrespective of their faith. In addition of being a non-violent pacifier, religion is also a non-issue for Hassan since he considers his Sikh friend - Sher Singh a brother and is ready to convert to Hinduism to marry Shanta- a Hindu woman. He spends his life doing 'good' without blaming the system for inter or intra-faith clashes and ends up being a victim of communal hatred. All these traits qualify him to be a 'nationalist' for Bollywood. Imam chacha is also a 'nationalist' since he brings Shanta and Lenny baby to participate in the Hindu kite festival despite being a Muslim himself and fights with his community to save Shanta's life. Therefore one can be a 'good' Muslim if one prefers everything over Islam like switching religion to marry a non-Muslim as Hassan did or can swear falsely upon Allaah as Imam chacha did to save the life of somebody especially a Hindu.

Nooran, her father and the Muslims of the village in the film Train to Pakistan (1998) are 'nationalists'. They live with each other harmoniously and both the Sikh as well as Muslim community of the village tries to reconcile with each other in case any difference arises. Muslims of the village are busy with their farming and are unconcerned about any political dimension of the matters. Likewise Refugee in the film Refugee (2000) is unaware of the illegal materials being transported through him. He transports refugees from both sides to and fro Indo-Pak border because he believes it is a good deed to guide and help people who are in need. Refugee is beaten by Pakistan army personnel but as soon as he demeans India, Refugee retaliates. Once it is revealed to Refugee that he is being used by the anti-social elements from both sides of the border who are taking advantage of his innocence, he joins hands with the Indian force and uproots traitors from both sides of the border.

In the film Fiza, Fiza (2000) is a 'nationalist'. She teaches a Hindu and a Muslim politician a lesson when the former doubts her patriotism and accuses her of disrupting peace. She believes that the peace will be established when Hindus and Muslims remain within limits which is stop trying to make the Indian flag fully saffron or green colour. In other words Hindus or Muslims should not try to make India a Hindu or a Muslim country since saffron and green are somehow related to Hinduism and Islam respectively. The Hindu leader doubts her patriotism by reminding her that the Mughals attacked and captured India but the Hindus forgive them and that the Muslims wanted a separate country which was also given to them by the Indians. Being a 'nationalist', her 'patriotism' does not shake. In fact, she retorts back by saying that the Muslims of India chose to stay in India by choice and those who made Pakistan went there. She also added that those people who wanted to go to Pakistan but could not go and stayed in India are dead by now. This statement instills the message that after the partition of 1947, there were Muslims in India who did not consider India their country since they wanted to go to Pakistan and it casts doubt on the loyalty of the Muslims in India. She made it clear to the Hindu politician that now Muslims living in India are as Indians as are Hindus and no Muslim in India wants to convert India into Pakistan. Her being a 'nationalist' is also evident when she advices her brother to leave the path of bloodshed saying that, 'Jihad is the fight for truth and the truth is that this nation is ours. It is nowhere written in the Qur'an to shed blood to make your point anyway.' Fiza's mother and Amaan's girl friend, Shehnaz also fall in the 'nationalist' frame. Fiza's mother doesn't differentiate on the basis of caste, creed and more importantly religion. She is ready to marry her daughter Fiza off to a Hindu boy since she believes that the faith lies in heart which should be pure, rest a Hindu heart can beat in a Muslim's body and vice versa. Therefore she is a 'patriot' since she puts being Indian first and being a Muslim second. Amaan's girl friend, Shehnaz's only concern was Amaan and even when he leaves her she informs Fiza of his whereabouts. This shows that she does not agree with Amaan's line of thinking as is his mother and sister Fiza.

In the film Mission Kashmir (2000), Doctor Akhtar is a 'nationalist' since he considers his religion to treat his patients impartially. Therefore he is 'secular' enough to not make Islam a big deal but coins his own

definition of being a Muslim and that is to treat people irrespective of colour, caste or political inclinations. The police officer Inayat Khan is also a 'nationalist' since he realizes that Altaf's family got killed due to his mistake, so he adopts Altaf. His own son was in a critical state and doctor refused to treat him due to a fatwa of the terrorist Malikul Khan. But Inayat Khan is kind since he does not force the doctor to treat his son once he comes to know that the doctor also fears for his life. Inayat Khan is also a 'nationalist' because he is secular enough to marry a Hindu woman and explains to the young Altaf that there is nothing in name and that his wife is the same person whether her name is Neelima or Salma. Again it is portrayed that a person's religion is not important and should not be an issue even while taking some of the serious decisions of life like marriage. Sofiya - Altaf's childhood sweetheart is also a 'nationalist' which is evident when she, being a Muslim, tells Altaf that as long as the Hazratbal Shrine and the Shankaracharya Temple are there, nothing bad can happen to him. Therefore she is a 'secular' Muslim for whom the concept of monotheism in Islam is not a concern since she has equal faith in both Islam and Hinduism. She disapproves violence since she leaves Altaf when she comes to know that he is working with the terrorists against India. Despite of her care for Altaf, she announces him being a terrorist on the TV and helps the police department against the terrorists which adds another reason of her being a 'good' Muslim.

Gul Khan in Gadar (2001) is a 'nationalist' because he believes that religion does not make a difference, since God is one, so the people he made are also one and the same. Gul Khan considers his Sikh neighbours as his own family and helps them in every possible way. Similarly Adda in the film Yahaan helps an Indian cop Aman in big as well as small matters like makes tea for him in the chilling winter. Adda treats a mute Hindu girl, whose family was killed in an attack by the terrorists, as her own sister and Adda's family celebrates every festival of Hindus for her sake which makes them secular, hence a 'nationalist'. Adda stops Aman from taking to her and her reason is that if a Kashmiri girl is spotted talking to anyone from the Indian forces, she is rapped and a bomb explosion takes place at her home i.e. the 'militants' and/or 'insurgents' punish their fellow Kashmiris, be it girls, if they have any contact with the Indian armed forces in Kashmir. In other words, Kashmiris are not afraid of the Indian forces nor do they hate the Indian establishment in Kashmir. The only reason that prevents Kashmiris to have a good time with the Indian forces is the threat of the militants and once the threat is over, Kashmiris girls are even ready to marry Indian army officers.

