

# Communal Participation, Presentation, Performance: Narrative of Dimasa Identity Construction

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### **Abstract**

The Article Traces How A Culture Of The Dimasas Emerge From The Confluence Of Colonialism, The Post-Colonial Situation And Contemporary Performance Of Dimasa Identity As Visible In Judima Festival. The Colonial Era Representation Of Primitivism Continues Into Post-Colonial Narratives Of Imperialist Nostalgia Disseminated Primary Through Popular Media And Festivals For Local And Global Consumption. Whether Dimasas In This Process Are Passive Onlookers Or Active Participants In This Endeavour Through The Articulation Of A Distinct Dimasa Image. The Process Eventually Leads To Revitalization Of Traditional Culture That Also Mimics The Cumulative Notions Of Colonial Primitivism. Revitalization Acts As A Vital Force In Claiming Historical Agency Predicated On The Performance Of Identity And Cultural Hybridity. Both The Processes Help In Demonstrating How The Dimasa Position Themselves Within The Larger Discourse Of Indigeneity Whereby Images Are Legitimized As A Distinct Culture.

**Key Words:** Culture, Judima Festival, Revitalization, Identity, Hybridity.

### Introduction

There Has Been Some Historical And Contemporary Literature On The Dimasas That Examines The Effects Of Local And Global Capital Forces Through Colonization As A Dominant Drift, A One-Way Process From Colonizers To Passive Colonials That The Strategic Interplay And Complexity Of Different Forces. Some Argue That Such A Drift Contributes To The Demise Of Traditional Dimasa Culture To Such An Extent That Only Rural Areas Offer Any Vestiges Of Authenticity. Even As Dimasas Attempt To Revitalize Their Traditional Culture Through Avenues Such As Annual Cultural Judima Festival, The Question Remains Whether Such Cultural Productions Are Superficial And Invented, Completely Discontinuous From Earlier Times (Von Stockhausen 2008). Some Studies On The Evolving Aspects Of Dimasa Identities, Highlighting The Complex Interaction Of Global And Local Forces There Are No Extant Studies That Investigate The Residual Effects Of Colonialism And Representation Of The Dimasas And The Subsequent Emergence Of A Distinct Dimasa Culture.

Despite The Adverse Effects Of Colonialism And Its Role In The Proliferation Of Visual Representation Of Indigenous Peoples, Arkotong Longkumer(2015)Argues That They Such Visual Regimes Continue To Function Strategically In The Postcolonial Situation, Particularly When Such 'Exotic' Media Enable An Articulation Of A National Identity. Viewing A Community As Passive Onlookers To This Continuing Interplay Of Forces Contributes To The Lack Of Critical Scholarship: And Seeks Attention To Focus On How A Community Articulate Their Own History And Seeks To Address The Issue Of Representation And Performance In Three-Dimensional Way.

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By 'Performance' Is Meant That It Is Performed For Audiences (Ebron 2002:1) And That It Resonates With The Active Construction Of Social Life( Askew 2002:23) The Image Of The Dimasas With Their Bright Intricately Woven Attires And Other Associated Attributes Generally Leans Towards 'Exoticism' And It Is A Process That Started With British Colonial Contact And Ethnographers Who Used Descriptive And Visual Media To Depict Them In A Manner That Had A Lasting Impact On The Perception Of The Dimasas. These Colonial Era Representatives Of 'Primitivism' Has Been Retained And Re Inforced In Contemporary Times Through Cultural Reproductions Of Dimasas In Museums, Tourist Bhochures, Ethnic Clothes, Jewellery Food And Other Material Culture As A Form Of 'Imperialist Nostalgia'.' These Representations Are Perpetuated Through Photographic Compilations In Books And Other Visual Media. This Posits A Question Of The Implications Of Such Representations And Whether They Act As Mirrors For Contemporary Dimasa Society? This Necessitated An Investigation Of The Relationship Between The 'Observer' And The 'Observed' As A Two-Way Process Involving Both The Actors. This Reverse Gaze Is Positioned Is Positioned In The Larger Framework Of 'Performance Of Identities' And The Dimasa's Are Strategically Using And 'Mimicking These 'Exotic' Images To Project An Identity Through A Revitalization Of Traditional Culture. It Permits The Dimasas To Articulate Their Histories, Produce A Certain Image For External Consumption, And Participate In The Production Of Their Own Image. Two Inter Related Events That Resonate With The Construction Of National Imaginaries As An Evolving Process Of Negotiation Are The Judima Festival (A Cultural Performance That Attempts To Distill The Essence Of Dimasa Traditions And The Community Branding.' That Brings Aesthetics Into The Context Of Community Identity.

To Understand The Interaction Between Colonial And Post-Colonial Representation And Performance Of Dimasa Identity, It Is Pertinent To Appreciate The Historical Context In Which Dimasas Were Present In Colonial Imagination Due To The Substantial Amount Of Material Culture In Ethnographic Texts.

#### Early Contact with British Colonizers and Perceptions

The Early Colonial Representation Of Pre-Colonial Dimasa Past From The Colonial Archives Is The Situation Needed Colonial Intervention When Dimasa Raja Govinda Chandra Died In April 1830 Without Leaving Any Male Heir To The Throne. As Four Strong Contenders Including Indu Prava, Tula Ram, Govind Ram And Gambhir Singh Emerged As Claimants To The Dimasa Throne, The Investigation Made By The Company Officials Served As Useful Tools Through Which Colonial Knowledge On Dimasa Came To Be Produced.(Santosh Hasnu:2017) In The Words Of Historian Neeladri Bhattacharya, A Dialogue With Native Informants Was Seen As Essential To The Production Of Authentic Knowledge But Such Extreme Dependence Was Experienced By The British As A Form Of Disempowerment (Ibid) He Further Says That The Native Voice Was Inscribed Within Imperial Discourse, But It Was Constrained, Regulated And Ultimately Appropriated And That Colonial Relationship With Native Tradition Was More Complex, Ambiguous And Varied-Spatially And Temporally. The Question Arises- How Much The Colonial Officials Collected? What Were The Mechanisms For Collecting Information And Who Were The Informants That Helped The British Investigators In The Process Of Production Of Knowledge? Lieutenant Thomas Fisher, A Colonial Official With Powers Of Magistrate And Collector And In Whose Charge The Kingdom Was Placed Commented At That Point That' The Destruction Of All Records Has Rendered Inquiry Into The Ancient Laws A Matter Of Uncertainty And Judging From The Diversity Of Opinions On The Subject Among The Cacharees, Fisher Resorted To Verbal Interrogations And Oral Narratives From His Informants And He Provided A List Of His Informants And The Detailed Information He Could Furnish From Them And These



