

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF NEWSPAPER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NARIKKURAVAR IN COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL TAMIL NADU

Ayana M¹ and Dr. Sr. S. Emelda Mary²

¹Ph.D. Research Scholar, PG and Research Department of History, Nirmala College for Women, Coimbatore – 641018.

E-mail: madhavayana@gmail.com

²Associate Professor and Head, PG and Research Department of History, Nirmala College for Women, Coimbatore – 641018.

E-mail: emifspm@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines the historical and contemporary representations of the Narikkuravar, a nomadic community in Tamil Nadu, through the lens of newspaper discourse. It argues that colonial journalism, in concert with the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, institutionalized the criminalization of nomadism by constructing the Narikkuravar as “hereditary criminals.” Although the Act was repealed in 1949 and the community formally denotified in 1952, postcolonial newspapers continued to reproduce colonial stereotypes, emphasizing poverty, deviance, and marginality while overlooking structural exclusion. The prolonged classification of the Narikkuravar as a Most Backward Class (MBC), rather than as a Scheduled Tribe (ST), reinforced these stigmatizing portrayals. The study further demonstrates how decades of political mobilization and petitions for recognition gradually shifted press narratives from stigma to advocacy, culminating in the passage of the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Second Amendment) Bill, 2022, and the community’s recognition as ST in January 2023. Contemporary journalism reframed the Narikkuravar’s struggle as a victory for social justice yet simultaneously revealed the enduring disjunction between legal status and lived experience. Drawing on critical discourse analysis, archival newspapers, and policy reports, the paper highlights the discursive mechanisms through which inequality is reproduced and contested. It concludes with policy recommendations for ethical journalism and community-led media, emphasizing the need for structural analysis, inclusive language, and proactive representation to dismantle the long-standing stigma attached to denotified and nomadic groups in India.

Keywords: *Newspaper Representation, Criminal Tribes Act, Denotified Tribes, Media Discourse, Colonialism, Scheduled Tribe Recognition, Critical Discourse Analysis.*

Introduction

The Narikkuravar, a nomadic community of Tamil Nadu, has long occupied a paradoxical position within South Indian society, evident in public life yet persistently marginalized in policy and perception. Their portrayal in newspapers offers a revealing window into how colonial law and postcolonial bureaucracy have shaped the public understanding of nomadism, criminality, and citizenship. From the late nineteenth century, colonial authorities, supported by journalistic discourse, classified the Narikkuravar and related groups as “hereditary criminals” under the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871. Through this legal and discursive alliance, mobility itself was criminalized, transforming a traditional livelihood strategy into a marker of moral and social deviance. Although the CTA was repealed in 1949 and the Narikkuravar formally denotified in 1952, postcolonial governance continued to reproduce colonial suspicion through the Habitual Offenders Act and through the persistent classification of the community as a Most Backward Class (MBC). This bureaucratic misrecognition not only restricted access to constitutional safeguards but also reinforced stigmatizing media portrayals that emphasized poverty, illiteracy, and deviance over structural exclusion. Newspapers thus became both mirrors and mechanisms of marginalization. In recent decades, however, the community’s sustained struggle for Scheduled Tribe (ST) recognition has triggered a gradual reframing of press narratives. From depictions of danger and disorder, the Narikkuravar have increasingly been represented as victims of historical injustice and as agents of political mobilization. The passage of the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Second Amendment) Bill, 2022, granting ST status in 2023, marked a discursive turning point, reframing their story as one of social justice and rights. Yet, incidents of continued discrimination reveal that symbolic inclusion has not erased entrenched prejudice.

This paper traces the transformation of Narikkuravar representation across three historical phases: colonial criminalization, postcolonial stigma, and contemporary rights-based reframing using critical discourse analysis of newspaper archives and policy

documents. By situating journalistic narratives within broader legal and political frameworks, it demonstrates how the media both legitimized exclusion and later contributed to its contestation. The study argues that ethical, community-centred journalism is indispensable for dismantling the lingering epistemic violence that continues to define the public image of denotified and nomadic groups in India.

