
Changing Nature of Explicit Content on Indian OTT Platforms: Streaming Realism, Viewing Practices and Regulatory Tensions

Noushad*

¹Research Scholar, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, Email: dr.alinoushad@gmail.com

Professor Mohammad Fariyad

²Professor, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, Email: m_fariyad@rediffmail.com

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.20680884>

ARTICLE DETAILS

Research Paper

Accepted: 23-05-2026

Published: 10-06-2026

Keywords:

binge watching, explicit content, OTT platforms, platform competition, streaming realism

ABSTRACT

The rapid expansion of over-the-top (OTT) streaming platforms in India has introduced unprecedented levels of explicit content, graphic violence, profanity, and sexual material into mainstream entertainment. Unlike broadcast television and theatrical cinema, which remain subject to formal censorship frameworks, OTT platforms initially operated with minimal regulatory oversight, enabling creators to develop a realism that challenges long established norms of Indian screen culture. This paper examines four interrelated dimensions of this shift: the emergence of streaming realism as an aesthetic and commercial strategy; the role of on demand viewing in reshaping audience exposure to explicit material; platform competition as a structural driver of edgier content; and the regulatory tensions produced by the Information Technology (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules 2021. The paper is conceptual and literature-driven in orientation, synthesising secondary scholarly sources. The findings indicate that explicit content in Indian OTTs is constructed as a signifier of artistic freedom, a competitive edge and a contested terrain of cultural and legal negotiation. The introduction of the IT Rules 2021 has created a new



tension between industry freedom and state regulation, posing unresolved questions about the future of unregulated storytelling in the country's streaming landscape.

Introduction

India's shift to over-the-top (OTT) centred media consumption is one of the more significant developments in the country's entertainment history. Platforms such as Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, Disney+ Hotstar, ALTBalaji and ZEE5 have together revolutionised the manner in which content is created, distributed and consumed, steering audiences away from scheduled broadcast programming to on-demand, device-flexible and increasingly private viewing contexts (Menon, 2024). This structural change has also led to a change in the content itself. Indian OTT originals have added levels of violence, profanity, and sexual content that would have been impossible or difficult to show on broadcast TV or in theatres.

Web series such as *Sacred Games* (Netflix, 2018), *Mirzapur* (Amazon Prime Video, 2018), *Paatal Lok* (Amazon Prime Video, 2020), and *Made in Heaven* (Amazon Prime Video, 2019) are among the most cited examples of this trend in academic and public discourse. These productions contain abusive language, graphic violence and sexual explicitness, which are different from the aesthetic conventions of mainstream Indian television. The commercial success of such content encouraged other platforms and other producers to follow this trend, establishing explicit content as a recognisable feature in India's streaming landscape (Srivastav & Rai, 2022).

To understand this change, we need to go beyond just observing the lesser restrictions of OTT platforms compared to broadcast media. It requires examining the structural, commercial, and cultural conditions that have made explicit content a viable and attractive strategy for streaming platforms operating in India. It also requires engaging critically with the regulatory response, particularly the IT Rules 2021 and with the scholarly debates about what the normalisation of explicit material means for Indian media culture. This paper takes up these questions through a conceptual, literature-driven discussion, drawing on peer-reviewed scholarship to map the key dimensions of the phenomenon.

Literature Review

OTT Platforms and the Transformation of Indian Media



The scale and speed of OTT growth in India have attracted substantial scholarly attention. Panda et al. (2021) describe how the entry of multiple domestic and international streaming services has increased competition for subscribers, diversified content production and introduced new controversies around the portrayal of vulgarity, obscenity and the sensitive social issues. Their analysis puts the OTT boom into perspective in the context of a broader digital disruption trend. They pointed out that binge-watching behaviours driven by on-demand, subscription and multi-device access have changed the way people watch entertainment media, moving it away from a communal, family viewing environment to more private and individual settings.

This argument is further developed by Menon (2024), who claims that OTTs have not just given India an additional way of consuming television but have also revolutionized the way television is consumed. The move from the appointment viewing to on-demand viewing has changed the nature of storytelling; it has helped to bring about the rise of 'serialised' storytelling; it has enabled the producer to produce for a much more specific and different audience than the one which is the assumed audience of broadcast television. This type of audience segmentation is important to clean content; when platforms are built for young, urban, upwardly-mobile, and consume content privately on their own devices, the rules that govern family-time broadcast programming don't apply in the same manner.

