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A STUDY ON THE CHANGING TRENDS IN FILM CENSORSHIP

With Respect To Tamil Films Released In Past Three Decades

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Abstract:

Censorship has always been a topic of discussion among filmmakers and the lawmakers. Though our country's constitution gives freedom of expression, it makes sure that the expression does not result in conflicts. Indian Film Industry produces thousands of films per year. Every film has to cross censorship in order to get a release. This research studies the changing trends in the censorship of Tamil films. To be precise, the research focuses on films released in the past three decades. i.e. from 1980 to 2009. The findings of textual analysis suggest that there are drastic changes in the censorship pattern in each decade since 80s.

Introduction:

Films have become a part of our daily life and they are considered as the reflection of our society. In turn, some films do inspire people, both in a positive and negative manner. Censorship makes sure that a film gets released without any objectionable content that may result in conflicts among people and it is also their duty to make sure that a film gets released once it is certified. Censorship in India mainly targets religious issues. It is justified by the government as necessary to maintain communal harmony, peace and tranquility, given the history of communal tension. On a paradoxical note, it is stated that the main duty of censor board is to ensure the freedom of expression of a director. But the censorship process does not have any transparency. Though there is no secrecy in the guidelines followed, what happens during a film's certification process is still unknown to a layman. Added, films released in the recent decade had irrelevant certification, when compared to the previous decades, even though they have been censored under the same old guidelines. So this study tries to bring out the differences and contradictions in the censorship pattern since 1980s.

Censorship in India:

Film censoring was in effect from the earliest days in Indian cinema and the Indian Cinematography Act became law in 1918. Censor Boards were established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras (Chennai). The Commissioner of Police was the Chairman of the Board. However, the Censor was concerned about the political content of films and any film that calls for freedom or revolt against the British was neatly edited or refused censor. The British Indian Censor did not bother much about matters of sex, morals and the like. Silent films in those days had passionate kissing scenes and intimate love sequences, with no questions asked. The Cinematograph Act 1952, apart from including provisions relating to constitution and functioning of the Central Board of Film Certification (known till June 1, 1983 as the Central Board of Film Censors), also lays down the guidelines to be followed for certifying films. Initially, there were only two categories of certificates "U" (Universal exhibition) and "A" (restricted to adult audiences), but two other categories were added in June 1983. "UA" for unrestricted public exhibition subject to parental guidance for children below the age of twelve and "S" films for public exhibition restricted to specialized audiences such as doctors. The 1952 Act has been amended to bring it up-to-date, and the last amendments were made in 1981 and 1984. The present

censorship of films is governed by the 1952 Act, the Cinemato graph (Certification) Rules formulated in 1983 and the guide lines issued from time to time. In keeping with this responsibility, the Central Board of Film Certification was set up in 1950 in Mumbai, with regional offices in Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Trivandram, New Delhi and Cuttack. While the work of certification of films is a central subject, the states have to enforce these censorship provisions and bring any violations to the notice of the CBFC. The organizational structure of the CBFC is based on the provisions of the 1952 Act and the Cinematograph (Certification) Rules 1983. The Chairman and members are appointed for a term of three years or till such time as the Government may direct. They comprise eminent persons from different walks of life such as social sciences, law, education, art, film and so on, thus representing a cross-section of society. The CBFC is assisted by the Advisory Panel in various regional offices which are headed by Regional Officers. The members of these panels are also representative of a cross-section of society and interests. These members hold office till such time as the Government may direct but not exceeding two years. However, the members can be re-appointed. The CBFC has divided itself into Examining and Revising Committees to provide a two-tier system for certification of films in the event of the applicant the Chairman himself not being satisfied with the decision of the Examining Committee. The certification rules also apply to foreign films imported into India, dubbed films and video films. In the case of dubbed films, the Board does not have any fresh censorship for the visuals in general cases. The Certification does not apply to films made specifically for Doordarshan, since Doordarshan has its own system of examining such films. (http://mib.nic.in)

OBJECTIVES

- ☐ To study the censorship pattern and difference in Tamil films released in released in the past three decades
- ☐ To find out the factors based on which censorship is done both in past and present
- ☐ To find people's opinion on film censor certification

Review of Literature:

