

Consolidating Pornographic contents in Bollywood Movies: A study in the context of Digital India

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Abstract:

Bollywood movies have witnessed a drastic change in its content with the rapid digitalisation in India. Its content is now influenced from the daily chores on the social media platforms and the kind of contents that most of the younger generations spend time on. This paper attempts at the understanding of pornographic contents as the dominant issue in Bollywood movies with its rise of consumption among the younger generation on social media platforms today. The paper undertakes a qualitative investigation about the penetration of pornographic contents into different forms and art involved in the cinema. The manifestation of pornographic contents through various media/channels in the Bollywood movies during the age of 'Digital India' have also been traced down in this paper to draw a clear picture of the position of Bollywood movies and visualise future.

Keywords:

Pornographic content, Bollywood, Digital India, social media, younger people, India Cinema

Introduction:

Indian Cinema has seen a larger transformation with the development of social media platforms. In short, it is all about the digital transformation that has paved the new ways of watching cinema. These changes have not only occurred in the context of channels or medium through which messages of cinema can be communicated to the larger public and "to make people aware of the film and to drive them towards theatre" (Bhattacharyya & Dasgupta, 2014, p.128); but this change is also about the contents that has stimulated a particular section of audience, especially the younger age. So far, the academic research is concerned in this context, more focus has been on the marketing of Bollywood movies through social media platforms as some studied that "social media showed to be an essential part in the promotional activities for Bollywood movies" (Koendjiharie, 2015, p.88). Whereas, the digital transformation has evolved the way cinema is created so fast that now its content is only to cater the need of those who adapted with this fast-evolving form of entertainment keeping in pace with the social media platforms. To be precise, cinema now highlights more of a content that has more traffic congestion on the social media world. Today's cinema is about assimilating with the concept of digitally generated contents. More sex and adult contents seems to be highlighted in cinemas of present generation. These have an influence of pornography that makes the entire content of the cinema as pornographic one or in partial several scenes in the cinema are increasingly stored for pornographic contents.

Starting from the portrayal of X-rated comic character Savita Bhabhi in the Indian cinema, despite the government of India had tried to ban it in 2009 (Agrawal, 2018) to the use of sexting over social media in the plot of the movies, increasing the acceptance of sexual exploration and behaviour endlessly (Lo Wei, 2005, cited in Okoli, 2015), (Olabode, Olushola, 2018), the picturesque of Bollywood movies in this digital age do not go empty without any pornographic content. There are different ways that people are mediating sexuality through technology - these are pornography, sexting, mobile dating applications, etc. all through the dominant use of social media and its users - "... The number of young adults (age18-24) who use mobile dating apps has increased dramatically from 5% in 2013 to 22% in 2015. Little is known about the prevalence of use among minors; however, Tinder reported in 2016 that 7% of its users were between the ages of 13 and 17" (Whitlock, Dedmon, Light-Olson, 2017). Smartphones have become the embodiment of Indian dream as it is all about "romance, love, sex and freedom" just like cars were the American dream a century ago (Agrawal, 2018, p.5). Online porn viewership increased by 75%, whereas time spent on porn sites have increased by 60% (Ghosh, 2017). In 2016, after Google installed a free Wi-Fi service at the

city of Patna's railway station, it emerged that the location was a top national source for visits to pornographic websites (Bhalla, 2012). It was no surprising in this context that in 2015, India's Ministry of Communications issued an order banning 857 pornographic sites in response to a petition filed by an intellectual property rights lawyer of the Supreme Court (Tharoor, 2015).

Pornography/Pornographic Contents/Pornification/Pornographication:

Pornographic contents have become the common similarity between the social media platforms and Bollywood movies today as both of the media some way or the other manifests such contents that gives way to sexual arousal. Whether it is social media that increasingly displays the sexual contents, which actually as some studies show, acts as a stimulus to the younger generation against the portrayal of sexual contents in entertainment form of mass media like television (Vandenbosch, Oosten & Peter, 2015, p.3, 9-12); or it is about Indian films that provides a "privileged arena for construction of sexuality" for the common person, and serve as primary sources of information about how men and women are to behave in sexual relationships (Derne, 1999, p. 548; Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2003, p.328). It is not surprising to note here the causal effect of the audiences of entertainment media like television over the social media users as it gains popularity much later than television. But, it is a different scenario today where there develops an inverse development of causal effect of social media contents over the entertainment media contents.