For India, Paul (2024) believes convenience and personalization are primary factors of OTT adoption. Customers appreciate the freedom to watch as they please when they please, without the restrictions of broadcast schedules or content. This "on-demand" content preference affects both the types of content that producers are willing to produce, and the types of content that audiences will watch. Paul suggests that the private viewing context is not simply a delivery mechanism, but a cultural condition that shapes both production decisions and reception practices.

Streaming Realism and Explicit Aesthetics

The argument made repeatedly in the literature is that this explicitness on the Indian OTT platforms is not just gratuitous but a conscious aesthetic choice. According to Srivastav and Rai (2022), the popular Indian web series challenge the melodramatic nature of broadcast television, featuring morally complex characters, dark storylines, and even scenes with explicit language and violence. This reading is based on the assumption that explicitness is a component of a larger aesthetic lexicon, one that sets streaming apart from its broadcast cousins.



This argument is expanded by Peter and Raj (2021) in their critique of *Paatal Lok*, where they demonstrate how the show uses coarse language and violent realism to create ranks of masculinity and to mark classed authenticity. Profanity and graphic violence are not a feature of the show, but they are part of the way it depicts a social context and power dynamics of the working class. The explicit content, in other words, is interpretive – it is part of the series' social and moral world.

Expanding on this Gupta (2023) states that offensive and obscene language is a recurring trope in the Indian web series and is used to make the content feel more immediate and more authentic to the vernacular. Profanity marks social realism in urban, regional and classed speech patterns in ways that sanitised broadcast language cannot – adding texture to the OTT narratives. Gupta notes, however, that there is little empirical scholarship on the cumulative impact of this linguistic approach on audiences and a great deal of work to be done in this area.

In *Sacred Games* and *Paatal Lok*, however, the explicit sexual content can be seen as reinforcing the normative agenda despite the portrayal of these works as transgressive, particularly in the context of the portrayal of trans characters, as explored by Arora et al. (2023). In their analysis, seemingly uncensored representations in OTT can reinforce cis-heteronormative frameworks and could be employed as sexualisation devices, which take people away from freedom and into entrapment of marginalised identities. The discovery makes more complicated seem straightforward the concept of OTT explicitness as a measure of creative freedom it's the content of OTT explicitness that matters.

Platform Competition and Content Differentiation

One of the biggest challenges in India's OTT space is competition for the same audience and that has contributed to the trend of explicit content. Another factor driving the increase in explicit content in India is the competition in the OTT market. Sarkar (2024) sees the streaming industry as a competitive revolution, and to stand out in a crowded market, media platforms have to create content that is different and catches the attention of viewers to engage them and draw new ones in. In that context, it is all the more valuable to have more controversial and explicit material in the mix, and it's a big part of a service's sense of identity, standing out from those of other services and from the content on broadcast media.

In a wider regulatory perspective, this competitive way has been discussed by Edara (2024) who argues that the increasing and growing competition from OTT has resulted in self-regulation and government regulation. The increasing incentives for content boundaries to be pushed have led to contentious issues in the form of explicit content, making it hard to separate market competition and regulatory response.



Platforms generate explicit content to compete; state responds with regulatory systems; platforms adjust their strategies.

Global platforms with international content libraries have also increased expectations and appetites of audiences for complex, adult stories, Panda et al (2021) notes. The foreign OTTs with explicit content have been a part of the lives of Indian viewers, especially young and urban, for long, setting the expectations of what OTT in India should be. There is an additional factor in the competition, as India's platforms are not only competing against each other, but are also competing with international streaming standards