Zooni in the film Fanaa (2006) is a 'nationalist' who can kill and get killed for her nation India. She kills her husband Rehaan at the end to save her nation and its people from bloodshed; hence she is a 'nationalist'. She salutes the Indian flag, pays tribute to martyrs at Amar Jawan Jyoti and believes that the feeling that comes for India upon looking at Amar Jawan Jyoti is the same that comes for love while looking at Taj Mahal. Zooni's father Zulfikar Ali is also a 'nationalist' since he considers Rehaan and those fighting for the freedom of Kashmir as 'terrorists'. He is a 'patriot' since he has great respect for the Indian army and is even ready to kill his militant son-in-law who was faking to be an Indian military officer. He finally kills him, despite that Rehaan has returned after nine long years to his family- Zulfikar's daughter and their son, just because he is a traitor to India. The obvious message is that Kashmiris should cut ties with anybody be their relatives if they are against Indian rule and definitely if they plan to act against it. Zulfikar does that and he has raised his daughter Zooni, who is raising her son Junior Rehaan on the ideals that makes a person a good Muslim and no wonder Bollywood portrays their family as the ideal 'good' Muslim family.

Anwar in the film Anwar (2007) is a 'nationalist' for many reasons. He is 'secular', takes his shoes off when he enters the Hindu temple, bows down to the idol there, finds no issue in praying his prayers in a Hindu temple and despite being a Muslim, pursues his research on the temples of India, rebukes his sister for calling his Hindu friend – a Hindu and not by his name - Udit. These traits are sufficient for him to fit in the 'nationalist' frame of the Bollywood. He advices his friend Udit to leave the thought of marrying Mehru not because in Islam it is impermissible for a Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim man but Mehru's relatives will kill him if they heard about it. Udit asks him whether he approves of this attitude of

Mehru's relatives and, as expected of Bollywood's 'nationalist' Muslim character, Anwar disapproves. However he knows that it will happen because the society they live is will not accept it. And when Anwar commits a mistake of telling Mehru's relatives about the eloping and whereabouts of Mehru and Udit, Bollywood makes it an unforgivable sin the punishment for which is nothing but death. Anwar could not forgive himself, lost his senses in mourning and gets killed at the end. He and Mehru could not meet in this world but meets after death in the form of Hindu deities Meera and Krishna. The film has few scenes showing Anwar upset with the way India and the whole world treats Muslims. He vents to Udit that Muslims are not given equal status to Hindus in India as was promised to them after the partition. But he does not retaliate against the system or status quo anyway which, as per Bollywood, makes him a 'nationalist'. Anwar's friend, Master Pasha is also a 'nationalist' but accept his name there is nothing in him that can show that he is a Muslim. He loved a Hindu girl – Meera who dies and then he falls for another Hindu girl Dipti. He is obsessed with love and his home has sketches of the Hindu deities Meera and Krishna hanging all over the walls. He considers the Heer Ranjha and Romeo Juliet to be mere stories and only deems the love of Meera and Krishna to be genuine. Therefore his character is of somebody who is as Hindu as one can get which makes him a 'nationalist'.

However the film depicts how Anwar is doubted and framed unjustly and is killed just because he was a Muslim. Similarly Kabir Khan in Chak De India (2007) loses a match against Pakistan and is accused of being a traitor who lost the match purposefully so that the Pakistan wins the match. He is a 'nationalist' because despite being hurt by this attitude of his fellow Indians he does not retaliate violently. Instead he bears the pain silently and tries to prove his loyalty towards India by making a comeback in hockey. Therefore according to Bollywood, non-Muslims are not to be blamed if the patriotism of Indian Muslim is doubted, the responsibility lies on Muslims to prove that they are faithful to their motherland India. If any trouble hits India by the hands of a Hindu, like the Hindu hockey captain loses a match, it is fate but if it happens by a Muslim hockey captain, his/her loyalty is questioned. Chak De India is based on the premise that Muslims need to prove their loyalty towards India. So Kabir Khan as a coach of the Indian Women hockey team, not only gets the world cup for India but also units the team. Hence Bollywood rewards him with the approval of the non-Muslim Indian masses who now consider him a 'patriot'.

Tariq Ali in Shoot on Sight (2007) prays his prayers even in office but does not impose any religious restrictions on his family. He marries a non-Muslim woman but is upset deep down about his daughter having a non-Muslim boy friend yet he proves to be a good husband and father. He kills his nephew to prevent a terrorist attack which is the ultimate proof of him being a 'nationalist'. However he is saddened as his colleagues doubt him because of a media gimmick. So is his friend Yunis, another 'nationalist', who believes that the extremist Islamic groups do not and cannot speak on behalf of all Muslims. His non-Muslim peers began hating on him after 7 July London bombings and he is hurt by their indifference. But Tariq and Yunis being 'nationalists' bear the hatred without questioning it. The film goes on blaming anyone but 'fanatic' Muslims like Imam Junaid for the apathy of all Muslims since people who give 'extreme' interpretations of Islam give bad name to the whole Muslim community.

Riyaz Masood in Kurbaan (2009) risks his life to find out the people who are behind the flight bombings and helps a Hindu girl Avantika who is caught in the family of terrorists. Riyaz is a 'nationalist' because he is a 'good' American citizen. He works and covers for an American news channel and believes that the American media show both sides of the story. Rehana, Riyaz's girl friend and colleague is also a 'nationalist'. She is 'secular', 'patriot', pluralist and does not express any political standpoint against the West and its treatment with the Muslims in general but is busy with her own life.

New York (2009) shows Roshan as a 'nationalist' since he is loyal to the country he lives in. He admits the loopholes on the part of the system but does not do anything about it rather ends up blaming the Muslims and helping the system to catch the terrorists. Omar is also a 'nationalist' who is sympathetic towards Sameer and believes that excesses were committed against Muslims after 9/11. He even accuses Roshan and the government of the United States of detaining Muslims without any proof which resulted in

rebellion giving birth to terrorists like Sameer. However the arguments by Roshan somehow justifies the way government of America dealt with Muslims and Omar ends up helping Roshan to stop the terrorist attack on the FBI headquarters. Omar tries to convince Sameer that blowing up the FBI building will do no good rather it is counterproductive since innocent Muslims will be detained after the attack and that will breed more hatred and terrorism.