Colonial Documents Are Preserved At The National Archives Of India At New Delhi( S Hasnu: 2017). Informants Included Kano Ram Of The Royal Hasnu Sengphon And One Of The Raja's Official, Krishna Dutt (Native Of Cachar Of Bengal Origin In Service To Raja), Shiv Narain Jamadar (A Native Of Hindustan Also In Service To Raja) And Others. The Exercise In Intelligence Gathering Of The Pre-Existing Patterns Of Primogeniture Through The Local Elites, Especially Gentry Of The Earlier Regime Had A Direct Consequence In Understanding The Broad Normative Realm Of Pre-Colonial Dimasa Customs And Practices, Its Economy, Customary Law And Hindu Law.

The Earliest Encounters Of The British Colonizers And Their Impression Of The Accounts Of The Dimasas Comes From Their Impressions Formed Based On The Archeological Ruins Called Kachari Rajbari Found At Dimapur Which Is Evidence Of The Dimasas' Master Craftmanship And Power In The Medieval Period. The First European To Visit And Give An Account Was Mr E.A Grange In 1840 Followed By The Report Of Major Godwin Austen Who Gave More Details In 1874 Who Gave A Map Of The Ruined City He Recorded With Structures Of Tanks, Fortification By Brick Walls, Ramparts, And The Gatehouse On The Eastern Boundary That Stands Till Date. S. K Barpujari States At This Point That The Greatest Architecture Is Probably The Self-Standing Columns And Structural Pieces Now Lying Within The Old City Of Dimapur. They Were Enormous In Size And Ornamented Megaliths Unique For Their Artistic Exuberance And Evidently Recorded The Blending Of The Primitive Megalithic Tradition And The Ornamental Fancy Of The Late Medieval Period. Referred To As The Chessman Columns Godwin Austen, T Bloch And Sir Bamfylde Left Impressions In Their Accounts. Grange, Godwin Austen, Bloch And Other Britishers Say That The Dimapur Monoliths No Evidence Of Hindu Influence Nor Were They As Plain As The Megaliths Found Normally Among The Hill Tribes Of Assam And The Dimasa With Their Hindu Heritage Had To Rule The Tribes Of The Upper Reaches Of The Dhansiri Valley Including The Naga Hills And Its Adjoining Areas, So Probably Followed In Their Administrative Intetest The Tribes Of The Region But With More Resolution And Improvement. They Were To Commemorate The Victory Over Each Tribe, The Victors Carved The Megaliths With The Features Befitting To The Traditions Of That Tribe, But With More Elaborations Resulting In The Magnificent Megalithic Columns Of Dimapur. Based On The Informations Given By The British Explorers Mentioned Bout The Grandeur Of These Architectures The People Who Built Them Ie The Dimasas Are Presented As Mighty Warriors And Skilled Craftsmanship. A Perception Amplified By Many More Such Architectural Structures Found At Other Seats Of Dimasa Kingdom Maibang And Khaspur.

Today, An Exact Replica Of The Dimapur Columns Is Constructed At The District Sports Association Stadium At Haflong, Nostalgic Of The Past And Based On What The Britishers Had Written In Exalted Language About These Images Associated With Dimasa Culture That Is Nothing Short Of 'Exoticism And Grandeur'.

The Word' Kachari' Is Generic Term To Denote Certain Groups Of People By The Brirish Ethnographers Based On Linguistic Similarities. The Claim Of Dimasa Kingdom As The Ruling Clan Is Corroborated By Historical Sources And Colonial Archival Records. Edward Gait In 'A History Of Assam' Advocated The 'Timisa' Of The Ahom Buranjis Was The Corrupted Version Of Dimasa Andand This Is Further Validated In Census Report Of 1931, Where J.H. Crace (Political Officer Of Sadiya And Formerly Sub-Divisional Officer Of Nchills) Who States That Seven Dimasa Clans Ruled At Dimapur Prior To Shifting To Maibang. (Sec Ii Of Appendix, Census Of Assam 1931. C.A Soppit, A Subdivisional Officer At Gunjung In His Book 'An Historical And Descriptive Account Of The Kachari Tribe In The



North Cachar Hills (1885) Published By Assam Secretariat Press With Specimens Of Tales And Folklores' Gives A Brief But Informative Survey And Account Of The Dimasas

An Overlooked Yet Important Text Within The Colonial Discourses Of The Human-Geographical Sciences That Is An Important Ethnology Of British Colonial India Is Edward Tuite Dalton's 'A Descriptive Ethnology Of Bengal' Which Functions Within The Political Discourse By Bringing Into Circulation Notions Of Primitivism. Ethnology Marked The Beginning Of A New Type Of English Language Following The Religious Ethnologies Of Previous Decades And Racial And Linguistic Features Were The Primary Distinguishing Characteristics Of Groups. Dalton Acknowledges His Own Discomfort At Having To Rely Upon Linguistic Features As His Primary Means Of Differentiating People (Uday Chandra: 2013) The Ethnology Connects An Earlier Period Of Cartographic Surveys Of India To The Emergent Interest In Mapping Human Populations And Dalton's Early Career As A Mid-Level Military Commander Exposed Him To Remote Tribes Of The Bengal Presidency From Upper Assam To Chotanagpura. It Opens With The Following Extended Simile," I Commense With The North Eastern Frontier, The Basin Of The Mighty Brahmaputra, Where The Population Like The Mighty Boulders Shining As Mosaics In The Beds Of The Great River And Its Upper Affluents, Is Formed Of Materials Found In Situ In The Hills To The North And The South'. To Compare The 'Population' To 'Boulders' That Compose A 'Mosaic' Is Rhetorically Appealing Perhaps Only In A Discursive Field That Valorizes Geography At Its Epistemological Foundations. Interestingly But Dalton Does Not Subscribe To A Geographically Deterministic Reading Of People And Rather Puts Migration And Displacement Factor Into The Text's Historical Account Of Historical Groups. Contemporary Scholar Uday Chandra Labels Dalton A Patron Of Primitive Societies. The Book Included Extensive Vocabularies And 40 Lithographs Based Largely Upon The Photographs Of Sir Benjamin Simpson, One Of The Best Colonial Photographers Whose Accolades Included A Gold Medal For His Collection Of 80 Photographs Entitled' Racial Types Of Northern India' At The Great London Exhibition Of 1862 And A Sketches Of Representation Of Dimasa( Kachari) Man And Woman Finds Place In The Collection Where The Man Had Long Hair Tied Neatly On His Head And The Woman's Upper Torso Over Her Chest Was Bear With 'Kachari' Written Beneath The Photograph. In The Preface, Dalton Acknowledges That The Book Is A By-Product Of An Abandoned Plan For A 'Great' Ethnological Congress In Calcutta Meant To' Bring Together.... Typical Examples Of The Races Of The Old World, To Be Made The Subject Of Scientific Study When So Collected'.

