

Caste on Screen: Analysis of Dalit Women's Representation in Hindi Cinema (2021–2025)

Khushi Kashyap

Undergraduate student, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi

Abstract

This paper will involve a close textual and critical analysis of the presentation of the Dalit women protagonists in six Hindi films released between 2021 and 2025: Homebound, Kathal: A Jackfruit Mystery (2023), Vedaa (2024), Madam Chief Minister, 200 Halla Ho, and Phule. Based on the framework of Brahmanical patriarchy, the study explores how contemporary Hindi cinema has swerved - and where it continues to fail - in its portrayal of the Dalit women as agents of resistance, as political subjects and as protagonists with inner lives. The paper traces a historically significant, but structurally incomplete, transition: decades of victimhood, silence, and symbolic containment to more complex, agentive representations. The paper also locates recent films within a longer history of the cinematic representation of Dalit women, both in the lineage of the much-vaunted reformist savarna gaze, of Achhut Kanya (1936) and Sujata (1959) and in the controversial history of the so-called bandit queen, of Bandit Queen (1994) and Bandit Queen (2000). The study concludes that a significant representational breakthrough has been made by post-2021 Hindi cinema through purposeful formal and narrative decisions, but that these decisions remain limited by narrative resolutions that undercut structural critique, the lack of Dalit women in authorial roles and the commercial pressures of the OTT economy.

Keywords: dalit women, hindi cinema, textual analysis, dalit feminist theory, brahmanical patriarchy, caste representation

Introduction

Systemic exclusion and discrimination against the Dalits has a long history of existence in India. Their marginalization was enforced by ancient literature such as the Manusmriti and their marginalization was supported by social, cultural and religious practices that favored those who were born with value. This led to denial of access to education, land and social mobility. Despite the abolition of untouchability by the Indian Constitution, and legal protection provided, caste still persistently shapes the lived realities through everyday exclusion, silence, and structural inequality.

Dalit women are particularly vulnerable in this hierarchy. Being both victims of caste-based oppression and the domination of patriarchy, their condition was characterized by what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar described the graded inequality. They are not discriminated only by dominant

Published: 09 May 2026

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.70558/IJSSR.2026.v3.i3.301072>

Copyright © 2026 The Author(s). This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0).

castes but within a patriarchal structure within their own communities as well as where caste, gender, and class intersect. In the past their bodies have served as a place of labour and exploitation, which lies in the logic of caste reproduction.

Hindi cinema, which is a significant cultural institution in forming popular consciousness, has mostly not been able to relate meaningfully with caste as a structural issue. Dalit characters are usually moved to peripheral characters as servants, labourers, or victims, with less narrative control (Naaz & Mandal, 2015). Specifically, Dalit women are either seen through savarna and patriarchal lenses, which minimize their experiences of suffering and marginalize their agency.

But this is where a change could be seen between 2021 and 2025. The films, *Homebound*, *Kathal: A Jackfruit Mystery* (2023), *Vedaa* (2024), *Madam Chief Minister*, *200 Halla Ho*, and *Phule* make Dalit women the main characters. This paper questions the possibility that these representations are an indication of a real change or simply rebranding the old stereotypes in progressive narratives. It is based on the Dalit Feminist Theory, Subaltern Studies, and Brahmanical patriarchy to examine how the figure of the Dalit woman on screen is constructed and shaped using cinematic strategies.

Research or Knowledge Gap

Despite the fact that the use of Dalit women in Indian cinema is a topic that has a strong cultural and political context, there is an apparent lack of academic literature covering this topic in contemporary Hindi cinema. Current literature tends to concentrate on previous movies or discuss Dalit identity in general, but not specifically in relation to Dalit women and how they have been portrayed in post-2021 Hindi films.

The post-pandemic period that has touched both production and distribution of films has not been well explored in reference to the representation of Dalit women. Although researchers like Jai Shree Jain, Santosh Kumar Biswal, and Dhananjay Kumar Rai have made significant preparations, their efforts do not entirely tackle this transformation.

Also, the scholarship on caste and cinema has been dominated by studies of regional industries, so Hindi cinema remains a relatively understudied topic. Such a gap in the scholarly literature indicates the marginalization of Dalit narratives in the popular culture as well as in the scholarly discourse.