Both Rizwan and his mother are 'nationalists' in My Name is Khan (2010). His mother inculcates the spirit of secularism in Rizwan by giving him a principle that religion does not make any difference. And that the only difference between people is that some are good and some are bad and he lives by this principle throughout his life. He is a 'nationalist' for many reasons. He fights with his brother Zakir to marry a Hindu woman Mandira and lets her practice her religion. He does not wear the typical Muslim attire except while giving charity at a fundraiser for the firefighters who died while saving people in the 9/11 attack. People present at the fundraiser suspiciously look at his typical Muslim attire and his reciting from the Qur'an scares them away yet he gives charity. Rizwan believes that the whole humanity has to pay for the death of innocents killed in 9/11 attack. Despite being arrested and tortured for being an enemy combatant of the United States, he selflessly tries to save lives in Wilhemina. He also informs FBI about the terrorist recruiter Dr Faisal Rahman who was then arrested. The film depicts the harassment that Muslims living in the United States went through after 9/11 like the Muslim shopkeepers are bothered for no reason except that they are Muslims. One of such incidents happens with Rizwan while looking for a room to stay. Some people attack a lodge thinking that the owner is a Muslim when he is actually a Hindu from India. The owner curses Muslims and accuses them of blowing up the World Trade Centre due to which all Indians are suffering and bearing its burnt. He even swears at the Americans and calls them whites who cannot make a difference between a Gandhian Indian like him and a violent Muslim like Osama and wants to put a board barring Muslims from entering his lodge. Rizwan being a 'nationalist' reacts to this hatred passively with a sentence: 'My name is Khan and I am not a terrorist'. Hence a 'nationalist' despite being vilified and cursed, reacts calmly. The Hindu lodge owner takes out the gun to shoot those who attacked his lodge but he is a Hindu and his anger is justified by the Bollywood. Muslims are not granted such privileges and they cannot express their anger like others and if they do it, they are not 'nationalists' for Bollywood. Rizwan's sister-in-law, Hasina is also a 'nationalist' who is secular enough to support Rizwan when he decided to marry Mandira. She is a proud Muslim as well who defends her hijab saying it is not just her religious identity but a part of her existence. Her hijab is ripped off after the incident of 9/11 but she instead of standing up for her rights, takes her hijab off. This submissive attitude in addition of all other traits qualifies her to be in Bollywood's 'nationalist' frame.

There are other Hindi films portraying 'nationalists' like Reshma and her father in The Hero: Love Story of a Spy (2003), Aamir in Aamir (2008), Rashid in Pinjar (2003). Al Baksh and Nargis in Maa Tujhhe Salaam (2002) are also 'nationalists'. Since Al Baksh used to work for the terrorist Lala but he was unaware that Lal was involved into anti-India activities and once he comes to know, he helps Indian army against Lala.

'Fanatic'

Characteristics: 'Fanatics' are 'bad' Muslims and terrorists. They want to destroy Hindus, India, non-Muslims and their lands because of their belief that it is the religious obligation of a Muslim to obliterate non-Muslims. They want to annihilate the non-Muslim population of the West to avenge the deaths of Muslims suffering in other parts of the world like Afghanistan, Palestine etcetera. They can go to any limits in their barbarism for their own gains and provoke 'insurgents' against the system. They want to establish shariah or the Islamic law by hook or by crook and justify bloodshed using Islam.

Roja in the film Roja (1992) requests the 'fanatic' Wasim Khan to release her husband to which he replies, 'You are an Indian and we don't care about you'. He justifies his use of violence and brutal killings and calls it Jihad. Roja screams at him and asks, 'Why don't you leave India if you don't like it.' While she is telling Wasim Khan to leave India, she is in Kashmir. In other words if Kashmiris don't want association

with India, India won't leave the land of Kashmir but Kashmiris have to leave their motherland Kashmir and flee to - of course Pakistan, that much is understood.

Haji falls in the "fanatic" frame in the film Sarfarosh since he conspires with Pakistan against India and causes terror. He also tries to sway the honest Muslim police officer Saleem and the logic he gives is that Saleem being a Muslim should join hands with Haji to fight against non- Muslims of India.

Muraad Khan in Fiza is a 'fanatic' since he uses Amaan to carry out his evil plans and then orders his men to kill Amaan. Amaan is accused of murders which he did just to save his life in the riots. Muraad Khan brainwashes Amaan by saying that he can prevent riots and stop others from suffering like him by killing the Hindu and Muslim political leaders who are about to join hands and make a coalition government.

In Mission Kashmir, Malikul Khan being a 'fanatic' kills a doctor for treating policemen. He barges in the houses of common people and it is he who is shown to be responsible for the death of Altaf's parents and Altaf's plight. Since it is Indian police officer Inayat Khan who actually killed Altaf's family by firing indiscriminately but Bollywood absolves him of it by giving a back up story that he was under stress because he lost his son due to Malikul Khan's fatwa. Afterwards he regrets and his wife Neelima assures him that he did not kill Altaf's family deliberately and to make up for the loss they decide to adopt Altaf and raise him as their own son. As per Bollywood, "fanatic's' don't feel such regret after killing innocents and neither does Bollywood give such justification, as is given to Inayat Khan, for killing innocents to Muslims who fit in the 'fanatic' frame of Bollywood. After the death of Malikul Khan, another 'fanatic', Hilal is introduced in the story. He is ready to blow up the Hazratbal shrine and the Shankaracharya temple which will lead to the division and bloodshed in Kashmir on communal lines. The film has demonized Hilal to the maximum in every way. Hilal's appearance is scary especially his kohl clad eyes and his way of calling his comrades, bacha. Every word from his mouth spews venom. He disapproves Altaf's friendship with Soofiya, saying that the friendship of a Jihaadi is with men only because women are soft hearted and cannot keep a secret. Hilal kills his good hearted, handicapped comrade -Saadiq for his benefit and paints his death as self-sacrifice for Jihaad even though it was Hilal who actually shot him. He brainwashes Altaf to pursue his mission of taking revenge from Khan who killed his family. But his actual mission is to destroy India and in return get money from a terrorist group of Pakistan but he calls it Jihaad and convinces young Kashmiri men to join his group. He tries to persuade Altaf till the last moment, invoking the name of Islam, Jannah, Jihad but Altaf does not fall for any of his plots.