Regulatory Frameworks and the IT Rules 2021

The response of the regulators to OTTs' ability to show explicit material has grabbed the attention of scholars. In the IT Rules 2021, Mehta and Amit Danhi (2025) critically examine the Regulations and conclude that it is possible for the State to have a wider say in the audiovisual industries operating online which opens up opportunities for both formal and informal pressure on the creators. They believe there is a plan to move towards a more regulated and regulated future for OTT TV, and they want to take a look at the rules, which is a legal instrument that can be employed to punish platforms and content producers that are deemed objectionable. A SWOC analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the rules, opportunities and challenges is provided in the paper "A SWOC Analysis of the IT Rules" by Chandavarkar et al. (2023). For them, the tension between the state's interest in content governance and the creative and business interest of the streaming industry has been the main theme in their analysis; and this tension has been further exacerbated than addressed by the IT Rules 2021. Chawla and Buch (2023) argue that movie-based censorship mechanisms do not necessarily function well with online entertainment and that self-regulation is a better approach to ensure creative freedom and to resolve legitimate concerns related to harmful content. It is interesting that they raise some of the questions about the proper form of government for a medium other than broadcast and theatrical film in their discussion of self-regulation in place of statutory censorship. Edara (2024) and Pandey et al. (2023) highlight transparency and the empowerment of consumers as key areas for help in regulating OTT, recommending improved age-rating systems, content descriptors and grievance procedures for consumers, rather than simple censorship rules. This user centred approach to regulation differs from the state-centric one followed in the IT Rules 2021 and towards other possible regulatory approaches, which strike a balance between content control and platform autonomy.



Research Gap

While there is a lot of research done on Indian OTT platforms, a few key points are missing. The majority of the literature that has been published to date tends to address a specific series or a specific regulatory tool as a standalone component without taking into account the aesthetic, commercial and regulatory aspects of explicit content in an integrated analytical framework. While it has been mentioned in general, the relationship between the competition between platforms and the decision of content has not been studied systematically. The paper counters those gaps by summarizing research from various sources within these areas and recognizes the boundaries of conceptual analysis in the absence of audience studies.

Objectives

This paper pursues four interrelated objectives:

1. To examine streaming realism as an aesthetic strategy that deploys explicit content, violence, profanity, and sexuality as markers of narrative authenticity in Indian OTT productions.
2. To analyse how private viewing culture and binge-watching practices have altered the conditions under which Indian audiences encounter explicit content.
3. To explore platform competition as a structural driver of explicit content production in India's streaming market.
4. To critically assess the regulatory tensions produced by the IT Rules 2021 and the debate between self-regulation and statutory censorship.

Methodology

The paper uses a qualitative, conceptual and literature-based method in accordance with the existing approach in the field of media studies literature. It synthesises scholarly arguments, theoretical frameworks, and empirical findings from peer-reviewed journal articles that address the research questions that are at the heart of the study. The study does not require primary data collection, audience surveys, interviews or content coding. It does not purport to measure attitudes or behavioural impact to audiences. Instead, it has interacted with secondary sources to formulate a conceptual framework of the way 'explicit content' has become a characteristic of OTT platforms in India and what the scholarly literature says about the circumstances, implications and debates around this evolution.



The paper is organised thematically, clustering the literature on the four main analytical themes that form the phenomenon that is being examined: streaming realism, viewing practices, platform competition, and regulation. This is a way of seeing the subject from multiple disciplinary viewpoints, combining insights from media studies, cultural studies and policy scholarship to create a multi-dimensional account of the subject. Peer reviewed journal articles from databases are given priority. Focusing on publications that directly address Indian OTT content, regulation or audience practices.

Discussion and Analysis

Streaming Realism: Explicitness as Aesthetic Strategy

The most analytical aspect of explicit content in Indian OTTs is its association to realism as an aesthetic mode. The scholarly work agrees with the clear-cut argument that lack of regulation is not the only reason behind the presence of explicit content, coarse language, graphic violence and sexual material in the Indian web series; it is also a deliberate aesthetic choice, one that aims at social realism and vernacular authenticity (Srivastav & Rai, 2022; Peter & Raj, 2021).

The orientation is a conscious move away from the melodramatic content of Indian broadcast TV that is influenced by the norms of family viewing, advertiser sensitivity and regulatory requirements. Since OTT platforms are not bound by these limitations, producers have been able to construct narratives that are able to manipulate the textures of Indian social life, urban crime, political corruption, working class manliness and sexual politics without needing to resort to explicit content to accomplish representational ends (Srivastav & Rai, 2022).