S.K Borpujari Writes That The Scholars, Particularly The British Writers Had Taken Considerable Interest In The Study Of Socio Cultural Life Of The Tribes Of Assam To Consolidate Their Administration In India But The Observation Of These Scholars Becomes Misleading Sometimes In The Absence Of Old Historical Records.

Some Indian Scholars Also Took Up Pains To Write About The Tribes But Most Of Them Had To Depend On The Information Given By The Foreign Scholars In Absence Of Written Records.

The Project Of Representation Deeply Impacted On The Imperial Notion Of Power Relations. Inherent In These Representations Is The Treatment Of The Dimasas As The 'Other' Through Which The Colonizers Were Able To Regulate, Produce And Consume Knowledge Of Them For The Colonial And Imagination. Henry Balfour, One Of The Chief Architects Of The Pitt Rivers Museum Collection Urged Colonial Administrators To Collect As Much Material Culture As Possible Or, As He Puts It," If We Aim At Equitable Administration Of Subject Races, The Chief Essential Is Close Investigation Of Their Indigenous Culture"(



Balfour 1923:27). They Highlight The Need To Display' The Other' As Exotic, Making It The Object Of Scrutiny. Tony Bennett (1995) Called This The 'Exhibitionary Complex'. The District Museum At Haflong Where Dimasa Live As Majority Has Such Displays Of 'Representations Of Culture' In Different Rooms Within Its Premises Even Today And Its Ironically Situated At The Very Heartland Of Dimasas. It Is Baffling As To Why Such Nineteenth Century Views Persist And A Survey Of The Tourist Brochures And Coffee Tables Books On The Dimasas That Get Published By The Directorate Of Cultural Affairs Under The Dima Hasao Autonomous Council Make It Evident That The Residual Effects Of 'Exhibitionary Complex' Continue To Persist In Public Imagination. This Shows 'State Officials' Are Also Complicit In This Representation.

Bennet, Drawing From Michel Foucault's Work On Power And Knowledge Urged Scholar To Look At The Ways In Which Public Museums Are Not Just Sites For Instruction, But How They Shape The Body Politic In Relation To Social Routines And Performances Through Exhibitions. One Strategy Of The 'Exhibitionary Complex' Was That It Emphasized The Distinction Between The Subjects And Objects Of Power Organized By The Numerous' Rhetorics Of Imperialism' By The Representation Of The Otherness And Museum Displays Illuminated Such Rhetorical Effects Of Power (Bennett 1995:67) Rendering The Nexus Between Rhetoric, Theater And Power In Museums As Visible Representations In Public Displays. The Reason For Such Public Profile, Was Perhaps The Popularity Of Such Exoticism In Public Mind And Has Increased Readership Over The Years In Different Classes. Images Of Dimasas Regularly Figure In Publications Of Them In Full Ceremonial Dresses And Ornaments Alongside Similar Images Of Other Tribes Have Reinforced The Perception Of Dimasas As Tribals. Images Of Community Heroes Clad In Ceremonial Attire And Statues Erected With Very Prominent Traditional Clothes Elicit Connection Between The Empire And Indigenous People.

#### Imperialistic Nostalgia And Preservation Of Culture

Renalto Rosaldo Calls, 'Imperialist Nostalgia' As:

Occurs Alongside A Peculiar Sense Of Mission, The White Man's Burden. Where Civilized Nations Stand Duty-Bound To Uplift So Called Savage Ones. In This Ideologically Constructed World Of Ongoing Progressive Change, Putatively Static Savage Societies Become A Stable Reference Point For Defining Civilized Identity. "We" Valorize Innovation, And Then Yearn For More Stable Worlds, Whether These Reside In Our Own Past, In Other Cultures Or In The Conflation Of The Two- When The So-Called Civilizing Process Destabilizes Forms Of Life, The Agents Of Change Experience Transformations Of Other Cultures As If They Were Personal Losses. (1989:70)

This Nostalgia Is Expressed In Works That Invoke A Sense That The Dimasas Represent Idyllic Conditions Where 'Proper' Human Values And Morals Thrive Like The Dimasa's Imagined Realm Of Dimaraji Portrayal In Various Audio-Visual Projects. These Nostalgic Projects Are Situated Within The Global Economy Of Cultural Productions That Enables Them To Function Under Huge Financial Support From Different Organizations With Similar Agendas And They Are Targeted Towards A Particular Audience That Has The Means Of Purchasing Color Illustrations. A Walk Down The Streets Of Haflong One Can Witness Colourful Signages And Landscapes Illustrating Representations Of Dimasa Culture In Full Traditional Regalia. This Sort Of Nostalgia Delineates The Power Relations Between Those Who Have The Means To Control Production And Those Whose Images Are Portrayed On Walls And Pages. These Paintings Illustrate A 'Recreated' Untainted And Pristine Habitat Without 'Modern' Intervention. The State Agency's Motivation For Such Representations Is



