# Journal of Peace, Development and Communication



Volume 05, Issue 2, April-June 2021 pISSN: 2663-7898, eISSN: 2663-7901

Article DOI: https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V05-I02-20

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pISSN: 2663-7898, eISSN: 2663-7901

Article:	Multimodal Discourse Analysis of TV Series Homeland: A Case of Pakistan	
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Published:	30 <sup>th</sup> June 2021	
Publisher Information:	Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC)	
To Cite this Article:	Aziz, M., & Shafiq, Z. (2021). Multimodal Discourse Analysis of TV Series Homeland: A Case of Pakistan. <i>Journal of Peace, Development and Communication</i> , 05(02), 218–229. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V05-I02-20	
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pISSN: 2663-7898, eISSN: 2663-7901

#### **Abstract**

This study is based on Multimodal discourse analysis of the popular American political drama series Homeland. It discusses the agenda-setting role of the American television industry and its relationship with the US government. The study is based on the premise that drama can be used as a key factor for a country's propaganda and foreign policy agendas. Using a qualitative approach, we aimed to investigate the portrayal of the Pakistani government and its security and secret agencies in Homeland. Because of the series' long duration, this research is limited to the first four seasons only. The study results revealed that the Pakistani government, army, and security agencies, especially inter-services intelligence (ISI), were negatively portrayed. Among all the three categories, the role of ISI is depicted as the most negative.

Keywords: Homeland, Multimodal discourse, Agenda setting, Pakistan, foreign policy

#### Introduction

Pakistan being a key player in American foreign policy due to its geopolitical status, its long border with Afghanistan, and the close connections with the Taliban, have lead Pakistan to be an ally of the US in its War against Terrorism. This relationship, arguably, has been a need-based relationship that kept on changing with events happening mainly in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Media in both countries have played a significant role in shaping perceptions of their domestic population. However, unlike Pakistani media, the US media is generally considered as an 'independent' media. This study is an attempt to assess how the US 'independent media' portrayed Pakistan? It is based on the argument that American media keep changing its direction in line with the U.S government's agenda while about who is enemy.

American television dramas are among the top dramas in the world. They have a large number of audiences in the US and are also watched and liked outside the US. With the introduction of high-speed internet in many countries, the American drama audience is increasing manifold. With an increasing audience, portrayals of different segments of society in TV dramas become more critical. It is pertinent to mention that American television drama became more significant over time because of its portrayal of various cultures, gender, family issues, professional debates, and ideologies. It helped drama emerge as an essential tool of propaganda that became more important with the emergence of global libertarian media, satellite technology, and the worldwide popularity of American TV drama. (Roger, 1988).

Not many studies are done to see how Pakistan is represented in popular American TV dramas. This study attempts to bridge this gap by analyzing the representation of Pakistan using Multimodal Discourse Analysis of the US drama series *Homeland* (Howard & Gansa, 2011)

## **Literature Review**

Most of the time, individuals cannot travel to all parts of the world but only imagine those parts of the world in minds with the help of image provided by mass media, i.e., Film, TV drama, Newspapers. There are numerous assumptions about cultures and nations in the world that rely on arbitrated filmic info received through mass media (Mitra, 1999). According to Walter Lippmann, information about the outside world is grabbed by people by relying on mass media (Cho & Lacy, 2000).

During the Nazi era, the negative portrayal of Jews in Nazi media leads to hatred and racism for Jews in the German public. Similarly, after 9/11, the negative image of Muslims in American media led to building certain Muslims stereotypes, this phenomenon lead to racism and hatred for Muslim world.