To study in detail about this new development, the researchers must first of all clarify the definition of pornography and the meaning of use of similar connotations like 'pornographic contents', 'pornification' or 'pornographication' that the paper is considering. The Oxford dictionary defines the term pornography as- "*Books, magazines, DVDs, etc. that describe or show naked people and sexual acts in order to make people sexually excited, especially in a way that many other people find offensive*". Decoding the meaning of the term, it can be said that pornography is the printed or visual material that contains the explicit description or display of sexual organs or activity, intends to stimulate sexual excitement. Whereas, according to Shira Tarrant in 'The Pornography Industry (2016)' "*Pornography refers to visual depictions that are intended to sexually arouse the viewer, such as still photos, magazines, adult cable television channels, or VHS movies (Shira Tarrant, 2016, p.3)*". When brought into the light of the First Amendment to the United States constitution (which is a part of United States Bill of Rights that protects freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and right to petition), the term "pornography" has been used historically in at least four different ways. First, the terms "obscenity" and "pornography" traditionally were used interchangeably. Second, beginning about 20 years ago, the term "pornography" began to be used by feminist scholars to refer to a concept quite distinct from the legal concept of "obscenity"; this feminist concept focused specifically on sexually explicit material harmful to women (National Research Council et al., 2002, p.86-87). Even as per the feminist theory of rape, prostitution and pornography portray males as dominant and females as degrading and demeaning manner (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009, p.327); not only that, both the feminist theory and the social learning theory imply that exposure to pornography (and even less explicit sexual fare) will contribute to rape by fostering male feelings of domination, by promoting sexist attitudes, and by providing role models for sexual aggression (Ellis, 1991, p.637). Third, there is the concept of child pornography, which deals with a very specific problem involving the abuse of children in order to make certain kinds of sexually explicit material. Fourth, the term "pornography" is often used as a catch-all synonym for the generic idea of "sexually explicit material", especially that intended to create sexual arousal (National Research Council et al., 2002, p.86-87). This paper goes with the fourth way.

There exists a thin line of difference between pornographic and non-pornographic - "*Women's open, moist and lipstick-red lips, half-closed eyelids or hands suggestively placed on a bare bosom or stomach are staple elements in pornography, but also in music videos, cosmetic ads and fashion photography*" (Paasonen, Nikunen and Sarenmaa, 2007, p.1). Pornography began as drawing of prostitutes, so in the past, many books, movies and works of art have been defined as pornographic simply because they portray nudism and sexual activity; most of which may now be considered as erotic or even literature and art forms (Black, 2014, p.532). This is another matter of discussion to clarify the distinction between erotica and pornography which is followed by the researchers below. McNair who has written a number of key texts on pornification that is also referred to as pornographication or porn-chic written in his 1996 book, 'Mediated Sex: Pornography and postmodern culture' that - "*... positions the pornification or pornographication in the context of increasing consumption of pornography as part of a larger 'proliferation of sexual discourse' in the west*" (Tyler & Quek, 2016, p.2). Or any texts or images citing pornographic styles, gestures and aesthetics - and to degree pornography itself is the phenomenon of pornification (Paasonen, Nikunen, Saarenmaa, 2007, p.1). The pornification is further facilitated through the general sexualization of culture, or the

mainstreaming of sexuality: ‘contemporary preoccupation with sexual values, practices and identities, the public shift to more permissive sexual attitudes; the proliferation of sexual texts; the emergence of new forms of sexual experience; the apparent breakdown of rules, categories and regulations designed to keep the obscene at bay; our fondness for scandals controversies and panics around sex (Attwood, 2006, p.78-79).

Pornography and Erotica:

Oxford dictionary defines erotica as “*books, pictures, etc. that are intended to make somebody feel sexual desire*”. “In his 1966 research on Victorian smut, literary scholar Steven Marcus drew a distinction between erotic literature, which has multiple intentions, and pornography, which has only one (Shira Tarrant, 2016, p. 4)”. That is why, erotica may be much like art or beauty left to the eye of the beholder. Whereas, pornography may be defined by its static characteristics of women objectification which is further emphasized by Anti-porn feminists as ‘patriarchal hegemony’, in which one person oppresses the other; but pornography is free of all such subjugation (Shira Tarrant, 2016, p.4). Simply speaking, pornography may be defined by its characteristics of dominance whereas erotica is about mutuality.