Partly Economic (Through Tourism) But Also Providing A Stage Where Traditional Performances Can Help Preserve Dimasa Culture. It Appears As If The Dimasas See The Ills Of The Modern World As Too Invasive To Their Culture And Their Only Solution Is To Revive Past Traditions And Root Themselves Amidst All The Dislocations. Dr Mohanta Lanthasa, An Elderly Writer Of The Community Voices A Strong Note Of Caution On The Impact Of Marketing Of Tourism And Natural Landscapes On The Communities Of Dima Hasao And Says 'Tourists Coming To See And Enjoy Benevolent Nature Is Welcome But The People And Their Healthy Social Institutions (Folk Dances, Food, Visits To Villages) Shouldn't Be Commercialised' Because It Creates An Opportunity For Easy Access To Money And In Long Rub Hurt The Dignity And Self-Respect Tribal People May Become' Hangers-On' Baggages Of The Affluent Elite (As It Happened In Semkhor) Where The Benefits Of A Rural Housing Scheme Through Government Agency Turned A Dignified Way Of Life Where People Built Their Homes With Their Own Hands With Materials Found In Their Vicinity Into A Category Of 'Poor' And 'Poverty' Stricken Because Of The Benefits That Came With The Tag. He Feels The Damage To The Core Of Their Character Of Being A 'Dignified Self-Reliant Warrior People 'Has Been Ruptured For Small Unsustainable Income Gains And It Is A Disruptive Intervention In The Continuity Of Traditional Life.

On The One Hand Dimasas Negotiate The Choice Of Bamboo Baskets Sold Plenty In Market And Plastic Bags Found Easily, Traditional Clothes Abandoned Except For Ceremonial Purposes And Taking Up Modern Clothes Dictated By Fashion Trends, Securing Government Jobs Over Working In Fields: These Choices Are Very Much Made In The 'Ethnographic Present'. When A Choice Has To Be Made Between 'Revival' And 'Preserving' Culture It Is Often Revival That Takes Precedence. This Is A Precarious Trap Of 'Imperialist Nostalgia' That Fails To Highlight The Complex Realities 'On The Ground' Simply Because The Selling Point Of These 'Exotic Places' As Getaways From Modern Life Will Be Undermined If In Reality The Chosen Is 'Modern' Over The 'Traditional'. The Covid 19 Pandemic Has Already Shown How Disruptions Intensify In Such Places Of Cultural Production And Is Not Sustainable. This Brings The Issue Of The Twin Forces Of Historical Agency And Dependant Capitalism Through Which New Dimensions Of Authenticity Are Produced. While On The One Hand The Dimasas Are Realizing The Strategic Importance Of These Nostalgic Images, In Terms Of An Attractive Selling Point In A Global Culture, Where Differences And Authenticity Are All Important As Marketing Tools That Must Be Used To Advantage, There Is Also A Note Of Skepticism In The Note Of Interrogating The Point Through The Larger Discourse Of The Performance Of Identity And The Attempt Of The Dimasas To Construct A Community Culture.

### The Judima Festival

In The Year 2016, The First Edition Of Judima Festival Was Organized At Dibarai With Much Fanfare. The Festival Was A Cultural Extravaganza Of Ethnic Songs, Dances, Storytelling Sessions, Traditional Sports By Local Residents Along With Savouring Dimasa Cuisines And Was Projected As An Mélange Of Dimasa Culture To Showcase The Scenic Beauty Of The Hill District Dima Hasao That Is Home To Huge Biodiversity. The 'Traditional' Components Of Events During Daytime Gave Way To Musical Concerts At Night Where 'Modern' Local And National Rock Bands Performed On Stage To Packed Audiences. This Is Reflective Of The Trend In Recent Years Of The Numerous Artistic Based Initiatives- Either In Music, Fashion, Art, Film, Homestays Or Tourist Villages That Seem To Focus On The Hybridity Of Culture As A Way To Revitalize Tradition And To Promulgate A Sense Of National Identity. A 'Unity' Bike Rally For Brotherhood And Peace (As Quoted By One Of The Organizer) Was The Show Stopper To Facilitate And Represent The Diversity Of The The

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Location That Has Witnessed Bloody Ethnic Conflicts From Time To Time And Maintained A Fragile Peace. It Shows Dima Hasao As Heterogenus Cultural Space Of A Territory Of Peaceful Co Habitance. 'Nostalgia' Of The Days Of The Past And Reminiscent Of An Imperialist Project That Saw Transformation To New Technologies Was The New Broad Guage Rail Connectivity And The Abandonment Of The Old Metre Gauge Railway Line Of Colonial Times. Barail Hill Night Trek Heritage Trek Along The 19 Kms Abandoned Railway Tracks Was Part Of The Judima Festival. The Festival Served The Purpose Of Educating The Local Population Of The Prospects Of Tapping Their Rich Heritage To Advantage In The Capitalist Market As Well As To Enable Tourists To Catch A Glimpse Of Dimasa Culture Within This Brief Period Of Seven Days Festival.

Judima Festival Is Significant For Another Reason. The Festival Was The Brainchild Of A Trust Called Yadem (

Youth Association For Development And Empowerment) Formed On 14<sup>th</sup> August 2014 By Few Educated Dimasas In Association With A Social Organization Named Dimajik Mahila Samiti With The Aim Of Getting The Gi (Geographical Indication) Registration For Judima Which Is Described As 'Unique Popular Alcoholic Beverage Made Of Traditional Rice (Maiju) And Herbs Of That Is Unique In Taste, Method Of Preparation And Is An Integral Part Of Dimasa Cultural And Social Life' Used In Every Rite Of Passage (R Kemprai: 2015). In A Report Published In The Indian Journal Of Intellectual Property Rights, Jupi Gogoi Writes Gi Registration As Necessary For Protection Of Traditional Knowledge And Promote The Wine's Trade For The Community's Economic Development. Under The International Agreement On Trade Related Aspects Of Intellectual Rights (Trips), The Gi Tag Assignment Given To Judima In The Year 2021 Made It An Exclusive Product That Has A Specific Geographical Origin And Possesses Qualities Or A Reputation That Are Unique To That Place.( Jupi Gogoi: 2021). Judima's Gi Recognition Has Given Local Product And Its Producers, The Dimasas An Exclusive Brand Protection.