Nationality, ethnicity of villains in American entertainment industry changes according to line set by American government. During the cold war, they were the Soviets who were portrayed as evil. Since the incident of 9/11, the focus shifted towards Muslims. After 9/11, the US government came up with a new set of policies directed against Muslims and Muslim countries in general. On the one hand, we observed the US army fighting the war against terrorism. On the other hand, we observed that Hollywood was again standing side by side with the American Government producing a bulk of movies against the Muslim world (Shaheen, 2001). Media scholars all over the world studied and analyzed these films. After 9/11 we saw change even in depiction of terrorists and terrorism. Before 9/11 most of the terrorists or rogue elements portrayed in American entrainment industry, used to be communists, after 9/11 that changed from communists to religious fanatics (Pollard 2011, Boggs & Pollard 2006). Many academics observed that in the post 9/11 era, not only the nationality/religion and motives of the villains/terrorists were changed in American films and dramas, but also terrorists being shown more powerful. Post 9/11 terrorists are depicted as more dangerous and lethal that those of pre 9/11 cinema (Pollard, 2011). Depiction of Arab

terrorists changed from comical pre 9/11 to serious post 9/11 attacks, further framing has been done to show Islam as main motivation factor for terrorist attacks (Reid,2013).

American films and TV dramas have been important tools for projecting foreign policy of US. We observe that with changes in foreign policy of American government, nationality of the villain or negative character of American films and dramas also change. Sally-Ann Totman in his study "How Hollywood projects foreign policy" has ornate that American drama and film industry has been offering the identification of America's opponents and adversities during the course of 20th century. For example, in the retro of Second World War, German and Japanese were obtainable as antagonists; however, in cold war era, this deleterious representation was budged towards Russians, who were depicted as scoundrels and rouges across the globe. Captivatingly, they were not only described as rogues on earth, but they were also villain in space. Totman added that, now, in contemporary times, "Fanatics" and "Rogue States" are fresh anti-heroes in the perspective of US entertainment industry. Totman, through the case study of Iran, Cuba, Libya, Iraq, North Korea, Sudan and Syria, catches the American policy statements on these new-fangled tags, noticing a linkage between America's foreign policy and American drama and cinema, also discovering that the only alteration and variance is that American foreign policy and American government classifies and recognizes Islamic state of Iran as a scoundrel state having intents and will for backing and subsidizing the terrorists. On the other hand, Hollywood television and cinema depicts Iran only as a cad state and "funding the terrorists" portent and augury does not appear to be accepted or at least offered by Hollywood (Totman, 2009).

Time and again it is proved that American entertainment industry i.e. Films and dramas, keep on shifting their focus on different countries and nationalities according to the foreign policy of U.S.A. They give tags of friends or enemies to different countries in shape of portrayal in films and TV dramas, according to the narrative peddled officially by U.S government.

After being exposed for systematic media manipulation in 1977 by congressional committee investigations, Nicholas Schou argues that the CIA created the "office of Public Affairs" tasked with press coverage of intelligence matters in a more visible way. Although the CIA says that it no longer tries to affect the media in America, truth is that CIA interests in media for its vested interest have increased, and one of its greatest assets is Hollywood. Since its inception in 1947, CIA has been covertly working with Hollywood. From mid-90's CIA even start showing its interest overtly in Hollywood and in 1996 it hired one of its veteran officer "Chase Brandon" to work directly with Hollywood production companies for a more favorable image of CIA in Hollywood productions. American producers, screenwriters and directors starts giving positive and enhanced portrayal to CIA from mid-90's which increased many times after 9/11.Tom Clancy franchise propagated CIA vision in 90's with films like "Patriotic games", "Clear and Present danger", and "The Sum of All fears". On different instances some film and drama makers were invited to CIA headquarters at Langley and even offer access to agency analysts. Chase Brandon was a frequent presence on set of TV espionage series "Alias". American films and dramas like 24 and Zero Dark Thirty worked as a propaganda tool for the torture program of the CIA, by showing that extraction of important information from terrorists was only made possible through severe torture (Schou, 2016).

Before 9/11, the portrayal of Pakistan in American films and dramas was significantly less, but after 9/11, as Pakistan became an ally of the USA in the war against terrorism, the portrayal of Pakistan increased. Though Pakistan was major ally of US after 9/11 in its war against terrorism, but depiction of Pakistan in US media remains stereotypical most of the time. Ghaznavi (2015)argues that even in the Oscar and Golden Globe award-winning movies like *Zero Dark Thirty*, the reality and accuracy of the depiction of Pakistan is twisted and false most of the time. Abbottabad, a beautiful city in the north of Pakistan, is renowned

for its vegetation and foothills. However, the same has been shown as a forsaken wasteland in the Oscar Winner film *Zero Dark Thirty*. Further, he elaborates that American films propagate stereotypes and false generalizations regarding Pakistan. For example, females in Pakistan always wear burqas, or most Pakistani males have a beard or routinely speak Arabic. None of this is true and is far from reality. Also, dramas like *Homeland* Islamabad are shown as close to a war sector with AK-47's constantly on display.