Moreover, although OTT platforms have grown, and new narrative possibilities have emerged, systematic textual analysis of these representations has not been done to a significant extent. This research will fill this gap by critically examining six Hindi films released in 2021-2025, within the broader context of historical and theoretical perspectives.

Review of Literature

Caste and the Absent Centre of Hindi Cinema

Previous literature on Hindi cinema has focused many studies on it through the prism of nationalism, melodrama, popular culture, and class, largely overlooking the caste as central social structure. This lack is not accidental. According to scholars, caste is invisibly reproduced in mainstream Hindi cinema as the explicit discussion of the issue challenges the dominant

ideology of a unified, casteless modern India (Anand, 2016). Consequently, Hindi cinema creates an illusion of a new modern and equal society where oppressions are structurally concealed.

When Dalits characters feature in mainstream Hindi films, they are seldom depicted as multifaceted personalities with the ability to act. Instead, they are relegated to peripheral positions, such as servants, labourers, victims, or moral symbols, the main role of which is to support upper-caste narratives (Naaz & Mandal, 2015). This marginalization is an indication of structural inequalities within cultural production itself. Like Wankhede (2013) supposes, it resembles the caste positions of individuals who control the narratives in the cinema. The suffering of Dalits is presented but systemic factors underlying the problem are obscured to reduce caste violence to individual tragedy as opposed to political problem.

The article by Shoma A. Chatterji, Subject: Cinema, Object: Woman (1998) also points out how women in Indian movies have been historically depicted as objects, as opposed to narrative agents. Although women seem to be the central focus, the mediating aspect of the male gaze still serves to reinforce the patriarchal norms. Thus, Dalit women are subjected to a double marginalization as women in the patriarchy and as Dalits in the caste hierarchy. Dalit women are thus marginalized twice, first as women in patriarchal society and secondly as Dalits in the caste system, resulting in what Chatterji calls representational invisibility.

The same critique is extended by Lalitha Gopalan (2002) who argues that Hindi cinema is systematically privileged to the dominant identities of individuals and marginalized as the other. In instances where marginalized characters are foregrounded, narrative agency may turn back to protagonists of dominant castes.

Theoretical Frameworks: Dalit Feminist Theory and Brahmanical Patriarchy

This discussion largely relies on the Dalit Feminist Theory, especially the works of Sharmila Rege, Gopal Guru, and Uma Chakravarti. The idea of the Dalit feminist standpoint (1998) proposed by Rege indicates that the experiences of Dalit women cannot be authentically presented by people who are not located in the social location of Dalit women. In *Writing Caste, Writing Gender* (2006), she criticizes savarna feminism as addressing Dalit women without centering their voices and notes a persistent gap in both feminist discourse and production of culture.

Gopal Guru (1995) puts forth the concept of epistemic dominance and argues that even sympathetic representations of dominant-caste writers can be epistemic violence. Although the Dalit experiences can be exposed, it is not accorded power or authenticity. The notion of Brahmanical patriarchy (2003) by Uma Chakravarti further brings forward the structural relationship of caste hierarchy and gender oppression. She suggests that the caste is supported by the extreme control over the sexuality of upper-caste women and the exploitation of the bodies of Dalit women, supporting both caste and gender hierarchies at the same time.

The question that Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak poses is: Can the subaltern speak? (1988) -still lies at the heart of this debate. It changes the emphasis on the visibility to the authority of the

voice: even when the voices of Dalit women are heard, their voices are often mediated by dominant structures that restrain their agency.

The theory of intersectionality by Kimberlé Crenshaw elaborates this framework by showing how systems of oppression, caste, gender and class, interplay and reinforce each other. To Dalit women, oppression is not cumulative but intersectional and generated at a particular social point where caste and patriarchy mutually reproduce each other. Intersectionality can be used to explain the marginalization of Dalit women within the storytelling of Hindi cinema and in the casteist imaginaries. Their bodies, labour and sexuality are represented differently to that of upper-caste women and this difference is encoded in the language and narrative structure of cinema.

Historical Representations: From Reformist Cinema to Bandit Queen

The early Hindi cinema touched on the caste through social reform films like *Achhut Kanya* (1936) and *Sujata* (1959). Though perceived as progressive, the films end up supporting the caste hierarchies. The demise of the Dalit hero of *Achhut Kanya* brings back societal harmony and therefore Dalit sacrifice is essential to restore social balance. In the same vein, *Sujata* only permits the Dalit woman to be members of savarna society provided that she adheres to the norms of femininity and morality of the upper caste.

