

SOCIETY THROUGH THE LENSES: VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE KALAI TRIBE FROM TRIPURA, NORTHEAST INDIA

by

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Abstract

This article uses photographs to explore the Kalai Tribe of Tripura in northeastern state of India. With the invention of camera, photography became a major tool in composing and presenting of a confrontation between self and external cultural styles. In this confrontation, visual elements are used as visual marker of explicit. It stood variously for social structure, economic status, religion, rituals and customs. In the dominant discourses, Kalai tribe in particular is singled out to represent these characteristics. Photographs of the Kalai reveal politics of social and cultural dynamics that is illustrated by exploring three themes: enforced realism, enforced sociability, and cultural imperialism of the dominant. The study links these photographs with wider discussions about romantic views of the exotic representations, not just by academicians but also by outsiders, about development and minority rights. It is argued that the case of this state of Northeast India is particularly instructive because here a politics of culture and belonging can be seen to have underpinned deeply intrusive policies of development, oppression, expulsion and social exclusion. Message carried by an image is relevant to particular time, place and event. The study looks at Kalai society through photographs and critically analyzed its representation and perception as construct. Subject captured by camera acts as medium that influentially revealed the Kalai society in Tripura. Photographs are found to be effective in highlighting social dynamics of the Kalai and its changing characteristics in several years. The study critically reveals that camera has the potential to sustain culture, and its images are visualized in the culture of politics and one cannot understand subject outside politics. The study gives scope for further research and concludes by making few suggestions.

Key words: Kalai, iconic visuals, political images, subjectivity, and cultural dynamics.

INTRODUCTION

In Tripura and other northeastern India, like elsewhere, history writing has preferred heavily on written sources, and the inherent biases have been towards the views of those who manned the state, the ruling classes, and the press. Many communities therefore are marginalized due to the

biasness of certain writers leading to discontentment among the communities creating further conflict and problems in the region.

Every community is born with its own unique and distinct *features, language, culture etc.* In the northeastern region of India we see many microscopic communities disappearing with every passing day and this is because of the dominant of bigger community and popular languages over the small. In view of Palagumi Sainath a journalist, “*each time a language disappear, a community die and each time a community die one of our civilization dies.*” It is general accepted fact that seeing is believing and believed in what we see; we see what we are asked to see and what the society asked us to see (Kalai, Cinema as an effective tools for teaching human rights issues, 2014). In this context images are referred to visual elements captured by the camera. Seeing comes before words (Berger J. , Ways of Seeing, 1972). Photographs established our place in the world and we explain most of our world through images.

The early photographs of the Kalai reveals *they are rich* in culture and traditions and it is believed that they are one of the oldest tribes found in Tripura. There are seven sub clans under the Kalai tribe: *Wabur, Waplom, Rwjgui, Bukang, Chorai, Abel and Kusu.* A picture is said to be worth more than thousand of words, but we need to know how to read these images to gain understanding of it at all. Looking at the physical appearance of the Kalai through photographs they appear to be fair skinned and identified by tiny eyes, flat noses and round plumpy faces. Photography language of the *Kalai* reveals them to be very active and hard working. While studying visuals of particular community early historians of Northeast India have always subjected their material to critical scrutiny in order to limit these biases (SCHENDEL, 2002). There was an attempt to ‘read between the lines’, to search out concealed meanings and discourses in the northeastern India. Non-written bases of material on Tribal history of northeast India come in several forms and voices.

While translating the antique subject on various elements of Kalai society such as *music, songs, stories and other ‘verbal’ texts, the investigator's ears become a primary research tool, on the other hand visual materials: pictographic, statuette and photography provides evidences to his or her eyes.* In the case of drama, dance, food, or fabrics several senses are brought into play at the same time (SCHENDEL, 2002). Photographs of the Kalai tribe allow using a wider range of

sensory information about their social dynamics: *religious conversion, economic position, lifestyle, social establishments, housing types etc.*

This paper is entirely based on photographs. Historians like Mary Price in her book described photographs as a '*strange, confined space*'. Photographic descriptions such as caption, title, text, deeply illustrate and influenced our understanding of society in northeast India. The use of photographs by researchers is not new. In many studies photographs are included to support the written text that allows the reader to form mental images generated by texts with visual ones. Photographs are retained as graphics, clearly assistant to the write up and not subjected to categorical source condemnation.

