

**CINEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF KASHMIR: A STUDY OF  
SELECTED BOLLYWOOD MOVIES**

**MS Thesis**



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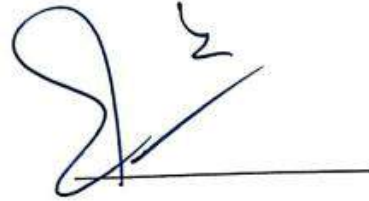
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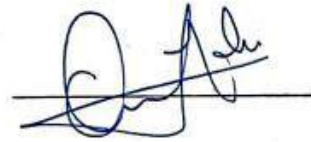
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### **Declaration**

I, Sheikh Farkhanda, Registration No. **483-FSS/MSMC/F21** a student of MS in Mass Communications at International Islamic University Islamabad do hereby solemnly declare that the dissertation submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MS in Mass Communications is my original work, except where otherwise acknowledged in the dissertation, and has not been submitted earlier, and shall not be submitted by me in future for any degree from this or any other university.

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Date: 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2024

## **Dedication**

Dedicated to my parents, who were forced to leave their homeland, the beautiful vale of Kashmir, and continue to live their lives in exile. They endured insurmountable odds but left no stone unturned to ensure that their children received a quality education. I could never have made it to where I am today without their support and sacrifices.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Kashmir has been the part of Indian cinema since the 1960's, when the valley served as the perfect backdrop for Bollywood. The representation of Kashmir and its people in Bollywood films have been a subject of both praise and condemnation over the years. One of the biggest film industries in the world, has produced various films that feature Kashmir as a backdrop or a main subject. This research analyzes the portrayal of Kashmir and its people by using the major releases of Bollywood movies featuring Kashmir and Kashmiris post 5th August 2019 following the significant event of the revocation of Article 370, which granted special status of Jammu and Kashmir. From 2019 to 2024 saw a surge in Bollywood film set in Kashmir, making it a critical frame of analysis. This study examines the portrayal of Kashmir and its people in major Bollywood releases during this period, using social, political and geographical indicators such as Characters and Culture, Militancy and Political Unrest, and Romanticization of Kashmir through scenic beauty and love stories. This research clearly identifies how Bollywood defame Muslims and Kashmiris as a backward and resilient to progress nation, they also tried to rename their struggle for freedom as terrorism. Pakistani on other hand is shown as an initiator of violence and Indian Army as a hero of their films. The analysis reveals by watching and dissecting films of post 2019 how Bollywood films have represent historical themes, often with distortions, to manipulate audiences and to justify the political actions surrounding the revocation of Article 370. The finding highlight the complex interplay between cinema and politics.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Study

Kashmir valley as a landscape has been subject to the camera's gaze since the 19th century in ways that scholars have often termed contentious. The region, owing to its paradisaical charm, has been a popular destination for photographers across the world. Shanahan (2024) traces the relationship of the camera with Kashmir back to the latter half of the 19th century. During the 1860s, the first ones to enter the valley to begin this project were adventurer-photographers Samuel Bourne and John Burke with an unwieldy yet heroic assortment of glass plates, chemicals, portable darkrooms, and other accouterments of the photographic endeavor (Shanahan, 2024). The phenomenon of tourism is, however, looked upon as an important tool in the machinery of representation. The portrayal of Kashmir in Hindi Cinema and its underlying objectives is a nexus of military-industrial-religion complex and the framing of Kashmir as a 'territory of desire'. This tourism later ignited a spark in India's famous film industry, Bollywood, which released a series of films in the 1960s on Kashmir thereby initiating an altogether new chapter of sensationalizing the Kashmiri landscape (Zeeshan, 2021).

Bollywood has a long history of obsession with Kashmir. The film industry has faced criticism for its controversial portrayal of Kashmir and Kashmiris on the big screen. Mukharjee, (1998) terms Kashmir represented in Indian cinema as an imagined quasi-place.

Such highly controversial representation of Kashmir in Bollywood since the 1960s has been a major cause of creating misconceptions for both the Indian masses and the outside world in understanding the ground realities in Kashmir. This representation of Kashmir has been used to minimize the visibility of oppression on Kashmiris. As a result of such portrayal, the region of Jammu and Kashmir has become fixed in our imagination as a territory of exoticism and fantasy space where we might find personal fulfillment through the consumption of landscape (Pathak, 2022).

The representation of the Kashmiri landscape and its inhabitants has not been explored in a systematic manner but there are some scholars and writers who have tried to rebut this controversial representation of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, a region under brute military occupation since past many decades. This region became so intensely desired in the nationalistic

imagination of Indians and people across the globe. Pre-insurgency Kashmir was used as a location of romance and escapism in movies like *Junglee* (1961), *Jab Jab Phool Khilay* (1965), *Kashmir ki Kali* (1964) and *Noorie* (1979), Kashmir was shown as an exotic place where the Bollywood glitterati or for that matter the whole Indian citizenry was supposed to come and spend their vacations, explore these lush green meadows, flowing streams, snow-clad mountains, and beautiful valleys and, more importantly, the native Kashmiri was obliged to act as a tourist guide for them whose job was to lead these outsiders to every famous and ‘heavenly’ place in the region. This film industry has functioned as India’s major mechanism for mobilizing desire for Kashmir (Shanahan, 2024).

One of the most important things that mentions in the research is how the movie makers from 1960s and 1970s tried to self-consciously erase Islam from Kashmir and how this land was curiously depoliticized and how these movie makers never engaged with the simmering discontent among the local populace. Another significant aspect of this cinematic representation of Kashmiri people that the scholars have noted is how a Kashmiri is shown to be very naïve, docile, and tourist-friendly without any religious and social identity.

The movies of the 1960s generate a Kashmiri identity which is amenable to India’s political interests thoroughly eliding the political aspirations of the valley people (Mridha, 2019).

The representation of Kashmir and Kashmiri people in the second phase – from 1990s to August 2019 witnesses a huge shift in this representation. From those “Khubsoorat Wadiyaan’s” and “Jannant-e-firdous”, the region is shown to be fertile land for “Atankwadi’s” (terrorists) who have waged a war against “Bharat Mata” (Mother India). What becomes central in these post-armed struggle movies is constructing a hero and anti-hero – a hero automatically an Indian citizen who is shown to be a savior who saves the local population from bloodthirsty terrorists and a villain a native Kashmiri with a Muslim identity who is hell-bent upon destroying the peace in the region (Mridha 2019).

The Bollywood movies featuring Jammu and Kashmir, or its political crisis uncritically celebrate the role of the Indian state in the region (Nanda, 2010). One of the important things that Kabir says is how the political struggle of Kashmiris is deliberately conflated with Islamic fundamentalism and these movies, much like the earlier releases on Kashmir, severely distort the ground realities and present a picture that is in favour of India’s politico-military establishment

in Kashmir (Shanahan, 2024). A Kashmiri is shown wearing a skull cap and a Kameez Shalwar and constantly offering Namaz at famous shrines or mosques of the valley. Kashmiri Muslims are shown as hardcore Islamic fundamentalists with their military base in Pakistan. The association of Islamic fundamentalism is purposeful, for the movie makers or their sponsors know how this has been used as a weapon of war against numerous Muslim lands in the post-9/11 era to delegitimize their genuine struggle. In these movies, one can see that there is no agency of Kashmiri people. Meher Manda is of the opinion that the Hindi Cinema has long viewed Jammu and Kashmir through a glossy lens, thoroughly erasing its people, their agency and political histories. The movies about the Kashmiri landscape are deliberately misleading the facts and, in these movies, people are patronized and their action and history is appropriated to suit the statist agenda of military occupation in the region. In movies like *Mission Kashmir* the picture of conflict is shown in an altogether different light. The conflict is shown to be ‘within’ or what most people call as familial where Kashmiris are shown to be having internal conflict with each other and there is no mention of an external agency occupying the land illegally. The political struggle of Kashmir is extremely distorted and new narratives are manufactured to mislead the audience about the historical facts of the region. This misrepresentation and ahistoricization of the UN-recognized dispute is rampant in Bollywood movies featuring Kashmir (Ohm, 2022).

Another notable thing about these movies is that that these movies refer to the Pandit migration after the beginning of the armed struggle and their victimization is exploited to delegitimize the just Kashmiri resistance. This weaponization of pandit migration or what the Indian state in their lexicon refers to as the pandit exodus is solely used to obfuscate the facts and further alienate the local population of the region. Kashmir has always remained a fairy dreamland in Hindi Cinema which is meant to be explored and desired. The metaphor of a romantic heavenly place inhabiting a tremendously exotic people has remained a popular trope of Hindi Cinema since its inception (Kunapulli, 2021).

