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Beyond Representation of Structural Gender Inequality and The Individual Heroine in Hindi Sports Films

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ABSTRACT: Hindi sports cinema has witnessed a surge in female-led narratives over the past decade, with films like *Dangal* (2016), *Mary Kom* (2014), *Saand Ki Aankh* (2019), *Rashmi Rocket* (2021), and *Shabaash Mithu* (2022) positioning women athletes as central protagonists. While these films are often celebrated for their progressive representation of women in sport, this paper argues that they obscure deeper structural gender inequalities by foregrounding individual heroism over systemic critique. Employing feminist film theory and intersectional analysis, the study examines how these films construct the "exceptional woman" narrative—where individual triumph is achieved through personal grit, often mediated by male validation—while rendering invisible the institutional, economic, and cultural barriers that constrain the majority of women athletes. Through close textual analysis of five landmark films, the paper demonstrates that Hindi sports cinema privileges narratives of individual exceptionalism over structural critique, thereby depoliticising gender inequality and reinforcing neoliberal ideals of self-making. The analysis reveals that while these films expand visibility, they fail to challenge the patriarchal and institutional structures that perpetuate gender disparity in Indian sport. The paper concludes by calling for a shift from representational politics to structural critique in future sports narratives.

KEYWORDS: Hindi sports cinema, gender inequality, individual heroine, structural barriers, feminist film theory, intersectionality, *Dangal*, *Mary Kom*, *Rashmi Rocket*

I. INTRODUCTION

Sport in India has long been a male-dominated arena, both on the field and in popular culture. Cricket, wrestling, and boxing have traditionally been associated with masculinity, while women's participation in sport has been marginalised, underfunded, and underrepresented in media. Against this backdrop, Hindi cinema's portrayal of women athletes has evolved significantly, moving from peripheral, romanticised roles to central, protagonist-driven narratives that foreground female ambition, struggle, and achievement. The last decade has witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of female-led sports films in Hindi cinema. From *Mary Kom* (2014) to *Shabaash Mithu* (2022), these films have been lauded for bringing women athletes into the mainstream imagination, challenging traditional gender roles, and inspiring young girls to pursue sporting careers (Jha, 2023; Yadav & Jha, 2023). However, beneath the celebratory discourse lies a more troubling reality: these films, while expanding representational visibility, often fail to engage with the structural gender inequalities that shape women's sporting experiences in India (Chakravarty, 2020; Sudre, 2025).

The "individual heroine" is a narrative construct in which a female protagonist's success is framed as the product of exceptional personal qualities—determination, talent, resilience—often mediated by male validation, rather than as the result of systemic support or institutional change. This trope functions ideologically to depoliticise structural inequalities by suggesting that individual effort alone can overcome systemic barriers (Jha, 2023; Chakravarty, 2020).

This paper argues that Hindi sports cinema constructs a storytelling framework where female athletic success is attributed to personal determination, exceptional talent, and often, male mentorship, rather than to systemic change or institutional support (Mulvey, 1975; hooks, 1984). This narrative strategy, while emotionally compelling and commercially viable, obscures the structural barriers—lack of funding, inadequate infrastructure, gendered pay disparities, institutional sexism, and cultural stigma—that continue to constrain women's participation in sport (Gupta, 2013; Naik & Bavadekar, 2024).



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Research Questions

1. How do Hindi sports films construct the narrative of the "individual heroine," and what ideological functions does this serve?
2. In what ways do these films erase structural gender inequalities in Indian sport?
3. What are the political and cultural implications of privileging individual exceptionalism over structural critique in women's sports narratives?

Scholarly debates continue about the limits of representational politics and the need for structural critique in feminist film scholarship (Lindner, 2011; Lieberman, 2015).