There are many books on historical photography in northeast India and South Asia but most of them focus on the magnificence of elite and royalty; less is covered for the marginalized community such as Kalai tribe of Tripura, Northeast India and the subject of photography were mainly portraying the life of the upper class, the reason was simple as common man could not afford to pay the cost of camera earlier. Yet there were few photographs of the marginalized that contain a treasure of evidence on socio-political life and social relations of the Kalai tribes in Tripura with other states of Northeast India.

Photographs are effective to convey the right messages as it portray reality. Photographs of the Kalai captured by camera mirror reality, and both reality and messages are unchanging. The study tries to find out how the photographs of the Kalai are effective in portraying its society. It is important to study the effectiveness of the photographs and the subjects in order to build the relationship between the camera and Kalai tribe through photographs. The study of Kalai society through photographs will find suitable place, as photography literacy has become one of the fundamental goals in academics and communication in general. There are several questions designed in order to establish the relationship between the camera and the Kalai tribe. It is important to understand the concept of the *tribe, traditions, culture, social issues, problems and politics* of the Kalai through the photographs in Tripura. Photography is not a magic wand that will remove poverty, social discrimination and other socio-economic problems of a developing society at one stroke (Banerjee, 1976). Photography by itself is not powerful to bring changes but they are very effective communication tool in visualizing human society, issues and problems.

OBJECTIVES

The study attempts to critically look at the selected photographs of the Kalai in establishing the relationship between the photographs and Kalai society. This study undertakes a look at the social discourse of the Kalai in Tripura through photographs. The study aims to clarify whether photographs have the potential to highlight socio-politics of the Kalai and critically attempt to find if camera has potential to sustain any culture. It also aims to study the power of the camera in the process. It shall try to find out scopes for further research. There are certain specific objectives framed as question to be answered:

- 1. How the selected photographs relate the Kalai society of Tripura in Northeast India?*
- 2. How the selected photographs are perceived?*
- 3. Are we able to read the selected photographs and does the pictures speak about the Kalai tribe? How the Kalai tribe of Tripura is portrayed?*
- 4. What does the photographs of the Kalai speak about? How does it speak? How symbols and objects in the photographs become part of language?*
- 5. How effective are the photographs in highlighting the issues and problems of the Kalai tribe in Tripura?*

Methodology

The study has selected several photographs of the Kalai tribe on purposive sampling method. Various photographic contents are critically studied in order to relate the photographs and Kalai society. The study preferred to conduct content analysis as content analysis is based on number of rules and procedures that are systematically followed to analyze the images or text to be reliable to interpret. Content analysis offer clear method for engaging systematically with large numbers of images (Rose, Content Analysis: An Assessment, 2012). Certain visuals analysis theories are applied in order to build relationship between the photographs and the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India in order to make interpretations possible. The concern of selecting coding and analysis of large numbers of photographs require rigor and constancy.

A systematic framework is developed based on the selected photographs. Firstly images captured (whether images are of the Kalai tribe of Tripura); the photographs themselves: which is the

content and the messages and tools the tribe and the site where the photographs encounter the Kalai tribe of Tripura, Northeast India. The first part of the study discusses the framework of the selected photographs and Kalai tribe. The second looks at ways of understanding society through various photographic elements. The third looks at the approaches to these materials and elements of photographs. The fourth examines the photographs through interdisciplinary approaches of textual analysis: These theories are applied in order to draw a conclusion while establishing the photographs and the Kalai society. Studying culture and community can be done in many ways, and all of them produce a partial and colorful result. Selected photographs are presented at the end of the article with references to those placed in between the text.

Photographs and the Kalai society

How photographs can relate itself to Kalai tribe of Tripura, Northeast India and society? That's an important question to be answered; there are many answers and studies conducted based on photographs. In this article we consider photographs of the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India what is now surrounded by Bangladesh on three sides.

The Maharaja of Tripura, Bir Chandra Manikya (1862-1896), was one of the pioneers of photography in India. Photography in Tripura and Northeast India began with daguerreotypes from the mid-1850s. Early photographs of Tripura and Northeast India are available at British Library in London. It is to be noted that photography in Northeast India started shortly after the British in Indian subcontinent occupied the region.

Photographically speaking, Tripura has many stories to tell through the lenses but most of them are for the elite; it was until the mid of 20th century and early 21st century that photography became a common tool for the marginalized in Tripura and northeast India so was for the Kalai tribe. Since then photographers began to make their mark on the life of the tribes in northeast India. None of the legendary professional photographers of British India were active in photographing the marginalized Kalai tribe of the region, there were hardly any camera owned by the Kalai for their existence itself was in question and local ruling elite was extremely confined.