To Produce Judima, The Dimasas Use A Glutinuous Rice Called 'Maiju' That Is Indigenous To The Region And The Bark Of A Plant Called 'Thembra Muli' (Accacia Panata) Found Locally In The Forests. The Powdered Bark Is Mixed With Rice Flour And Allowed To Ferment That Yields The Beverage. The Uniqueness Of The Product Lies In The Use Of 'Tembra 'That No Other Tribe Even In The Vicinity Of Dimasa Villages Use. The Taste Of Judima Is A Result Of The Plant Thembra And Various Other Ingrediants Used In A Particular Manner Known Exclusively To The Dimasa Community. (J Gogoi:2016)

Besides Protecting The Cultural Identity Of The Dimasa Community, The Gi Recognitions Prevents Unauthorized Use Of The Tag By Others And Promotes Economic Prosperity Of Producers By Enhancing The Demand Of The Cultural Product In National And International Markets. According To Gogoi , Studies Have Indicated That Judima May Have Tremendous Health Benefits That Required More Scientific Research Into The Nutraceutical And Therapeutical Properties Of Judima Which Would Give A Huge Boost To Its Trade. Thus, Judima Is A Case Of Traditional Knowledge's Inter Relationship With Community Interest And Identity.

The Festival Named After The Cultural Signifier Can Be Viewed Also As A Popular Cultural Space Providing A Healthy Civic Space- From Cultural Performances, Children's Activities, Shopping, Food And Sports. In A Way, The Involvement Of Local Communities Creates A Culture Of Curiosity And Entanglement With One's Own Past That Raises Significant Questions As To What The Festival Represents For The Dimasa Public And Tourist.



The Festival Is Held At Dibarai, Which Is Recognized As One Of The Oldest Dimasa Village At Haflong. Dibarai Area Used To Be Known As The 'Water Reservoir' (Di- Water, Barai- Reservoir) During British Colonial Days From Where It Got Its Name And Still Has Water Sources That Do Not Run Dry Throughout The Year And Has The Sweetest Crystal Clear Water. The Site Has A Large Field Designed With Traditional Gate (Fangsla) At The Entrance And A Traditional 'Nodrang' (Bachelor's Dormitory) At The Other End Of The Site Made Completely With Wooden And Bamboo Materials. A Campsite Was Established And Named 'Mazangdi Hading' Reminiscent Of The Mazangdi Love Ballads, Lending Nostalgia Of The Poetics Of Dimasa Of Olden Days.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Edition Of The Festival Was Shifted To Gunjung, Another Place With Historical Importance Known As The Site Of Dimasa Freedom Fighter Sambhudhan Phonglo's Rebellion For Freedom Against The British Colonisers. The Promotion Brochures Had 'Gunjung Constituency And Nchac 'Presenting That Year's Edition By 'Revisiting The Spirit Of The Judima Festival'. Adventure Sports Events Like Paragliding, Zip Lining, Tree Repelling, Burma Bridge, Commando Net, And A Trek To The Nearby Tourist Destinations And Historical Site Where Neolithic Structures Consisting Of Stone Jars And Other Stone Carvings And Artefacts Lie At Hojai, Dubungling And Khobak Was Introduced To Add To The Essence Of Heritage And Historicity To The Event. Guwahati- Gunjung Cycle Tour And 'Freedom Ride' From Maibang To Gunjung Exploring The Historic Freedom Route Were Strategically Organized As Part Of The Festival. Whilst Dibarai Had Showcased 'Nodrang' At The Site Of The Venue, 'Baikho' (A Community Club) Was Inaugurated At The Venue. In Fact, Every Village Has A "Baikho" And Very Few Functional Nodrangs Are Seen In Dimasa Villages These Days.

The Festival Over The Years Has Become An Annual Mega Event With Financial Support From Dima Hasao Autonomous Council Catering To A Variety Of Audiences Both Within And Outside The Community And The Involvement Of Many Stakeholders And Agencies Including Dima Hasao Tourism, Awesome Assam, Incredible India, Ministry Of Tourism, Government Of India, Mandu Escapades, Adventura, Spokehub, Paragliding Association Of Assam And Others. 'Even The Largest Avalanche Is Triggered By Small Things'- Quoted By Vernor Vinge Was The Slogan Put Up By Whacky Talky, The Adventure Content Creator Of Northeast Who Captured The Essence Of The Immense Potential Dima Hasao Had For Adventure Tourism In Assam.

What Is Central Though Is The Performance Of Tradition, Particularly The Dimasa Dances From All Different Areas, Thairilee (Poetry) Competitions And Traditional Sports 'Rhimin Nelaiba (Bamboo Westling), Longthai Sguba (Picking Up Stone), Duyung Shiglaiba (Tug Of War) That Usually Draw A Mixed Crowd Of Locals, Performers, Tourists And Professional Media Personnel. Body Building Show Of Men Clad In 'Risha'(Traditional Dimasa Dress) With Their Upper Torso Naked Was A Curious Mix Of A Modern Flamboyant Sport With Sportsmen Clad Only In Their Ethnic Dress.

#### The Judima Festival For Internal Consumption

The Importance Of The 'Performance Of Tradition' Within The Judima Festival Means That The Role Of Social Organizations Of The Community Must Be Explored That Is Significant To Dimasa Identity As An Event Of Communal Participation. Speaking At Length About The Festival, A Khunang (Village Elder) Who Was Ignorant Of The Tourism Potentialities Encouraged By The Festival Organizers Was Negative About It Claiming It Encouraged 'Bad Behaviour'- Liquor, Partying, Rock Bands And So On' To The Point Of Ostracizing The Organizers As They Feared It Would Encourage Alcoholism In The Young



Generation. But Many Focused On The Positive Aspects Of The Festival. Based On A Collation Of Different Views Of The Festival, There Are Layers Of Meanings And What It Represents: First That It Represents A Cultural Space Where All Dimasas Can Come Together And Educate The Young Generations To Appreciate Their Traditions And Customs As Their Ancestors Lived Bringing Them Out Of A Sort Of Cultural 'Amnesia'. Second That It Provides An Opportunity To Initiate The Idea Of An Alternative Livelihood To The Local Brewers Other Than For Local Consumption And Promote Tourism Related Vocations Among The Ethnic Groups. Cultural Tours Of Different Ways Of Living Including Homestays In The Lap Of Nature Were Attractions Of The Festival. Third, It Gives Platform To The Young And Talented Dimasa Youth Artisans Through Art And Music. Finally, It Is A Recreational Space Where One Can Enjoy Food And Recreation With Family. But Most Importantly It Is Space For Revitalization Of Traditional Art Forms And Preserving Their Distinctiveness That Were Dwindling In The Loss Of Traditional Culture In Rapidly Globalised World. The Time Spent At The Festival Is Not Really Like' A Willing Suspension Of Time' Because Judima Is Part And Parcel Of Dimasa Life With No Scope For Clash Between The Festival And One's Religious Or Social Identity.