The theoretical framework for this analysis draws on feminist film theory, particularly Laura Mulvey's concept of the "male gaze," which has been extended by contemporary scholars to examine how visual and narrative structures position women's success as dependent on male validation (Mulvey, 1975; Chakravarty, 2020). Additionally, the study employs bell hooks's intersectional framework to understand how gender intersects with class, caste, and regional identity in shaping athletic narratives (hooks, 1984; Bandyopadhyay, 2017). Finally, the analysis engages with scholarship on neoliberal individualism and the "exceptional woman" trope prevalent in contemporary cinema (Jha, 2023; Sudre, 2025).

The significance of this study lies in its critical examination of the ideological functions served by the "exceptional woman" narrative in Hindi sports cinema. While previous scholarship has focused primarily on representational politics—examining how these films expand visibility for women athletes—this paper shifts the analytical lens to structural critique, interrogating how these films depoliticise gender inequality by foregrounding individual heroism over systemic analysis (Chauhan, 2023; Parihar & Singh, 2026).

Theoretical Framework

Feminist Film Theory and the Male Gaze

Feminist film theory, particularly Laura Mulvey's concept of the "male gaze," provides a critical lens for examining how women athletes are framed visually and narratively in Hindi cinema. According to this perspective, women sportspersons are often depicted through a masculinised lens, their athleticism coded as exceptional precisely because it deviates from normative femininity. However, recent scholarship has extended this framework to examine how the male gaze operates not just visually but structurally, positioning women's success as dependent on male validation—whether from fathers, coaches, or husbands.

Intersectionality and Structural Inequality

Bell hooks's intersectional framework is crucial for understanding how gender intersects with class, caste, and regional identity in shaping athletic narratives. Recent work on films like *Irudhi Suttru* (2016) demonstrates that women from marginalised backgrounds confront not just gender discrimination but also caste-based exclusion, class-based resource deprivation, and institutional gatekeeping. However, mainstream Hindi sports films rarely engage with these intersectional realities, instead presenting sport as a neutral meritocratic arena where individual effort alone determines success.

Neoliberal Individualism and the "Exceptional Woman" Trope

The "exceptional woman" narrative prevalent in Hindi sports cinema aligns with neoliberal ideals of self-making and individual responsibility. This narrative suggests that structural barriers can be overcome through personal grit and determination, thereby depoliticising gender inequality and shifting the burden of change from institutions to individuals. Scholarship on *Dangal*, *Mary Kom*, and *Shabaash Mithu* reveals that these films consistently frame success as a product of individual exceptionalism, often mediated by male mentorship, rather than as a result of systemic support or institutional reform.

II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The last decade or so has seen a significant growth in scholarship on Indian sports cinema, using frameworks from film studies, postcolonial theory and the sociology of sport. S.Jha (2023) places the contemporary Indian sports film in the ideological currents of post-liberalisation India, arguing that the genre gained prominence following the economic



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reforms of the 1990s under the dual influence of the Hollywood sports film template and globalized neoliberal values of individual merit and self-making. S.Jha's analysis of Mukkabaaz shows that, while a dominant strand of the genre reinforces hegemonic ideas of nation, community and merit, a counter-tradition of films actively subverts these assumptions, using sport as a lens to interrogate rather than celebrate.

The nationalist side of the genre is well documented. Patriotic sentiment is a nearly-constant feature of Indian sports films, as noted by scholarship affiliated with the Association for Asian Studies, with filmmakers routinely subordinating historical accuracy to the emotional demands of national pride, especially in biopics. This tendency has been intensified by the biopic boom of the last fifteen years, examined in scholarship on the genre's function in the promotion of individual sportspeople as symbols of national achievement, whereby the personal struggle of an athlete is narratively fused with the fate of the nation itself.

A second large body of literature concerns gender. Chakravarty (2020) offers a critical take on Chak De! India and related sportswomen-centred films, cautioning that despite their superficial narratives of empowerment, many of these films quietly reassert traditional patriarchal and masculinist assumptions even as they seem to celebrate female achievement. In the same vein, supplementary work on Dangal and Saand Kii Aankh contends that the female athlete on screen is often held captive by a paternal or patriarchal figure, whose validation is essential to make her success legible, so that empowerment and subordination are not mutually exclusive but part of the same narrative frame.