Nevertheless the Northeast India today attracted few anthropologists and tourists to study the tribes of Tripura, not surprisingly photography of the Kalai tribe was ever used in writing history

of the Kalai, rather few images are kept in museum with traditional attire like an extinct creature and never developed into an art form for the Kalai; hardly any photographs of the Kalai tribe in Tripura could be found in the great stockshistorical photography in Northeast India.

All the photographs on which this article is based have been collected from private collections of the Kalai. But photographs of the Kalai tribe are interesting not only because they allow us to explore the world of representation of certain non-elite social categories. They are of particular interest because they make it possible to document visually the enormous social changes, which followed post democratization of Tripura in Northeast India. So far, analytic studies of photography in the region have shown a marked tendency to focus on either royalty or social and political movement photography but not of the everyday life of the marginalized tribe.

Attempts have been made to consider and examine the relationship between the Kalai tribe and Photography representation, to study how photography engaged itself in novel ways in writing histories of the Kalai tribe in the region, or to document social trends, which crossed the divide.

In this article, social change is an important characteristic visualized from photographs. It marks a sudden shift in political relations and social structure of the Kalai, resulting in the revival of a way of understanding changing society due to dominance of other culture and religion. Human

[Please refer to :Figure 3: Traditional Ritual prior to wedding ceremony \(Lampra Wathop\) \(2015\)](#) society can be studied by means of analyzing the images through systematic coding and inferring in the case of building relationship. In this situation, pictures can be said to be in a journey, with their own 'careers' unfolding in the context of their movement through the *time (history), space: social, economic, political, symbolic spheres and use: construction of meaning*(Butcher, 1999). Observing Kalai tribe in Tripura through lenses within pictorial landscape provides a creative platform from which the complexity of social dynamics can be approached and contextualized. Images constructed by social activity, relationships between the Kalai and Tripura, power theory; individual and [Figure 4: Kalai man and Hrangkhwl woman, inter tribe Christian Couple \(2010\)](#) collective perceptions are implicit of cultural dynamics and politics as well. We derive meaning from visual media by using a perspective oriented by belief, common sense and local everyday practice in which visual codes play an important role(Butcher, 1999).

The Kalaiin Tripura, Northeast India through photographic representations is perceived in codified narratives and linked to a local cultures and the question remains on who creates these images and how what is constructed is read by whom. The photographs depicts that *Kalais* are simple, peace loving, and resides in remote places of Tripura in the earlier days but in the present day they have started migrating in all parts of the region, nation and the globe. It is difficult to mention the origin of the Kalai as a tribe, since there are many narratives about the history and origin about them. This article will look precisely on the social dynamics of the Kalai through photographs. It is indeed a fact against simple assertion of all works of art as ‘*ends in themselves*’, that a major part of modern cultural production is commercially organized, and at least some work has from the beginning this commercial intension (Williams, 1989).

Reading Kalai society through Images:

“An image is a sight, which has been recreated or reproduced. It is an appearance or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance.”

Every image is constructed from certain viewpoint, a particular way of seeing by someone that has been selected from infinity of other possible ways. The image that we encounter are visual representation not of everyday real life, but forms that our culture has defined visible. The old customs, beliefs, traditional are changing every time by the influence of and close contact with neighboring large number of people. Culture is dynamic so also the cultural life of the Kalai tribe

[Figure 5: song and dance in everyday life \(2010\)](#)

[Figure 6: The last ritual for the decease \(2005\)](#)

is
also

changing by the degrees. The photographs revealed that the Kalai preserved the original elements of their traditional culture even till date through these changes. The changes of their culture,

[Figure 7: The Kalai in the field \(2005\)](#)

[Figure 8: Kalai woman harvesting jhum \(2005\)](#)

economy, religion and social life have occurred in three stages. The first stage occurred due to the influence of environment residing for a long time with neighbouring Tripuris and can be said as inter-tribal acculturation. The second stream of acculturation has taken place due to the influence of plain living non-tribal people and this can be said as tribal non-tribal acculturation. The third stage of acculturation is the outcome of the influence of western culture and Christian

religion and this may be considered as the influence of the west. Scholar like P.N. Bhattacharjee opined that, “*modern education, urban life, cinema, other advance culture and governmental development efforts have assisted to make an overall change in their life pattern.*” There has been a gathering awareness nearly everywhere of the lines between cultures, the divisions and differences that not only allow us to discriminate one culture from another(Said, 1993), but also enable us to see the extent to which cultures humanly made structures of both authority and participation, benevolent in what they include, incorporate, and validate, less benevolent in what they exclude and demote. Many theorists like Crimp, have argued that it is in the realm of photography that postmodernism in the visual arts has really blossomed(Woods, 2011). In the pictorial representations of the people of the Kalai tribe in Northeast India, outsiders have often

Figure 9: The Traditional administrative system of the Kalai stereotyped simple agriculture community.