Moreover, in order to arrive at the proper distinction between pornography and erotica, it is important to place the meaning of both the terms within the changing contexts of society as a whole. The cultural and sub-cultural values and norms of a society must be understood prior to understanding of both the terms. Despite the study of cultural values and norms of a society, there is a positioning of universal norms while defining pornography that refers to “material that presents sexual content of some sort with the intent of being arousing” (Pope & Voges, 2007, p.166). But on the face of many social science researches which put this positioning into question, the meaning of pornography and erotica is already listed under different categories as pornography lists violent, depicting and endorsing sexual violence and coercion, usually but not solely against women; even degrading, in which the material debases and dehumanises without the use of violence. And erotica presenting non-violent, non-degrading and consensual sex. Even though depending on this categorized content-based definition of both the terms, the twist lies on the contextual differences as materials which could be viewed as pornographic when used alone, would acquire a different meaning when viewed in company. Therefore, ‘intimacy’ is the distinguishable feature for both the terms where pornography is a communication material provided for the purpose of sexually arousing or gratifying a user in isolation from others, while erotica is a communication material provided for the purpose of arousing or titillating individuals who will consume it in company (Pope & Voges, 2007, p.166-168).

On the other hand, one more difference between the two is defined by their intentions as pornographic intends to arouse sexually while erotic intends to arouse feelings of love or affection. And to explain more, pornographic is richer in meaning as it used to mean both erotic and obscene “intended to stimulate and (or) to slake sexual appetite, sexually explicit, and intended to degrade women”, whereas erotic is the stimulation of sexual desires, not to its slaking by masturbation (Posner, 1992, p.352, 354).

Erotic representation is a partial fulfillment of demand for information about sex as it is a private matter in our society. It conveys information about the variety of naked bodies, the different shapes and dimensions of sexual organs, the different positions in which sexual intercourse can be performed and the different sexual practices themselves, even the gestures and expressions that accompany or are produced by, or that interpret, sexual activity (Posner, 1992, p.353).

Objective:

- 1) The paper tries to understand whether the mainstream Bollywood movies have turned into pornographic.
- 2) In relation to this, the researchers have also keenly studied under what circumstances or contextual backgrounds, the Bollywood movies have turned into pornographic.
- 3) Moreover, the study tries to find out certain sub-themes in the plot of Indian cinemas from pre-digital to digital age, that has helped ‘pornographic contents’ to become its dominant theme today.

Methodology:

The paper applies qualitative research methodology to understand the concept of pornographic contents manifested through certain underlying sub-themes reflected in four selected Bollywood movies ‘I am 24’ (2010), ‘Huntarr’ (2015), ‘Kerry on Kutton’ (2016) and ‘Bala’ (2019). These movies are purposively selected to understand the chronological development of contents in Bollywood cinemas from the age of pre-digital to digital India. In spite of focusing on the time frequency or duration of each events in the plot of the selected movies as research

units “to determine specific frequencies of relevant categories” (Berg, 2001, p.242), the researchers delve into subjective understanding of the events in the movies through qualitative content analysis method, “which is directed towards more subjective information such as attitudes, motives and values” (Ahuja, 2018, p.273); and help researchers to “examine ideological mind-sets, themes, topics, symbols, and similar phenomena” (Berg, 2001, p.242).

Facilitating the method:

- 1) First of all, the movies are thematically studied in order to reach at the common platform that connects all the movies together or at least attain certain common contextual backgrounds.
- 2) Then, the researchers attempt a qualitative understanding of the influence of these common threads (the common contextual backgrounds) upon the emergence of ‘pornographic contents’ as a driving force in changing the entire plot of Bollywood movies today.
- 3) Finally, the researchers involve in content analysis of ‘latent content’ of certain sub-themes in the movies selected that has paved the path for Bollywood pornification.