De (2015) extends this gendered analysis to the diaspora, looking at how films such as Chak De! build belonging through sport for Indian communities in India and abroad.

A newer literature on caste. Malhotra and Thakur's study of postmillennial sports films examines the genre's historical exclusion of Dalit sporting bodies from its imaginative universe, and how newer films like Jhund (2022) and Skater Girl (2021) begin to construct an alternative sporting imaginary that foregrounds caste as a structural barrier to participation, rather than seeing sport as a neutral meritocratic arena. These thematic studies are supplemented by more general surveys of the genre, including work identified as studies of the "Bollywoodisation" of sport in Indian cinema, which map the ways in which commercial cinema absorbs and repackages sporting narratives through recognizable melodramatic and musical conventions, sometimes diluting the social critique embedded in the lives of real athletes.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative, interpretive methodology grounded in feminist film theory and intersectional analysis. The primary dataset consists of five Hindi films: Dangal (2016), Mary Kom (2014), Saand Ki Aankh (2019), Rashmi Rocket (2021), and Shabaash Mithu (2022). These films were selected based on their prominence in public discourse, their representation of women athletes in varied narrative contexts, and their engagement—explicit or implicit—with gender inequality.

Objectives include

1. To examine the construction of the "individual heroine" narrative in Hindi sports films.
2. To analyse how these films conceal structural gender inequalities in Indian sport.
3. To propose a shift from individual heroism to structural critique in sports cinema.

The analysis focuses on three dimensions:

- **Narrative Structure:** How do these films construct the "individual heroine" narrative, and what ideological functions does this serve?
- **Structural Erasure:** In what ways do these films conceal or erase structural gender inequalities (institutional, economic, cultural)?
- **Intersectional Blindspots:** How do these films fail to engage with intersectional realities of caste, class, and regional identity in shaping women's sporting experiences?

The films were viewed multiple times, in self-home viewing mode with close attention paid to dialogue, visual imagery, narrative structure, character arcs, and thematic preoccupations. Secondary sources, including scholarly articles, film reviews, and interviews with filmmakers, were consulted to contextualise the analysis within broader debates about gender and representation in Indian cinema.



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IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1. Dangal (2016): Individual Grit Within Patriarchal Frameworks

Dangal, directed by Nitesh Tiwari, tells the story of Mahavir Singh Phogat, a former wrestler who trains his daughters, Geeta and Babita, to become national and international champions. While the film has been widely praised for its portrayal of women's wrestling, it constructs the Phogat sisters' success as a product of their father's vision and their own individual grit, rather than as a result of systemic support or institutional reform.

The film's narrative structure foregrounds individual exceptionalism: Geeta and Babita succeed because they are exceptionally talented and exceptionally determined, not because the sporting infrastructure supports women athletes. The film's climax, in which Geeta wins gold at the Commonwealth Games, is framed as the realisation of her father's dream, positioning her success within a patriarchal framework that privileges male validation.

Structural inequalities are conspicuously absent from the narrative. The film does not address the lack of funding for women's wrestling, the gendered pay disparities in professional wrestling, or the institutional sexism that women athletes face in training facilities and selection processes. Instead, these issues are individualised: the Phogat sisters overcome obstacles through personal determination, suggesting that structural barriers can be overcome through individual effort alone.

Intersectional realities are also erased. The film is set in Haryana, a state with deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and caste-based hierarchies, yet it does not engage with how caste and class shape the Phogat sisters' experiences. Their success is presented as universally replicable, obscuring the fact that most women from similar backgrounds lack access to the resources and support that enabled the Phogats' triumph.