They are struck by the stereotypical mindset that the Kalai tribe mainly depends on agriculture for their living and this is considered to signify primitivism, closeness to nature but tends to relate with barbarism and savagery; the economic life of the Kalai mainly based on agriculture but not confined to it. They cultivate land by slash and burn method and by ploughing with bullock. The traditional methods of cultivation of the Kalai tribe became objects of scientific study while other community uses fertilizer, insecticide, and high yield variety of crops. It is important to identify common human traits in different cultures and agriculture can be one of them and there may be many such similarities. By reducing ‘primitive’ people one cannot simply take photographs of any people to study the Kalai society: one has to prepare them for the photographic subject in thematic manner of social context. There is a need to identify the Kalai beyond their ‘tribal’. Some of the educated and rich Kalai are incline to increase their individual property and as result class of society has grown up in the old classless Kalai society from the economic point of view. With the environmental changes the political ideals of the Kalai too have changed. They are now under the direct influence of mainstream political parties. This leads to confrontation of ideals between a section of modern educated youths and conservative minded old, experienced section of people in regard to their social management. The traditional administrative system of the Kalai society is seen to maintain social discipline and the individual entity of the Kalai society with their own judiciary system.

Photographs in *figure 9* shows the seven stages administrative and judiciary system of the Kalai.

It is to be noted that self-governing institution of the Kalai is functioning from time immemorial facing much storm and stress in different times. According to DaniCavallaro, “*Images contribute vitally to our sense of who we are and to our daily negotiations with the world.*” In the tradition of western culture it is said that images are meant to mirror reality. In these situation images of the Kalai show *reality and authenticity* about them and reality will remain unchanging.

Making sense visually makes real sense in general and visual communication in particular; visual adds more meaning to verbal communication. Pictures had always been considered, to be critical element of evidence by the historians that hold up a mirror to past events. Looking Kalai tribe through lenses in Tripura, Northeast India’s scenario suit best, to say this is not to deny the expressive or imaginative quality of art, treating it as mere historical evidence; the more imaginative the work, the more profoundly it allows us to share the artist’s experience of the visible(Berger J. , Ways of Seeing, 1972).

The way we see the photographs of the Kalai tribe are to be noted that influence of Christianity have oriented the manner and dealings of many sections of Kalaisociety. Many Kalaihave converted to Christianity and embraced the religion as a result sharing contact with other tribes and in the process inter tribe marriage between the Kalai and other tribes have taken place replacing orthodox mindset with secular and broad lifestyle. Due to the influence of Christianity, many of the Kalai have underestimated their traditional pujas and festival. Kalai youths are inclined towards western music and they are influenced by western culture. These are perhaps understood because we have what we called visual culture in reading text or images. The use of the term visual culture refers to this plethora of ways in which the visual is part of social life(Rose, Visual Methodologies, 2012).

Reading on what actually those images are and how and why to study is not a question that can be just answered in one way. It required certain methodologies and reading photography itself **Figure 10: Modern Kalai Girl with her violin** and later we will find how these images are represented and understood. There are countless ways of conceiving images; methodological and theoretical discussions are taken by the success of interdisciplinary approaches in academics. There is a difference between analysis and interpretation, analysis generally is held to mean taking a text apart and considering how its various parts relate to one another(Kalai, Cinema as an effective

tools for teaching human rights issues and problems, 2014). Interpretation, on the other hand, involves the use of some method or discipline such as semiotic theory, psychoanalytic theory, or Marxist theory (Berger A. A., Essential of Mass Communication, 1995).

Analysis and discussion:

While analyzing the photographs it is important to understand the grammar of photographs such as angle of view, camera movements, camera angles and camera shots. The photographs of the Kalainarratethe representation of the changing society of Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast

Figure 12: Aged Kalai of 20th century

Figure 13: Young Kalai in 21st century

India

from traditional to western and gradual changing religion to Christianity by majority of the youths belonging to Kalai tribe.