Ankur (1974) by Shyam Bengal presents a more direct criticism of feudal systems of power. Nonetheless, as the Dalit woman Lakshmi defies, the resistance becomes ultimately silenced in the story, as suggested by Rege. Her body turns into a platform of social criticism, yet she is deprived of a long-term political agency.

Bandit Queen (1994) changed all that as it introduced caste violence and sexual exploitation into the mainstream discourse. Nevertheless, it has been heavily criticized due to its voyeuristic presentation of violence, as well as its mediation of the story of the savarna female Phoolan Devi, through the prism of a savarna male gaze. Phoolan Devi herself was publicly protesting the film, claiming that it was an infringement of her dignity. The movie poses some important ethical issues concerning representation because the emphasis of the camera on her violated body is likely to reproduce the exploitation instead of challenging it. Following the criticism by Spivak, the movie seems to give an expression to a marginalized subject and, at the same time, re-tell her story in dominant terms of cinema.

The more recent Hindi cinema has exhibited a wavering change in its treatment of caste. Other movies such as *Article 15* directly deal with the issue of caste discrimination in a constitutional context. Nevertheless, the story still revolves around an upper-caste male protagonist, whereas Dalit characters, especially women, do not have agency and voice.

More of a radical change can be observed in *Geeli Pucchi* (2021), which features a Dalit woman as a multi-dimensional character with complex and emotionally layered personalities. In contrast with the previous depictions, the main character is neither a passive victim nor a moral symbol but an ambitious and conflicted character. Notably, the authorship of the film is a significant factor since the film is created by a filmmaker of a marginalized background. This is congruent to the Dalit feminist arguments that representation is closely linked to the social

location. The film does not only contest the prevailing narratives, but also recovers narrative agency which is a significant departure in terms of narrative and presentation in a previous cinema tradition.

Objectives of the Study

This research has three main aims:

1. To examine how recent Hindi films (2021-2025) address the issue of Dalit women protagonists in terms of agency, resistance, cinematic grammar, everyday lived experience and whether these representations challenge dominant stereotypes or reinforce them in new forms.
2. To place the current representations within a longer historical curve of the representation of Dalit women in Hindi cinema - both the reformist films of the 1930s, and the controversial representations of the 1990s - in order to evaluate the extent and boundaries of recent change.
3. To explore how authorship, narrative closure, and representational politics relate to each other and to argue that a meaningful change in the screen representation of Dalit women cannot be achieved simply by having different characters in the story but the same people behind the camera.

Research Questions

The research is informed by the following research questions:

1. In what ways do the chosen Hindi films (2021-2025) construct Dalit women protagonists through a narrative strategy, visual grammar, and ideological framing - and do such constructions constitute a substantive departure of historical patterns?
2. How do the cinematic techniques such as camera placement, sound, narrative resolution and framing challenge or reproduce the caste-gender stereotypes in Dalit women representation?
3. What are the structural constraints which include (but are not limited to): narrative closure, lack of Dalit authorship, and OTT commercial pressures, limit the representational progress which can be observed in recent Hindi cinema?
4. How do the chosen films place Dalit women in the context of institutional power, including law, politics and education, and do these positions provide Dalit women with real narrative power or with only the semblance of it?
5. What does a comparison between films directed by dominant-caste filmmakers and the films directed by Dalit filmmakers (such as Geeli Puchi) tell us about the relationship between social location and depth of representational engagement?

Methodology

A qualitative research design is employed in this study and Thematic Content Analysis is the main research method. A purposive sampling was aimed at a sample size of six Hindi films released between 2021 and 2025 that were selected based on their focus on Dalit women as central characters: Homebound, Kathal: A Jackfruit Mystery (2023), Veda (2024), Madam Chief Minister, 200 Halla Ho, and Phule. The focus on the selection was on films dealing with

caste and gender politics in the changing production environment, such as OTT platforms. The movies were watched several times and evaluated in four dimensions, the narrative strategy, the visual grammar, the sound design, and the ideological framing. The observations were also categorized into themes which included Dalit women as agents of resistance, to negotiate everyday life, and to challenge or reinforce stereotypes. The discussion is based on the Dalit Feminist Theory, Brahmanical patriarchy, Subaltern Studies, and representation theory. The paper is based on the analysis of secondary data, it is cross-sectional and observational in nature, treating films as cultural texts, in a broader historical and theoretical context.