In Yehaan (2005), Al-Sami, an Afghani and the commander of the terrorist group Al-Jihad is a 'fanatic'. He labels 32 innocent people including women and children as police informers and kills them in cold blood just to prevent peace from prevailing in the valley. Thus he disrupts the peace process that was going on in the valley, violates the ceasefire and puts the responsibility of the attack on a Kashmiri militant Shakeel. Al-Sami believes that such big incidents keeps the Kashmir conflict alive and reminds the Indian government that the terrorists are not quite. Therefore all the blame for the turbulent times, attacks, blasts in Kashmir is put on foreign sources who plant people in Kashmir to create chaos in the valley. These foreign sources in Kashmir like Al-Sami brainwashes Kashmiris like Shakeel that no war can be won with pen since Shakeel initially abstained from using guns in the freedom fight for Kashmir. However Al-Sami is not a Kashmiri but an Afghan and takes orders from Pakistan to continue bloodshed in Kashmir. Pakistan is not named in the film but the context makes it clear that the reference is to Pakistan when Al-Sami informs Shakeel that the order has come that some more big incidents of bloodshed should happen in Kashmir in the coming. As per Bollywood, some of the blame also goes to the Kashmiri youth who get swayed by such sources, pick up guns against Indian rule and end up hurting their own fellow Kashmiris. And when it comes to the treatment of Indian army in Kashmir, Yehaan shows one of the Indian army officials cruel to the Kashmiris. But the system is absolved of any cruelty when he is taken to task at the end of the film and the rest of the force is portrayed generous to Kashmir and Kashmiris.

Rehaan's grandfather is a 'fanatic' in Fanaa who is using Rehaan for his own gains. He rebukes him to fall in love with a girl since it can affect his mission and reminds Rehaan of his mission to fight India for the

freedom of Kashmir. Fanaa has demonized the character of Rehaan's grandfather to the maximum as he shows no attachment to Rehaan throughout the film but is just concerned about his mission. It is clear when Rehaan tells Zooni that if he refuses to carry out the mission, his grandfather will kill both of them and torture their son to death.

Imam Junaid – a 'fanatic' in Shoot on Sight incites youth against the western governments. He reminds them of how the western powers are killing Muslims in Palestine, Chechnya, Afghanistan and provokes them to take revenge by planting bombs, blowing themselves up and by killing non-Muslims in the West the same way they kill Muslims in the East. One side is discussed in the film, which is some Muslims avenging the death of their fellow Muslims by killing the westerners, hence Bollywood justifies the killing of such Muslims by the West. But the other side that is westerners creating havoc in the Muslim lands is hardly mentioned in the movie and not discussed at all. Imam Junaid tells Tariq that he has to decide whether he is a policeman who happens to be a Muslim or a Muslim who happens to be a policeman and being both is not mutually exclusive. Therefore according to Bollywood, "fanatic's' like Imam Junaid consider only those to be 'true' Muslims who are disloyal to the western countries or who hate the natives of the western region of the world unconditionally and by extension it means that 'nationalists' like Tariq or Yunis are those who love and are loyal to the west unconditionally.

The 'fanatic' of the film Kurbaan - Bhaijaan is inhuman since he suggested Ehsaan to kill his pregnant wife Avantika because she could be a threat to their mission. He is so cruel that he denied burial to Salma, a woman of the family, whose dead body even begins to stink then. He thinks Salma deserves it since she had become an ally to the 'disbelievers'. He is indifferent and skeptical about everything and everybody especially Riyaz. Apparently he looks calm but there is an unusual terror is in his personality and thoughts.

People who helped Sameer to become a terrorist are 'fanatics' in the film New York. Their aim is to conduct the terrorist attacks across the United States but is apparently running a bakery shop famous for 'New York's Best Brown Bread'. Sameer tells Omar that his and the aim of the terrorists is different and the reason he is with them is because they gave him a chance to get his dignity back. Their aim is to carry out the terrorist attacks in the United States but Sameer just wants to knock down the FBI because they tortured him and many others like him just because of their religion.

Dr Faisal Rahman is a 'fanatic' in My Name is Khan. He preaches hatred in the mosque subtly by saying that Israeli Jews kill the Palestinians while as the Hindus of India cut the women and children of the Muslims with their swords. He calls it the duty of all Muslims to spill their blood for the cause of Islam. The film portrays that 'fanatics' misquote Qur'an to influence people as Dr Faisal quotes the story of the Prophet Abraham who was asked to sacrifice his son for the sake of God. Dr Faisal tries to brain wash the youth by saying that God asks for blood and Rizwan, being a 'nationalist', silences him by saying that the story shows the path of Allaah is that of love not of hatred and war. After hearing Rizwan, the crowd goes against Dr Faisal Rahman calling him a liar.

Haji Syed Shah in Lamhaa (2010) is portrayed as a 'fanatic' for many reasons. He provokes people by saying even if the whole Kashmir is turned to a graveyard still the Kashmiris will seek Aazadi. He sends little children to Pakistan for training where hatred towards India is inculcated in them. Lashkar teaches them slogans like 'Aayi aayi lashkar aayi Bharat teri mout aayi (Lashkar has come to finish India, translation mine)'. Haji plans attacks on himself but makes provisions to save himself and innocents are killed instead. It is portrayed that the boycott of elections in Kashmir is just a gimmick played by the 'separatists'. Haji Syed Shah boycotts elections to get money from Pakistan and incites people that against elections by saying that it will fetch no benefit and speaks against all those contesting elections. He resorts to sloganeering 'Nahi chaiye passport Nahi dega koi vote (we don't want passport and neither will we vote, translation mine)' and uses human rights violation in Kashmir to provoke the masses against the administration. Lamhaa shows that whoever goes against the wishes of Haji is attacked by his associates. Hence when Aziza goes against Haji, he orders Fatima Squad to attack her to teach her a lesson. It is

shown that it was Haji who killed Aziz'a father Molvi Abbas Ansari because Haji wanted Aazadi with the help of Pakistan and Molvi wanted it with the help of the people of Kashmir.

There are other Hindi films portraying 'fanatics' like Lala in Maa Tujhe Salaam and Tiger Menon in Black Friday who plans the terrorist attack the same day on which the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) fought the Battle of Badr, that is the 17th day of Ramadan. He instigates the 'insurgents' by invoking the name of Islam and emotionally involves them by reminding the atrocities that followed the demolition of the Babri Masjid. However his real motive was to take revenge of the loss of his property that was damaged during the riots of 1992. In Mission Istaanbul (2008), the terrorist Khalil asks his comrade why he wants to die a martyr to which he replies that the one who dies while fighting Kafirs (disbelievers) will get Jannah. Upon asking the description of Jannah, he replies that one can have biryani there as much as one wants. It is shown that the terrorist do terrorist activities for the sake of it and 'insurgents' are deceived by the 'fanatics' in the most stupid of ways.