2. Mary Kom (2014): The Exceptional Woman and the Erasure of Institutional Barriers

Mary Kom, directed by Omung Kumar, is a biographical account of the eponymous boxer's rise from humble beginnings in Manipur to international acclaim. The film foregrounds Mary's determination, resilience, and athletic prowess, but it also constructs her success as a product of individual exceptionalism, mediated by male mentorship.

The film's narrative structure positions Mary as an exceptional individual whose talent and determination enable her to overcome structural barriers. Her coach, Narjit Singh, plays a pivotal role in her success, positioning her achievement as dependent on male validation and support. The film's climax, in which Mary wins an Olympic medal, is framed as the culmination of her personal journey, rather than as a result of institutional support or systemic change.

Structural inequalities are rendered invisible. The film does not address the lack of funding for women's boxing in India, the gendered pay disparities in professional boxing, or the institutional sexism that women athletes face in training facilities and selection processes. Instead, these issues are individualised: Mary succeeds because she is exceptionally talented and exceptionally determined, suggesting that structural barriers can be overcome through individual effort alone.

Intersectional realities are also obscured. Mary Kom is from Manipur, a northeastern state that faces systemic discrimination and marginalisation within India. However, the film does not engage with how regional identity, caste, and class shape her experiences. Her success is presented as universally replicable, obscuring the fact that most women from similar backgrounds lack access to the resources and support that enabled Mary's triumph.

3. Saand Ki Aankh (2019): Age, Gender, and the Limits of Individual Triumph

Saand Ki Aankh, directed by Tushar Hiranandani, tells the story of Chandro and Prakash Tomar, two elderly women from Haryana who become champion shooters in their sixties. The film foregrounds the protagonists' determination and resilience, but it also constructs their success as a product of individual exceptionalism, mediated by male mentorship.

The film's narrative structure positions Chandro and Prakash as exceptional individuals whose talent and determination enable them to overcome structural barriers. Their coach, Kalpana, plays a pivotal role in their success, positioning their achievement as dependent on female validation and support—a rare departure from the male mentorship trope. However, the film's climax, in which the sisters win national championships, is framed as the culmination of their personal journey, rather than as a result of institutional support or systemic change.



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Structural inequalities are rendered invisible. The film does not address the lack of funding for women's shooting in India, the age-based discrimination that elderly women athletes face, or the institutional sexism that women athletes face in training facilities and selection processes. Instead, these issues are individualised: Chandro and Prakashshi succeed because they are exceptionally talented and exceptionally determined, suggesting that structural barriers can be overcome through individual effort alone.

Intersectional realities are also obscured. The film is set in Haryana, a state with deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and caste-based hierarchies, yet it does not engage with how caste and class shape the sisters' experiences. Their success is presented as universally replicable, obscuring the fact that most women from similar backgrounds lack access to the resources and support that enabled their triumph.

4. Rashmi Rocket (2021): Gender Verification and the Individualisation of Structural Discrimination

Rashmi Rocket, directed by Akarsh Khurana, tells the story of Rashmi, a sprinter from Gujarat who faces gender verification tests after her success attracts suspicion. The film explicitly addresses gender discrimination, but it ultimately resolves this issue through individual intervention rather than structural change.

The film's narrative structure positions Rashmi as an exceptional individual whose talent and determination enable her to overcome structural barriers. Her lawyer, Rono, plays a pivotal role in her success, positioning her achievement as dependent on male validation and support. The film's climax, in which Rashmi wins a legal battle against the Sports Authority of India, is framed as the culmination of her personal journey, rather than as a result of institutional reform or systemic change.

Structural inequalities are partially addressed but ultimately individualised. The film explicitly addresses gender verification tests, a form of institutional sexism that women athletes face. However, it resolves this issue through Rashmi's individual legal battle, suggesting that structural discrimination can be overcome through personal determination and individual intervention. The film does not address the systemic nature of gender verification tests, which affect countless women athletes across India, nor does it call for institutional reform to prevent such discrimination in the future.