The Festival's Celebration Is A Conscious Celebration Of Continuity Of Dimasa Tradition And Their Identity, Like Any Form Of Change Must Cohabit Multiple Identities And Here The Festival Does Not Clash With The Religious Institutions Of Dimasas. The Festival Reinforces A 'Dimasa Community' With Participation From Hasao, Hawar, Dembra, Dijuwa Regions And In A Way Reinforces Benedict Anderson's Idea Of The 'Imagined Political Community'- That The Power Of Nationalism Goes Far Beyond The Dialectical Relation Of Culture To The Political Economy, But Focuses On How People 'Imagine' Their Relations To Those With Whom They Have No Direct And Daily Interaction( Pandya 2009:2-3)

Another View Is That The Festival Since It Is Managed And Performers Representing Their Culture Are Invited Which Is Funded Partially By Government Funds For Food, Travel And Accommodation Many Feel It Would Be Otherwise Impossible To Organize Or Attend The Festival. But What Is Significant In The Discussion Is The Attempt To Construct A National Dimasa Culture That Is Conjunctural: Between Different Diverse Local Expressions And The Manner In Which The State Is Attempting To Consolidate And Fix The Image Of The Social Life Of The Dimasas As National Essence. What The Autonomous Council In Collaboration With Other Stake Holders Is Attempting To Do Through The Festival Is To Provide For Both The Performer And The Audience, A Chance To View And Experience A Mini- Cultural Universe Emblazoned Through The Depiction Of Selective Practices That Attempt To Market A Heritage. Therefore, A 'Dimasa Culture' Is Depicted Superceding Local Variants, Which Is A Product Of The Entanglement Between The Local And National Mediated Through The Dima Hasao Autonomous Council And It Goes Beyond The Festival Including Performances, Cultural Road Shows, Tribal Festivities That Underpin The Interaction Between Performance- Mostly Dimasa Traditional Dances- Capitalism And Social Identities. These Interactions Are Advantageous Because It Allows The State To 'Manage' A Dimasa Cultural Community Image Through A Rereading Of History That Is Restored Back Into Tradition And Then Generates The Idea Of 'National Patrimony' (Garcia Canclini 1995). The Inaugural Programme Of The Festival Since Its Inception Had

'Baidima' (A Group Dance Of Community Participation Of Around 300 Dancers And Around150 Drummers). There Is Also The Performance Of 'Baijaba' Which Was Precariously Almost An Extinct Dance Form Was Revived And Performed At The Festival. Baijaba Literally Means War-Dance And Is Characterized By Dancers Imitating Movements Of Conflict With 'Dao' In Hand. 'Baigrah' (Dance Of The Elderly) Is Another Dance Form Of *Res Militaris*, vol.13, n°3, March Spring 2023

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Mass Participation Of Elderly Women That Was Revived And Performed By The Women Of Dibarai Mahila Samiti. 'Baimaijai' Performed By Students Of Rinkhu Damsa Institute Is A Dance Form Originally Seen Amongst The Dimasas Residing In Nagaland (Dijuwas) But Has Now Gained Recognition And Acceptance As Dimasa Mainstream Dance Performed By All.

Nestor Garcia Canclini Suggests That The Staging Of Patrimony Must Be Dramatized Through Cultural

Ritualisation That Provides It Political Force (1995: 109). This Broad Theoretical Point That He Draws From His Work In Mexico And Latin America Is Useful In This Context Because The Uses Of History And Tradition Are Very Much About Representing Dimasa Identity Through The Consensus Of Culture (Playing Into The Exotic Image) Which Is Then Produced Into Cultural Artefacts And Transformed Into Goods To Be Consumed At Official Calendars, Museums, Souvenir Shops, Websites, Video And Musical Productions And Books.

The Last But Important View Generally Centres On What The Festival Represents. Is It An 'Authentic' And 'Genuine' Projection Of Dimasa Culture Or Does It Fail In This Regard? For Some The Festival Is 'Invented Out Of Thin Air' A Cultural Show That Is Empty Husk Done Up In A Banal Presentation As Nothing More Than Kitsch. That Serves A Highly Commercialized Superficial Understanding Of Culture (Stockhausen 2008) But Can Culture Be Interpreted In Set Principles? What Are The Parameters And Boundaries? It Appears As If The Dimasa Culture Is Expected To Perform In A Prescribed Manner That Incorporates Certain Repertoires Of Accepted Criteria, To Avoid Being Superficial. Such A View Perhaps Comes With An Ideological Position That Carries An Expectation Of Something To Be 'Done Properly'. The Result Being A Construction Of A Self-Image That Has Not Much Connection With The Culture They Live In. The Question Then Arises Can Culture Be A Terrain That Is Enclosed In Set Boundaries With Neat And Tidy Order? The Problem Presented Here Deals With What Culture Entails And How It Is Deployed In Different Contexts. Can There Be A Normative, Authentic And Pure Form Of Culture? It Appears That The Dimasas Have Many Strands To Culture, Making It Fragmentary Or What Bhabha Calls 'Hybrid'.

### Authenticity Of Image And Inauthenticity Of Practise

The Notion Of The Hybridity Of Culture Does However Clash With The 'Outside' Image Of The Dimasas. For Instance, Some Tourists Who Came To The Festival Wanted To View Some Form Of Authentic Dimasa Life And Culture But The Festival Failed In This Regard In Its First Editions Held At Dibarai. Gunjung As The Venue Had More Of The Rustic Rural Real Dimasa Culture With Its Traditional Houses Made Of Wood, Bamboo, Thatches And Tin Roofs. People Still Used Traditional Tools Like Thingi, Shamto Rimin, Maijai, Khamplu, Dikhangkra, Longkhai, Khaojeb Etc In Their Households That Were Exhibited In Stalls At The Festival. People Still Wore Traditional Clothes In Their Normal Days While Engaged In Day-To-Day Work Which Was Not The Norm Anymore In The More Urban Setting Of Dibarai Where Houses Are Mostly Modern Concrete, Concrete Metalled Roads, And People Are Used To Technologically Quite Advanced Tools In Their Daily Lives Like Computers, Digital Cameras, Washing Machines And Mp3 Players. For Some Outsiders Gunjung Had More Authentic Culture.