Bollywood has long been using Islam as a weapon to propagate its narrative on Kashmir. For example, in movie *Roja* 1992, the hero thinks that to change the mentality of Liyaqat, he needs to use Islamic conversation and tells him that “Islam Ahinsa nahi sikhata” (Islam does not teach violence). On the other hand, the same industry has indulged in using anti-Islam narratives to pass off this religion as the root cause of violence. In a Sanjay Dutt and Hrithik Roshan starrer

movie *Mission Kashmir* (2000), Sanjay Dutt states that “aajkal tou Kashmir main fatwoon ka dour chal raha hai” meaning “today Kashmir is governed by religious decree” to say how Islam has remained a root cause for emanating violence in the region. This is to show how the religion of Islam is all about violence and its believer’s ignorant fundamentalists. The movie also tries to put a veil on the violence perpetrated by the Indian military and shows the dispute as about some inner conflict between two groups of native Kashmiris which the Indian state is trying to resolve with utmost passion. On another occasion, he asserts that “Panch Saal Ki Posting Mein Bas Ek Hi Baat Samjhaa Hoon, Kashmir Ki Baasha Hai Bندوق, Phir Wo Unki Ho Yaa Humari” meaning that “during the five years of my posting in Kashmir, I have understood one thing. The language which Kashmiris understand is the gun, be it theirs or our own.” This is to imply that Kashmiris, having Islam as their religion, are religious zealots who are highly likely to understand or get tamed through the means of brute violence. The narrative of Islamic fundamentalism has been used to snatch agency from Kashmiris to declare them as savage barbarians who cannot think or act independently without the patronization of the Indian state. Through the 1960s, in movies like *Junglee*, *Jab Jab Phool Khilay* and *Kashmir ki Kali*, the region provides an apt setting for romance where Indians come to spend their vacations and fall in love with a Kashmiri who is usually a tourist guide, a simple villager or a houseboat owner. Kashmiri characters in these movies are restricted to minimality where they play pass-on roles to remain in line with the larger idea of Bollywood for Kashmir. The place serves as an extended film set where Indian wealthy people have full authority to enjoy their lives and tame people according to their notions (Kaul, 2019). Shahid Kapoor starrer film *Haider* also tries to show the conflict as emanating from within the region and not as a result of external agency governing illegally. The conflict in the movie has been reduced to some love story/extramarital affair that has nothing to do with violence being perpetrated by the Indian military.

Bollywood has often portrayed Kashmir as a paradise on Earth, emphasizing its stunning natural beauty with picturesque landscapes, snow-capped mountains, and serene lakes. This romanticized portrayal has contributed to the popular perception of Kashmir as a tourist destination. Kashmir as the Romantic Setting: Many Bollywood love stories and musical sequences have been set in the backdrop of Kashmir. These films use the region's beauty to enhance the emotional appeal of the narratives. Some Bollywood films have addressed the conflict in Kashmir, depicting the militancy, insurgency, and political tensions in the region.

These films often focus on the experiences of Indian armed forces or security personnel. Bollywood films have occasionally featured Kashmiri characters, but they are often portrayed in supporting roles and sometimes adhere to stereotypes. The portrayal of Kashmiri culture, including traditional music, clothing, and rituals, is sometimes included in Bollywood films. However, this representation can be superficial and may not accurately reflect the depth of Kashmiri culture. Some Bollywood films set in Kashmir aim to promote a sense of patriotism and unity within India. These films often portray the Indian military as heroes working to maintain peace in the region. A few Bollywood films have taken a more nuanced approach by highlighting the sufferings of Kashmiri civilians and advocating for peace and reconciliation. These films tend to focus on the human aspect of the conflict.

Critics like Raja Sen, Mayank Shekhar, Baradwaj Rangan, Arundhati Roy, etc. have accused Bollywood of perpetuating stereotypes, overlooking the complex reality of Kashmir, and sometimes presenting a one-sided view of the conflict. Some Bollywood films on Kashmir have faced censorship challenges or controversies due to their content, leading to debates on artistic freedom and political sensitivity.

In recent years, there has been an attempt in Bollywood to move beyond conventional narratives and explore more diverse and nuanced representations of Kashmir and its people. Filmmakers are increasingly focusing on the human stories and complexities of the region.

In conclusion, the portrayal of Kashmir and its people in Bollywood is multifaceted, ranging from the romanticization of the region's beauty to addressing the complex political and social issues. While some films have contributed to a better understanding of Kashmir's challenges and its people's aspirations, others have faced criticism for perpetuating stereotypes or simplifying a deeply layered conflict. The evolving nature of these representations suggests a growing awareness of the need for more nuanced and sensitive storytelling about Kashmir in Bollywood. The debate of misrepresentation of Kashmir and its people and history has gained momentum since past more than a year after Bollywood released *Kashmir Files* directed by Vivek Agnihotri. The film director is being accused of distortion and obfuscation of facts about Pandit migration of the 1990s. The movie shows Kashmiri Muslims as radical Islamists responsible for the ouster of their Hindu counterparts from the region. Sanjay Kak, a documentary filmmaker and writer based in New Delhi says that the popular Bollywood film,

powered by a visceral demonization of the Kashmiri Muslim, attempts to construct the truth about Kashmir out of the carcasses of the facts.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The cinematic representation of Kashmir in selected Bollywood movies has been a subject of debate and discussion, with varying portrayals ranging from the romanticization of its natural beauty to depictions of conflict and political unrest. This study delves into the thematic, narrative, and visual aspects of these cinematic representations, seeking to comprehend how Kashmir and its intricate socio-political dynamics have been depicted, after taking down. The cinematic representation of Kashmir in selected Bollywood movies released after August 5, 2019, presents an intriguing focal point for analysis due to the significant political developments in the region, including the revocation of Article 370. The research will also explore the evolving narrative strategies, thematic shifts, and the potential impact of these cinematic representations on public perception, socio-political discourse, and the ongoing Kashmir conflict. Article 370 which dismisses the special status of Kashmir.

## **1.3 Significance of the Study**

The life on the big screen gave a false notion about the ground realities in the region and people used to refer to the place as some tourist destination thoroughly neglecting its historical nature. Different research scholars and academicians have tried to write about the relationship of camera with the territory but no one has explored, in a systematic manner, the gross misrepresentation of the land and its people. This study is significant because it aims to thoroughly discern the Bollywood representation of the region especially after the abrogation of Article 370 that defined the permanent residents of the region. The study will explore the complex and controversial cinematic representation of the region that will help other researchers to further delve deep into nuances of cinematic representation of Jammu and Kashmir and other disputed territories across the globe.

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the proposed research are:

- 1) To analyze how Kashmir has been portrayed in Bollywood films from 2019 onwards.
- 2) To scrutinize the depiction of Kashmiri characters in Bollywood films since 2019.

## **1.5 Research Questions**

RQ1. What are the prevailing thematic elements in the Bollywood films featuring Kashmir from 2019 to 2023?

RQ2. How have the cinematic representation of Kashmiris evolved in Bollywood films released since 2019?

# **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **2.1 Review of Related Literature**

This chapter reviews the literature on Bollywood or mainstream Indian cinema, looking at how the region, its people, and their culture are portrayed. Despite the fact that there is a substantial body of literature about Bollywood, there is very little academic research on Kashmir. This research chapter tries to create a possible paradigm for dealing with representation challenges in depth.

With the influx of the rise of cinema productions, so did develop the critique of these productions. From the early twentieth century up till now, cinema has continued to play an important role in framing and shaping opinions. The life on big screen began to influence the minds and opinions of people with the result that real life began to bear indelible cinematic imprints. From the chambers of Hollywood and other film houses came a bulk of such productions that necessitated response and academic criticism. People and places with varied historical and religious backgrounds were represented in myriad ways throughout the course of cinematic productions. While some of the productions maintained an unbiased attitude, others were meant to only further the statist narratives and misrepresent the people and their experiences. Representation is the act of presenting or depicting something, often to stand in for or symbolize a broader concept, group, or idea. Representation can take various forms, such as visual, verbal, or symbolic, and it plays a crucial role in conveying information, conveying ideas,



and shaping perceptions. For the purposes of this research, representation pertains to the portrayal, depiction, and narrative framing of Kashmir and its socio-political, cultural, and geographical aspects within Bollywood films. This includes examining how Kashmir and its people are depicted in terms of identity, conflict, geography, history, and cultural elements in the visual and narrative content of Bollywood movies. Representation encompasses both overt and subtle ways in which Kashmir is presented and the impact of these representations on shaping perceptions, stereotypes, and understanding of the region by the audience. In his commentary on representation Stuart Hall linked the circuit of culture to explore the relationship between representation and way of life (Ahad, 2022).

### **2.1.1 Early imprints of Cinematic Representation**

Stuart Hall challenges the conventional idea of representation merely mirroring or distorting reality. According to him, viewing representation as a distortion implies a constant measurement of the disparity between the perceived true meaning of an event or object and its presentation on languages. While acknowledge the value of such an approach, he also finds the concept of representation being too literal, presupposing the existence of an absolute “true” representation versus a distorted one. Instead, he proposes that representation plays a constitutive role, simultaneously creating meaning and serving a stand-in for ‘reality’, suggesting that reality is intertwined with the representation process itself (Richardson, 2016).

Tracing the representation of people in early cinema. In the book *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of Indian in the American Popular Culture* says that the touristic gaze by means of which early American cinematographers constructed the distant Other also characterized filmic depictions of radical and ethnic groups closer to home, particularly in the representation of Native Americans (Bird, 1996). The history of othering the people, traditionally marginalized in history, thus goes back to the times when the world was witnessing the beginning of cinema as an established mass entertainment industry. The stereotyping of people based on color, ethnicity, religion, and geography found its way into the cinema industry from the beginning. Sylvia Henry (2021), in her article “Black Sells: The portrayal of Black People in

Cinema” observes that from the first representations of Black people in film to some of the most recent ones,

Black people are placed in films as a token (Diawara, 2012). When it came to films’ representation of Black people and Black lives in the 1800s and early 1900s, all they really had was stereotypes she adds while talking about the early representation of black people in the cinema.