Colonial Representations and the Criminal Tribes Act (1871–1947 CE)

The most enduring scar on the socio-legal identity of the Narikkuravar emerged under the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871. Initially implemented in northern India and extended to the Madras Presidency in 1911, the Act was later consolidated through the Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act of 1924. It criminalized entire communities by birth, placing them under state surveillance through mandatory registration, movement restrictions, and punitive policing. By the mid-twentieth century, over 127 communities, amounting to thirteen million people, had been notified under the Act. For the Narikkuravar and related nomadic groups such as the Koravar, this legal framework institutionalized discrimination and destroyed the social legitimacy of their traditional livelihoods. Colonial journalism played a crucial role in normalizing and legitimizing the CTA's ideology. Newspapers such as *The Hindu*, *Madras Mail*, and *The Times of India* often reproduced official rhetoric by describing itinerant communities as “wandering tribes,” “vagabonds,” or “a nomadic race adverse to labour.” These terms carried deep moral undertones: the settled citizen was equated with civility and productivity, while the mobile subject was cast as unruly, suspicious, and socially inferior. This discursive contrast between “citizen” and “vagabond” provided moral justification for policies of settlement, surveillance, and forced rehabilitation.

Reports in colonial newspapers frequently drew on police records, census reports, and ethnographic studies by administrators such as N.E.Q. Mainwaring and W. Nembhard, who characterized nomadic groups as “hereditary criminals.” These writings advanced the notion that criminality was transmitted through bloodlines, a pseudo-scientific belief that conflated social mobility with moral degeneracy. Press reports amplified these ideas, transforming ethnographic conjecture into public “truth.” The journalistic repetition of these stereotypes effectively converted nomadism, a sustainable adaptation to ecological and economic uncertainty, into a civilizational defect requiring correction.

The colonial press thus became a vital intermediary between the state and the public, translating the bureaucratic language of law into moral narratives accessible to middle-class readers. Articles portraying “tribal raids,” “theft-prone gypsies,” or “unreliable wanderers” circulated widely in provincial newspapers across the Madras Presidency. Even early nationalist periodicals, though politically oppositional to British rule, rarely challenged this framework; instead, they echoed the colonial assumption that settlement was the precondition of civilization. Consequently, the Narikkuravar were denied both voice and agency in the public sphere, their lives reported through the lens of suspicion, never testimony.

By criminalizing movement and equating it with moral deficiency, colonial journalism contributed to what scholars later termed “epistemic violence”: the systematic production of ignorance about marginalized groups. The press not only reported on the CTA but also actively justified its necessity. In doing so, it helped transform a punitive administrative measure into a socially accepted truth that nomads were, by nature, incapable of reform. This alignment of law, bureaucracy, and media created a durable stereotype that survived well beyond colonial rule, embedding the association of nomadism with criminality deep within the fabric of South Indian public consciousness.

The Postcolonial Legacy of Stigma (1947–2000s)

The euphoria of Indian independence brought formal legal change, but the stigma created by the CTA proved remarkably resilient. Although the Act was repealed in August 1949 and the affected groups were “denotified” in 1952, its legacy was almost immediately re-entrenched through the implementation of the Habitual Offenders Act (HOA) of 1952. The HOA perpetuated the profiling and policing of these communities under a different nomenclature, maintaining structural surveillance and state scrutiny. The result was a “denotification dilemma,” in which legal freedom was replaced by administrative precarity. For the Narikkuravar in Tamil Nadu, this era was marked by administrative “classification wars.” Despite their distinct nomadic lifestyle, hunter identity, and use of the endangered Vaagriboli language, the community was most often categorized as a Most Backward Class (MBC). This classification was consequential: it limited access to protective reservation benefits, education quotas, and welfare schemes specifically designed for Scheduled Tribes (STs). Many, including the community itself, interpreted the MBC categorization as a bureaucratic failure to recognize their unique tribal and historical identity. In effect, this status signalled to both the media and the public that the Narikkuravar were not “authentically tribal,” thereby legitimizing their exclusion from specific welfare programs.