Textual Analysis: Contemporary Hindi Cinema and Dalit Women

A New Visual Grammar: Framing the Dalit Woman as Subject

The most formally important discovery of the textual analysis is a change of the way in which a few films in this corpus construct Dalit women by applying visual grammar. The camera in *Homebound* is always to place the Dalit women on eye level in instances of moral assertion as opposed to instances of affliction. This compositional decision gives the perspective of the Dalit woman the visual power of the same play as other characters and denies the downward gaze that historically has placed Dalit characters on an object of vision or pity. The conscious omission of melodramatic musical accompaniment in key encounter scenes most notably when Phool names the injustice of caste-based segregation in the mid-day meal scheme compels the viewer to mark caste discrimination as such a structural phenomenon and not an emotive one.

These films have a certain ideological work of visual symbolism. In *Homebound*, when an Ambedkar portrait is put in the background of any scene with Sudha Bharti, her desires and choices are put in a recognizable political tradition without necessarily having to be explicitly discussed. In *Phule*, Savitribai starts at the outskirts of the frame and moves slowly towards the centre of the frame as she goes through her transformation, both politically and intellectually, an arc of composition, which will affect her growing political power in a visual sense, before it is expressed in a verbal form. The visual grammar of *200 Halla Ho*, with its handheld camera, its desaturated backgrounds, its lack of conventional dramatic music, all conspire to make institutional brutality look procedural in nature, all the more likely to cause the audience a sense of emotional buffer of standard melodrama.

Such formal innovations do not occur consistently throughout the corpus. The problem with *Kathal* using satirical comedy is that this exposes the caste discrimination as manageable or even humorous, which is not the case since the narrative otherwise develops with a fair amount of precision. The action choreography of the climactic scenes in *Vedaa* changes the grammar of visuals to mainstream spectacle in the very moments when constitutional criticism is at stake. These formal concessions are indicators of the demand of genre convention and commercial viability to which every film in this corpus must negotiate, and are the points at which the films are most susceptible to the accusation of strengthening what they purport to challenge.

Narrative Agency and Its Limits

The six films under consideration put Dalit women in the center stage or co-protagonists whose actions are the driving factor in the storyline. In *Homebound*, Sudha Bharti outlines a politically

based theory of education as structural change and not as an individual escape out of poverty; Vaishali is an astute competitor of the family economy, Vaishali manages the family economy with clear-eyed competence; Phool refuses to internalize caste-based humiliation and calls inequity by its proper name. In Kathal, Inspector Mahima Basor is a strategic thinker working in an institutional setting where she is aware of and plays off the biases of the institutional context. In Vedaa, the main character reclaims her body by boxing - a physical and political form of assertion - and insists on an approach to the High Court despite the real threats to her life. In 200 Halla Ho, Asha Surve constructs mass solidarity not by personal heroism but by communal patient, community-based persuasion.

In Madam Chief Minister, Tara maneuvers a political arena dominated by men, with measured daring. The story of Savitribai, the conditioned silence, changing to open intellectual and reformist leadership of Phule, is told with some historical insight.

These are such paths of agency which are inaccessible to a large extent to Dalit women characters in earlier mainstream Hindi cinema. The most politically serious films in such a corpus are those which find resistance not in extraordinary or spectacular events but in the reality of ordinary everyday life: in the decision to continue an education, in financial management, in refusal of shame, in walking in hostile streets. This political and formal decision demands that the everyday life of Dalit women should be itself a locus of ongoing political negotiation - and in doing so, breaks with the historical pattern of denying the cinematic agency of Dalit women except in moments of crisis or disaster.

Narrative Closure and the Containment of Structural Critique

One of the patterns that has recurred throughout the corpus is that many of these films tend to build up strong structural critiques across the running time of the film but to then defuse or redirect such critiques at the level of narrative resolution. This trend can best be seen in Kathal and Vedaa. In Kathal, when Inspector Mahima Basor refuses her promotion so that her upper-caste love interest can be given it is framed as an act of love but functions to put a Dalit woman in the same professional ambition as her upper-caste love interest. In Vedaa, the politics of the film is expressly based on the constitutional logic of the Ambedkarite tradition the film has made a point of invoking; but whose political logic is overtaken by the physical combat that is the climax of the film, an implication which sits in direct opposition to the Ambedkarite tradition the film has expressly invoked.