### **2.1.2 Conflict in the portrayal of World Cinema**

The portrayal of the Arab world in the world of cinema has also been a topic of debate among scholars. The negative portrayal of Arabs in movies like *Aladdin* has, too many scholars, set the ground for their alienation in non-Arab lands. On the question of ‘Arab’ in Hollywood, Dr. Jack Shaheen in his remarkable research article “Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People” poses the question about the identification of Arabs. In countless films, Hollywood alleges the answer. Arabs are, according to Shaheen, brute murderers, sleazy rapists, religious fanatics, oil-rich dimwits, and abusers of women (Shaheen, 2001). Such representation of Arabs in Hollywood is seen as the major cause of generating a negative image of Arab in western countries. Many scholars argue that the racial stereotyping of the Arab world in cinema has had negative consequences like bullying, hate crimes, and discrimination. Samar Fatany in her research article “The negative portrayal of Arabs by Hollywood” observes that the stereotype of the barbaric Arab has crept into the western culture over many years and can be found in every other movie in the west today. The depiction of Arabs through orientalist tropes like ‘belly dancers’ and ‘harem girls’ with an aim to stamp and box them within a rigid traditional community that is incompatible with western morals has been a trademark of Hollywood-produced Arab-films. Such cinematic representation of Arabs and Muslims worsened in post-9/11 movies where the world cinema in general and Hollywood in particular portrayed them as Islamic fundamentalists, terrorists who had waged a war against America and other non-Muslim nation-states (Selod, 2023).

In the article “Hollywood, American Politics and Terrorism: When Art Turns into a Political Tool” states that the post-9/11 films have been used to spread stereotyped demeaning images of the Arabs and Muslims and perpetuated a constant distortion of Muslim communities

(Serdouk, 2018). Harsha Senanayake, a researcher at Social Scientists' Association, Sri Lanka, in her article "Hollywood and Wicked Other: The Identity formation of "Western Us" Versus "Muslim Others" disagrees with the notion that 9/11 set the grounds for the negative portrayal of Arabs or Muslims in western cinema. She is of the opinion that Hollywood has depicted Muslims as barbaric, wicked others as a result of the civilizational mission of the west, orientalism and post 9/11 Hollywood cinema advocate these roots. The discriminatory depiction and cultural obfuscation of Arabs have thus been shaped by the historical discourse of western orientalism (Senanayake, 2021). Nadra Kareem Nittle in her article "Common Arab Stereotypes in TV and Film" believes that even before the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, Arab Americans and other Middle Easterners faced sweeping cultural and religious stereotyping. The cinematic representation of Arabs and Muslims in Hollywood from the outset has thus evoked negative responses (Nittle, 2021).

### **2.1.3 Depiction of Indian Muslims in Hindi Cinema**

Bollywood stands as one of the largest film industries globally, shaping culture norms and traditions throughout the nation. Its films consistently reflect the economic and socio-political challenges of their respective eras, as noted by author Farrukh Dhondy (Bose, bollywood: A History , 2008) the Bombay film industry, recognized as the dominant media institution in India (Ganti, 2004), holds a significant role in portraying contradictions such as "custom/innovation", "worldwide/nearby", and "Westen/Eastern", along with addressing concepts like "culture", "nation", and 'Indian'. Often labeled as "Hindi mainstream cinema", Bollywood utilizes Hindustani, a blend of Hindi and Urdu spoken in many parts of India, as its language.

Numerous Indian journalists actively critique the media's role in promoting the perspectives of those in power, a sentiment echoed in Arudhati Roy's "The Ministry of Utmost Happiness." Roy navigates the Indian landscape, shedding light on societal outcasts and addressing issues like religious extremism, culture dominance, and corruption. The novel portrays an India where the ruling elite dictates, the middle class executes, and the media, acting as a guardian, fails to disseminate genuine information, often fabricating events to perpetuate hegemony. Media manipulation extends to inciting communal violence, using advertisement to

bolster government and military images, and spreading propaganda despite the journalists' education, contributing to unchecked authority of the government, corporations, and the military (Khatun, 2024).

Portraying Muslims with a specific appearance creates unwarranted symbolism. If one consistently sees individuals wearing a skull cap being negatively portrayed in movies, accompanied by a submissive woman in a hijab, it forms a lasting perception. Without understanding Islam, this limited representation fosters a distorted view that can persist through generations. This, constitutes genuine oppression, distinct from the fictional forces depicted in movies. (Islam M. , 2007).

Maidul Islam also write in his research article “Imagining Indian Muslims: Looking through the Lens of Bollywood Cinema” that the cinematic representation of Indian Muslims in Hindi Cinema has been evaluated in the same vein. The shared their views on the partiality maintained towards Indian Muslims on the big screen. Hindi films have wrongfully portrayed the Muslims either as non-modern feudal characters or as anti-national, terrorists, villains, or antisocial characters, among others with their own mythical constructions. Objectifying Indian Muslims and showing them in bad light has been a concern of many scholars. Cinema seems to act as an extension of the state when it comes to representing Muslims as is evident in the portrayal of Indian Muslims as ‘Pakistanis’ or ‘anti-nationals’. Pranav Kohliprannv Dhawan in this regard observes in her article “Bollywood: ‘Othering’ the Muslim on screen” that these anti-Pakistan movies use cinematic representations of Pakistanis to raise problematic questions about the citizenship and belonging of Muslims in India, implying that all Muslims living in India are either black sheep or Pakistani agents (Dhawan, 2020). Certain Hindu Filmmakers gave made attempts to depict Islam and Muslims negatively in their works, perpetuating the stereotype that Muslims are the initiators of violence, solely driven by financial motives. This portrayal contrasts with Hindus viewing themselves as patriots, while Pakistanis are often cast as terrorists. Scholars have extensively studies the influence of cinema of Indian culture, with conversation arguing that movies exert a detrimental moral and social impact. Recognized as a potent culture force, the film industry demands immediate attention to safeguard the influence Bollywood film wield on the younger generation’s perceptions, as emphasized in work (Balabantaray, 2020).

#### 2.1.4 Bollywood and Kashmir

Bollywood's representation of Kashmir and Kashmiri Muslims has also been problematic and debatable. Martin Sokefeld contends that the Kashmir conflict stems from religious differences between India's Hindus and Muslims in both India and Pakistan. The unrest in Indian-held Kashmir is portrayed as a Muslim uprising against Hindu dominance, amplified by the historical context of India and Pakistan being a single state before partition, influenced by the Two-Nations-Theory'. Pakistan, established as an Islamic state, represents the homeland for South Asian Muslims, while India, a secular state, resists religion-based politics (Sokefeld, 2009).

The rivalry between India and Pakistan over Kashmir serves as a battleground to assert their contrasting political ideologies. India sees Kashmir, with its Muslim majority, as a testament to its ability to accommodate Muslim within a secular framework despite its Hindu majority. Conversely, for Pakistan, the continued Hindu control over a significant part of Kashmir challenges their advocacy of the Two-Nations-Theory,' prompting the goal to liberate the entire region from Indian control to validate their ideological stance (Sökefeld, 2015).

The relationship between India's assertions on Kashmir and its portrayal in Hindi cinema contributes to regional and religious disputes over the nation's secular historical, cultural and political narrative. Jawaharlal Nehru's assertion regarding Kashmir as a symbol of India's secularism resonates in political discourse and scholarly works addressing the Kashmir debate. Consequently, the narrative and visual representation of Kashmir play a crucial role in Bollywood cinema. Hindi cinema, as highlighted by (Batul, 2022), significantly influences day-to-day political, historical, and social interactions in the country. The depiction of Kashmir in Hindi films has been integral to this influence, with Kashmir serving as the primary shooting location for a Bollywood production from 1950s to the 1980s. This extended engagement with Kashmir has made it a virtual second home for Bollywood movie procedures. The stories, locales, socioeconomics, religion, topography, history, politics, literature, poetry, and commerce of Kashmir collectively contribute to framing it as a vital element in the narratives of Indian identity.

Looking at Kashmir through the lens of Hindi Cinema has hardened the perspectives of common people regarding Kashmir. Hindi Cinema has thus been an important vehicle in shaping opinions over Kashmir and Kashmiri Muslims.

Kashmir as an Islamic space is greatly exploited in Hindi Cinema and is portrayed in sync with terrorism and violence. Kashmiri Muslim in Hindi movies, emerges as an anti-national, violence-prone and hard-hearted, devoid of any human qualities. This process of equating violence and anti-Indian activities with Islam seems to be the familiar trope of Bollywood, (Kabir A. J., 2009).

The familiar image that emerges from the Kashmir-based movies is the Kashmiri as Muslim who left to his own devices, is up to the usual mischief. This stereotyping and misrepresentation of Kashmir comes with an aim to shift the focus from the actual happenings in the valley and try and de-historicize facts. This portrayal not only over simplifies the complex socio-political dynamics of Kashmir but also perpetuates stereotypes that equate Islam with extremism and terrorism (Mishra, 2017).

Bollywood strongly relies on stories and characters to promote the messages of patriotism and build the conceptions of the "Motherland" and "Mother India" in its effort to remake the state-focused and religion-focused nationalist culture (Khan, 2020).

Making content that adheres to the patriotism cliché has become popular in Bollywood during the past two decades. Bollywood began to make film after film around this subject. The most influential and well-established social foundation in India has been the movie industry, (Thussu, 2006).

In the past, while entertaining members of all societal strata, film promoted anti-colonial movements and helped with "nation-building". Bollywood however has portrayed Kashmir in its pre-insurgency movies as some Heavenly picturesque place and constantly connected with romance and escapism. Gulzar Hussain in his research article writes that the pre-89 movies on Kashmir generally speak about the region's heavenly beauty, its shiny streams, shikara's, breathtaking waterfalls, pine trees, meadows and the Indian obsession of declaring it as the jeweled crown on the guide of India (Hussain, 2018).

The portrayal of Kashmir in Bollywood movies through 1960's and 1970s has always been of romance and escapism. When it comes to Kashmir, the region was often connected with

romance. The jaw dropping beauty of the valley offered a favored spot for open air shoots during 60's and 70's until the political climate began to deteriorate (Sircar A. , 2024).

In a similar vein, (Jha, 2023) in his article states that Kashmir, for decades, remained an ultimate destination for any production house operating from India. Anand Bakshi's song for an Amitabh Bachchan starrer *Bemisaal* 1982, "Iss Zameen say, Aasmaan Say, Phooloon kay iss Gulistaan Say, Jana Mushkil hai yahan say" meaning "it is difficult to take leave of this heavenly earth and the valley of roses" aptly describes the portrayal of Kashmir in Bollywood for decades from 1970s to 1989 when Kashmiris finally decided to take up arms against the Indian State.