The inertia of the CTA's “epistemic violence” meant that the crime trope persisted long after 1952. Regional newspapers, whether consciously or unconsciously, often revived colonial-era stereotypes, implicitly linking Denotified Tribes (DNTs) to criminal offenses. Reports of theft, smuggling, or other non-bailable cases frequently implicated community members, sustaining a toxic policing feedback loop. Media narratives surrounding alleged “criminal” incidents justified heavy-handed police scrutiny and reinforced judicial stereotyping against DNTs. The long-term consequences included documented instances of police framing community members for crimes they had not committed, evidence of how historical prejudice continues to contaminate law

enforcement and judicial systems. Women within DNT communities, such as the Kal Oddars (a related denotified group in Tamil Nadu), bore a disproportionate share of this stigma. Scholarly analysis has described this phenomenon as the “feminization of stigma,” where women faced not only systemic prejudice but also gendered stereotypes, often sensationalized by the mainstream press. The historical trajectory of legislation and media framing may be summarized as follows:

Table 1: Legislative Milestones and Corresponding Media Narratives (Colonial to Postcolonial)

Period/ Milestone	Key Legislation/Status	Primary Media Trope/Framing	Key Function of Narrative
1871–1947	Criminal Tribes Act (CTA)	“Wandering Tribe,” “Hereditary Criminal,” “Vagabond”	Justification for state surveillance, forced settlement, and social exclusion
1952–2000s	Denotified Tribe (DNT), Most Backward Class (MBC)	“Pavement Dwellers,” “Illiterate Poor,”	Persistence of Crime Trope Reinforcement of bureaucratic inertia, limiting access to specialized welfare schemes
2023	Scheduled Tribe (ST) Recognition	“Victory,” “Access to Rights/Reservations,”	Political Achievement Celebration of socio-political mobility and acknowledgment of historical injustice

For decades, the media narrative focused on the consequences of marginalization, poverty, illiteracy, and lack of basic amenities rather than its root cause: the denial of identity and rights rooted in colonial and subsequent bureaucratic structures. The MBC classification perpetuated the social consequences of historical criminalization. Due to their nomadic lifestyle, dietary practices, and settlement choices, the Narikkuravar were often subjected to exclusion akin to untouchability by upper castes. This systemic discrimination, combined with low educational attainment (with 73 percent of the community having no education or only primary/secondary schooling) and widespread poverty, ensured their marginalization in policy discourse. The press’s preoccupation with symptoms such as poverty, rather than identity-based rights such as tribal recognition and linguistic preservation, allowed structural prejudice to persist unchallenged. The lack of legal protection associated with MBC status thus perpetuated the historical stigma derived from the CTA, creating a cycle in which limited welfare justified limited media attention, reinforcing the community’s precarious existence.

A defining characteristic of colonial-era press coverage was the near-total exclusion of the Narikkuravar perspective. Colonial journalism seldom investigated or recorded indigenous voices. Reports were frequently sourced from remote colonial officials, police records, or reprinted from other newspapers, resulting in incomplete accounts, delayed, or outright fabricated. This reliance on official narratives meant that the information reaching the public was heavily biased toward the state’s need for control, effectively denying the Narikkuravar agency and humanity in the public sphere.

The Rights Movement and Media Re-framing (2000s–Present)

The transition of media coverage from stigmatization to advocacy was intricately linked to the community’s prolonged political mobilization. For six decades, the Narikkuravar consistently lobbied, submitted petitions, and wrote letters to local and central governments, identifying the acquisition of legal recognition as the essential first step toward accessing basic rights and achieving socio-economic mobility. As this political struggle gained visibility, media narratives began to evolve, shifting from depicting the Narikkuravar as a “problem community” to acknowledging them as a “community fighting for rights.” Regional politicians eventually became sympathetic to their cause, while sustained press coverage kept the issue alive, culminating in a legislative breakthrough in the early 2020s. The passage of the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Second Amendment) Bill, 2022, and its presidential assent on January 2, 2023, was widely framed as a historic socio-political “victory” for the Narikkuravar (proposed as Narikoravan) and Kuruvikkaran communities.

Media reports emphasized the strategic importance of this recognition. Coverage highlighted anticipated benefits such as improved access to education, formal employment through reservations, greater healthcare utilization, and broader socio-economic advancement. Political reporting simultaneously focused on accountability and credit, underscoring the roles of Union and State leaders in advancing the long-delayed bill. The Tamil press was vocal about the severity of the injustice under the earlier MBC classification, repeatedly stressing that Scheduled Tribe status was essential for the community’s survival and entitlements. This contemporary framing established a rights-based discourse, advocating for targeted policy interventions in education, livelihood training, and financial inclusion. A vital contribution of contemporary journalism has been its ability to document the gap between legal decree and lived experience. Reports following the grant of ST status revealed the persistence of deep-rooted prejudice, underscoring that legislation alone cannot immediately dismantle societal discrimination. A widely reported incident

in March 2023 in which Narikkuravar members were denied entry to a cinema theatre in Tamil Nadu, despite holding valid tickets, became a significant regional news story. This case, amplified by commentary from public figures and academics, highlighted the enduring operation of caste and social prejudices even after formal recognition. Media coverage of this incident functioned as an emotionally charged counter-narrative, exposing the gulf between legislative victory and social acceptance.