Findings and Analysis:

Based on the thematic analysis of all the four selected movies, major themes based on the common contextual background on which the plot of all the movies are made, have been identified. Apart from the general/universal themes like greed, love, compassion, confident, truth, fake, hope, violence, romance, etc. in the movies, the researchers have tried to find out the themes that have an influence of the contemporary age, as films are the mirror of contemporary society. Moreover, the researchers keep in mind that these themes have presence in all the selected movies and are interlinked/interrelated to each other that forms a common connect between all these movies. These major themes have been identified as the amateur use of ‘Information & Technology’ devices, representation of ‘Sex’ as recurring theme both in character’s mind and their activities; and portrayal of young-aged ‘Protagonist’ both literally and in real cast. Based on these three major themes in common, the researchers have decided to study the development of three contextual backgrounds of these themes that have often led into changing the overview of present day Bollywood movies. This development of three common contextual backgrounds influencing the content of Bollywood movies are -

Based on the development of medium/channel (internet/smartphones/social media): The development of information and technology devices and its uses have not only changed the tasting habits of people adding to their list of need - a compulsory presence of digital devices in their hands. This promise to be a new development of medium or channel of information in this digital world. Apart from information, it has also become a new medium of entertainment and education. Devices have developed from a desktop computer to smartphones, laptop, tablets to many digital technologies like internet access, cloud computing, digital payments and digital identity and Internet of Things (Kaur, Ganesh, p.265). Along with this the most common development is the digital platform - social networking sites that are explored with the use of smartphone devices mostly among present generation. Smartphones have become the embodiment of Indian dream as it is all about “romance, love, sex and freedom” just like cars were the American dream a century ago (Agrawal, 2018, p.5). By the end of 2020, however, 60 percent of Indians will have access to the internet, as compared with 90 percent of Americans. India will still be poor but will have bridged much of the internet gap - almost exclusively by means of cheap smartphones and cellular data (Agrawal, 2018, p.4). Indian mobile data users consume 8.3 gigabytes (GB) of data each month on average, compared with 5.5 GB for mobile users in China and 8-8.5 GB in South Korea (McKinsey Global Institute, 2019, p.30). The monthly mobile data user consumption per user is growing at 152% annually- more than twice the rates in US and China (McKinsey Global Institute, 2019, p.2). This all is propelled by the decreasing cost of high speed data and increasing availability of smartphones in India. And now the Indians spends 2.2 hours with the phone everyday while the Americans more than 4 (Jalan, 2019, p.60). After the New Telecom Policy announced in 1999 that the number mobile phone subscribers started rising. In fact, the number of mobile phones itself quadrupled to 100 million phones by 2005 from 23 million phones in 1999. Along with this increasing number of mobile phones and its subscribers, social networking sites like Facebook had a user base of 8 million in 2010 that increased to 100 million in 2014; second after US. Similarly, WhatsApp, a cross-platform mobile messaging application had, as of April 2014, 48 million monthly active users and was adding approximately 4 million active users every month (Narayan & Narayanan, 2016, p.12-14). Analysts and experts claim that 30-70 percent of data browsing revenues for India’s communications services providers comes from customers viewing porn (Gautam, 2018, p.23). And interestingly, as per the Pornhub’s 2017 report, eighty-six percent of India’s traffic came from mobile users, the

highest on record, bearing out the theory that most viewers of porn were watching it on smaller screens and in private. Online porn viewership increased by 75%, whereas time spent on porn sites have increased by 60% (Ghosh, 2017). In 2016, after Google installed a free Wi-Fi service at the city of Patna's railway station, it emerged that the location was a top national source for visits to pornographic websites (Bhalla, 2012). It was no surprising in this context that in 2015, India's Ministry of Communications issued an order banning 857 pornographic sites in response to a petition filed by an intellectual property rights lawyer of the Supreme Court (Tharoor, 2015). The future research will definitely expose the penetration of internet usage and pornographic contents during this novel coronavirus lockdown in three phases in India.