Perhaps What The Tourist From Abroad Was Questioning Was The Significance Behind Abandoning Traditional Clothes For Modern Western Ones Or Was It To Signify That One Is Better Than The Other In Terms Of Value? Or Does It Simply Signify That Traditional Clothes Are Too Expensive To Afford To Be Worn Daily? Or Is It To Blend In With The Crowd? The Tourists Come Searching For The 'Authentic' Dimasa But Are Only Really



Interested In What Is Considered More Traditional. The Question Is Why Is This 'Tribal' Image More Authentic Than Someone Who Wears Western Clothes When Such Nice Clothes Are Practical And Have Social Status? Dimasas In Fact Themselves Do Not Want To Dissuade The Tourists Of This Misconception Since It Is To Their Disadvantage, Both In Terms Of Of Trade From Tourism, And In Terms Of Representing Themselves In A Global World Where Indigeneity Has Become Such An Important Signifier For Identity.

### Cultural Branding: Aesthetics And Histor

The Judima Festival Is Attempting To Create A Local Economy Aware Of The Market Potential For Dimasa Artefacts Especially Judima, While Carving A Distinct Voice For Dimasa Unity. This Trend Can Be Viewed From A Perspective Of Branding Cultural Identity (Aronczyk 2007). For The Point In Discussion Another Annual Event Initiated In The Year 2015 Is The Dimasa Youth Forum Which Was Formed By Young Dimasa Professionals Working All Over The World Who Came Together Under This Forum Aimed At Bringing The Emerging Young Generation Into A Forum For Conversations And Activities That Would Pave A Vision And Roadmap For Development And They Also Organize Annual Dimasa Youth Festival .These Events Have 'Sindai' (Flag) Hoisted On The Occasion And The Flag Has Preservation And Dissemination Of Traditional Motifs Of 'Nodrang' (Symbolizing Knowledge)It Speaks Of The Inherent Trait Of The Dimasa's Association With Protection Of Land. Juxtaposed Against 'Nodrang' Are Two Murees (Musical Instrument) Symbolizing Aesthetics, Art And Culture. These Are Powerful Images Of Influence And Impact. The Local Production Of Dimasa Aesthetic Objects Like Arts And Crafts Brand A Particular National Identity As An Efficient Vehicle To Carry And Mirror Local Culture. Moreover, Since National Identity Can Be Closely Tied In With The Performing Arts And Aesthetic Culture, The Dimasas Are Ever More Conscious Of Incorporating Art Into The Context Of Nationalism. These Festivals And The Proliferation Of Artistic Activities Strongly Promote Such A Position.

Although Such A Proposition Can Be Viewed Within A Strong Capitalist Economy Of 'Image' Branding, It Is Most Likely An Image To Project A Distinct Dimasa Identity That Is Different To The World, While Also Promoting A Sense Of Ownership And History To The Outside World. The Branding Of 'Culture' Operates Within The Framework Of The Larger Indian Panorama And There Are Apparent Contradictions About How This Process Unravels. For The Larger Indian Culture, These Represent The Diversity Of India And These Activities Open Up Possibilities For Tourism And Economic Liberalization. For The Dimasas, Their Distinctiveness Only Creates The Community's Identity. Therefore, Not Only Are The Elite Of The Community Able To Usurp These Activities To Promulgate A Cultural Identity That Creates Unique Histories, But At The Same Time, The Uneven Distribution Of Power And How These Representations Are Being Co-Opted Is Giving Rise To Fissures, And DisempoweringThose From The Rural Areas Who Are Largely Required To Produce 'Culture' On Demand.

In Light Of This, It Is Attractive To Visualize The Dimasa Community Through The Prism Of Its Attempts At Portrayals Of Unity And Diversity. But As A Prominent Dimasa Scholar Dr S Hasnu Questioned In A Social Media Forum,'

'In A Single Year We Had A Workshop On Dimasa Dictionary And Grammar By Dimasa Literary Elite Society And Jadikhe Naisho Hoshom At Maibang, We Had All Dimasa Student's Union's Foundation Day At Kalashetra. The Events Had The Words 'Dimasa' And 'All Dimasa'. So, What Is The Difference? Then We Had Dimasa Youth Festival At Maibang Which Aimed At Bringing All Dimasas Into One Platform. And Jnh Contemplated That There



Won't Be Dima Bushu Celebration Because There Were Too Many Occasions Of Communal Participation Already'. What Is Happening With Our Dimasa Community?

The Irony Is Bushu Is The Original Traditional Harvest Festival That The Dimasas Have Been Celebrating Since Time Immemorial And It Was The Celebration Of Dima Bushu Central Celebration That Was Conceived As The Biggest Extravaganza Festival Where All Dimasas Congregate For Festivities And Celebrations Of Their Culture.

The Festival Symbolizing Unity Itself Belies The Internal Complexities And The Social Realities That Embody The Dimasa People. Clearly There Are Differences In The Internally And Externally Generated Conceptions Of Community Identity. If The Intent Of The Judima Festival, And Its Image Of The Dimasas Is To Achieve A Desired Economic End And Define Their Cultural Geography By Getting The Geographical Indicator For Their Most Prized Judima, Then Its Cultural Brand Functions Successfully For External Consumption. Yet, If We Want To Conceive The Dimasa Community In Its Complexities Of National Formation 'As An Ethno- Historical Project, As A Palimpsest Of Discoveries And For Interpretations Of The Past, As A Site Of Ongoing Contention And Struggle, As A Receptable Of Heritage, Or As A Multiplication Of Identities- All Of Which Make Up A Nation's Distinctive Culture-Then Conceiving Nationalism In Terms Of A Brand Identity Is A Lopsided Incomplete Project. (Aroncyzk 2007:123)

Aroncyzk's Remarks That Nationalism And' Brand Identity' Represent Only A Partial Project When It Comes To The Complexities Of Envisioning National Identity And That Seems To Be True In The Case Here. Also, Not All Dimasas Seem To Ascribe To The Image Of One Universal Community That Supercedes All Other Local Variants. The Conception Of A Community However Can Have Differing And Uneven Ideas- Which Does Not Mean That The Community Is Any Less' Real'. Images Can Act As A Powerful Metaphor For Representing 'Unity' And Indeed Incorporate The Arts As A Central Motif. While Images Of The Dimasas, Through Portrayals Of 'Bodies In Traditional Attire' Create Nostalgia For Tourists, Such Exotic Bodily Representation Can Equally Act As A Powerful Tool Of Resistance And Protest (Kikon 2009: 95). These Notions Seem To Suggest That A Distinct Dimasa Cultural Identity Is Being Shaped In And Through The Festivals. And Its Cultural Branding Projects A Global Identity Of Indigeneity Which Can Encompass Hybrid Authenticity And Aid In The Formation Of Cultural Identity Of Communal Participation.