Contemporary reporting also underscores persistent administrative barriers linked to the community's historical nomadism. Many Narikkuravar still lack crucial documentation such as voter IDs, bank accounts, or birth certificates needed to access the very benefits guaranteed under ST status. As a result, their issues remain on the "fringes of policy" implementation despite high-profile legal recognition. The transition to a rights-based framework requires not only legislative reform but also sustained media scrutiny that holds both society and government accountable for effective implementation and cultural acceptance of the new status.

Table 2: Contrasting Themes in Narikkuravar Media Representation

Theme/Focus	Colonial Press Framing (CTA Era)	Postcolonial (Pre-ST) Framing	Contemporary (Post-ST) Framing
Identity	Hereditary Criminal / Vagabond	Marginalized / MBC / Bead-People	Scheduled Tribe / Narikoravan
Livelihood	Hunting as an inherent crime / Adverse to labour	Precarity / Selling beads / Beggary / Illiteracy	Seeking reservation in jobs & education / Financial inclusion
Social Status	Subject of surveillance and restriction	Social discrimination / Exclusion (Untouchable)	Victims of enduring prejudice (e.g., denial of entry)
Tone	Alarmist / Justificatory (of control)	Descriptive (poverty/pathology)	Advocacy / Celebratory (of rights) but Critical (of implementation)

Table 3: The Gap Between Legal Status and Social Reality (2023 Onwards)

Policy Victory / Access	Social Reality Reported in Press	Implication
ST status granted (Jan 2023)	Community members denied entry to public cinema despite valid tickets (Mar 2023)	Legal status does not negate social discrimination; prejudice remains ingrained
Welfare schemes in health & education	Lack of voter IDs, Aadhaar, or residential documents limits access	Historical nomadism and bureaucratic neglect create hurdles to implementation
Calls for enhanced education & financial inclusion	Low awareness of benefits and limited bank account ownership	Structural exclusion and stigma inhibit effective utilization of state benefits

Discursive Impact, Prejudice and Counter-Narratives

Newspaper discourse, particularly in its sustained depiction of marginalized groups, exerts a profound influence on public perception and policy formation. The psychological effect of repeated negative portrayals, such as consistently associating the Narikkuravar with crime, poverty, or illiteracy, is the consolidation of societal bias. When a single stereotype is reiterated across decades, it ceases to function as mere description and instead becomes entrenched prejudice. Critical discourse analysis illustrates how the news media actively reproduce inequality. The framing of Denotified Tribes as perpetually "oppressed," or the emphasis on conflict and criminality, sustains a narrative of victimhood that obscures community agency and deflects attention from systemic drivers of exclusion. This mechanism of "othering" is significant: it permits societies and legal systems to presume criminality by birth, thereby undermining fundamental principles of justice. Such strategies are not unique to India; they parallel oppressive frameworks globally, including the Jim Crow regime in the United States and apartheid in South Africa.

This negative representation is not passive; it actively constrains the community's ability to access rights and resources. Low awareness of welfare schemes (such as health insurance), combined with a deep-seated distrust born of generations of police profiling, means that legal entitlements are often underutilized. When the media continues to frame the Narikkuravar as incapable or chronically marginalized, it reinforces paternalistic narratives that blame the victims for their exclusion, while diverting attention from systemic barriers such as institutional prejudice and onerous documentation requirements. Recognizing the limitations of mainstream representation, there is an increasing imperative for community-led media and self-representation. Such initiatives are vital for amplifying marginalized voices, ensuring that journalistic outputs reflect lived realities, and holding governance structures accountable. For the Narikkuravar, oral histories and emerging digital platforms offer critical avenues for articulating identity and projecting cultural heritage. This is particularly crucial for the preservation of the endangered Vaagriboli

language, which encodes folklore, ritual vocabulary, and traditional ecological knowledge. Empowering the community to define its cultural future on its own terms constitutes a direct counteraction against decades of external labelling and misrecognition. Yet, the efficacy of self-representation is constrained by the persistent digital divide. Like many Scheduled Tribes, the Narikkuravar face infrastructural deficits and low levels of digital literacy, which limit both their access to technology and their capacity to disseminate counter-narratives. This structural gap inhibits full participation in democratic processes increasingly mediated by digital platforms.