This is exactly what is portrayed in *Paatal Lok*. The series' use of violence and profanity to establish a social world in which class hierarchy and masculinity are enacted in the realities of characters' actions and language is demonstrated by Peter and Raj (2021). The realism of the show cannot be separated from the explicitness, because if the language is sanitized, or the violence muted, the social environments portrayed will not be real. Likewise, profanity is a common tool used in Indian web series to mark regional, classed and vernacular speech norms, which is something that cannot be done in broadcast television because of its language norms (Gupta 2023).

The connection between the explicitness and realism is not, however, a simple ascending one. In the context of the film *Sacred Games* and *Paatal Lok*, Arora et al. (2023) provide evidence that the explicit sexual aspects of these movies can generate normative frameworks even though they seem to be transgressive. Their analysis of trans representation reveals the use of sexualisation as a narrative strategy



that validates, not undermines, cis-heteronormative assumptions, highlighting the need to critically evaluate the realism of the OTT content. In this reading, explicitness can be the means of representation failure as well as representation freedom.

The results suggest a fruitful dichotomy in the literature, in which explicit content on Indian OTT is both an authentic aesthetic approach with legitimate representational goals, as well as an arena in which the limits and contradictions of that approach become apparent. Streaming realism is not a singular or predictable thing, but a competitive field of aesthetics in which artists' aspirations, business calculations, and depictive politics converge.

Private Viewing Culture and Shifting Audience Exposure

The context of watching explicit OTT material is as significant as the material itself. The transition from collective and family-centered television viewing to individual, device-focused, on-demand viewing has produced new circumstances for viewing that allow explicit content to flow in different ways compared to in traditional media settings (Menon, 2024; Panda et al., 2021).

The OTT platforms have not only revolutionised “what” people watch, but also “how”, “when” and “where” they watch it, according to Menon (2024). Viewing is now being privatised and this is due to the widespread use of smartphones, tablets and personal laptops, thereby allowing for access to content previously restricted by family viewing norms and broadcast schedules, in formats which don't require such norms. The transition does not necessarily mean that explicit material will become normal. It does change the way such content is seen and understood, however.

According to Paul (2024), convenience and personalisation are the key factors in OTT adoption in India, and producers are increasingly catering to the personal user instead of the collective user. However, this design orientation has implications for explicit content: stories designed for solitary, engaged viewing may be able to be more intense and more explicit than stories designed for viewing by others would be able to be and would still be commercially viable. The binge-watching model of access to more than one episode in a row amplifies this effect, as the viewers get engrossed in the stories for a longer time and may become accustomed to content registers that are more disruptive during single viewing sessions (Panda et al., 2021).

However, the empirical work in the scholarly literature does not give systematic evidence of the measurable normalisation of explicit content among Indian audiences from private viewing practices. According to Panda et al. (2021), there are audience controversies and regulatory debates about explicit



OTT content that indicate at least some parts of the audience are not used to seeing such content. The relationship between viewing practices and audience attitudes has yet to be answered empirically, and is not addressed in the existing peer-reviewed literature. It is safe to say that the transition to private on-demand viewing has set the stage for more exposure to explicit content and this change is transforming how India consumes media. (Menon, 2024; Paul, 2024).

Platform Competition and Explicit Content

Understanding the trend of explicit content on OTT platforms in India is essential in understanding the competition between the streaming giants. According to Sarkar (2024), OTT in India is a competitive revolution with platforms vying for audience attention and retention by constantly creating differentiated content. However, in this context, explicit content serves as a marketing strategy signifying intention, to differentiate a platform from broadcast, and to reach an audience that is young, urban and the primary audience of streaming: young adults.

According to Panda et al. (2021), global platforms that already have international content libraries have increased audiences' demand for complex, adult-oriented stories. Indian OTT viewers, especially from metros, where they have been accustomed to watching international TV, have high expectations of content, including explicit scenes being a part of premium dramas. These expectations have been met with online content from domestic platforms and Indian originals that have risen to or even surpassed international explicit content quality, thereby further normalising explicit content as a premium streaming hallmark.