Based on the development of contents (pornographic): Pornography has always remained "India's dirty secret", despite it is banned in India. Pornhub's 2017 report revealed India to be the world's third-biggest consumer of pornography (Agrawal, 2018, p.117-118). This has led to the penetration of pornographic influence everywhere starting from the daily lifestyle of the people to consumption of various entertainment media to the use of social networking sites. According to a recent research, India contributes 5-10 per cent to the Google search for adult products like sex toys and other BDSM products (Gautam, 2018, p.17). The influence of pornography upon Indians fall so intense that there left no sector where enhancing sex artificially have not been seen. As per a global survey, doctors in India have seen a 40 per cent increase in demand for penis surgery, even some plastic surgeons witnessed 60 percent increase in patients during Valentine's Day; breast augmentation have always remained the top choice (Gautam, 2018, p.57). Even the entertainment media, Indian Bollywood have normalized the porn star with an actress by giving green signal to popular American porn star Sunny Leone into Indian cinema. As hundreds of millions of Indians continued to discover the internet through 2013 to 2017, Sunny Leone remained the most-searched-for-person in India. Even as per the Pornhub report, Leone was the most-watched porn star among viewers from India (Agrawal, 2018, p.115-124). Till a decade ago, Bollywood movies would not show people kissing, a country that was till recently engulfed with shame at even the mention of sex is now having a professional porn star as one of the leading actresses (Gautam, 2018, p.19-20). All these have a sudden and quick influence upon the contents circulating in any media platforms. The explicit pornographic content begins to occupy most of the user generated content platforms including TikTok, a short video-sharing app from Chinese company ByteDance, which is now banned by the Government of India. The other platforms that carry the pornographic contents are such as Bigo Live, Vigo Video, Clip, Like, Kwai, Facebook videos etc. On Bigo Live, for instance, viewers can buy virtual diamonds which can be used to buy gifts for broadcasters who, in turn, can redeem them for cash. Tempted by the money, broadcasters often cross the line. For instance, in one live broadcast, a woman shows cleavage and says she will do a 30-minute call and remove her top for those who buy her 'gifts'. In a series of videos, a Vigo user with 1.74 lakh followers, dances before the camera in a short negligee, lets the camera run over her legs and then films herself trying out a lipstick. "Have you noticed anything new? I've put on a pink lipstick at your request. I don't know how I look," she tells her followers (Joshi, Ajmal, 2019).

Based on the demographic changes (portrayal of younger generation): India is right now the youngest country on this planet with 41 percent of its population below the age of 20 and 65 percent below the age of 35. The percentage of younger population in this country and their living in close proximity has also become one of the reasons that has openly challenged the unspoken taboo of viewing or talking of pornography in India today - "Not only do we have a lot of young people, we have a lot of young people living in close proximity to each other in crowded cities. And that is leading to some exciting new trends. Old cultural taboos and barriers are getting left behind" (Gautam, 2018, p.21). And interestingly, as per the Pornhub's 2017 report, eighty-six percent of India's traffic came from mobile users, the highest on record, bearing out the theory that most viewers of porn were watching it on smaller screens and in private. The average age of a Pornhub user was thirty-five; in India the average fell to just thirty, matching its younger demographics (Agrawal, 2018, p.117). Young people are often surrounded by media images of sexuality that are completely centered around desire; and it is this anonymity of the media, especially of the internet that becomes the only way to obtain information about sexuality and sexual health to avoid any kind of face-to-face encounters (National Research Council et al., 2002, p.123-125). Whereas in terms of sexuality research, some people are more exposed in their sexuality than others, just as the young people's voices are subjugated and marginalized in the debates of pornography and sexuality. The young people are misconstrued in the discourse of sexuality as they are generalized and contextualized and restricted to psycho-medical perspective. There is a need of contextual reading of the younger people in relation to sexuality and pornography rather than treating "the practices and symbolics of everyday life in isolation from questions of power and politics" (Mulholland, 2013, p.67-68, 79-83, 94-95). It takes time for the younger people to think directly of porn or pornification as normal and so they keep distance from it in first instance. But porn in itself "continues to function as a marker of the naughty,

under the bed, the illicit through a series of distances”, yet, the familiarity of young people with the sexual explicit materials within the public spaces marks porn as normal for them though they preserve its pleasure in private spaces. Interestingly, young people’s concept of normalizing of porn comes from keeping porn at arm’s length through the use of humour, parody, spectacle, entertainment and other mechanisms (Mulholland, 2013, p.99-100, 119-120). Social networking sites are the similar mechanisms for the younger generation that has also negotiated with the discourse of pornification in complex, but fascinating ways.

Discussion:

From the above study of the three common contextual backgrounds, the researchers have found that the triangular connection between them cannot be ignored; on the basis of which three major themes as identified and mentioned above - a) the amateur use of ‘Information & Technology’ devices, b) representation of ‘Sex’ as recurring theme both in character’s mind and their activities; and c) portrayal of young-aged ‘Protagonist’ both literally and in real cast have surrounded the present day Bollywood movies. Most importantly, it is clear from the fact above that all these themes based on the discussed ‘common contextual backgrounds’ have led to the emergence of ‘pornographic content’ as the final destination. One way or the other, all these major themes and its context conspire to bring pornographic influence at the forefront of today’s Indian cinema. But this is not enough study of the evidence to attain the objectives of the study that for the three major themes found out in the thematic analysis based on the three studied circumstances/contextual background have only led to the pornification of Bollywood movies. Therefore, the researchers further undertake a content analysis of the latent content of the plots in relevance to the three major themes of all the four movies and found out three emerging sub-themes that have helped ‘pornographic contents’ to become dominant theme in the selected Bollywood movies.