#### Homeland

Homeland, produced by Fox 21 Television Studio and directed by Howard Gordon and Alex Gansa, is an adaptation of Gideon Raff's Israeli TV Series who also happens to be the executive producer of *Homeland*. It is a spy thriller TV series that aired in September 2011. The series deals with international relations, politics, terrorism, war on terror, and counter insurgency (Smith,2013). *Homeland* has won two golden globe awards for best television drama series in 2012 and 2013 and won two Emmy Awards in 2013.

*Homeland* has disseminated Islamophobia from its first episode, but still, it got many awards, earned the praise of critics, and has a lot of fan following. It has been acclaimed as a propagator of the post 9/11 narrative and American ideology on the war on terror (Durkay, 2014).

Homeland's theme and narrative are based on terrorist plans against America, war on terror, CIA plots, and schemes to save America. Its main leading character is Carrie Matthison, a CIA agent who has bipolar disorder. In the first three seasons, the other leading character is an American soldier, Nicholas Brody, who plotted against the USA after returning from Al-Qaida's imprisonment in Iraq. The character of Brody features in the first three seasons until he is hanged in Iran after completing a critical mission beneficial for America (Simon, 2015).

Homeland became much-loved at CIA headquarters, their co-creator, Howard Gordon told in an interview that he and his crew were invited to spend a day at the CIA headquarters at Langley. Former CIA deputy director John MacGaffin worked as a consultant for the series. Henry Bromell, who was one of the original writers of Homeland, was the cousin of Macgaffin. Bromell's father served as a CIA officer in Cairo, Tehran, and Kuwait. Show writers and creators often visited MacGaffin to take help regarding drama. After two seasons, Homeland starts showing missions outside American, closely related to actual life events (Nicholas, 2016). In 2012, President Barack Obama termed Homeland as his favorite show (Stephen Dinan, 2012).

Season 4 of *Homeland* is based in Pakistan. As a protagonist of the series "Carrie Mathison" has to come to Pakistan after the murder of CIA station chief Sandy Bachman by a mob in Islamabad. She investigates the reason behind that murder and some matters regarding CIA intelligence operations in Pakistan.

By going through all the above literature, we can deduce that American government and CIA has close ties with US entertainment industry, which most of the times toe the official line of its government. Depiction of countries in American films and TV dramas changes according to changing foreign policy of US. US entertainment industry

Themes addressed in drama *Homeland* are extremism, terrorism; enemy states etc., all these topics are of core importance after 9/11.Mostly story line of Homeland revolves around terrorism involving Muslims or Muslim countries. We will be analyzing this critically acclaimed drama, to see how Pakistan is portrayed in it, by emphasizing on angles we concluded through literature review and preview of *Homeland*.

# **Research Questions**

As we have established earlier, *Homeland* appears to be serving in the US government's interest and is also a tool for the CIA to build its worldwide image. We now move on to our specific goals of this study which is to find out:

- 1. The depiction of the security situation of Pakistan and,
- 2. How Pakistan's security organizations and its secret agency ISI is portrayed in the series?

### **Theoretical Framework**

The nature of our study requires using Max McCombs and Donald Shaw's Agenda-setting theory that they presented in the 1968 Presidential Election. In 1968 of the Chapel Hill study, McCombs and Shaw revealed a resilient relationship between what 100 residents of Chapel Hill and North Carolina assumed was the most significant election subject. By associating the importance of topics in news content with the public's insights of the most criticalissues in the election, McCombs and Shaw were able to define the point to which the media determines public opinion. Since the 1968 study, several studies have been conducted the agenda-setting role of the mass media. Using Agenda Setting as a theoretical framework for this study can help us determine *Homeland*'s agenda regarding Pakistan for its viewers, primarily the American public.