Khurshid Lala - a terrorist in the film A Wednesday (2008) is the 'fanatic'. Interestingly the film shows Khurshid Lala making confession that the terrorist attacks carried out in America and London are carried out by Muslims. He boasts that nobody could stop Muslims from doing so. Arif mocks him by saying, "Hindustan mai aakey galati kardi. Abb eak aam aadmi tum logu ko rok nahi thok bhi raha hai" (you people made a mistake by doing the same in India since a common Indian man is now freaking you out, translation mine). Here the film pronounces the verdict that all the attacks in America and London are carried out by the Muslims. Khurshid Lala also tries to persuade Inspector Arif Khan by invoking the name of Islam and 'our community' but Arif being a nationalist or 'good' Muslim does not fall for his words.

'Insurgent'

Characteristics: 'Insurgents' are 'misguided' Muslims who were innocent people first but then some injustice happened to them which led them to choose the path of violence. 'Fanatics' brainwash the 'insurgents' and play with their emotions to turn them anti-establishment or anti-India. If the 'fanatics' are from Pakistan then the 'insurgents' are definitely betrayed by them. The 'insurgents' are usually youth who are good at heart and if guided on time, can return to the path of non-violence and patriotism and if not then at least die a 'patriot'. Hence the insurgents meet one of the two fates: either surrender and leave the path of violence or pay for their sin of working against the system by dying.

In the film Roja, Liyaqat who takes Rishi as hostage is an 'insurgent'. He sends his younger brother along with 14 more young men to Pakistan to get arms training but the Pakistani forces shoot all 15. Hence Pakistan betrays them. Liyaqat shares that Pakistanis told them to create unrest in India and the rest will be managed by Pakistan but now they are killing the innocent Kashmiri boys who were called for training in Pakistan. Then Liyaqat begins to agree with Rishi that this fight for freedom with India is pointless and he even wants to leave this 'terrorism'. But regrets and admits that he and the people like him have strayed too far and now they have to keep fighting whether they are right or wrong since they don't have the option of leaving the path even if they want to. Therefore Liyaqat – an insurgent realizes at the end that he is misguided and the film sends a clear message to the Kashmiris that it is useless and counterproductive for Kashmiris to fight against the Indian rule in Kashmir.

In Sarfarosh, Sultan is an 'insurgent' since he plots against India and helps the terrorists to smuggle weapons to spread terrorism in India. Pakistani terrorists betray him finally when he is of no use to them. They pretended to take him to Pakistan for safety but killed him on the way. Therefore according to Bollywood, Pakistan is nobody's friend. Indian Muslims are being used by Pakistan to create mischief in India and are killed when they become a threat to the Pakistani agencies. Gulfam Hassan – the ghazal singer is also an insurgent. Indians are being so hospitable to him yet he harbours bitterness of the Partition of 1947 in which people like him suffered. Therefore in the garb of an artist, he is a dangerous terrorist who is spreading terrorism in India. He wants Indians to suffer the same way he and people like

him suffered in the aftermath of the partition of 1947. Pakistan betrays him as well. The army general of Pakistan wants him to comeback disgraced if he cannot help them spread terrorism in India and the Pakistan envoy is ready to shoot him to save his own life saying that Pakistan cannot lose a soldier to save a meager singer. Finally, destiny punishes him for his evil plots against India and he kills himself.

In the film Earth, Dilnawaz is an 'insurgent'. Communal clashes were under control in Lahore until the train returns from Gurdaspur full of mutilated dead bodies of Muslim men and women including the sisters of Dilnawaz. He gets enraged and the storm inside him turns him into a monster that can only be controlled if Shanta agrees to marry him but she refuses. Therefore he turns into a extremist when he comes to know that Hassan and Shanta are going to marry. He, like his butcher friend, starts hating on people and is so enraged that he forgets he is killing his own friends and neighbours with whom he has spent his life till then. At the end he even betrays the trust of the little girl Lenny to get to Shanta.

Jaan Mohammad, the foster father of Refugee is involved in transporting ammunition, drugs from Pakistan to India and reluctantly gets involved in bringing terrorists as well but he is a patriot at heart. He even kicks his son out from his home, when he comes to know that his son has helped the Pak terrorists against India, saying he can bear a vagabond son but not a traitor. At the end he expresses his love for his motherland India, stands against his brother and other Muslims who wanted to make his village a part of Pakistan. He warns them that they cannot gather people of his village in their support just because the majority of the villagers are Muslims because all the Muslim villagers have an Indian heart who loves its motherland India. He boasts that the villagers live and can die for India and at the end proves his claims when he gives his life for his nation. Hence Jaan Mohammad is an 'insurgent' who is not guided on time and therefore he has to undergo a punishment in token of penitence for his sins. His son is also an insurgent who, for money, helps the terrorists in their terrorist activities but later repents by informing the Indian forces about the plan of the terrorists and loses his life in the process. Therefore both the 'insurgents' died at the end and proved loyalty towards their motherland.

Amaan is an 'insurgent' in Fiza. Accidently he is caught up in a bad situation but instead of dealing with it legally, he takes the path of violence and revenge. However Amaan attempted to leave it but it was too late. He could not get a job because of his past and could not get back to normal life in any way. His life was purposeless and the path of violence was the only purpose he could find his life is worth living for now. Therefore like the Liyaqat of Roja, Amaan has also strayed too far to ever come back to a prosperous lifestyle. And Muraad Khan being a 'fanatic' betrays Amaan at the end, orders to kill him when Amaan could be of no use to him. Amaan meets his fate when he requests his sister Fiza to kill and free him from this hassle of living and dying every day and she does.