All the four Bollywood movies taken for the research study is presumed to be the representational movies of the age of pre-digital and Digital India. All these four movies are based on the three contextual backgrounds studied and analyzed above.

The movie ‘I am 24’ directed by Saurabh Shukla, released in 2012 as a contemporary movie of pre-digital age and ‘Bala’ directed by Amar Kaushik, released in 2019 during the age of Digital India are demonstrated for the better understanding of differences of two periods and changes that have taken place. On one hand, ‘I am 24’ is set on the backdrop of internet age when Indians have been using desktops for all sorts of communication and a rare use of social media in mobile handsets by the people has been seen. On the other hand, Harshvardhan Kulkarni’s ‘Huntern’ released in 2015 and Ashok Yadav’s ‘Kerry on Kutton’ released in 2016 is set on the backdrop of emerging social media sites and its content. Besides, all these movies have portrayed the protagonists as the representation of younger generation or young aged people from 18-25 years.

Though the movies have their own plot and themes, the backdrop of all these four movies are connected to the rapid use of social media by the younger people at the influence of traffic congestion of pornographic contents. This is so connected that all the selected movies are influenced by the three major themes directly or indirectly. The difference may lie on the greater and the lower intensity of pornographic content being reflected in each of these movies, or greater or lesser depiction of social media and internet use in each of these movies and larger or smaller settings of all these movies on the younger generations. Whichever it may or may not have, these themes have been culminated through the influence of three sub-themes among many -

a) Linguistic pornography

Pornographic representation is also derived from the use of language, other than the images - still or moving. Language has the similar power to arouse sexual feelings and it is in this contextual analysis of Bollywood movies, where one can find ‘language’ as the major tool to attract attention of the younger minds through its manifestation of sexual desires and thoughts. It is in this Harshvardhan Kulkarni’s movie - ‘Huntern’, where the protagonist, Mandar Ponshe (Gulshan Devaiah) is portrayed as someone “who can’t keep it in his pants” (Gupta, 2015) according to Indian Express movie review. But the portrayal of this character surrounds the uncontrolled desire of sex through different means. It is reflected in his course of action all through the plot of this movie. But, the interesting portrayal is about his linguistic identity, that renew his character suddenly whenever he visits a local housewife, who is portrayed in the movie after the name of a popular Indian pornographic comic character Savita Bhabhi and used to roar by uttering erotic sound mimicking “meow” of a cat at the entrance of her door signaling his presence and uncontrolled sexual desire to be released in no time. Same is the case with the movie directed by Ashok Yadav - ‘Kerry on Kutton’, where the protagonist Kerry (Satyajeet Dubey) in the tonal language of Uttar Pradesh would converse with the actress Jyoti (Aradhana

Jagota) in a clandestine meeting that takes place in a potato godown. The language seems to be so intimate in the local terms “*Itna masala kyun khaate ho?*” about Kerry’s pan-stained teeth before they started for a long smooch.

These are all about uniting a sound image with a concept rather than going by the name and a thing as it is what Saussurean model all about that speaks of semiotics - “*based on viewing the word as a meaning-making tool that unites a sound image and a concept, not a name and a thing*” (Reda, 2016, p.90). The language here describes more about the carnal desire that Kerry longs for, than the genteel lovemaking (Ghosh, 2016). So, the sexual desire has been a prominent topic in these movies that are entertained through language as sexuality though has very much to do with sex, is also understood in two main senses “(1) *as a specific aspect of the human biological makeup (penises/vaginas, XX/ XY chromosomes, and in-between variations on these dyads); and (2) as erotic and/or procreative desires and practices, which may build upon, but are not reducible to, those bodily features*” (Milani, 2016, p.404). Therefore, the representation of pornographic content is increasingly witnessed through the manifestation of dialogues or language than the bodies through the script that a writer weaves so interestingly. This language has also been traced down to the texting culture of the younger generation on social media platforms in this age of Digital India, especially sexting through which a sexual reference can be easily drawn to lure the sexual partner. So, the easy connect of the language to the pornographic content is largely practiced over social media platforms today, which otherwise in the pre-digital age is rarely seen in the Bollywood movies. The very fine example can be Saurabh Shukla’s ‘I am 24’ where the 42-year-old protagonist, Shubhendu Roy (Rajat Kapoor) presumed to be of younger age (24) while texting and later video chatting with the actress Kanak (Manjari Fadnis) through internet facility. In the entire movie, not a single chat on sexual desire or appealing sexual interest towards each other is shown. So, the language over the social media platforms have vastly changed today with more young people occupying the social media spaces.