Censorship is outdated, even medieval, and it has no place in societies that thrive on vibrant ideas and experiments. Of course, a revocation of censorship must be preceded by a greater degree of responsibility. Cinema is a medium which offers enormous scope for visual and verbal communication. This should never be allowed to touch a level of crassness. Violence and vulgarity often convey shock, and little else, and moviemakers who feature these without any qualms probably suffer from a sense of delusion (Hughes, 2003). Censorship is when a work of art expressing an idea which does not fall under current convention is seized, cut up, withdrawn, impounded, ignored, maligned, or otherwise made inaccessible to its audience. A Case of War and peace given the reach and power of the film medium, without censorship there might be a flood of grade Z or reactionary films. Perhaps there is a different way of tackling this problem. It is time to look into the role that can be played by critiISSN - 2231 - 2498 ______ July - September - 2011

cism, analysis, and cinema literacy rather than relying on a Censor Board that acts as a moral police and can also be a tool in the hands of the powers that be to suppress voices of dissent. (Nanda 2002) For Critics in both colonial and independent india, film censorship has deservedly been an important and persistent problem throughout this century which continues to be the subject of lively debate. However, the topic of censorship has dominated historical accounts of the government's relationship to the cinema in india to the point that the spatial definitions and aspects of official power at the places of film exhibition have been for the most part ignored. (Bhaskaran 2000) The Central Board of Film Certification (popularly known as the Censor Board) is a government of India regulatory body and censorship board of India controlled by Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It reviews, rates and censors movies, television shows, television ads, and promotional material. According to the Supreme Court of India, "Film censorship becomes necessary because a film motivates thought and action and assures a high degree of attention and retention as compared to the printed word. The combination of act and speech, sight and sound in semi darkness of the theatre with elimination of all distracting ideas will have a strong impact on the minds of the viewers and can affect emotions. Therefore, it has as much potential for evil as it has for good and has an equal potential to instill or cultivate violent or good behavior. It cannot be equated with other modes of communication. Censorship by prior restraint is, therefore, not only desirable but also necessary". In 2006, the Censor Board asked the Government for an 'A+' or 'X' rating for films to avoid any censorship of movies meant for the adult audience due to explicit language or scenes (Tagore 2006). India's film censorship machinery and its agenda have been criticized for being caught in a colonial past. But in reality, the censorship regime in India presents a problematic engagement between the colonial past and the post-colonial present that supersedes any 'Victorian' legacy. The need is to examine how far the 'present' departs from the 'past' and to what extent the 'past' still resides in the 'present'. While modes of content control characteristic of colonial times still exist, these too are constantly being manipulated in response to emerging modes of address - seeming to create a facade of change (Bhowmik 2003). The Indian constitution provides little protection against censorship. Although it professes to give all citizens "the right to freedom of speech and expression," that is qualified by so many exceptions as to make any protection almost meaningless. These include "the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence" (Varma (2007). Even in the earlier days of censor board, they had shown double standards. On the model of cinematograph act 1909 in Britain, the Indian cinematograph act of 1918 provided for pre-censorship of films. Censor Boards were set up in 1920 in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Though the certification from one of these boards was valid throughout British India, some films were uncertified locally and some of the films banned in one province were screened in others (Baskaran, 1981). The latest example would be the Tamil film "Kandhasamy", which was certified as UA by telugu cinema censor $board\,and\,U\,by\,the\,censor\,board\,in\,Tamil\,Nadu\,(Hinducine ma.com).$