Altaf's family in Mission Kashmir gets killed during a cross firing and the police officer Inayat Khan responsible for this, repents by adopting Altaf. But Altaf could not forget it and joins a terrorist group to take revenge from the police officer who was now his foster father. Altaf thought that the Mission Kashmir is to kill the Prime Minister of India who is coming on a visit to Kashmir. But it was to blow up the Hazratbal shrine and the Shankaracharya temple to cause bloodshed and start communal tension in Kashmir. He being an 'insurgent' is deceived by the 'fanatic' Hilal who later gives the orders of killing Altaf if he creates any obstacle in the mission. Altaf's foster mother tells him that the fight is not between Altaf and Inayat Khan but between hatred and love. She advices him to be very careful which side he takes and the side of love is of course portrayed as the Indian side, so he finally takes the side of 'love'. The film keeps Altaf among those 'insurgents' who are guided on time. Therefore he leaves the path of violence and become a 'patriot'. In the film Yahaan, those fighting for the freedom of Kashmir are called terrorists who do not differentiate between military and the civilians but kills whoever comes in their way. However an army officer, explaining the conditions of Kashmir to Captain Aman, admits that the language of Kashmir is gun, be the gun is of army or of the 'militants'. Adda's brother, Shakeel is portrayed as an 'insurgent' who believes that the permission of India or of the United Nations (UN) members is not needed to get the right of freedom. He used to run a press and wanted to fight for the freedom of Kashmir using the power of pen but Al-Sami brainwashes him by saying no war in the history of the world is won by the pen alone. Al-Sami used him when he killed 32 innocent people in his name. He killed Shakeel's comrade who was in charge of taking care of Shakeel's family and throws a bomb in Shakeel's home which almost killed his grandmother and burns down his home anyway. Hence Shakeel is also betrayed like all the 'insurgents'. The film portrays that Kashmiris are committing a grave mistake if they don't trust Indian forces operating in Kashmir and calls it a 'path of misguidance.' Adda's father realizes his mistake of doubting Aman just because he is an Indian army officer. He apologises by telling Aman that we were misguided and now came back to guidance. Referring to Shakeel, Adda's father said that Shakeel will realize one day that this is the path of misguidance but that might be late. After Shakeel hears about this incident and Adda's interview, he also realizes his mistake of joining hands with the terrorists and surrenders.

Rehaan – an 'insurgent' in Fanaa deceives Zooni and even kills the good hearted inspector Jolly Good for his mission. He is just concerned about his mission and is ready to leave his wife and young child for it. Although he knows that his grandfather is so evil that if he leaves his mission halfway, his grandfather will ruthlessly kill him, Zooni and their child as well. Therefore an 'insurgent' cannot leave the path of violence even if he wants to because he cannot live for normal life. That is why Rehaan promises Zooni that he will come to her forever once that his mission is done but Zooni being a 'nationalist' kills him before that happens, apparently, to prevent bloodshed.

Zaheer is an 'insurgent' in Shoot on Sight. He is dressed in typical American attire but prays his prayers and is influenced by the worldview of Imam Junaid. He deceives his uncle and comes to America under the garb of continuing his studies but his actual aim is to join a terrorist group. He used the lab of his institution in which he is studying in America, to make bombs. It is portrayed the America provides him the opportunity to make his career but he is so ungrateful that he uses the resources of the country to damage the same. Before shooting Zaheer, Tariq tries to convince him that self inflicted death is a sin in Islam, the blood of innocents is not allowed to shed in Islam and that the Imam Junaid is only using him. But he refuses to listen and Tariq being a 'nationalist' chooses to kill him. Zaheer's comrade – another Muslim is also an 'insurgent' so much so that he wants to plant the bomb where most casualties are inflicted and also kills the Muslim lady police officer. The question is raised during one of the sermons of Imam Junaid that how do Caliphate – political system as per Islam, can be achieved without shedding blood of the innocent people to which he replies that the western governments and their allies are perpetrators not innocent. It is portrayed that the 'fanatics' consider American civilians as much enemy to them as the government and they want to destroy both.

Ehsaan is an 'insurgent' in Kurbaan who deceives Avantika and marries her to get to the United States. He does not wear the typical Muslim attire, does not pray and does not impose any Islamic ruling on his wife on Avantika. However despite his apparently nice temperament, he wants to kill people in the United States to avenge the death of his former wife and four year old son who were killed in bombings by US forces in Pakistan. Hakeel – another 'insurgent' in the film offers prayers and has Muslim attire. But he beats his wife up and later kills her when she rebelled against the family and their plans of terrorism. However when bhaijaan let the dead body of Salma to rot and denied her a proper burial, Hakeel's heart softens and he argues with bhaijaan that as a Muslim it is Salma's right to get a proper burial. In the end both the 'insurgents' Hakeel and Ehsaan did not return to the 'right' path on time and eventually die.

The film New York shows Sameer becoming an 'insurgent' after 9/11 when he was detained as a terror suspect regarding 9/11. He is an Indian American who was carefree like any other American youth but takes the path of terrorism to take revenge from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). He does not wear the typical Muslim attire, does not pray and marries his non-Muslim classmate Maya. Sameer does not hate America since he himself says to his friend Omar that he could have attacked any soft target but he chose the FBI because his fight is with the FBI only. He wants to destroy the FBI building so that they

cannot label anyone as a terrorist. The film shows that Sameer is clearly blinded by rage since knocking down the FBI will certainly do no good to him or to the Muslims in general.

One of the supporters of Dr Faisal Rahman in My Name is Khan is an 'insurgent'. He is programmed by Dr Faisal Rahman. He calls Rizwan a sinner and an infidel whose punishment is to die and he even attempts to kill Rizwan.

Aziza is an 'insurgent' in Lamhaa used by Haji for his own political gains. She exposes a scandal that was exploiting Kashmiri girls but Haji rebukes her for this move by saying that Kashmir would be ill-famed because of this. She is among those 'insurgents' who return to the 'right' path on time and hence ends up agreeing with the Indian standpoint of the Kashmir conflict. When the reality is dawned on Aziza that it is Haji who has killed her father, she decides to expose him. She tells the media that Haji is misusing Kashmiris in the name of Jihad, Islam, Kashmiriyat or in the name of struggle for Azadi and is doing the same as the governments of India and Pakistan are doing since ages. She calls Haji's tearing of passport in public showoff because Haji has the passport of three countries: India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. She goes on to say that Haji is responsible for every mother who has lost her son, every son who has lost his father, every woman whose husband has disappeared. The fact that Indian agencies in Kashmir are responsible for exactly the same things is conveniently omitted in the film. The film shows Parveena Ahangar blaming military to take her husband and many other men away without any charge against them. But later Aziza is shown blaming Haji for even disappearances in Kashmir and subtly skipping the part of the involvement of Indian forces in it.

There are other Hindi films portraying 'insurgents' like Badshah Khan and his comrades in Black Friday. The reason that the 'insurgents' give of 1993 serial Bombay bomb blasts is to take revenge for their Muslim brothers and sisters who were wronged in the riots after the destruction of the Babri Masjid. However Tiger Menon being a 'fanatic' betrays all of them at the end.

'Neutralist'

Characteristics: 'Neutralists' are 'modern' Muslims who are not interested in any political matter related to Muslims. They are easygoing and enjoy life without getting involved in any significant issue of past, present or future related to Muslims. They may get involved with the general concern related to the society as a whole, even fight for the same but not for an issue specific to Muslims. There is no 'Muslimness' in them. They gel well with the culture they live in and there is nothing that differentiates them from the society they live in.