In a regulatory context, Edara (2024) posits that the commercial motivation to create increasingly “edgy” content has thus resulted in a tendency for regulatory scrutiny to focus on explicit content in contemporary media. Content boldness is a self-reinforcing dynamic: platforms play, audiences and critics react, regulators intervene, platforms adapt. The final product is a perpetual negotiation between the market and the regulator, which most of the time cannot be fully predicted by market and regulatory forces.

This commercial aspect of explicitness production is analytically relevant because it renders narratives that explicitness is simply a matter of creative freedom difficult to handle. The need for creative freedom is a real issue for these discussions, but the choice of content may also have largely been commercial, influenced by competitive factors, audience targeting, and platform strategy. The two



elements of creative and commercial must come into view when understanding explicit content on Indian OTT platforms.

Regulatory Tensions and IT Rules 2021

The most publicized aspect of OTT's phenomenon has been its explicit content, which has sparked the regulatory reaction. This is the most important intervention by the State in the governance of OTT content to date and it has garnered a great deal of critical reaction from scholars (Mehta & Amit-Danhi, 2025; Chandavarkar et al., 2023; Chawla & Buch, 2023; Edara, 2024).

The most critical analysis on the Rules comes from Mehta and Amit-Danhi (2025), who claim that the Rules are a form of greater state intrusion in the digital AV industries. The Rules create opportunities for formal censorship, informal pressure on creators and platforms by imposing obligations on platforms to establish grievance redressal mechanisms, follow government content-removal orders and allow for oversight by a state-aligned regulatory body. The authors, Mehta and Amit-Danhi, see this trend of the state moving toward greater control, and if it continues it could severely limit the creativity that has defined the OTT era.

Chandavarkar et al. (2023) provide a more nuanced opinion, recognising the validity of the concerns raised by the IT Rules, but also highlighting important questions of freedom of expression and implementation. Their SWOC analysis highlights the strengths the Rules provide a structured regulatory regime for an unregulated industry; as well as the weaknesses identified in the rules and the lack of clarity on content standards and the risk that compliance could be abused. The balanced view demonstrates the real challenge of regulating a medium that exists in multiple jurisdictions, platforms and devices and that is used in ways that traditional regulatory structures were never meant to address.

The real issue with the use of censorship frameworks with OTT is one of categorisation, and is a fundamental one, as Chawla and Buch (2023) point out: the regulatory logic that has evolved for theatrical cinema (i.e. content is assessed and then classified prior to public viewing) is not well adapted to the on-demand, algorithmically curated, and personalised delivery of streaming content. They argue that self-regulatory mechanisms can better address the variety and volume of OTT content and retain the creative freedom that defines OTT from broadcast media.

Edara (2024) and Pandey et al. (2023) both stress the need for an approach to regulation that prioritises the interests of consumers, rather than content-removal rules; transparency regarding the classification of content, in terms of what is rated “safe” for children and what is not; strong age-verification controls, and



the availability of an easy-to-use complaints system. The consumer-empowerment approach to regulation suggests a model that respects the audience diversity of what adults want to watch – and what is acceptable for them – but offers meaningful protection to younger and more vulnerable audiences.

The regulatory discussion on OTT explicit in India is a complex one that is linked to several competing values: creative freedom, consumer choice, child protection, freedom of expression and State interest in cultural governance. The IT Rules 2021 have not defused these tensions but have brought them into the open and added to the controversy. The literature has been consistent in portraying a balance between the multiple interests and a consumer-oriented regulatory framework as more conducive for the creative and commercial autonomy of the community than the existing framework that leans toward state control (Mehta & Amit-Danhi, 2025; Chawla & Buch, 2023; Edara, 2024).

Conclusion

It is not a straightforward narrative of how regulation is missing and creators are free to do what they want when it comes to explicit content on Indian OTT platforms. It is a more complicated phenomenon that reflects the interweaving of aesthetic strategies, commercial needs, technological possibilities and regulatory politics. The arguments that follow in this paper lead to a number of different conclusions that make simple reflections on OTT explicitness difficult.

Explicit content on Indian streaming platforms provides an aesthetic strategy; one of streaming realism, using violence, foul language and sex to make an aesthetic point that is not possible on broadcast media. This approach is not just creative, but also allows film makers to interact with social realities and storytelling perspectives that were missing in the Indian screen culture (Srivastav & Rai, 2022; Peter & Raj, 2021; Gupta, 2023). This can, however, be effective as a representation of a normative framework, as Arora et al. demonstrate (2023), and OTT productions do not necessarily have the realism credentials and should be critically assessed.