The representation of the region changed with the political shift thereby creating a whole new discourse around the topic of cinematic representation of Kashmir. According to the research article "The Valley of Desire: A Study of Kashmir as Portrayed through Popular Indian Cinema" highlights the changing contours of this representation. She says that the post-insurgency movies reflect a sharp bias and a myopic approach in representing the valley and its Muslim inhabitants. The content in these movies is rife with Islamophobia and hyper-nationalism, undermining the political struggle and historical context of the conflict (Siddiqi, 2020).

Krupa Shandilya argues that these movies have a same thematic pattern of ostracizing Kashmiri Muslims. Indian state backed by right-wing ideology justifies its oppression of Kashmiri Muslims and represses their demand for right to self-determination through these movies (Shandilya, 2020).

The renowned historian of the occupied territory is of the opinion that during the two decades of 1960s and 1970s, the Indian film Industry used the beauty of the region to fullest to produce some blockbusters. The valley was shown as some pornotropic space without caring for its history and people. However, this changed as Kashmiris in a post-armed rebellion scenario violently responded to this misrepresentation by hurling grenades at cinema halls in Srinagar, the regions summer capital. The upcoming movies have since then severely misrepresented Kashmir and its civilian population on the big screen (Farooq, 2020).

### **2.1.5 Visualizing Paradise: The Pictorial Description of Kashmir**

The Kashmiri town is stunning, with 'unrivaled plane tree, walnut, apple, and apricot trees, watered by an unmistakably gleaming stream. When the rain comes, heated ashes are placed in the Kanger (the clay pot) and concealed by the voluminous clothing (Pheran) that all Kashmiris wear none of this is represented in any Bollywood film depicting Kashmir (Lawrence, 1895) "The Kashmir problem has always been an issue of ethnic identity, the Kashmiriyat," writes Madhumita Srivastava, "and its resolution may be found in maintaining, restoring, and building up the Kashmiriyat in an acceptable framework within the larger freedom and political order (Kumar, 2010). The vast majority of Bollywood movies regarding the Kashmir conflict aim to create a "dissident" national identity for Kashmir in order to spread nationalist and anti-national ideologies based on religious tenets (Bhat, 2015). It is accomplished by associating Kashmir with an anti-India and pro-Pakistan viewpoint and by exhibiting a number of pictures, analogies, and stories drawn from larger themes in popular culture and grouping them under the heading of "Indianness" (Brosius, 1999) Media writers have purposefully persuaded their readers to identify with the community's "patriot" mentality.

Country and film are both new aspects that emerged at the end of a substantial yet significant social development process (Connell, 2012). While the country can trace the ancestors of light and prudence to innovation, a film is an instantaneous outcome of the Western world's Industrial Revolution and automation. As a result, it has become an inseparable component of a person's creative impulse, daily interactions, conventions, and traditions. Sumita Chakravarty and Madhava Prasad claim that the nation is the subject of two studies in Indian film. While Prasad views Hindi film as "an establishment that is a part of the continuing struggles within India over the type of state," (Prasad, 1998). Chakravarty (2011), sees Hindi film "as a mediated type of national consciousness" . Both scholars gave the issues of authority and law a lot of attention, despite considerable methodological discrepancies.

Representation of Kashmir in Bollywood has generated many debates and the present research is also an attempt to evaluate this representation of Kashmiris on the Indian big screen. The present research is an attempt to extensively look at the representation of Kashmir in Indian cinema. In exploring the landscape representation, it is important to mention that Bollywood has frequently utilized the enchanting landscapes of Kashmir as a picturesque backdrop for its



cinematic productions. These films have often portrayed Kashmir as a paradisiacal realm, showcasing its lush green meadows, serene flowing streams, and majestic snow-clad mountains. This cinematic portrayal, while visually captivating, has largely reduced Kashmir to a mere touristic utopia where Indian citizens are encouraged to embark on vacations and relish the natural beauty. However, it is essential to recognize that this representation oversimplifies the complex socio-political realities of the region. In my proposed research, I aim to critically examine how Bollywood's geographical representation of Kashmir contributes to the construction of a simplified and potentially misleading narrative. Through a comprehensive analysis of select Bollywood films, I intend to deconstruct these visual tropes and investigate their impact on shaping public perception of Kashmir, while also seeking to offer a more nuanced understanding of the region's multifaceted identity. The research would explore all the major releases of Bollywood featuring Kashmir from the 2019 and see how the movie makers have gone a step further in celebrating military jingoism and distorting historical facts about Kashmir.

Bollywood, India's vibrant and prolific film industry, has frequently utilized the enchanting landscapes of Kashmir as a picturesque backdrop for its cinematic productions. These films have often portrayed Kashmir as a paradisiacal realm, showcasing its lush green meadows, serene flowing streams, and majestic snow-clad mountains. This cinematic portrayal, while visually captivating, has largely reduced Kashmir to a mere touristic utopia where Indian citizens are encouraged to embark on vacations and relish the natural beauty. However, it is essential to recognize that this representation oversimplifies the complex socio-political realities of the region. In my proposed research, I aim to critically examine how Bollywood's geographical representation of Kashmir contributes to the construction of a simplified and potentially misleading narrative. Through a comprehensive analysis of select Bollywood films, I intend to deconstruct these visual tropes and investigate their impact on shaping public perception of Kashmir, while also seeking to offer a more nuanced understanding of the region's multifaceted identity.

The evolution of Kashmiri representation in Bollywood films from the 1960s to the 1990s indeed presents a significant shift in narrative paradigms. Initially, Kashmiris were often depicted as gentle, welcoming, and hospitable individuals, fostering the image of a tranquil tourist

destination. However, with the eruption of armed rebellion in the early 1990s against the Indian occupation of Kashmir, a marked transformation occurred in the portrayal of Kashmiris on the silver screen. This transition was marked by a narrative shift that depicted Kashmiri characters as Islamic terrorists, brandishing automatic rifles and operating from military bases in Pakistan. These films portrayed them as individuals waging a violent war against India, which contributed to the stereotyping of the entire Kashmiri population as being inherently militant or separatist in nature. The everyday realities of the inhabitants of the region like their social and family structures, cultural practices, economy and livelihood and religious practices were neglected in the first phase and distorted in the post-armed rebellion era.

In my proposed research, I endeavor to conduct a comprehensive and critical analysis of this dramatic transformation in Bollywood's representation of Kashmiris. By examining a selection of films from both eras and comparing the recurrent themes and motifs with the post-2019 movies, I aim to deconstruct the complex interplay of factors that led to this shift, including the socio-political context of the Kashmir conflict, evolving national sentiments, and the film industry's response to these developments. Moreover, my research will delve into the implications of such representations on public perception and the potential consequences they have had on the lived experiences of Kashmiris. Through a multidisciplinary approach, I aspire to shed light on whether this portrayal is just or unjust, as well as its broader implications in the context of identity, conflict, and cinematic discourse. This research seeks to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how cinema can shape and reflect perceptions of complex geopolitical conflicts and the people caught in their midst.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

This research will be using a quantitative content analysis approach to discover whether the themes from pre and post armed rebellion phases are persistent in movies released after the abrogation of Article 370 under Framing Theory.

While some aspects of this research focus on one of the critical processes in framing theory practices of representation, the goal is to explain the importance of representation in studying Bollywood films on Kashmir since the 2019 and how information is organized and structured, the use of language, signs, and images that stand for or represent meanings with the shift in the region's political developments.

### **2.2.1 Framing Theory**

One of the significant concepts in media effects is an extension of agenda-setting. While agenda-setting involves prioritizing issues through frequent reporting, framing focuses on the manner in which the media presents an issue within a specific context. This strategic placement of a topic in a particular field of meaning significantly influences public decision-making patterns. Emerging from Erving Goffman's groundwork in frame analysis (Goffman, 1974), the framing theory has expanded to cover diverse aspects like media framing, political communication, and societal narratives. This theoretical framework delves into frames, cognitive structures that shape how we understand information, influencing our attitudes and behaviours significantly (Entman, 1993). This study builds upon Goffman's original concepts and the advancements in framing theory that followed, aiming to unravel the intricacies of how frames come to be, how they're spread, and how people perceive them in communication processes.

Framing theory suggests that how information is presented (i.e., framed) can influence the way people perceive and interpret that information. The theory proposes that individuals make sense of new information by fitting it into pre-existing mental frameworks or "frames" that shape their understanding of the world. Frames can be activated or manipulated by language, images, and other forms of communication, and different frames can lead to different perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. The theory has been applied to a wide range of contexts, including politics, media, advertising, and social issues, and has important implications for how information is crafted and communicated in these domains. By using framing theory to analyze a movie, we can identify the ways in which certain groups or individuals are framed and the messages that are being communicated about them. This can help us to recognize misrepresentations and biases, and to understand the impact that these portrayals can have on our perceptions and attitudes.

Furthermore, framing theory can help us to identify the underlying power structures and social norms that contribute to misrepresentation in movies. For example, if a movie consistently frames women in subservient or sexualized roles, we can recognize that this is a reflection of broader societal attitudes towards gender roles and power dynamics.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter, the methodology encompasses a thorough examination of the cinematic representation of Kashmir and its people, spanning 2019 to 2024. This study begins by introducing the study area, followed by detailing the study's design, study population, sample size, and sampling procedures.

The proposed research would focus on the thematic aspect with a quantitative study of the given data, creating a multifaceted exploration of cinematic works of representing Kashmir and Kashmiris and analyze the post-2019 movies and their connection with the earlier phases of 1960s-80s and 1989-2019. This enriched thematic approach ensures a comprehensive, authentic, and incisive exploration of cinematic representation over the specified time periods.