Likewise, Hindi films like Fashion and Gangster, which

deals with matured themes were given A certificate, whereas, the film Ghajini, which employs grisly and gratuitous violence was given UA. A case based on this was also filed against the censor board by a college lecturer (DNA, 2009). Actor Kamalhasan once told in an interview that, "To come up with family entertainment we try to cater to all age groups in the Tamil film. There is sex for the grown-ups and something for children. This is formula movie making. Why cannot adults be shown adult stuff? Give the movie an adults certificate and allow it" (Metroplus, The Hindu, 2005) In the year 2004, The Ministry of Information faced opposition from the documentary film makers of India, when the Censor board insisted on certification of films that are shown at film festivals. (Narrain, A censorship row, 2004). An award winning, internationally acclaimed documentary on Gujrat riots was also banned in the year 2004. It is to note that the movie was honored at the Berlin Film Festival. (BBCNews.co.uk, 2004) Added, acclaimed Hindu statesman Rajan Zed, said that seeing the continuous increase in the unnecessary vulgarity and violence in Indian films, it appeared that the Board had lost the sense of India's cultural milieu and was ignoring the directions given in the Cinematograph Act (Sampurn, 2009. In today's scenario in the 21st century, when almost anything and everything is only a few mouse-clicks away and easily accessible to young and old alike, it is high time we do away with institutions like censorship, which may or may not have served some purpose in the past, but is certainly redundant today. (Raman SV, Cutting Edge: Senseless Censors) From the earliest days of American cinema, New York was the largest market for every kind of film and the center of "web of control" with the most influential state censorship board in the United States, the New York State Motion Picture Division. Millions of Catholics also lived in New York, which extended the influence of the Legion of Decency, an organization within the Catholic Church that reviewed films and threatened those it "condemned" with public boycott. The Production Code Administration (PCA) of Hollywood had a New York office and cooperated closely with the Legion of Decency. Another staunch advocate of censorship was Martin Quigley, a Catholic and publisher of the trade journal Motion Picture Herald, who was instrumental in the formation of the PCA in the 1930s and was still active into the 1960s. Several cultural critics, including Brooks Atkinson and Bosley Crowther of The New York Times, were opposed to the chilling effects any form of prior censorship had on filmmaking (Haberski (2007)

Nandi (2005) It is obvious by now that modern democracies cultivate censorship as much as despotisms do. Indeed, a democratic state often goes farther: It creates a demand for censorship among vocal sections of the citizens, who come to believe that censorship is vital for their survival – political, cultural and moral. These sections are kept constantly anxious about national security and angry about the changing aesthetic, moral and sexual norms around them.

Chandran (2010) Earlier attempts to fetter free speech were vertical moves coming from autocratic power centres located at the top of the power hierarchy. However that has changed. What we see today are lateral moves where a group tries to undermine the freedoms of another that is positioned at the same level. If the former situation is not desirable, the latter is more dangerous for a democracy. Thus the alarming trend that we see in India today is

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censorship by the mob, or in other words, the true democratization of censorship; it has ceased to be a punitive measure wielded by the government. Rather, it has become an inviolate and unwritten set of rules that are enforced by the people for the people.

Bhowmik (2002) in his artcle 'Politics of Film Censorship Limits of Tolerance' However, the scope of film censorship is not limited to intervention over moral and sexual issues in cinema. Film censorship the world over operates in three major areas, viz, sex, violence and politics. And India is no exception in this regard. Yet intervention over representation of violence in India seems to have been carried out more by relaxation than by observance. Otherwise how can one explain the blood-smeared scenes of gory violence and graphic description of rape on silver screen in the name of realism? And occasionally when there has been intervention on this score, it has not created as much controversy as that over sexual representation. As for intervention over political matters, there is even less heat and dust. The public response borders almost on apathy, barring of course those who have been directly affected.

Methodology:

Methodology is defined as "the analysis of the principle of methods, rules, and postulated employed by a discipline" or "a particular procedure or set of procedures". Methodology refers to more than a simple set of methods; rather it refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumption that underlies a particular study. **Research Design:**

The research design enables the researcher in better understanding of a complex issue or object and can extend experience or add strength. Thereby the research design enables the researcher to derive the result and to interpret with the results achieved. It is basically a plan of what data to gather, from whom, how and when to collect the data, and how to analyze the data obtained. **Tools for Data Collection:**