There is a strong tendency to imitate Hindi and western tune in Kokborok song. Kalai society does not mean a mere representation of traditional stereotypical look. Being a tribe does not mean living in the jungle half naked or living the life of half civilized or identifying them between savagery and barbarism.

Whether one likes it or not, in the present global context of globalization and liberalization, privatization is no more a concept but a fact. As a result the Kalaitribe of Tripura too are influenced by modern civilization due to contact with town life and semi urban

Figure 11: Gospel Musical Concert by modern Kalaigirl and boy

markets. A mixed culture always contains the elements of the developed and the under developed culture. At the same time paradoxically, we have never been as aware as we now are of how oddly hybrid historical and cultural experiences are (Said, 1993). Who in India or America can confidently separate out the British or French component of the past from present actualities and who in the world can separate tradition with any community and tribe in exclusion? These are not nostalgically academic or theoretical questions, for as a brief excursion or two will ascertain, they have important social and political consequences.

Certain reform policies made by the government has affected many of the tribal communities in Tripura specially their *languages, religion, customs, economy, life style and culture*. In the era of globalization it is helpless to say that despite certain public welfare state support, some Kalai

continue to become poorer due to the impact of structural adjustment policies. All those who are poor are necessarily part of the socially excluded in a fundamental sense, though the latter constitute wider category(Nayak, 2012).

Securing property rights by the tribal in India has been a key part of modern Indigenous people's movements around the world; yet the tribes in India by all successive systems – royal, colonial or post-colonial, are regularly deprived of these rights(Kurup, 2014). The photographically captured social administration of Kalai tribe may be seen as inclusion of the theme, which lies beneath the surface of the visible politics of development and resistance in the Northeast India. In the study of tribal society, photographs can be powerful tools, particularly in the case of Tripura and Northeast India where other historical sources are relatively scarce.

It is often said that agriculture is that main source of occupation for the Kalai tribe of Tripura but it is not confined to this alone. Photographs of the Kalai shows how forest acts as natural resources hub for every kind of living. Bamboos are used in as many ways as there are hairs on our heads by the Kalai tribe in Tripura, Northeast India. Talking of the traditional religion of the Kalai tribe it is limited to rituals. Their religious functions generally occur as to get rid of sudden danger, unknown accident, illness and influence of evil spirits. The Kalai tribe in Tripura performs worship in different ways for different gods and goddesses on different occasions. The image of their gods and goddesses are made of bamboos. This may be assumed that bamboo has significant role in the life of the Kalai society since time immemorial and so for their faith. The picture, which emerges of the indigenous view of religion from historical sources of the early period, is rather different(Thapar, 1998).

The prevalent religious groups of the Kalai tribe in Northeast India as found in the photographs are the traditional orthodox, which is inclined to Hinduism and the new Christian fundamentalist. Thus Kalai society cannot be defined and categorized in terms of one single religion. The religious rituals of the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India as seen in the photographs are identical to other rituals practices found in other South East Asian countries. In different books Kalais are described as one of the sub tribes of the Halam Community of Tripura in Northeast India. However it is to be noted that there exist no striking similarities between the Kalai tribe of Tripura and any other sub tribe of the Halam community of Tripura in Northeast India. The

Kalaitribe of Tripura in Northeast India is socially excluded from the mainstreamthe main indigenous tribal group. A social exclusion and integration framework needs to be informed by notion of rights.

Ultimately, social integration, needs to refer to individuals' and groups' right to being integrated, to a society's products and values, leaving open possibility for contesting definitions and practices integration (Haan, 2008). The photographs of the Kalaibeautifully expressed and expression in the naturalistic sense simply lacks expression in the spiritual sense, that is to say, the very character of activity and of spirituality, and therefore the bipartition into the poles of beauty and of ugliness(Croce).

There are different opinions regarding the origin of the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India and very little is known thee are hardly any materials speaking about them. It has been said that there are structural similarity in various rituals practiced by people in different regions and other Southeast Asian countries and therefore shared myths and ritual patterns. The photographs established relationship between signifier and signified: the dresses of the bride and groom signified newly married couple. Here we can consider the visuals as signifier and the marriage as signified. Signs, we must recognize, take a number of different forms. Words, of course, are their most familiar form(Berger A. A., Media Analysis Techniques, 2012).