The proposed research focused on movies released post-5th August 2019, a period marked by significant political changes in Kashmir, including the revocation of Article 370. The goal was to analyze films released during the 1960s and 70s through existing research and to compare these findings with the study of films from 2019 to 2024 to determine if the representation of Kashmir and its people in these movies has been justified.

By examining this comparison, an analysis has been drawn that popular Indian cinema has continued to aggressively mobilize the desire for Kashmir. This research also explores how these representations align with the socio-political realities of the region, providing insights into the dynamic narrative changes and shifts in focus from the idyllic depictions of the past to the more contentious portrayals in recent years.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The study used quantitative methodology to arrive at a more accurate understanding of the Cinematic Representation of Kashmir in Hindi Cinema since. To carry a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under study, a quantitative analysis of the major Bollywood releases about Kashmir and Kashmiris has carried out in a particular phase to explore the underlying structures and highlight the representation of land and its people.

## **3.2 Sampling**

Data for this study is collected from major movies of Bollywood since 2019. The criteria include all releases either depicting Kashmir or using the valley as backdrop. The criteria includes all releases either depicting Kashmir or using the valley as backdrop. First category includes *Mudda 370* (2019); *No Fathers in Kashmir* (2019); *Article 370* (2024); *Notebook* (2019); *Uri Surgical Strike* (2019); *Shikara* (2020); *Kashmir Files* 2022

### 3.3 Thematic Film Analysis

Thematic film analysis serves as a methodical lens through which films can be studied, by an interpreting film that focuses on identifying and examining the underlying themes or central ideas within a movie. It involves a close examination of the various elements of the film, such as the narrative, characters, cinematography, dialogue, symbolism, and overall structure, in order to uncover and explore the film's thematic content (Bateman & Schmidt, 2013).

The objective of thematic film analysis is to go beyond the surface-level plot and explore the deeper meanings, messages, and ideas conveyed by the film. It involves identifying recurring motifs, symbols, or patterns that contribute to the overall thematic framework of the movie. By analyzing these elements, researchers, critics, or viewers can gain a better understanding of the film's intended themes and the filmmaker's artistic choices. In the realm of film studies, thematic approach becomes a gate way to understanding the resonating messages, social commentaries, and emotional resonances that elevate movies beyond mere entertainment. The study will follow the Thematic Film Analysis in its approach and discern the underlying themes and central ideas of the selected movies.

## **3.4 Data Collection**

To learn about a certain topic, information is gathered and analyzed to process and answer certain questions and assess its outcome. For this research, data is collected from all the releases of Hindi Cinema featuring Kashmir and its people post 2019. Data for this quantitative study is collected by using a coding sheet.

## **3.5 Unit of Analysis**

A scene is a unit of analysis, focusing on specific themes transitioning from one scene to another. For instance, I explored how scenes depicting political tensions seamlessly transition

into those portraying cultural identities. This approach allows for a nuanced examination of the interconnectedness of themes within the cinematic portrayal of Kashmir.

## **3.6 Conceptualization and Operational Definitions**

### **3.6.1 Bollywood**

Bollywood refers to the ‘Hindi-language’ film industry primarily based in Mumbai, India. It encompasses the production, distribution, and exhibition of commercial Hindi cinema, known for its distinctive narrative styles, music, dance sequences, and cultural influence both within India and among the Indian diaspora. Bollywood films often include elements of romance, drama, music, and dance and have played a significant role in shaping popular culture and reflecting social and political issues in India.

In this research I explored the shaping of social and political issues pertaining to Kashmir through the Industry’s major Bollywood releases on the region post reading down of Kashmir’s semi-autonomous status in August 2019.

### **3.6.2 Representation**

Representation is the ‘act of presenting or depicting something, often to stand in for or symbolize a broader concept, group, or idea’. Representation can take various forms, such as visual, verbal, or symbolic, and it plays a crucial role in conveying information, conveying ideas, and shaping perceptions.

For the purposes of this research, representation pertains to the portrayal, depiction, and narrative framing of Kashmir and its socio-political, cultural, and geographical aspects within Bollywood films. This includes examining how Kashmir and its people are depicted in terms of identity, conflict, geography, history, and cultural elements in the visual and narrative content of Bollywood movies. Representation encompasses both overt and subtle ways in which Kashmir is presented and the impact of these representations on shaping perceptions, stereotypes, and understanding of the region by the audience.

### **3.6.3 Political representation**

Political representation is ‘when individuals or groups are chosen or elected to speak, make decisions, and take actions on behalf of a larger population or constituency within a

political system'. Political representatives are expected to represent the interests, needs, and concerns of the people who have entrusted them with their authority.

In the context of this research, political representation refers to the formal and informal processes through which the political interests, perspectives, and concerns of the people of Kashmir are presented, advocated for, and communicated within the political institutions and decision-making structures

### **3.6.4 Social Representation**

Social representation is the 'way a society collectively thinks about, understands, and communicates shared concepts, groups, or ideas through various forms of communication, such as language, symbols, and cultural norms'. Social representation reflects the shared beliefs, values, and attitudes of a community or culture regarding specific aspects of their social world.

For the purpose of this research, social representation refers to the portrayal, perception, and interpretation of the people, culture, and societal dynamics of Kashmir within Bollywood films and the broader cultural discourse. It encompasses the ways in which Kashmiri society, identities, traditions, and interactions are depicted and constructed in the narratives, dialogues, characterizations, and visual elements of these films. Social representation also includes the examination of how these cinematic depictions may influence or reflect broader societal attitudes, stereotypes, and perceptions about the Kashmiri people and their way of life. This definition aims to explore the cultural and social dimensions of how Kashmir is presented and understood within the context of Bollywood cinema.

### **Revocation of Article 370**

The revocation of Article 370 denotes the constitutional amendment that removed the special autonomous status granted to the region of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Constitution. This amendment entailed the conferred unique privileges and autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union. This definition aims to provide an impartial description of the legal and constitutional modification, devoid of any evaluative connotations. The constitutional validity of the abrogation of Article 370 has been debated extensively.

## 4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This research thesis began with the aim of closely examining the portrayal of Kashmir in Bollywood movies, focusing on identifying recurring themes. Motivation was to comprehend the influential role of films in shaping public perceptions and to know how Kashmir being a sensitive region is represented in the film biggest industry like Bollywood sensitive regions like Jammu and Kashmir. The research tried to uncover deliberate patterns in these movies, particularly in light of the changes following the revocation of Article 370. Watching almost seven films spanning from 2019 to 2024 allowed for a comprehensive analysis. Upon scrutinizing these Bollywood productions, it became evident that many tend to romanticize Kashmir's landscape while overlooking its intricate history and political dynamics. Moreover, the analysis revealed a tendency to marginalize Kashmiri characters and normalize the presence of the military as a means of exerting control. This research shows how skillfully filmmakers have justified their biased representation regarding Kashmir. They depict Pakistani as the initiators of violence and Kashmiris as troublemakers and resistant to progress and success. These films and portrayals effectively delegitimize Kashmir's struggle for freedom by showing them as terrorists and enemies of both India and Kashmiris themselves, often portraying them as an unscrupulous, just like in Uri, Mada 370, Kashmir files and Article 370. Moreover, any positive character with a Muslim name is often represented as pro-Indian, like Zooni Haksar in Article 370, who works hard for the success of revocation. Additionally, filmmakers also use romance and beauty of Kashmir to obscure the historical context, presenting a one dimensional view that favors India and gaining sympathy from larger audience for its perspective. Films like Shakira and Note Book clearly reflect that.

**Table 4. 1: Uri: Surgical Strikes**

Total Number of Scenes: 26

Aspects	Details
Duration	1.50 – 2.11.57
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	18
Historical conflict link	25



Involvement of Pakistan	18
Militants Scenes (Kashmiris)	09
Major Role Played by Indian	25
Kashmiris as Trouble markers	03
Indians as Victims	03
Army as Savior	24

“Uri: The Surgical Strike (2019)” directed by Aditya Dhar.

**Main leads:** Vicky Kaushal as Indian Army Major Vihaan Singh Shergill, Rajit Kapur as the PM of India, Paresh Rawal as a Govind Bhardwa, National Security Advisor and master mind behind the surgical strike.

After the revocation of Article 370 in August 2019, which ended a special status of Jammu and Kashmir there has been a notable trend in Bollywood of making films around Kashmir and nationalistic themes. Like Uri film showcases 26 scenes in which they highlight the valor and sacrifices of the Indian armed forces, as well as political and military strategies of the Indian government. They show how successfully Indian Army strike bases in Pakistan occupied Kashmir in reference of 2016 incident. Indian forces are depicted as heroes in 25 scenes of the film, while Pakistan is portrayed antagonistically in 14 scenes. The film smartly portrays Pakistan’s disruption of regional peace, effecting all regions and beyond the war in Kashmir. This disruption is represented through instances such as diplomatic tensions, cross-border infiltrations, and covert operations shown in various scenes. This film can be seen as a one dimensional portrayal of a conflict without adequately addressing the nuances of the India-Pakistan relationship. There is a limited screen time dedicated to Kashmir, but in that time, the film reflects Kashmir as a region fraught with tension and as a battleground where Indian soldiers confront terrorist threats. The prime objective of this film was to gain sympathy and attention which it did successfully. According to Indian Box Office at over 340 crore worldwide, it was the biggest grossing film of 2019. It was cherished for its performances, direction, and nationalistic approach. However, the lack of a balanced portrayal limits the film’s credibility to being more than a piece of nationalist cinema. It fails in providing a balanced perspective on the sensitive and complex issue of India-Pakistan dispute.