Raja is a 'neutralist' in the film Mr and Mrs Iyer (2002) for many reasons. He is ready to share a room with a married Hindu woman. He believes that the orthodox teachings like being a strict vegetarian or believing in caste system does not make sense because people are in the third millennium. The news reports of clashes between Palestinians and Jews or between Protestant and Catholics does not bother him and he calls such incidents 'same old stuff that is reported in the newspapers'. After the killing of the old Muslim couple, he gets busy with his photography in the morning without much deliberation. He is so unconcerned about the Muslim customs that as a boy he used to wonder why his mother does not wear a bindi like all the Bengali ladies. In fact he knows more about the Hindu customs since he read a book on Yoga that says all of the humans have a gland in the middle of the eyes where the bindi is worn and the gland can be developed and function as the all seeing third eye.

There are other Hindi films portraying 'neutralist' Muslims like Nooran in Train to Pakistan (1998), Iqbal and his family in the film Iqbal (2005), Sakina and her family in Saawariya (2007) and Muslims in Umrao Jaan (2006), Aslam in Rang De Basanti (2006), Imran in Aaja Nachle (2007), Farhan and his family in 3 Idiots (2009). Ali Hassan, Noora, Zoya, Gul, Majeed and his wife Shabbo in the film Tere Bin Laden (2010), Omar Siddiqui and his father Yasser Siddiqui in Guzaarish (2010), Zoya in Ishaqzaade (2012), Zoya in Raanjhanaa (2013), Arshi in Haider (2014) and Muslims in Dedh Ishqiya (2014) all fit in the

"neutralist' frame. Zaara and her family in Veer-Zaara (2004) also fit in this frame. Zaara's father is involved in politics but it has nothing to do with the Muslims in any way, since he is just a politician who uses his daughter for his political career.

'Critic':

Characteristics: 'Critics' are those Muslims who are frustrated by the continuous mistrust that they see for themselves in the eyes of the society. They are not terrorists but people of other communities always judge them by their name or appearance and consider them as terrorists. They hate the system for the continuous harassment and it frustrates them which led to mistrust between them and the system.

Riyaz Masood's father in Kurbaan is a 'critic'. He believes that the media portrays only one side of the story and wants his son to cover Muslim viewpoint as well by portraying the atrocities of the western governments in the Muslim lands in his news items. He considers himself a Muslim first and then an American. He accuses his son of showing only the casualties of the American side and not showing the oppression they are dong in the Muslim lands.

Zilge in the film New York is a 'critic' and his frustration is evident throughout the film. He is detained by the FBI as a terror suspect in the 9/11 case and later released but he could not live a normal life again. He harbors hatred towards the system and thinks he is being harassed just because of his name, religion and skin colour. Maya rebukes him by saying that the Muslims have 'persecution complex'. She agrees that the government has done a blunder by persecuting Muslims after 9/11 but that does not mean it considers all the Muslims to be enemies. She justifies it by the same logic given by Roshan to Omar that is, 'the conditions were such that the government had to do it'. The treatment given to Muslims after the 9/11 is justified many times in the film.

Rizwan's brother, Zakir in the film My Name is Khan is a 'critic'. He expresses his frustration when he asks the logic behind Muslims being told to report suspicious characters and participate in protecting the country from extremists and when Muslims do so they are just put in jail, like his brother Rizwan. He questions that what is so wrong in an ordinary citizen wanting to meet the President of his country or is it wrong for a Muslim man to even try. Meanwhile a Muslim family is shown discussing and agreeing with what Zakir asks the media. They also express their frustration saying that if it is such a problem then it is better to clearly tell the Muslims of America that they don't have the right to meet the President of their country.

There are other Hindi films portraying 'critics' like Sameer Arshad in Firaaq (2008) that fit in 'critic' frame.

'Radical':

Characteristics: 'Radicals' are not terrorists but are intolerant towards other cultures and religions. They think their way of understanding Islam is the only and right way and they impose it on their subordinates especially women under their authority.

Mehru's relatives in the film Anwar are 'radicals' since they killed Udit because he, despite being a Hindu, wanted to marry their cousin Mehru. They tortured Mehru as well for falling for a Hindu boy and are so averse to the West that they consider western clothing to be a threat to their Muslim culture.

Dilnawaz's friend - the butcher is 'radical' in the film Earth since he leaves no opportunity to insult the members of other faiths, even if they are among his friends. He is filled with hatred and criticizes anyone other than Muslims in one or the other way. He is no intolerant that he even gets angry at children and rebukes them. He gets angry at Lenny baby just for ordering an English dish and rebukes the little waiter for a simple mistake. He insults the faith of Sikhs when he says, 'bloodshed is their habit' and even insults

the religious figures of Sikhism. He politicizes the matter of faith by saying that the Sikhs are the 'sword of Hindus and Hindus are ready to use this sword'.

'Outlaw'

Characteristics: 'Outlaws' are those Muslims who are involved in underworld and all they care about is money. They are not concerned about religion, social reality or identity of Muslims in any way.

Mustafa in the film Ghulam-E-Mustafa (1997) is an 'outlaw' and is capable of making impossible possible. He is religious, prays on time and follows certain self-made principles. He is good at heart since, he realises that he has killed many people and that is why God punished him by taking his wife Kavita away from him. He decides to help an honest Hindu family before leaving the gangster line forever. He stays at Dixit's family bearing all humiliation just to save their honour and does all he could for the family before he gets killed at the end. There are other Hindi films portraying Muslim gangsters like Rauf Lala of the film Agneepath (2012) is an 'outlaw' since he is involved in girl trafficking. Sultan and Shoaib are 'outlaws' in Once Upon a Time in Mumbaai. All the above Muslim gangsters fit in the 'outlaw' frame of the Bollywood.

A Bollywood film about the underworld has to have the mention of the underworld don Dawood Ibrahim either clearly or subtly. Black Friday (2004) is the first attempt to spell out the name of Dawood Ibrahim in the film and other films portraying the underworld like Company (2002), 'D' (2005), Shootout at Lokhandwala (2007), Once Upon a Time in Mumbaai (2010), Shootout at Wadala (2013), D-Day (2013) either implied to Dawood Ibrahim or have the characters directly or indirectly inspired by him.

'Intruder'

This frame includes the portrayal of Pakistan as an enemy-state and the negative depiction of Pakistan army, 'terrorist' groups operating in Pakistan and the Muslims of Pakistan in general.