Second, these structural changes to audience viewing habits with on-demand viewing have implications for how explicit content circulates and is encountered (Menon, 2024; Panda et al., 2021; Paul, 2024). However, the social regulation of exposure to explicit material in broadcast situations is a past phenomenon in the privatisation of such situations that has not yet been explored in the literature in peer-reviewed scholarship.

Third, Platform competition is a structural factor in the explicit content production which complements and sometimes conflicts with the creative motives (Sarkar, 2024; Edara, 2024; Panda et al., 2021).



Attention to the commercial logic of content differentiation is crucial to the account of the explicitness of OTT, alongside the creative logic of streaming realism.

Fourth, the IT Rules 2021 has introduced new regulatory tensions which remain unsettled so far, as a result of which debates have been raised around achieving a balance between regulating by the government and empowering consumers through sectoral self-regulation (Mehta & Amit-Danhi, 2025; Chandavarkar et al., 2023; Chawla & Buch, 2023; Edara, 2024; Pandey et al., 2023). These developments are likely to have a significant impact on the future of explicit content on Indian OTT platforms.

This review pinpoints the biggest lacuna: Lack of systematic empirical studies on the audience reception of explicit OTT content in India. There are conceptual and industry analyses available, but there is a lack of empirical studies on the social implications of explicit content normalisation as it happens in parts of the Indian streaming audience. This is the most urgent line of further research in this field.

References

- Arora, S., Baig, N., & Kalra, N. (2023). Trans(gressive) failures: Cis-heteronormative gaze in OTT media. *Journal of Creative Communications*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09732586231193571>
- Chandavarkar, N. D., S., N. P., & J., P. S. (2023). SWOC analysis of the Information Technology Rules, 2021, on social media and OTT platforms. *International Journal of Management, Technology, and Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.47992/IJMTS.2581.6012.0296>
- Chawla, G., & Buch, N. (2023). Regulation of web-based entertainment in India: Evaluating self-regulation over censorship as a mechanism for regulating OTT platforms. *Journal of Namibian Studies*.
- Edara, R. K. (2024). Regulation of OTT video platforms in India: Steps towards transparency and consumer empowerment. *Communications. Media. Design*. <https://doi.org/10.17323/CMD.2024.20988>
- Gupta, A. (2023). Language or S-language in Indian web series. *International Journal for Research in Applied Science and Engineering Technology*. <https://doi.org/10.22214/ijraset.2023.49977>
- Mehta, S. N., & Amit-Danhi, E. R. (2025). The road to censorship: The case of digital audiovisual industries in India. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2024.2402257>



- Menon, D. (2024). Beyond binge-watching: How the OTT video streaming platforms have transformed Indian television culture. *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10509208.2024.2442863>
- Panda, B. N. P., Satpathy, S., & Sharma, I. (2021). Binge watching to binge serving in India: Revolution, regulations and restrictions of over-the-top (OTT) platforms. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 13(4). <https://doi.org/10.21659/rupkatha.v13n4.14>
- Pandey, A., Nair, H., & Divya. (2023). Perception of new Information Technology Rules towards OTT platforms. *Journal of Communication and Management*. <https://doi.org/10.58966/jcm2023215>
- Paul, R. (2024). Over-the-top platforms' impact on traditional entertainment in India. *Indian Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism*. <https://doi.org/10.54105/ijmcj.D1077.04021224>
- Peter, R., & Raj, M. (2021). Hierarchies of masculinities: An analysis of the characters in the Indian web series, Paatal Lok. *Mediterranean Journal of Social & Behavioral Research*. <https://doi.org/10.30935/mjosbr/10916>
- Sarkar, S. (2024). Streaming revolutions: The rise of OTT platforms in India. *TIJER*, 11(5), b268-b272.
- Srivastav, S., & Rai, S. (2022). Alternate entertainment or shifting discourse: A narrative analysis of popular web series in India. *International Journal of Media and Information Literacy*, (1), 242. <https://doi.org/10.13187/ijmil.2022.1.242>