**Table 4. 2: Kashmir files**

Total Number of scenes: 42

Aspects	Details
Duration	0.1 – 2:39:40
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	39
Historical conflict link	39
Militants Scenes (Kashmiris)	18
Involvement of Pakistan	09
Major Role Played by Indian	37
Indians as Victims	34
Kashmiris as Trouble markers	32
Army as Savior	03
Delegitimizing Kashmir	27
Stereotypical representation of Muslims	32

**Main lead:** Anupam Kher as a Pushkar Nath the central character who represents the whole Pandits community, Mithun Chakraborty as Pandit Daya Ram who shows the communal tensions and violence in the film, Pallavi Joshi as Naina Qureshi who shows the imoact of this massacre on various communities.

The Kashmir Files (2022), directed by Vivek Agnihotri was released after the revocation of Article 370. Films like “The Kashmir Files” strengthen the political narratives of those who support the revocation by showing the historically disrupted incident of the suffering of Kashmiri Pandits. Such representations are used to justify the government’s actions and policies in the region. The statistically breakdown of theme scenes in “The Kashmir Files,” notably the heavy focus on representing Kashmiri Muslims as troublemakers and delegitimizing Kashmir, illustrates a concerning trend in Bollywood’s handling of sensitive historical narratives. With an astounding 32 scenes stereotype Muslims and 27 scenes delegitimize Kashmir, the film risks perpetuating biased perspectives rather than promoting genuine understanding. By amplifying the portrayal of Indians as victims, while side lining the complexities of the conflict, the film misses an opportunity to address root causes and find inclusive solutions. One of the most

horrifying scene in the film is the depiction of the massacre of a Kashmiri Pandit family. This particular scene, militants forcefully enter the home of Puhkar Nath Pandit (played by Anupam Kher), brutally killing several family members in front of him. The highly intense and gory scene dramatically showcase the horrific violence experienced by Kashmiri Pandits without providing enough background information. This film is critically seen by many critics such as Rajeev Masand, Taran Adarsh, and the magazine, “The Wire”, who point out that it tends to dramatize and sensationalize historical events in order to bolster certain political agenda and provide emotional support. Dialogue like “Raliv, galive, ya chalive.” Means “convert, die or leave,” is an ultimatum given to the Kashmiri Pandits family to threaten them and to evoke strong emotional response from the audience. This dialogues also highlight the trauma and persecution experienced by Indian Pandits. In contrast to that dialogue given to main lead Anupum kher, “Hum haar nhi manege, hum apni zameen chod kar nahi jayengy. Yeh hmara Kashmir hai, yeh hmara ghar hai.” Which translates into “We will not give up, we will not leave our land. This is our Kashmir, this is our home.” Director know how to encourage and create an impact on Indian media via these nationalistic approach. This dialogue serves as an inspirational message, echoing with themes of resilience and courage. These one-sided narrative, by focusing one group’s heroism and victim, it can make the situation seem simpler than it and potentially alienate others.

**Table 4. 3: Notebook (2019)**

Total Number of scenes: 21

Duration	0.01-1:14
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	13
Militants Scenes (Kashmiri)	1
Historical conflict link	2
Involvement of Pakistan	0
Army as Savior	4
Kashmiris as Trouble markers	9
Delegitimizing Kashmir	04
Kashmir as a tourist	05

Stereotypical representation of Muslims	04
Indian as a victim	14

**Main leads:** Zaheer Iqbal as an ex-army officer who becomes a school teacher in a remote village of Kashmir, Pranutan Bahl as Firdaus is a former school teacher at a same school.

Notebook (2019) directed by Nitin Kakkar attempts to use the serene and picturesque landscape of Kashmir to deliver underlying messages about the region, but it does so in a way that some critics find problematic. One scene where the hero an ex-army officer, arrives in a village of Kashmir to re-open a school. He is present as a kind figure, working to educate and uplift the local children, positioning the Indian military presence in a positive light. In contrast, the Kashmiri characters are shown as being conscious and somewhat reluctant to change. Which shows the harsh and problematic nature of Kashmiris or resistant to progress. In on other scene of this film where an actor gets a flashback, hero is shown attempting to mediate a conflict between two young boys one of whom comes from a family involved in militant family as aggressive and disruptive, while hero, representative of education and progress, tries to bring peace and understanding. This scene shows how Kashmiri population is inclined towards violence and extremism and Indian state or its institutions are depicted as an agent of peace and progress. This has been seen as a way to juxtapose the natural beauty of the region against a backdrop of turmoil and backwardness, reinforcing stereotypes about Kashmir and its people.

**Table 4. 4: Shikara (2020)**

Total Number of scenes: 33

Duration	1:42-1:56:50
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	24
Militant scenes (Kashmiri)	10
Stereotypical representation of Muslims	05
Kashmiris as Trouble markers	16
Delegitimizing Kashmir	14
Army as Savior	02

Involvement of Pakistan	02
Historical conflict	26
Kashmir as a tourist place	08
Indian as a major role	33
Kashmir as a minor role	06

**Main leads:** Adil Khan as Shiv Kumar Dhar, Kashmiri pandit who, along with his wife, faces consequences and displacement during the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in 1990 and another lead is Sadia Khateeb as a Shanti Dhar, hero's wife, portraying a character deeply affected by the political unrest.

“Shikara (2020)” directed by Vidhu Vinod Chhpra is another emotional attempt to justify state's role of revocation of Article 370. This film aims to shed light on the tragic exodus of Kashmiri Pandits but ends up showing a biased view of Kashmir. It mostly focuses on the suffering of one community, oversimplifying the region's complex situation and ignoring the hardships of others, like Kashmiri Muslims. By not giving the full historical and political context. When Shikara and his wife, are shown being violently expelled from their home and driven away under the threat of violence highlights their personal trauma and displacement. Without going into the wider historical or political context of the dispute, the attention in this scenario is almost entirely on the suffering of the Kashmiri Pandit community without addressing the complexities of the Kashmir issue or the hardships and sufferings endured by the other communities of Kashmir. Film maker also uses serene setting of Kashmir as a backdrop to emphasize the contrast between the beauty of the land and the ugliness of the history in a subtle way to create an emotional impact. The romanticization of Kashmir in Indian cinema has indeed been a recurring theme, often used for the various narratives and propagandistic purposes.

**Table 4. 5: No father in Kashmir**

Total scenes: 27

Duration	0.19 – 01:09
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	19

Militant scenes (Kashmiri)	10
Historical conflict	01
Army as Savior	05
Kashmiris as Trouble markers	14
Delegitimizing Kashmir	13
Stereotypical representation of Muslims	02
Involvement of Pakistan	06
Kashmir as a Major role	26
Indian as a major role	01
Kashmir as a tourist place	07
Non Militant effort	11

**Main leads:** Zara Webb as Noor a teenage girl who travels to Kashmir in search of his missing father other lead is Shivam Raina as Majid who becomes Noor’s guide and friend.

“No Fathers in Kashmir (2019)” directed by Ashvin Kumar, film portrays the struggles of Kashmiris without explicitly blaming the Indian occupation. The film presents many perspectives from Kashsmiri society, including those active in resistance. It humanizes individuals in the resistance movement, acknowledging the complexity of the conflict without condemning any specific aspect. In one scene, Noor and Majid visit a village that has been heavily affected by the conflict. There are damaged homes, displaced families, and a pervasive sense of loss. The scene effectively conveys the impact of the conflict on the local population, sfocusing on the personal and communal suffering. Film represents the Kashmir as a region of deep pain and trauma without directly blaming or showing Indian authorities as a reason for that. This film presents a personal and localized view of the situation, allowing viewers to empathize with the people of Kashmir without engaging in broader political or nationalistic critiques.

**Table 4. 6: Muda 370 J and K**

Total scenes: 35

Duration	1.02 – 2:08:34
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic	31

Elements	
Historical conflict	35
Militant scenes (Kashmiri)	16
Army as Savior	06
Stereotypical representation of Muslims	21
Delegitimizing Kashmir	27
Involvement of Pakistan	15
Non-Militant effort	08
Indian as a major role	33
Kashmiri as a minor role	22
Involvement of Pakistan	14
Kashmir as a tourist place	05

**Main lead:** Hiten Tejawani plays a role of Kashmiri Pandit who is directly affected by the 1990 massacre

“Muda 370” directed by Rakesh Sawant and endorsed by PM Narendra Modi, this film suffers from critical shortcomings in its execution, characterized by an overreliance on melodrama and sensationalism. The film is based on the insurgency in late 1980s and early 1990s but the narrative is set against the backdrop of the political turmoil surrounding the revocation of Article 370. The characters portrayed in the film often lack depth and complexity, rendering them as one-dimensional entities. Furthermore, the narrative fails to adequately address the intricate layers of the Kashmir conflict, opting instead for a simplistic and black-and-white portrayal that overlooks its nuanced complexities. Moreover, the film’s portrayal of Pakistani characters is notably negative and unprofessional. They are depicted in a stereotypical and derogatory manner, contributing to a narrative that perpetuates harmful stereotypes and fails to provide a balanced perspective on cross-border relations. A lot can be inferred about the film and the propaganda that went into its production from the opening sequence, which features Burhan Wani, a well-known militant leader from Kashmir, forcing a woman to sleep with him and on the other hand film shows Pakistani Army as sybarite. Film often blames on Pakistani Army as supporting insurgent activities and contributing to the instability in the region.