b) Pornographic representation of images

This is one of the most viral representation of pornographic contents, which is increasingly portrayed by Indian cinema in this digital age. Due to the rapid digitalisation, there has developed the way cinema represents an image. This image may be drawn out of any characters, objects or environment; it is more flexibly portrayed today. But, in this case of study, it talks about the representational image of pornographic contents. And without any doubt, it can be assured that this is purposively done for viewer’s sexual entertainment. In all these representational movies taken for the study, it can be understood how the image representation has slowly become clearer of its intent and content as the movies are moving towards the digital age. From the movie produced in 2010 - ‘I am 24’ to ‘Bala’ in 2019, there lies a vast difference between the representational images of pornographic contents. In the pre-digital India, it used to be one-way image of body-showing. Simply speaking, it used to be only in Bollywood movies that people started to see the changes in the portrayal of the character of actresses or co-actresses and becomes the only exposure to the sexual entertainment world for the younger generation then. This portrayal has got a massive change when the characters today are exposed not only through medium but also through contents in the guise of bodies and thematic or symbolic images directly or indirectly paving the path for pornographic representations. It is not only in movies but also mostly in social media platforms that people explore sexuality in different forms.

The supporting actor Gagan (Ranvir Shorey) in ‘I am 24’ remains busy wooing Shella (Neha Dhupia) who flaunts her sexuality (The Times of India, 2016) through body-showing or engaging in item songs to produce the needed heat in the plot. Her character is shown as a representational body of pornographic content which is later upgraded to the character of Pari (Yami Gautam) - a small-town TikTok sensation of the movie - ‘Bala’, directed by Amar Kaushik. Here, the character is portrayed mostly through the use of social media - TikTok exposing herself with body showing through mimicking dance or music. Her character in the movie is represented through the social media constructing her image of fair, beautiful and sexy as compared to the character of co-actress Bhumi Padnekar as a dark-complexioned lawyer Latika.

In this context, it is important to understand that there exists a thin line of difference between pornographic and non-pornographic - “*Women’s open, moist and lipstick-red lips, half-closed eyelids or hands suggestively placed on a bare bosom or stomach are staple elements in pornography, but also in music videos, cosmetic ads and fashion photography*” (Paasonen, Nikunen and Sarenmaa, 2007, p.1).

Moreover, ‘Vaasu’ and ‘Vijay’ are the two symbolic images of pornographic contents in the movies - ‘I am 24’ and ‘Kerry on Kutton’ respectively. In the first one, the protagonist in his hidden identity refer himself as

'Vaasu' which is termed as playboy, whereas in the second case, the character 'Kerry' term his penis as 'Vijay'. The movie also represents thematic images like the killing of the protagonist in the end through bullet shot at 'Vijay' (penis) in 'Kerry on Kutton' signifying the end of his sexual life or suppressing the sexual urge. Even in 'I am 24', the protagonist tries to change himself from 'Vaasu' (playboy) to a gentle married man at the end signifying the thematic changes from pornographic to non-pornographic message. Therefore, pornographic representation of images can be any images - symbolic, thematic or bodily images - *"It's an image that is not supposed to be seen; but is seen. So, it can be any image. This idea that any image can become pornographic is reflected in what the Italian artist Messina (2006) calls 'real core' to differentiate amateur pornography from hardcore and softcore pornography"* (Baishya, 2017).

Even the cinematography of the selected movies has a connection to the establishment of pornographic contents as the dominant theme most of the time. The place and position that the camera screens through and the angles and the environment, where a scene is directed is mostly connected to the creation of sexual arousal or rather a titillation - *"If pornography is meant to titillate, then it is the imagination of place itself that allows titillation. In many MMS videos the sex-act remains unseen, or is too jerky, pixelated and poorly framed to be explicit enough; but the prefixing of the place- name transforms the video clip into a 'promissory note' of erotic possibilities. This promise of erotic possibility goes hand in glove with a dual spatiality in which one's inhabited space is always in friction with the space of the screen or the mobile device"* (Baishya, 2017).