The films that do not succumb to such consoling resolutions Homebound refusal to idealize the actions of individual perseverance as social transformation, 200 Halla Ho refusal to commemorate its central act of collective action as unambiguous triumph, Phule's refusal to resolve into hagiography maintain a more hard and politically honest relationship with the structural conditions of the lives of Dalit women. The readiness to leave the old structural conditions intact, to reject the ideology of the happy ending and the moral lesson delivered in a well-organized manner, is a sort of cinematic responsibility which the most serious movies in this corpus exhibit and which the least successful ones in it forego at the very points at which the political gravity is most urgently required.

The Question of Authorship

All the six movies that were reviewed in this work were not written or directed by a Dalit woman. This is not an accidental fact to the analysis but is the center of the analysis. Regge (2006) and Guru (1995) have argued that representational authority, the capacity to name one's own experience and make that naming count as authoritative is not separable and social location. The most consistently achieved films of this corpus were made by film-makers who have clearly taken the time and effort to immerse themselves in the Dalit feminist scholarship; but even these films can only approximate this or that texture of the Dalit experience of women: the specific calculations of what is safe to say and when, the specific forms of everyday humiliation too banal to register as extraordinary on the outside.

The most formally and politically radical depiction of a Dalit woman in recent Hindi-language film, is widely believed to be Geeli Pucchi, directed by a Dalit filmmaker. The emotional and political particularity of it, especially the image of a Dalit woman, who is ambitious, resentful, strategically self-protective, and conflicted emotionally, is characteristic of qualities that Dalit women are never afforded in savarna-directed cinema. The difference between Geeli Pucchi and the films that are examined in this corpus implies that the more radical and sustainable change in Dalit women representation will come not only with more sensitive representations of Dalit women by upper-caste filmmakers but also with the structural incorporation of Dalit women as writers, directors, and producers with a true sense of authorial control.

Findings and Research Outcomes

The textual discussion of the 6 films chosen is that there are four major findings that were made, which were taken as a whole and characterize the current situation of the representation of Dalit women in Hindi cinema and the structural forces that influence it.

The first and most important discovery is that Dalit women are the protagonists in all six of the films who have a measurable interiority, agency and political awareness. Dalit women are not the marginalized victims or ethical icons, but are the subjects of choice whose choices drive the story, first in a concerted and commercially distributed body of mainstream Hindi cinema. This is a historically significant break with decades of Hindi cinema where the inner lives, desires and political consciousness of Dalit women were virtually invisible.

The second observation is that the greatest advances in representation in the corpus are not achieved by mere narrative advances but through conscious formal decisions. This use of eye-level framing, politically rooted mise-en-scene, denial of melodramatic scoring in confrontation scenes, and quasi-documentary visual styles are not by coincidence but are a new visual grammar that treats Dalit women as subjects with authority. In films that make use of such strategies most uninterruptedly, such as Homebound, Phule, and 200 Halla Ho, are assessed as being more politically serious, more formal accomplishment than those that yield to genre conventions in their climactic scenes.

The third discovery is related to the systematic pattern of narrative containment that can be observed in a number of movies. Although several films in the corpus have worked out strong structural critiques of caste and gender oppression, the results of these critiques in various films

are ultimately defused at the level of narrative resolution through romantic concessions or action-genre climaxes or political short-cuts. This tendency shows the moments when the commercial pressures and genre conventions triumph over the structural critique and identifies narrative closure as the most important fault line between the true representational progress and the repackaged sounding of progress.

The fourth result is the correlation between authorship and the representational depth. The systematic non-representation of Dalit women in the positions of director or screenwriter leads to the creation of films that, no matter how sensitively they are made, are working at a structural distance to the experiences that they are attempting to explore. That specificity of emotional and political texture, that ambition, resentment, strategic self-protection, and moral complexity of characters of Dalit women, which is beyond the reach even of the most conscientious savarna-filmed cinema, is confirmed by the comparison with Geeli Pucchi. This conclusion has a direct bearing on the structural practices in the film industry, which entail commissioning, funding, and creative control, and it is a pointer towards the fact that representational change without authorial change is inherently constrained.