## Methodology

This study is based on Multimodal Discourse Analysis. Multimodality is an approach that looks at different modes that people use to communicate with everyone and to convey themselves (Gunther,2009). Multimodal discourse analysis can be done differently, and diverse perspectives such as discourse, genre, and modality can be investigated. Multimodal discourse analysis is a rapidly developing research method in the discourse analysis field. It has been widely popular in the western world since the 1990s.Language is an essential resource in discourse. However, the language does not show us the whole picture, and hence it needs coordination with other factors in the process of meaning-making (Xu, 2018).

Contemporary researchers are paying more attention to multimodal discourse. Although the multimodality factor has been part of the discourse for quite some time, it is a recent phenomenon when researchers realized its importance after a long time (Dai, 2013). Multimodal discourse analysis uses visual, audio, and multi-lingual symbol systems to communicate through multi-means and symbolic elements such as character, image, sound, and action(Zhang, 2009).

Multimodal discourse analysis will be helpful for this research, as through this methodology we can analyze multiples modes of communication in drama Homeland i.e. visuals (scenes, images). audio, analysis of written text i.e. dialogues) etc. Multimodal discourse analysis allows us to not only look at what individual modes of communication means but also how they interact with one another to create meaning.

In a medium like television meaning is not only disseminated through language but also with sound, image and other types of semiotic modes. Multimodal discourse analysis studies different modes of a media text and how they function together (Gul,2015).

We selected our case study of *Homeland* using purposive sampling.

# **Evidence Gathering**

- 1. The researchers watched 48 sample episodes of 4 seasons
- 2. The researchers found the portrayal of Pakistan in a total of fifteen episodes in the first four seasons. The researcher watched those episodes four times with intervals of one month each so that biases can be reduced to minimum and every angle can be considered while analyzing the content related to study aims.

# Analysis, Interpretations, and Commentary The portraval of Security Situation in Pakistan

In 1st episode *Drone Queen* of season 4,wesee that the CIA station chief Sandy Bachman in Pakistanis killed by a violent mob in daylight in Pakistan.



Figure 1: Violent mob attacking car of American embassy having CIA agents in it



Figure 2 CIA station chief beaten to death by a violent mob in Islamabad

Figure 1 and 2 depicts Pakistan as a dangerous country for Americans as a violent mob kills an American station chief in a street of its capital Islamabad and no help came from the security forces of Pakistan. Moreover, it is not just visual imagery. Instead, the dialogues also show a similar picture. The American characters in the series often term the security situation of Pakistan as worse. For example, see the following conversation between CIA station chief of Kabul Carrie Mathison and the CIA director Lockhart:

LockHart	Carrie Mathison
What do you want?	What I said before. I want Islamabad.
It's impossible. I already told the President.	You need to listen to me. I am not staying here.
You're coming back to Langley.	
Why do you even want to go back to that shithole?	Yes or no?
Til ( II C 1: 12)	
It's not even a real country. It's a fucking acronym!"	

## Table 1

The above dialogues represent how Pakistan is presented to the American audience, A CIA director saying Pakistan as "shithole" is self-explanatory.

Moreover, the American characters were shown to be afraid of the situation in Pakistan. In the tenth episode -13 Hours in Islamabad- in season 4, we see that terrorists attacked the American embassy with the help of ISI' and keep the embassy hostage for many hours. Some select images from the scenes of the attack on the embassy are given below. Out of these, some photos are so gory that they cannot be presented in this paper.



Figure 3 American troops defending themselves from terrorists attacking them near American embassy



Figure 4 Terrorist leader inside the US embassy threatening to kill hostage if his demand is not met

This depiction of the attack on American embassy in Islamabad shows how the security situation of Pakistan is shown as American security forces fight for their survival near the embassy. It also shows that numerous innocent people were killed in the embassy by the terrorists, but Pakistani security forces did not do anything. It was demonstrated that the American president announced to cut all ties from Pakistan due to carnage at the US embassy.

Both the visual and narrative examples given above indicate that Pakistan is a rogue state where there is no writ of law and that terrorists have so much power and control that they can make anyone a hostage at the center of its capital. Moreover, the characters do not feel shy while using the worst language against the so-called US ally.