The issue of location has always been interrelated with pornography much before India makes a digital run. The 'sense of place' that makes the mystery out of pornographic videos in a digital device like smartphones especially with MMS videos that some researchers establish as the amateur Indian style of pornography has already been marked in the footpath of urban towns and cities in India.

c) Pornographic Metaphors

There has increased deploying of metaphors in Bollywood movies in this age of Digital India to add humour and entertain the viewers. But at the same time, this has also occupied the space of speaking the untold and seeing the unseen breaking all kind of taboos and hegemonies. The content of Bollywood movies has become more of a double meaning than keeping it plain; and it is more of offensive or derogatory content that is cleared by the certification board without any scope to reject it. This is due to the use of language and content mostly prevailed over the social media platforms today and mostly inspired by the younger people. In this context, it can also be said that social media hasn't only become the source of news but also for entertainment contents. The use of metaphors like 'Vaasu' taken from the Sanskrit word *vasana*, meaning 'truly stubborn desire' is treated like commonly used slang or particularly to the movie as a sex addict or a playboy. Whereas, in the same movie, a father describing a boy's aunt by saying "she looks okay" gives the glimpse about which direction the entire language and content of our movies are moving into. Even, the metaphor 'Vijay' used in 'Kerry on Kutton' signals the lurking of one's sexual desire and eagerly waiting to settle it. The commodification or objectification of women in movies are also representation of pornographic metaphors to introduce people about the them as objects or commodities to be sexually exploited. Or sometime, characters portray themselves as the beneficiaries of these metaphors of objectification. In 'Bala', the character of Pari is represented through TikTok where she is highly objectified as a piece of beautiful and sexy girl to woo the viewers; of which she of course takes the benefit by gaining more and more likes and becoming the TikTok sensation reflecting the changes that has occurred in today's world of digitalisation. Whereas, the dark-complexioned character of lawyer in the same movie is victimized. Moreover, the title of the movie 'I am 24' itself is a metaphor to younger generation more familiar to the internet and the social media, somewhere also hiding the protagonist's sexual identity by power.

In this regard, the costume most of the time act as a pornographic metaphor in the present day Indian cinema. Even earlier, it started with the costumes about the depiction of pornographic influences; but now with the increasing multiculturalism and globalisation, the digital transformation has added fuel to the acceptance of western customs of dressing. The item songs in each of the selected movies explore the sexual meditation through the kind of costumes selected for. Item songs are more about the dresses that makes the moves of the dances matched. It is not about selection of costumes but the selection of songs and dances as per the costumes that expose bodies and reveal cleavages. Dress and costumes act as the powerful medium to create sexual arousal in Indian Cinema, and perhaps this dress also has a link to the representation of digital identities these days over Facebook, Instagram or TikTok.

Conclusion:

Pornographic contents are everywhere now, right from the starting of social media platforms to the screening of Bollywood movies, from the textual and tonal language of communication over digital platforms to the dialogues scripted for a series of events in the plot of movies, from the minds of younger users of social media to the minds of directors revolving around the themes/elements of younger generation, etc. Though, the theme of Bollywood movies is based on diverse fields but falling into the trap or stuck into the traffic congestion of a particular content is only possible in case of the pornographic contents, which is rapidly increasing. The triangular relation between the social media, younger generation and pornographic contents knowingly or unknowingly becomes the basis of every production of cinema during this age of digital India. This study is limited to the understanding of the changing contents and its influence upon the Bollywood movies through the changing media/channels within the plot of the movies itself. This study can be extended through the quantitative analysis of kinds of contents; though it will be an infinite task to come at a definite finding of what it means to be a pornographic and non-pornographic contents; which necessarily needs a qualitative study among a selected sample of particular group of people. It may be easy to segregate the different kinds of contents in a Bollywood movie and then quantitatively analysing about the domination of a particular kind of content; but in that case it will be difficult to separate the pornographic from the non-pornographic contents until and unless a study is undertaken to understand the people's understanding of pornographic content in Bollywood movies, which may be done through focused group discussion or an experimental study among the cinema goers.

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