For Bollywood, Pakistan by definition is the enemy and Pakistanis deep down want the destruction of India and any good thing that happens to India enrages them. Bollywood also portrays that Pakistan wants to capture the Indian administrated Kashmir by hook or by crook.

An indirect reference to Pakistan is made in the film Roja when the terrorist Liyaqat admits that the way of violence they are upon is chosen by their leaders to which Reshi asks rhetorically that whether the leaders are in India or in the neighboring land. Later Rishi lectures him about of how neighboring country is enslaving him and using him and the 'misguided' Muslims like him as stooges. In the end Liyaqat regrets to have chosen to fight with India and expresses hatred for Pakistan for their betrayal to the Kashmiris.

Any direct reference to Pakistan is not made in the film Bombay but when Shekher interviews the leader of the Hindu community about the riots that took place in Bombay after the demolition of the Babri Masjid, he asks Shekhar that where do Muslims get their weapons. This indirect but obvious reference to Pakistan is made to show that Pakistan supplies weapons to the Muslims of India to enable them to fight against India.

In the film Sarfarosh, Pakistan army rejoices upon seeing the news reports about the massacre in India that is caused due to their supply of arms and calls it the 'fruit of their efforts'. Sarfarosh portrays that the government of Pakistan has nothing much to do since the Pakistan army officer has the map of India hanging on the walls of his office. He is shown plotting day in and out against India, rejoicing when some of their plots work and grieving when some fail. It is portrayed that Pakistan provokes Indians against their country. The Pakistan army officer directs his subordinates to use those Indians against India who are not happy with India and he wants to give them more weapons and money to increase the number of such Indians. Upon receiving an invitation for a music concert in India, the general sarcastically says to his

comrades, 'it is fine if India does not want war and we don't need to fight any war as long as we can use Indians against India.' They implant a source in India which can be least suspected, that is a ghazal singer Gulfam Hassan who pretends to be an artist but is so cruel that, in the film, he mutilates a little goat ruthlessly.

In Refugee, Pakistan army is shown in somewhat good light compared to the majority of the Bollywood films. It is just one Pak army personnel who hates Refugee because he is an Indian. He is not a good human being anyway, since he beats up Refugee severely because of his bias against Indians and he also had bad intentions for Naazneen's cousin Salma. Rest, Pak army is not shown conspiring against India but a handful of the terrorists from Pakistan coupled with few Indian traitors are creating trouble in India. They cross the border and plant bombs in the trains and are responsible for the bloodshed in India. However the border guards of Pakistan shoot Asghar Ali, who runs towards them in the hope that they will not shoot him because he is one of them. This shows hoe Pakistan does not care and can disown their own if and when needed. The import-export across borders show the Pakistanis export dangerous material like drugs, guns and terrorists into India while as Indians export benign stuff like cassettes of Lata Mangeshkar and stranded refugees.

The film Gadar demonizes Pakistan and Pakistanis to the maximum. It shows that after the partition the government of Pakistan orders the Sikhs and Hindus living in Pakistan to move to India, despite the agreement that was done during the partition between India and Pakistan which was that there would be no exchange of population. Ashraf Khan, Sakina's father has so much hatred for India and Indians that he does not want to even set his foot on the Indian soil. Although he had lived in India until partition of the British India but now he does not consider India, its people and soil his nation, rather Pakistan is everything to him now. It is portrayed that the Pakistan media maligns India and misinforms the world. Ashraf Khan spreads wrong information in the media that Tara Singh took Sakina as hostage and tortured her. Ashraf Khan deceives her own daughter Sakina by not allowing her son and husband to visit Pakistan with her and even attempts to marry her off against her wishes. The idea that Pakistan wants to capture Kashmir is promoted again and again by the Bollywood. It is evident when an army personal who was about to marry Sakina begins to threaten Tara Singh that the Pakistan has already captured half of Kashmir and one day the whole India will be ours. The film depicts that the people of Pakistan are so anti-Indian that they love the Urdu language and hate the Hindi. The whole blame of the Partition of 1947 is put on Pakistan when in a scene it is portrayed that in addition of dividing the country, Pakistanis want that the music should also be divided.

The film Fanaa does not show Pakistan's involvement in the nuclear attack that is planned against India but it is the terrorist group IKF fighting for the cause of an independent Kashmir. The group is run by few fanatics who stole nuclear missiles from India, Russia and even from Pakistan to make a nuclear bomb to attack India. The government of Pakistan is not involved in the plot which becomes clear when, in the film, Indian defense minister wants to talk to the defense minister of Pakistan about it.

The film Lamhaa portrays that Pakistan is pumping money in Kashmir, funds Lashkar and provides them with arms and ammunition to create trouble in the valley. In addition of that the film shows that Pakistan is making fool of the 'separatists' in Kashmir by promising them the help in the fight for the freedom of Kashmir. The Lashkar chief Badshah is deceiving Haji and mocks his dream of giving freedom to Kashmir. Peer admits this and tells Indian officer Gul Jahangir that Kashmir has become a company where people pump crores of rupees to keep it burning. The cause of the turmoil in Indian states in put on the shoulders of 'separatists' in Kashmir when Peer says that the 'separatists' want to create Kashmir like situation in every part of India so that Indians will also understand how it feels to go through pain.

Badshah, the Pakistani terrorist heading the Lashkar is scary in his appearance with blood red eyes and is so ruthless that he kills a young child who ran away from his camp. The scene is followed by the kind Indian officer Vikram who plays with the children. It is portrayed that the religion is misinterpreted by the Pakistanis. Badshah places bombs in the body of young children who are told that the path of paradise

is to blow themselves up and the key to paradise is the remote control of the bombs. Badshah orders his men that the peace in the valley is dangerous for their existence and does everything possible to create terror in the valley. The whole blame of the turmoil in the valley of Kashmir is put on the people like Haji who want freedom from the Indian rule in Kashmir and those from Pakistan who help them in this aspiration. The other and major players from the Indian side involved in the conflict in Kashmir are completely left out.

Imam Junaid in Shoot on Sight is a 'fanatic' Muslim originally from Pakistan. So he fits in both the frames: 'fanatic' as well as 'intruder'. He is from Pakistan and uses young men for planting bombs that cause casualties of innocent human beings. Similarly Ehsaan and Bhaijaan, besides fitting into 'insurgent' and 'fanatic' frame, also fit into 'intruder' frame since both are of Pakistan origin and plan terrorist activities on foreign soil.

Films like Maa Tujhhe Salaam also portray 'intruders' i.e. terrorist groups operating in Pakistan against India to get Kashmir.

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