The following method was adopted for the study • Textual analysis

TABLE 1.1 – Textual Analysis of Select films released in 1980-1989

Movie	Violence	Obscenity / vulgarity	Dialogues / lyrics
name			
Netrikann	 Not much of violence. The Climax fight has a chase sequence. Usual fighting. No bloodshed. Car runs over a character's legs. 	 The theme of the film revolves around a character who is a womanizer. The character's provocative behavior is seen in a song and implied throughout the movie. Some sensual shots present in two of the songs Nothing is shown explicit. An item number is there (and the dancer's dressing is inappropriate as usual) Several characters drink and smoke in few scenes and the main character smokes a pipe. 	Most of the dialogues are decent. Few dialogues justify the act of the negative character. Lyrics in a song praises the negative character's attitude
Pudhu Pudhu Arthangal	 Domestic Violence Fight between two pairs who are married couples A character dies after falling from a advertisement hoarding 	 The theme of the film revolves around extra marital affair of two people. A female character doubts her husband of having an affair. 	• Dialogues, mixed with Telugu, of a character yelling at people in different scenes.
Nayagan	 A character gets shot in his spine A small boy is beaten up by the police. His wounds are seen in the next few scenes A small boy stabs a police officer Police use water cannon to clear people from slum A character is badly beaten up in police station. Bloodshed and wounds seen. A bottle is smashed in the villains head in a fight. Character uses a hammer to kill a police in a prolonged fight sequence. The fight sequence is very intense Gun shots fired in a scene 	• Two Item numbers are there Nothing explicit though. • Sensual shots present in a song • Character goes to a red light area • A character is seen with sex workers	A small boy shouts a bad word. A character utters a bad word but dialogue muted One more bad word with sound A character utters a telugu bad word

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	Female character gets shot while standing in a balcony and falls down (bloodshed) Gun shots fired in a scene A character is strangled and another character gets shot in his eye A character self immolates Riot scenes but nothing violent Main is shot several times. Blood shed		
Jeeva	The film is a investigative thriller so lot fights throughout the film Usage of gun, knife, sledge as weapons Character gets shot in face Bloodshed Several killings throughout the movie Domestic violence. A character is given drugs against her will A character gets killed A character is badly beaten up in police station. Bloodshed and wounds seen. A bottle is smashed in the villains head in a fight.	A character is seen swimming in the pool, in two piece dress. Swimming pool environment with many women in bikini is shown A song is shot in a very sensual / vulgar manner. Heroine runs in skimpy clothes It is implied that a character is drugged and raped, nothing explicit. A character Drinks and sings in a arrack shop	Character shouts bad words A song about drinking
Soora Sam- haram	 A character is tied up and tortured. He is also given drugs against his will. He is beaten up very badly. Character gets addicted to drugs Character breaks a veenai out of anxiety and frustration Shouts loud Gun shots, killings, bloodshed in the climax 	Several Sensual scenes between the lead pair Heroine is shown in wet clothes. Taking shower in a falls, along with the hero, in a song The song is shot in a gratifying manner Item number, dancers in Skimpy clothes The Dance movements in the item number are very suggestive	Character speaks bad words (without any muting) A character tries to speak a bad word but stops Villain speaks ill of police throughout the film

Interpretations for This Decade (1980 – 1989):

- Films with violent themes and matured content (adulteration) was given A (adults only) certificate
- Indecent dialogues are not allowed. Bad words spoken are muted but even though, there are contradictions in the same decade.
- The bad word muted in the film Nayagan was not muted in the movie Soora Samharam.
- Song lyrics too are not bad
- On screen violence was reduced. Not much of bloodshed is seen.
- Dressing of some female characters are skimpy and sensual scenes are allowed onscreen with A certificate

TABLE 1.2 – Textual Analysis of films released in 1990 – 1999:

Movie name	Violence	Obscenity / vulgarity	Dialogues / lyrics
Sooriyan	A villain character throws a boy in to water Violent and intense fight scenes throughout the movie A fighter's hand gets cut by his own knife, he yells in pain and is seen running with the bleeding Usual Chase sequence Female character is beaten up very badly It is implied that a small boy is killed. His corpse his seen. inside a fridge.	A Female character wears tight clothes while exercising. This scene has some exposure The female character wears revealing / provocative dresses throughout the movie Female character mounts on the hero's shoulders while he is exercising. They fall in the river together after that. Female character speaks seductively	A villain and a Comedian speaks foul language throughout the film Female character speaks indecent language and bad words One song with suggestive lyrics