Intersectional realities are also obscured. Rashmi is from Gujarat, a state with deeply entrenched patriarchal norms, yet the film does not engage with how caste and class shape her experiences. Her success is presented as universally replicable, obscuring the fact that most women from similar backgrounds lack access to the resources and support that enabled her triumph.

5. Shabaash Mithu (2022): The Captain's Burden and the Erasure of Team Sport Inequalities

Shabaash Mithu, directed by Srijit Mukherji, is a biographical account of Mithali Raj, the former captain of the Indian women's cricket team. The film foregrounds Mithali's determination, resilience, and leadership, but it also constructs her success as a product of individual exceptionalism, mediated by male mentorship.

The film's narrative structure positions Mithali as an exceptional individual whose talent and determination enable her to overcome structural barriers. Her coach and mentors play pivotal roles in her success, positioning her achievement as dependent on male validation and support. The film's climax, in which Mithali leads India to a World Cup final, is framed as the culmination of her personal journey, rather than as a result of institutional support or systemic change.

Structural inequalities are rendered invisible. The film does not address the lack of funding for women's cricket in India, the gendered pay disparities between men's and women's cricket, or the institutional sexism that women athletes face in training facilities and selection processes. Instead, these issues are individualised: Mithali succeeds because she is exceptionally talented and exceptionally determined, suggesting that structural barriers can be overcome through individual effort alone.

Intersectional realities are also obscured. Mithali is from Andhra Pradesh, a state with deeply entrenched patriarchal norms, yet the film does not engage with how caste and class shape her experiences. Her success is presented as universally replicable, obscuring the fact that most women from similar backgrounds lack access to the resources and support that enabled her triumph.



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Comparative Analysis: Structural Erasure Across Films

Film	Structural Inequalities Addressed	Structural Inequalities Erased	Resolution Through
Dangal	Gender discrimination in sport	Funding, pay disparity, institutional sexism, caste/class	Individual grit, male mentorship
Mary Kom	Regional discrimination (Manipur)	Funding, pay disparity, institutional sexism, caste/class	Individual grit, male mentorship
Saand Ki Aankh	Age-based discrimination	Funding, institutional sexism, caste/class	Individual grit, female mentorship
Rashmi Rocket	Gender verification tests	Systemic nature of tests, funding, pay disparity, caste/class	Individual legal battle
Shabaash Mithu	Gender discrimination in cricket	Funding, pay disparity, institutional sexism, caste/class	Individual grit, male mentorship

This comparative analysis reveals a consistent pattern: while these films address certain forms of gender discrimination, they systematically erase structural inequalities—funding, pay disparity, institutional sexism, caste/class barriers—and resolve conflicts through individual intervention rather than systemic change. This narrative strategy depoliticises gender inequality and reinforces neoliberal ideals of self-making.

V. CONCLUSION

Hindi sports cinema has expanded the visibility of women athletes, challenging traditional gender roles and inspiring public discourse on women in sport. However, this paper has demonstrated that these films, while celebratory in tone, obscure deeper structural gender inequalities by foregrounding individual heroism over systemic critique. The "individual heroine" narrative prevalent in films like *Dangal*, *Mary Kom*, *Saand Ki Aankh*, *Rashmi Rocket*, and *Shabaash Mithu* constructs female athletic success as a product of personal determination and exceptional talent, often mediated by male validation, rather than as a result of systemic support or institutional reform. The paper calls for a shift from representational politics to structural critique in future sports narratives. Rather than foregrounding individual exceptionalism, Hindi sports cinema should engage with the systemic barriers that shape women's sporting experiences, calling for institutional reform and collective action rather than personal determination alone (Whannel, 2008; Bandyopadhyay, 2017). This requires filmmakers to move beyond the "individual heroine" trope and instead construct narratives that acknowledge the collective struggles of women athletes, the institutional obstacles they face, and the need for systemic change.

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