**Table 4. 7: Article 370 (2024)**

Total scenes: 26

Duration	4:59 – 2:32:49
Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	26
Historical conflict	26
Non Militant efforts	09
Militant-scenes (Kashmiri)	14
Involvement of Pakistan	13
Army as a savior	07
Delegitimizing Kashmir	23
India as a major role	24ss
Kashmir as a minor role	16
Non Militant effort	09
Stereotypical representation of Muslims	14
Kashmir as a tourist place	01

**Main leads:** Yami Gautam as Zooni Haksar works as an intelligence officer who is deeply involved in uncovering the effects of Article 370 on Kashmir, other main lead is PMO Secretary Rajeshwari Swaminathan played by Priya Mani who takes charge of the ground work of revocation of article 370 and appointing Zooni to lead the NIA operation.

“Article 370”, directed by Aditya Suhas, presents a controversial portrayal of the Kashmir conflict, characterized by one dimensional and biased representation. The film’s narratives on Kashmiri figures, prominently Burhan Wani, fails to match the ground. Furthermore, using an Indian female lead character to soften the narrative risks appearing tokenistic and fails to authentically represent the Kashmiri perspective. Dramatic scene where Zooni, who killed Burhan Wani, automatically declines the accuracy of historical events. This delusional representation of India’s role in occupying Kashmir undermines the film’s credibility, presenting a simplistic view of a complex socio-political issue. At the end of the film, they show how the people of Kashmir celebrate after the revocation. In the scene, people are shown dancing in the



streets, waving Indian flags, and expressing joy and support. In reality, the reaction in Kashmir to the abrogation of Article 370 was totally different. Kashmiri people faced anxiety and unrest. The government imposed strict security measures, including communications blackout and curfew, to forcefully maintain this order. Freedom of speech was taken away, and people were restricted to their houses. By failing to acknowledge the realities of Kashmiri suffering and legitimate grievances, the film focuses on representing Kashmiris as troublemakers and resilient to progress and Indians as heroes, which does not reflect the reality of the ground. This approach makes the movie less believable and fails to provide a fair and accurate depiction of the Kashmir dispute.

### **Discussion and Conclusion:**

This study has investigated the representation of Kashmir and Kashmiris in Bollywood cinema, particularly following the revocation of Article 370 in 2019. By thematically analyzing films such as “Article 370”, “Mudda 370”, “The Kashmir Files”, “Notebook (2019)”, and “Shikara (2020)”, it has become evident that Bollywood narratives often shape and reflect specific ideological and political views. The central claim, that Bollywood has not portrayed the real picture of Kashmir in post-2019 films, is supported by the findings. These films frequently depict Kashmir through a lens that aligns with the perspectives of the dominant Indian state, framing the region and its people in ways that serve particular ideological purposes.

Several themes recur across the analyzed films. Conflict and terrorism are prominent, with movies like “The Kashmir Files” and “Article 370” focusing heavily on portraying Kashmir as a hub of terrorism. This depiction simplifies complex socio-political issues into a binary narrative of good versus evil, where Kashmiris are often either victims or perpetrators of violence. Additionally, the representation of Kashmiris often resorts to stereotyping, depicting them as either militants or deeply troubled individuals, which reinforces a one-dimensional and divisive view of the region. While some films, such as “Notebook (2019)”, attempt to highlight the romanticized beauty of Kashmir, this is frequently overshadowed by underlying tensions and conflict, suggesting that the region’s natural beauty cannot be separated from its troubled political landscape. The film “Shikara (2020)” also attempts to provide a more personal and poignant narrative but still does not fully escape the overarching themes of conflict and displacement.

The findings have significant implications for understanding the role of cinema in shaping socio-political discourses. Bollywood, as a major cultural force, has the power to influence public perception and memory. According to framing theory, the media can "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman R. M., 1993). The post-2019 films set in Kashmir reflect a shift towards narratives that align with state ideologies, framing Kashmir as a site of perennial conflict and unrest. This narrative control not only shapes current perceptions but also influences how future generations will understand the history and identity of Kashmir.

The study also underscores the ethical responsibility of filmmakers in representing sensitive political issues. The portrayal of Kashmir and Kashmiris in a manner that serves particular ideologies raises questions about the politics of representation and the potential for cinema to be used as a tool for ideological propagation.

**RQ1** In a collective analysis, it becomes evident that the prevailing thematic elements in Bollywood films featuring Kashmir from 2019 to 2024 are indicative of a deliberate agenda-setting. These films consistently emphasize select themes such as conflict, terrorism, and the Kashmiri Pandit exodus, showcasing a calculated effort to manipulate historical narratives and evoke sympathy. This strategic selection of themes conveniently side-lines the everyday struggles and grievances of Kashmiris, perpetuating a biased perspective. Furthermore, the glorification of the Indian Army as heroic figures serves a nationalist agenda, aimed at reinforcing notions of superiority and control. The romanticization of Kashmir's scenic beauty amidst tales of unrest further contributes to the deceptive narrative, glossing over the region's harsh realities. While purported attempts at nuance may occasionally surface, the widespread use of stereotypes and oversimplifications betrays a clear agenda-driven approach. Collectively, these films construct a distorted portrayal of Kashmir, prioritizing themes that serve vested interests while disregarding the nuanced complexities and ongoing challenges faced by its people.

**RQ2** The evolution of cinematic representation of Kashmiris in Bollywood films, spanning from the 1960s to recent releases since 2019, reveals a significant transformation in narrative themes and portrayals. During the 1960s, Kashmir was often depicted as an idyllic paradise, celebrated

for its breath taking landscapes and romantic allure. Films from this era showcased the region's natural beauty through iconic songs and scenic backdrops, portraying Kashmir as a favored destination for cinematic storytelling, as noted by scholars such as Gulzar Hussain and Arunita Sircar.

However, since 2019, there has been a notable departure from these idealized portrayals. Jahanara Kabir's analysis highlights that contemporary Bollywood films have increasingly depicted Kashmir through a politically charged lens, emphasizing themes of conflict, terrorism, and nationalist sentiments. This shift reflects broader socio-political dynamics and ideological currents, with Kashmir often portrayed as an Islamic space synonymous with violence and insurgency. Consequently, Kashmiri Muslims have been depicted in recent films as anti-national and violence-prone figures, devoid of the humanity and complexity afforded to them in earlier cinematic representations.

This research supports these observations, indicating a drastic shift in the cinematic portrayal of Kashmiris. Analyzing films from 2019 to 2024, a clear pattern emerges where the focus is predominantly on conflict and terrorism, overshadowing the everyday lives and struggles of the Kashmiri people. This selective storytelling perpetuates stereotypes and aligns with specific ideological agendas, marginalizing the diverse and multifaceted realities of Kashmiris.

This evolution in cinematic portrayal underscores the industry's responsiveness to prevailing socio-political narratives and audience expectations. While earlier films celebrated Kashmir's beauty and romance, recent releases reflect a more somber and contentious depiction of the region, mirroring the complex realities of contemporary Kashmir. As Bollywood continues to navigate the portrayal of Kashmiris on screen, there remains a pressing need for nuanced and empathetic representations that capture the diverse experiences and identities within Kashmiri society, while also challenging stereotypes and promoting greater understanding and empathy.

In conclusion, this research shows a clear shift in the themes of Bollywood films set in Kashmir from the 1960s to after 2019. The portrayal has changed from showing Kashmir as a beautiful, romantic place to focusing on conflict, terrorism, and nationalist ideas. Familiar themes, like the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits, are often used in recent films to consistently present Kashmir as a region full of violence and unrest. This influences how people view Kashmir politically and socially. These films frequently show Kashmiris, especially Muslims, in a one-sided way, often

as anti-national and violent. This study highlights the strong impact of cinema on global perceptions and underscores the need for more balanced and fair representations to challenge the current biased views.

#### **4.1 Limitations**

A notable limitation of this research study is its reliance on a limited selection of Bollywood films released between 2019 and 2024. This narrow focus may not fully capture the diversity of cinematic portrayals of Kashmir and its people. Additionally, the study primarily analyzes mainstream Bollywood productions, potentially overlooking independent and regional films that might offer different perspectives.

#### **4.2 Suggestions**

1. **Broader Film Selection:** Future research should include a wider range of Bollywood films, including those from different genres and lesser-known productions. This approach will help capture a more diverse and comprehensive understanding of how Kashmir and its people are portrayed across the Bollywood spectrum, beyond mainstream narratives.
2. **Historical Contextualization:** Incorporate a historical analysis that examines the evolution of Kashmir's portrayal in cinema over different political eras, providing a more nuanced understanding of shifts in narratives and themes.

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# Coding Book

Name of Movie: **URI SURGICAL STRIKE**

**Table 3. 1: Coding Sheet Thematic Analysis 2**

Time Duration	Scene	Visual Framing			Political Representation			Militant	Missing Persons	Major Role	Minor Role	Kashmiri as a Trouble Maker	Pandits/Hindues as Victim	Deligitimizing Kashmir- resistance/kasmir- as a terrorist	Kashmir as a Terrorist Place/Romance	Army as Saviour
		Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	Dialogue	Historical Conflict Link	Lyrics	Involvement of Pakistan	Non-Militant Efforts									
1:50 - 5:58	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
5:58 - 15:04	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
15:04 - 15:35	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
15:35 - 18:14	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
18:14 - 21:36	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
21:36 - 24:12	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0

24:12 - 26:08	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
26:08 - 28:00	8	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
28:00 - 32:11	9	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
32:11 - 35:32	10	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
35:32 - 39:39	11	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
39:39 - 47:01	12	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
47:01 - 50:43	13	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
50:43 - 54:25	14	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
54:25 - 57:49	15	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
57:49 - 59:39	16	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
59:39 -	17	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

1:03:1 6																
1:03:1 6 - 1:07:5 4	18	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1:07:5 4 - 1:09:5 7	19	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1:09:5 7 - 1:14:0 9	20	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1:14:0 9 - 1:18:2 6	21	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
1:18:2 6 - 1:21:5 9	22	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1:21:5 9 - 1:24:0 0	23	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
1:24:0 0 - 1:29:4 6	24	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
1:29:4 6 - 2:09:0	25	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1