The protracted struggle for Scheduled Tribe recognition demonstrates the significant role of media in influencing policy outcomes. Media narratives not only shape public discourse but also determine which social issues attract sustained governmental attention. In the case of the Narikkuravar, consistent reporting on their socio-economic marginalization, alongside official documentation by policy bodies such as the Renke and Idate Commissions that highlighted the classification impasse, was critical in generating political will to reclassify the community from the MBC to the ST category. Positive media portrayals, therefore, are indispensable not merely for fostering empathy but for demonstrating agency, emphasizing capacity, and providing an evidentiary basis for progressive policy implementation.

Findings

The historical analysis reveals a consistent, albeit evolving, pattern in the media representation of the Narikkuravar in Tamil Nadu. The colonial press institutionalized “epistemic violence” through the language of the Criminal Tribes Act, framing nomadism as inherent criminality to justify state control. In the post-colonial era, despite denotification, this narrative persisted, reinforced by the bureaucratic failure to grant Scheduled Tribe (ST) status. Media coverage during this period tended to focus descriptively on poverty, marginality, and “social problems,” rather than on rights or structural barriers. The eventual ST recognition in 2023 marked a definitive shift towards a rights-based framework in journalism, framing the issue as a victory for social justice. Yet, contemporary reports immediately underscored the challenge: legal status alteration has not eliminated deep-seated prejudice, which continues to restrict access to rights and services.

Additional findings sharpen this picture: stereotypes of the Narikkuravar as “criminal” or “backward” have endured remarkably from the colonial era into the present; the community gains visibility mainly during exceptional or sensationalized events, with everyday realities and cultural contributions neglected; women are doubly marginalized in media portrayals, often framed only through poverty or street vending; commissions such as Renke and Idate have been reduced to headlines without substantive engagement; and repeated experiences of misrepresentation have fostered deep distrust of journalists within the community.

Policy Implications of Media Representation

To fully leverage the legislative momentum of the ST status, policy interventions must be comprehensive and supported by informed, historically sensitive media narratives. The government must focus on addressing systemic barriers rooted in historical stigma, rather than merely announcing new schemes. This includes:

1. Documentation Drive: Aggressive, targeted campaigns to ensure every community member, particularly those with a nomadic heritage, obtains essential identification and citizenship documents (Aadhar, ration cards, ST certificates) required for benefit utilization.
2. Digital Inclusion and Literacy: Investment in bridging the digital divide, providing infrastructure, digital literacy training, and resources to enable community members, especially youth, to access educational and professional opportunities reserved under ST quotas.
3. Anti-Discrimination Enforcement: Utilizing the visibility generated by recent discrimination cases (such as the theatre incident in 2023) to strictly enforce anti-discrimination laws and address institutional prejudice within police and government agencies.
4. Community Media Hubs: Establishing state-supported but community-led cultural and media centres where Narikkuravar youth can be trained in journalism, digital storytelling, and archival preservation of oral traditions.
5. Cultural Safeguarding: Supporting the preservation and promotion of Vaagriboli and other cultural practices through state academies, heritage initiatives, and local-language media projects.
6. Participatory Policy Design: Ensuring Narikkuravar representation on committees that oversee ST benefits, thereby embedding community voices in policymaking.

Recommendations for Inclusive and Ethical Journalism in Tamil Nadu

To counteract decades of stigma, media organizations must adopt ethical and inclusive reporting guidelines that ensure fair representation and aid the integration of the Narikkuravar community.

1. Shift from Stigma to Structural Analysis: Journalists must move beyond descriptive reporting of social problems (poverty, illiteracy) and emphasize the structural drivers of marginalization, historical classification failures, bureaucratic hurdles, and the enduring legacy of the Habitual Offenders Act.