In the following section, we present examples of how Pakistan's secret agency is portrayed in the series.

# **ISI Portrayal**

From 1<sup>st</sup> reference of ISI in the T.V series *Homeland*, CIA agents have almost no trust in Pakistani intelligence. The first reference of Pakistan came in Season 1,Episode 3, named "Clear Skin" The conversation with the first mention of Pakistani intelligence/ISI is given below.

CIA officer	Carrie Mathison
Well, uh, okay, listen.	For what purpose?
I just, uh, finished running background on Faisel.	
Listen to this.	
Three trips to Lahore in the last 18 months.	
Unclear. I put in a call to Pakistani intelligence?	Oh, I don't trust those fuckers"

## Table 2

In this conversation, a top CIA agent, on the suggestion of getting information from Pakistani intelligence, gives a loaded response showing complete mistrust towards intelligence agencies of Pakistan. This conversation set ground for the portrayal of Pakistani intelligence agency ISI in *Homeland* in the upcoming episodes.

ISI agent Tasneem Qureshi from her first entry in the drama, has been shown negatively until the end of season 4. At the start of her first appearance, she has been shown maltreating the husband of the American ambassador, forcing and blackmailing him into working for her, to which he ultimately agreed. She is depicted as a supporter of terrorism, terrorist and as an enemy of America. Moreover, she is also shown to support the attack on the American embassy and the killing of Americans. At one point, she stops her colleague Colonel Aasarfrom helping Americans at the terrorists attack led by Hassam Haqqani. The dialogues of that conversation are given below.

Col. Assarcalling to send troops to help Americans under attack in the American embassy, Qureshi stops him from making the phone call.

Col Aasar	Tasneem Qureshi
What are you doing?	It can wait.
They're being overrun now.	Ten minutes. Then you can make the call. The Americans have insinuated themselves long enough into our business. It's time they get a dose of their own medicine.
Haqqani. He's part of this, too, isn't he a terrorist? He's killed dozens of my soldiers on the border.	Only because you keep working with the Americans. Once they're gone, you won't have to worry about Haqqani.
Are you really so naive?	Me? I'm not the one who keeps insisting the enemy is our friend. We wait ten minutes, then we call."

Table 3

This dialogue between a Pakistan Army colonel, who is counter-terrorism chief of ISI, and an ISI agent shows what creators of *Homeland* want to depict. United States put allegations on ISI that they are supporters of terrorists, including the Taliban. In this conversation, an ISI agent has that particular mindset and is against the war on terror thinking that terrorism in Pakistan is because Pakistan helped Americans.

## **Conclusion**

This brief study was an effort to de-construct the hidden meanings in the visual, auditory, and written text of Emmy-award winner drama series "Homeland" with particular reference to Pakistan by using multimodal analysis.

Agenda setting theory was applied on this study.it has been concluded that different modes i.e. writing and visual scenes combine together to make meaning in a specific way to disseminate a specific agenda. Through the literature review we assess that how American entertainment industry toe the line of American government, and according to changing situation they set different types of agenda for audiences. Agenda setting theory helped in this research to look out different types of narratives presented in *Homeland* and how a specific agenda were set for audience.

After going through analysis, interpretations and commentary, this study revealed that Pakistan is negatively portrayed in terms of its security situation and representation of ISI. After 9/11 relation between Pakistan and America improved a lot but there always has been trust deficit. America allege Pakistan of secretly supporting anti-American elements and double crossing them in affairs relating to Afghanistan especially the role of ISI in it. *Homeland*, seems to reiterate this narrative. Firstly, security situation has been shown grim giving the perception that Pakistan is a country with worse security problems; such angle gives the perspective to local American audience that Pakistan is a country like Iraq, Libya etc. Secondly the role of ISI as shown in *Homeland* clearly seems to toe official American narrative. They show an agent of ISI supporting terrorists having an anti-American mindset. ISI supporting terrorists to further their agenda. The content of *Homeland* gives a particular stereotype image of a Muslim given in American entertainment industry.

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