6																
2:09:0 6 - 2:011; 57	26	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1

Name of Movie: **KASHMIR FILES**

**Table 3. 2: Coding Sheet Thematic Analysis**

Time Duration	Scene	Visual Framing			Political Representation													
		Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	Dialogue	Historical Conflict Link	Lyrics	Involvement of Pakistan	Non-Militant Efforts	Militant	Missing Persons	Major Role	Minor Role	Kashmiri as a Trouble Maker	Pandits/Hindues as Victim	Deligitimizing Kashmir- resistance/kasmir- as a terrorist	Kashmir as a Terrorist Place/Romance	Army as Saviour	Islam/Muslim	Kashmiri in Major Role
0 - 1:46	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1:46 - 04:06	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
4:06 - 05:58	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
5:58 - 07:45	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
7:45 - 09:35	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
9:35	6	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0

- 10:5 3																		
10:5 3- 17: 11	7	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
17:2 0- 19:0 1	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
19:0 2- 20:2 0	9	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
20:2 0- 24:1 0	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
24:1 0- 28:1 5	11	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
28:1 5- 30:5 0	12	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30:5 0- 32:3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0

2																		
32:3 2- 33:3 4	14	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
33:3 4- 35:0 8	15	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
35:0 8- 36:5 8	16	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
36:5 8- 39:5 3	17	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
39:5 3- 42:0 5	18	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
42:0 5- 45:0 4	19	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
45:0 5- 48:3 0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
48:3	21	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0

0 - 52:3 9																		
52;3 9 - 1:00 :37	22	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:00 :37 - 1:03 :19	23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
1:03 :19 - 1:06 :00	24	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:06 :00 - 1:10 :28	25	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:10 :28 - 1:13 :19	26	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:13 :19 - 1:17 :09	27	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:17 :09 - 1:24	28	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0



:16																		
1:24 :16 - 1:29 :11	29	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
1:29 :11 - 1:35 :49	30	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
1:35 :49 - 1:37 :50	31	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:37 :50 - 1:39 :23	32	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
1:39 :23 - 1:42 :53	33	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
1:42 :53 - 1:46 :28	34	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
1:46 :28 - 1:52 :31	35	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1:52	36	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

:31 - 1:55 :20																		
1:55 :20 - 1:57 :58	37	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
1:57 :58 - 2:05 :37	38	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
2:05 :37 - 2:11 :42	39	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
2:11 :42 - 2:12 :59	40	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
2:12 :59 - 2:30 :28	41	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
2:30 :28 - 2:39 :40	42	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0

Name of Movie: **SHIKARA (2020)**

**Table 3.3: Coding Sheet Thematic Analysis 2**

Time Duration	Scene	Visual Framing			Political Representation													
		Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	Dialogue	Historical Conflict Link	Lyrics	Involvement of Pakistan	Non-Militant Efforts	Militant	Missing Persons	Major Role	Minor Role	Kashmiri as a Trouble Maker	Pandits/Hindues as Victim	Deligitimizing Kashmir resistance/kasmir as a terrorist	Kashmir as a Terrorist Place/Romance	Army as Saviour	Islam/Muslim	Kashmiri in Major Role
1:42 - 3:04	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
3:04 - 5:13	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
5:13 - 12:00	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
12:00 - 14:22	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14:22 -	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

18:1 5																		
18:1 5 - 24:0 6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24:0 6 - 25:3 1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25:3 1 - 29:3 9	8	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29:3 9 - 31:0 6	9	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
31:0 6 - 36:4 4	10	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
36:4 4 - 38:5 9	11	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
38:5 9 - 40:0 9	12	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
40:0 9 - 41:5	13	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0

8																		
41:5 8 - 43:3 7	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43:3 7 - 49:0 9	15	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
49:0 9 - 51:0 1	16	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
51:0 1 - 52:3 3	17	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
52:3 3 - 57:5 9	18	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
57:5 9 - 1:01 :00	19	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1:01 :00 - 1:03 :34	20	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
1:03 :34 - 1:07 :28	21	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0

1:07 :08 - 1:10 :58	22	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
1:10 :58 - 1:17 :18	23	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1:17 :18 - 1:20 :00	24	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
1:20 :00 - 1:22 :43	25	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1:22 :43 - 1:30 :03	26	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	
1:30 :03 - 1:36 :36	27	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	
1:36 :36 - 1:37 :43	28	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
1:37 :43 - 1:40 :40	29	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
1:40	30	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	

:40 - 1:47 :49																			
1:47 :49 - 1:53 :43	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
1:53 :43 - 1:53 :43	32	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
1:53 :43 - 1:56 :50	33	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

Name of Movie: **NOTEBOOK 2019**

**Table 3.4: Coding Sheet Thematic Analysis 2**

Time Duration	Scene	Visual Framing			Political Representation												
		Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	Dialogue	Historical Conflict Link	Lyrics	Involvement of Pakistan	Non-Militant Efforts	Militant	Missing Persons	Major Role	Minor Role	Kashmiri as a Trouble Maker	Pandits/Hindues as Victim	Deligitimizing Kashmir resistance/kasmir as a terrorist	Kashmir as a Terrorist Place/Romance	Army as Saviour	
0:01 - 1:14	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	
1:14 - 2:47	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	
2:47 - 3:23	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	
3:23 - 4:50	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	
4:50 - 8:04	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	
8:04 -	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	



12:03																	
12:03 - 15:44	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
15:44 - 17:49	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
17:49 - 20:23	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
20:23 - 23:46	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
23:46 - 27:42	11	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
27:42 - 33:31	12	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
33:31 - 38:49	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
38:49 - 42:40	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
42:40 - 47:59	15	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
47:59	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0

- 51:29																	
51:29 - 57:34	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
57:34 - 1:07: 10	18	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
1:07: 10 - 1:11: 06	19	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
1:11: 06 - 1:14: 17	20	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
1:14: 17 - 1:24: 31	21	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1

Name of Movie: **NO FATHER IN KASHMIR**

**Table 3.5: Coding Sheet Thematic Analysis 2**

Time Duration	Scene	Visual Framing			Political Representation													
		Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	Dialogue	Historical Conflict Link	Lyrics	Involvement of Pakistan	Non-Militant Efforts	Militant	Missing Persons	Major Role	Minor Role	Kashmiri as a Trouble Maker	Pandits/Hindues as Victim	Deligitimizing Kashmir- resistance/kasmir as a terrorist	Kashmir as a Terrorist Place/Romance	Army as Saviour	Islam/Muslim	Kashmiri in Major Role
0:19 - 01:09	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	s	0	1
01:09 - 02:24	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
02:24 - 2:44	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2:44 - 05:06	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
05:06 - 06:3	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1

0																			
06:30-8:38	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
8:38-11:18	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
11:18-13:40	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13:40-16:07	9	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
18:07-18:36	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
18:36-22:26	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
22:26-25:33	12	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
25:33-	13	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1

27:4 4																		
27:4 4 - 30:1 1	14	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
30:1 1 - 37:3 9	15	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
37:3 9 - 43:2 9	16	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
43:2 9 - 48:1 1	17	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
48:1 1 - 59:4 4	18	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
59:4 4 - 1:08 :37	19	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
1:08 :37 - 1:12 :20	20	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

1:12 :20 - 1:15 :00	21	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
1:15 :00 - 1:17 :33	22	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1:17 :39 - 1:22 :54	23	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1:22 :54 - 1:26 :39	24	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1:26 :39 - 1:33 :51	25	1	1	0	0		1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
1:33 :51 - 1:38 :46	26	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1:38 :46 - 1:42 :40	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	28																	0
	29																	0

	30																	0
	31																	0
	32																	1
	33																	0
	34																	0
	35																	0
	36																	0
	37																	0
	38																	1
	39											1						0
	40												1					0
	41																	0
	42													1				0

Name of Movie: **ARTICLE 370 (2020)**

**Table 3.6: Coding Sheet Thematic Analysis 2**

Time Duration	Scene	Visual Framing			Political Representation													
		Visual Framing Conveying Thematic Elements	Dialogue	Historical Conflict Link	Lyrics	Involvement of Pakistan	Non-Militant Efforts	Militant	Missing Persons	Major Role	Minor Role	Kashmiri as a Trouble Maker	Pandits/Hindues as Victim	Deligitimizing Kashmir- resistance/kasmir- as a terrorist	Kashmir as a Terrorist Place/Romance	Army as Saviour	Kashmiri	israeli representation/terrorism of islam/muslims
2:35:16 - 2:32:49	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
2:32:49 - 2:26:35	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
2:26:35 - 2:23:40	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
2:23:40 -	4	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1



2:17 :51																		
2:17 :51 - 2:15 :57	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
2:15 :57 - 2:13 :14	6	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
2:13 :14 - 2:12 :27	7	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
2:12 :27 - 2:09 :33	8	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
2:09 :33 - 2:03 :52	9	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
2:03 :52 - 2:02 :20	10	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
2:02 :20 - 1:59 :33	11	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

1:59 :33 - 1:52 :37	12	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
1:52 :37 - 1:51 :08	13	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
1:51 :08 - 1:46 :19	14	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
1:46 :19 - 1:32 :58	15	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
1:32 :58 - 1:27 :42	16	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
1:27 :42 - 1:26 :27	17	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1:26 :27 - 1:22 :25	18	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
1:22 :25 - 1:15	19	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0

:10																		
1:15 :10 - 1:13 :07	20	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
1:13 :07 - 1:09 :06	21	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
1:09 :06 - 54:3 5	22	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
54:3 5 - 40:1 8	23	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
40:1 8 - 35:4 5	24	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
35:4 5 - 7:51	25	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
7:51 - 4:59	26	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0