2. Language and Terminology: Historical slurs such as “Gypsy” must be eliminated. Reporters should consistently use the official and preferred nomenclature (Narikoravan/Kuruvikkaran, Scheduled Tribe).
3. Proactive and Positive Representation: Media must highlight community culture, heritage, agency, and achievement, not only deprivation. Actively including community voices challenges stereotypes and fosters empathy.
4. Training and Sensitization: Journalists and editors should undergo workshops on the history of denotified tribes and frameworks of human rights reporting, ensuring historically informed coverage.
5. Balanced Sourcing: Avoid over-reliance on police or bureaucratic voices; instead, incorporate testimonies and perspectives from Narikkuravar members.
6. Long-Form and Investigative Journalism: Encourage in-depth coverage of systemic issues such as land rights, access to healthcare, and education, rather than episodic reporting of conflict or welfare announcements.
7. Media–Community Partnerships: Develop collaborations where stories are co-created with community members, enabling accurate, respectful, and empowering representation.
8. Monitoring Media Bias: Establish mechanisms within the Press Council of India and state media boards to track and correct biased or stereotypical portrayals of Scheduled Tribes.

Conclusion

The history of newspaper representations of the Narikkuravar reveals the deep entanglement between media discourse, state power, and social hierarchy. During the colonial era, journalism functioned as an instrument of control, reinforcing the Criminal Tribes Act’s logic that equated nomadism with criminality. Postcolonial reporting, though couched in developmental language, perpetuated the same stigma by framing the community through the lenses of poverty and pathology rather than structural injustice. Even when the language of reform replaced that of repression, the underlying assumption of otherness endured. The twenty-first century has witnessed a partial transformation. Persistent advocacy, political mobilization, and the eventual recognition of Scheduled Tribe status in 2023 shifted press coverage toward a rights-based framework that celebrates inclusion and justice. Yet, the endurance of discrimination in everyday life, manifested in social exclusion, bureaucratic hurdles, and residual suspicion, demonstrates that legal reform has not fully dissolved historical prejudice.

This study underscores that media representations are not passive reflections of reality but active forces that shape policy, identity, and belonging. Ethical journalism, therefore, becomes an instrument of justice. By moving beyond stereotypes, amplifying community voices, and interrogating structural inequities, the press can help transform historical recognition into lived equality. For the Narikkuravar, and for all denotified and nomadic groups, such a transformation represents not merely a shift in narrative but a reclamation of dignity, rights, and historical truth.

References

Primary and Archival Sources

- *The Hindu* (Madras), various issues, 1878–1947.
- *Madras Mail* (Madras), various issues, 1890–1940.
- *The Times of India* (Bombay), various issues, 1880–1947.
- Government of India, *The Criminal Tribes Act (Act XXVII of 1871)*, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1871.
- Government of India, *Criminal Tribes Act (Madras Amendment) Act, 1911*, Madras: Government Press, 1911.
- Renke, Balkrishna, *Report of the National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (2008)*, New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India.
- Idate, Bhiku Ramji, *National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes Report (2018)*, New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India.

Books

- Meena Radhakrishna, *Dishonoured by History: "Criminal Tribes" and British Colonial Policy*, New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2001.
- Dirks, Nicholas B, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Guha, Ranajit, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Rao, Anupama, *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- Singha, Radhika, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Pandian, M. S. S, *The Image Trap: M.G. Ramachandran in Film and Politics*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1992.

Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation, and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Kannabiran, Kalpana, ed, *Tools of Justice: Non-Discrimination and the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Routledge India, 2012.

Scholarly Articles

Bhatia, Sundeep. "From Habitual Offenders to Denotified Tribes: Colonial Legacies in Contemporary Policing." *Indian Journal of Social Work* 79, no. 4 (2018): 589–610.

Ramaswamy, Sumathi. "Mapping the Nation: Newspaper Cartography and the Nationalist Imagination in India." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 1 (1996): 56–90.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "The Colonial Context of the Indian Press." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 22 (1997): 1299–1307.

Venkatesan, Soumya. "The Narikkuravar of Tamil Nadu: Mobility, Work and Identity." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 41, no. 3 (2007): 365–394.

Nayar, Pramod K. "Media Representation and Subaltern Identities in Postcolonial India." *Media, Culture & Society* 33, no. 4 (2011): 567–583.

Belliappa, Jyothi. "Denotified Tribes and the Persistence of Prejudice: Rethinking Criminality and Citizenship." *Indian Anthropologist* 45, no. 2 (2015): 29–48.