### **Conclusion**

In Conclude The Representation And The Performance Of Identity Have Significant Historical And Contemporary Formations. Viable Continuities Exist Between The Colonial And Post-Colonial Situations, And One Must Appreciate The Way Images, Once Deployed For Colonialism's Purpose, Continue To Shape The Current Landscape As An Attractive Medium For Tourism And Identity In The Global Arena. This Is Especially True Of The Dimasas Too Where Images And Material Cultures Collected For Anthropological Ethnographic And Imperial Purposes To Understand' Subject Races Still Persist Subsequently; These Images Circulated And Produced A Lasting Representation Of Them As Primitive. Even Today, The Feeling Of Imperialist Nostalgia Continues To Be A Link To The Paternalistic And Colonial Representation Of The Dimasas.

However, Through Such Representation Continues The Dimasa Use Of The 'Exotic' Image To Portray A Certain Idea Of Themselves Through The Performance Of Identity That On One Hand Attracts Tourists To Their Place And On The Other Allows Them To Shape A *Res Militaris*, vol.13, n°3, March Spring 2023



Distinct National Culture Which Has Larger Purchase In Today's Global Arena Of Glorifying And Highlighting Indigenous Identities. The Question That Emerges Is, What Sort Of Dimasa Culture Emerged Through The Interaction Of The Local And The Global? The Notion Of Cultural Hybridity That Melds 'Tradition 'And The 'Modern' Not As Opposing Forces In Competition, But As Complementary Is The Answer As Bhabha Puts It In 'The Location Of Culture' (1994)'.." Race Is Luminal, Always In Process, Shifting, Transformational And Colonial Identities Are Always Defined In Relation To A Marginalized, Excluded Other- The Colonized Or Colonial Territories. Colonial Identity Thus Both Draws Upon And Represses The Other; Denigration And Denial Of The Other Is Fundamental To The Imagined Survival Of The Colonizer". Bhabha Contends That Psychic Exclusion Of The Excluded Other Never Really Succeeds And The Repressed Unconscious Returns To Derail Western Orderings Of Power, And This For Bhabha Is Nowhere More Evident Than In Colonial Strategies Of 'Hybridization 'And 'Mimicry'. The Attempt To Imitate, Copy Or Blend Racialised Identities Must Necessarily Come Unstuck According To Bhabha, Because Colonized Subjects Are In Fact Different From Those Who Advance The Strategies Of Colonial Power. The' Ambivalence Of Colonialism' Enables A Capacity For Resistance Throughout Colonized Cultures; Through Performative 'Mimicry' Of The Colonizer, The Colonized Are Able To Preserve Some Hidden Or Pure Aspect Of Themselves Under The Sign Of An Authorized Identity.(Anthony Elliot:2010).

Whatever One Makes Of Bhabha's Ideas From The Lofty Heights Of European Post-Structuralism And The Charges Of Elitism And Elitist Language, There Has Been A Powerfully Engaged Particular Politically Informed Psychoanalytic Critique Of Post Colonialism, One That Deploys Concepts Of Hybridity, And Mimicry Apart From Liminality To Challenge Neo Colonial Forms Of Political Power Over The Colonized Third World And To Deconstruct Imaginary Constructions Of National And Cultural Identity. The Colonial Tendency To Essentialise Culture As The 'Bearers Of Historically Continuous Traditions' Is Contested And An Argument For Relations Between Cultures That Are Constantly Changing And Evolving, Involving Creative Hybrid Interactions Of Various Cultural Identities Is Suggested. The Theme Of Equal Respect For Cultures Has Emerged Drawn In Part From Derrida's Speculation On The Centrality Of Hospitality To Justice And Freedom.

Hybrid Cultures Produce New Forms Of 'Authenticity' That Do Not Yield To Normative Values Of What Exactly Is' Traditional' And 'Modern'. Instead, They Appeal To Innovative Techniques That Creates New Histories And Cultures. 'The Dimasa Culture Shouldn't Be Parochial But Global And Dimasas Need To Survive And Find Themselves In This Modern World' As Quoted By B. Kemprai, One Of The Key Members Of The Organizing Team Of Judima Festival. The Opinion That This Hybrid Representation Is Used Strategically By The Dimasas Resonates With The Notion Of Craig Calhoun (1997) That The Idea Of A Nation Increasingly Helps Communicate A Sense Of Belonging In The World System. However, The Issue Of What Exactly Connotes Authentic Is Amplified By Certain Representations Of The Dimasas And The Tourist Is Confounded When They Encounter A Difference Between What Dimasa Culture Should Be And What Is 'On The Ground'. This Tension Will Prevail As Long As These Visuals Circulate The Public Space. The Dimasas Are Constantly Negotiating What Represents 'Authentic' Culture As They Keep Remembering Their Own Past. A Difficult Task Sometimes As They Even Repeatedly Rely On External Agents To Revive Memories With Use Of Tangible And Intangible Cultural Heritage. Re-Using Old Designs Of Clothes And Jewellery To Wear As Ethnic Clothes And Give Others As Authentic Heritage Objects, Reviving Old Song And Dance Forms, All These Unleased The Memory Of The Past And These Archival Materials Are Embodying And Performed Through

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The Curious Process Of Mimesis. What Future Cultural Change May Bring Remains To Be Seen. Reitereting Clifford's Point Again, Local Structures Produce Histories, And Give Rise To National Culture, Rather Than Simply Yielding To 'History'. According To Parker (1997) Culture Is Viewed As A 'Critical Factor Affecting Economic Development, Demographic Behaviour And General Business Policies. This Chapter Has Attempted To Give Few Insights Into The Complexities Of How A Community Culture Can Emerge While Demonstrating That The Parameters Of Dimasa Culture Are Constantly Evolving To Represent The Complex Global Space Of Cultural Connections.

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