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• A pregnant female character is beaten • A girl is tied up in sea shore, up very badly and she has a miscarriage. wearing wet, revealing clothes. Bloodshed • She is beaten up and dragged • A old female character is killed. away later in that scene. • A girl is half buried in sand in Drowned. • Firing using machine guns. Hero gets bikini. shot. Bleeding • Villain chases the girl in the • Explosion. Characters get blowed up. beach. She is seen running in a Blood shed hikini. • A girl is half buried in sand in bikini. She is tortured by the villain. Later, villain chases the girl in the beach. She is seen running in a bikini. She gets shot. • Lot of violence and bloodshed in the climax fight. Barbwire is used to injure. Indian • Characters gets stabbed and killed. • Female character wears revealing • Comedian speaks foul language No bloodshed in some scenes but few dresses throughout the movie. throughout the film scenes have blood splattering, the knife • Characters dance in swimsuit in • Bribery is justified in some diaused to kill has blood stains a song. logues. • A riot scene with explosions and gun • Sensual dance movements and • Double meaning dialogues in few shots. Bloodshed. People get killed. scenes in a song places • A character beats a bull. Bites his tail. • A very brief rear nudity when • A character shouts in foul lan-• Character beats a police who asks women run to commit suicide guage. Speaks ill about a female bribe character • British Police gets killed. No blood • A female character curses • Women are stripped against their will • A police officer speaks bad word and they run around naked in panic (no · Bad words in English nudity). They also commit suicide. • A character speaks bad word at his • Blood splat when a British judge is father stabbed • Explosions Intense war scenes. Suicide attacks. • Character gets beaten up very badly in jail. Lot of bleeding and his veins were being cut. • Character gets killed in front of a camera as a part of a TV program • A character gets burns out of gas explosion. The burns in her hands and face are seen. A bit intense Rat- chagan • Explosions. • Heroine wears revealing clothes · English bad word • Throughout the film, the hero gets into • Anger is justified in dialogues. • Very Seductive dance movements in two songs + Kissing scene. · Suggestive, indecent dialogues by • A dog trainer beats his dog and shoots • A dancer dances in minimal dress the villains to irritate hero throughout a song • Lyrics of a song is suggestive • A Character is beaten very badly and killed by Lift truck. Little bloodshed • A car is heavily damaged by villains · Hero beats the firefighters • Group of people harass a women • Hero gets beaten up very badly by a group of men •Hero uses barb wired iron rod to beat the villains. Later he dips the rod in acid and beat.

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Ennuyir Thozhan	Scenes of Protest Nothing violent It is implied that a character self immolates	 People protest in a bit obscene way, in a government building Usual duets and dialogues. Nothing Vulgar or obscene 	A character speaks foul language. Swears at people. Few bad words muted Dialogues accuse and criticize politicians
Thevar magan	Communal violence It is implied that a character's hand is cut in a communal fight. He is shown with bandages in hospital. People killed in flood Corpse of a small child, a cow and many other corpses is seen in aftermath. Bit intense scene Police beats a convict in the jail while enquiry Almost all the fight sequences are realistic and intense Bomb Explosion.	Few sensual scenes between the lead pair. Female character comes out of river in wet dress. Not much vulgarity / obscenity Drinking	Villain characters speak foul language throughout the movie. (in village slang) Bad words

INTERPRETATIONS FOR THIS DECADE (1990 – 1999)

- Drastic Change in certification pattern in this decade
- Films with Violence and matured contents are certified UA or U
- Bad words are allowed without any muting
- Some songs' lyrics were explicit. Dance movements too had some vulgarity
- Female characters' dressings were also not like the previous decade. They were very lean.

TABLE 1.3 – Textual Analysis of films released in 2000 - 2009:

MOVIE NAME	VIOLENCE	OBSCENITY / VULGARITY	DIALOGUES / LYRICS
Gemini	Film revolves around rowdism Character gets killed. Stabbing Fights on streets. No bloodshed Another intense fight sequence. Bloodshed. Climax fight is intense and bloodshed Is also there.	Heroine wears skimpy / revealing clothes in several scenes throughout the movie A comedy track is about a pimp Item number. A female character behaves indecent Drinking	Villain speaks indecent and foul language throughout the movie Police officer flirts with a reporter A female character speaks indecent (muted in few instances) 2 songs full of suggestive lyrics (o podu, naatukattai) Few words muted
Boys	 Realistic fight. Bloodshed. Boys beaten up very badly. Boys get beaten up badly in jail Intense. A Boy is run over by bus while travelling in foot board Boy's corpse, soaked in blood, Is seen 	 Lead characters behave indecently in few scenes and in a song (girl-friend) Two boys kiss Girls wear lean dress in many scenes Drinking in wine shop (act is described in detail) Group of boys brings a prostitute to home. Boys and gals go for a date to a resort Girls dance in bikini / swimsuit in a song (dating) A boy runs nude in a main road (no nudity) Visuals of obscene books 	Indecent dialogues throughout the movie spoken by several characters Several Bad words unmuted