Combined, these results suggest that Hindi cinema in 2021-2022 is a sign of real yet unfinished progress. Although it is historically important, the shift towards victimhood to agency on screen is still limited by the structural conditions of the industry. Beyond different characters, different people behind the camera - Dalit women with real creative control over the narratives presented in their name - will be required by the most radical and sustainable representational change.

Conclusion

This paper has shown how Hindi cinema after 2021 will be a historically significant although structurally incomplete change in the way Dalit women are represented on screen. It is the first time in the mainstream history of the industry, that Dalit women are consistently placed as the protagonist with interiority, agency and with political consciousness. The films discussed have brought about a new visual grammar - through camera placement, composition strategy, sound design, and framing of narratives - that treats Dalit women as subjects, and not objects as political thinkers, and not suffering symbols. This formal and narrative development is authentic and cannot be downplayed.

But the restrictions are no less systematic. The narrative closure of various movies compromises the systematic critique that is built over the course of the movie. The lack of Dalit women in authorial positions restrains the depth and specificity as well as political radicalism of representation at present possible. It is commercial pressures, either in theatrical box office or in the global market of OTT, that define which stories can be told and how much political complexity can be sustained. Caste is named or unnamed in a way that tends to dilute its structure implications, and intersectionality is a sensibility and not a strict commitment to analytical rigor.

The main thesis of the current paper is that the topic of the cinematic representation of Dalit women cannot be fully assessed without referring to the question of the story-teller. The shift towards agency on screen invariably accompanied by a shift of victimhood to agency on screen, although certainly important, is still insufficient without a corresponding shift in authorship -

without Dalit women becoming writers, directors, and producers through which the representational apparatus is controlled. Until such structural change has been achieved, even films in Hindi which are the most politically serious will be telling the stories of Dalit women outside of themselves, and the images they create, even the most thoughtfully created ones, will bear the impression of that distance.

References

- Ambedkar, B. R. (1936). *Annihilation of caste*. Bombay: The Author.
- Anand, S. (2016). Caste, cinema and the politics of visual representation. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(24), 32–38.
- Atwal, P. (2018). Dalit women and the ethics of representation in Indian cinema. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 41(3), 456–470.
- Chakravarti, U. (2003). *Gendering caste: Through a feminist lens*. Kolkata: Stree.
- Chatterji, S. (1998). *Subject: Cinema, object: Woman*. New Delhi: Parumita Publications.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- Edachira, M. (2020). Anti-caste aesthetics and regional cinema in India. *South Asian Popular Culture*, 18(2), 133–147.
- Fernandes, L. (1999). Feminist discourse and the politics of representation in India. *Cultural Dynamics*, 11(2), 201–231.
- Gopalan, L. (2002). *Cinema of interruptions: Action genres in contemporary Indian cinema*. London: British Film Institute.
- Guru, G. (1995). Dalit women talk differently. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 30(41–42), 2548–2550.
- Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.
- Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *Screen*, 16(3), 6–18.
- Naaz, F., & Mandal, A. (2015). Dalits in Bollywood: Representation, absence, and marginality. *Journal of Social Inclusion Studies*, 1(2), 175–191.
- Rege, S. (1998). Dalit women talk differently: Towards a Dalit feminist standpoint. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33(44), WS39–WS46.
- Rege, S. (2006). *Writing caste, writing gender: Narrating Dalit women's testimonios*. New Delhi: Zubaan.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Teltumbde, A. (2010). *The persistence of caste*. New Delhi: Zubaan.

- Wankhede, G. G. (2013). Caste, representation and Hindi cinema. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48(36), 49–56.
- Yengde, S. (2019). *Caste matters*. New Delhi: Penguin Random House.
- Acharya, F. (Director). (1936). *Achhut kanya* [Film]. Bombay Talkies.
- Benegal, S. (Director). (1974). *Ankur* [Film]. Blaze Film Enterprises.
- Kapur, S. (Director). (1994). *Bandit queen* [Film]. Kaleidoscope Entertainment.
- Roy, B. (Director). (1959). *Sujata* [Film]. Bimal Roy Productions.
- Sharma, P. (Director). (2023). *Kathal* [Film]. Sikhya Entertainment & Netflix India.
- Tiwari, A. (Director). (2024). *Vedaa* [Film]. Balaji Motion Pictures.