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Villu	Fight sequence. No bloodshed Character is killed on water and drowned Explosions, Firing Climax fight is intense. Bloodshed. Hero is buried alive A big iron cylinder falls on Villain and he is killed. no bloodshed	Indecent visual comedy Heroine's dressing is very provocative throughout the movie Kissing (Resuscitation) It is implied that a women see a man naked A women consumes alcohol and shouts Women dance in lean dress in a song (daddy mummy). Dance movements are also improper Dancers dance in bikini throughout a song (jalsa)	Indecent dialogues One song is full of swearing (are you crazy) Two song full of suggestive lyrics (vaada maapla, daddy mummy) Suggestive lyrics in some places in a song (dheem thana)
Kandha- samy	Police officer beaten badly. No blood Intense fight sequences Man is shot and killed	Police officer seen drinking Heroine dances in skimpy clothes in a song (allegro) Heroine tears her clothes Heroine dresses provocatively. Kissing Heroine dances, wearing a bath towel. Dance movements are bit vulgar Gross comedy A rape convict tortures a tied up gal. Touches her body and Tears her dress, she yells Man and women goes inside a bathroom and it is implied that they are involved in some enticing act. Sounds and Visuals shown Suggestive dance movements, Indecent clothing (en peru). Man dances along with her in brisefs	Indecent dialogues One song is full of swearing (are you crazy) two song full of suggestive lyrics (vaada maapla, daddy mummy) Suggestive lyrics in some places in a song (dheem thana)
Anniyan	Intense fight sequences throughout the movie Lead character torture people to death Character tries for suicide by drowning Fight sequence where some 50 people are after one man Heroine is tortured by the main character. Blood A small is electrocuted to death. A Frog dies in the same way Too much of Bloodshed in the climax scene. Nail pierces through a character's hand. He yells in pain, bloodshed. Then he is whipped in barb wired iron rod.	Comedian's dialogues are indecent in some places	Killing and bribing is justified in dialogues Comedian's dialogues are indecent in some places Police officer tries to speak bad words. Implied Hero speaks bad word at a police officer. Not muted

INTERPRETATIONS FOR THIS DECADE (2000 – 2009)

- There were further changes in the censorship pattern
- Films with violence, obscenity and vulgarity were permitted mostly with U and sometimes with UA
- Intense violence sequences were seen in most of the commercial movies
- Few dialogues and songs' lyrics were very suggestive
- Female characters dressing were repulsive and some dance movements were hideous. Particularly, many scenes can be seen with female characters wearing / dancing in swimsuit
- Unethical acts are justified in dialogues. Kissing scenes are scene in many movies with U and UA certificate
- Bad words are permitted without muting.
- Drinking and smoking is scene in almost all the movies. (statutory warning displayed in films released after 2005)

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Findings:

- Every decade, there are drastic changes in the certification pattern
- Contents which are considered objectionable in the earlier decade were not considered so in the next decades
- In the films after 1990s, importance for violence is more, unethical acts has been justified and obscenity level is comparatively higher than 80s
- Sensual scenes can be found more in films released after 2000
- The factors behind certification remain same and it can be broadly stated as Political influence and personal bias. These factors still play a major role in film censoring
- Censor board has very minimal powers and cannot implement new rules and enforce actions

Conclusion:

On the whole, the study reveals that changes are there in film certification process, since 1980s. Though the officials claim that there are not many changes and they do not show any bias, the findings contradict their point. Film makers and critics do support censorship but they are not happy with the current system and demand more categories. Audience are very clear on what they want to see and what they do not want to see. Most of them feel that the current status of certification is bad and irrelevant.

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