Traditionally the Kalai tribe in Tripura practiced intra-clan marriage system but society has changed and the Kalai of Tripura today can marry outside their community. The concept of old orthodox Kalai norms derived from social imaginaries. Our social imaginaries at any given time are complex. It incorporates a sense of the normal expectations that we have of one another, the kind of understanding, which enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life(CharlesTaylor, 2009). Analyzing *figure 9: the traditional administrative system of the Kalai tribe* of Tripura in Northeast India, we see a man dancing before the council. This could be humiliating for any individual to perform in a democratic set up.

Conclusion:

The photographs underlying this article are taken from the private collection of the Kalai tribe themselves represented in various ways, which share a fascination for their society. I have argued

Figure 17: Kalai youths in 1980s

Figure 18: Kalai youths in 2014

that in these photographs visuals served as a marker of a number of contradictory cultural traits: closeness to nature, authenticity, primitivism, modern, traditional society, global in nature and mixed society. But these photographs are of broader interest than just as representations of the tribe of northeast India in a particular corner of the world—in itself important enough complexities. They allow us to think and reflect on the nature of human society and the social dynamics of the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India.

Some of the recent photographs speak about the Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization in 21st century. The Kalai tribe is explained to be complex but natural in the cultural context. The influence of the current social situation on change in scientific structures is not limited to comprehensive theories like the Copernican system (Horkheimer, 2009). It is also true for special research problem in our daily life. Photographs have the rhetoric to convey Kalai tribe in the image through the lenses.

Camera has the potential to capture reality of life and society in realistic manner and the images represented are called as representation of reality. Visual rhetoric is the term used to describe the study of visual imagery within the discipline of rhetoric. Picture can say many things, they communicate if we read them, just as words communicate when we hear or read them and understand what they say. Not a single photograph is accompanied by spoken words yet they are very effective in communicating about of the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India. Photographs of the Kalai tribe create reality of the issues by representing what really exist in true sense. The complicated symbolism, which lies behind politics of Kalai society, need not concern the complexities. Photographs of the Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India has the potential in narrating the history of the Kalai tribe, their imagined place of origin, social structure and social dynamics in 21st century. These images are selectively constructed to build relationship between the Kalai tribe and their society in Northeast India.

The selected images of the Kalai are biased as it involve subject. Every photograph deals with the subject composed and composition of frame deals with exclusion and inclusion of the subjects and objects. The existence of exclusion and inclusion do with that of politics of selection; selectivity is part of cultural politics that we construct the image as Camera selectively exposed the images related with Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India.

The way we read photographs of the Kalai tribe also shaped our understanding of social dynamics of the Kalai. In a society, which has been under a development regime in 21st century, some of the Kalai tribe in Tripura is far advanced and some still remained backward; Their fault has been that they have not fully joined the 'mainstream' of social progress; they remained busy on the traditional social structure keeping themselves somewhat aloof from the rest of the world.

These photographs of the Kalai tribe links with debate in the Northeast India on indigenous peoples and their relationship with their respective state sponsored development. In this discussion, the concept of Kalai tribe of Tripura in Northeast India is redefined.

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FIGURES:



Figure: 1. Elderly member of Kalai tribe



Figure 3: Kalai in everyday life



Figure 2: Traditional Ritual prior to wedding ceremony



Figure 4: Kalai man and Hrangkhwl woman inter tribe Christian Couple



Figure 5: song and dance in everyday life (2010)



Figure 6: The last ritual for the decease



Figure 7: he Kalai in the field



Figure 8: Kalai woman harvesting jhum



Figure 9: Traditional Administrative System of the Kalai



Figure 10: Modern Kalai girl with her violin



Figure 11: Gospel Musical Concert by modern young Kalai girl and boys



Figure 12: Aged Kalai of 20th century



Figure 13: young Kalai in 21st century



Figure 14: Weaving bamboo basket

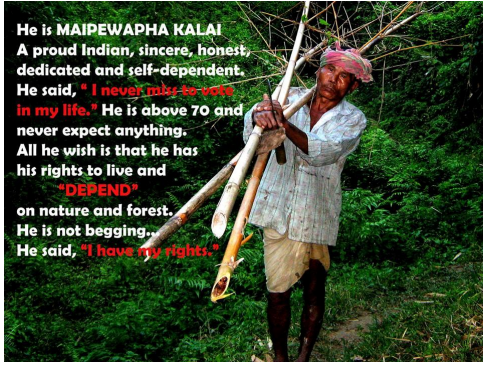


Figure 15: Forest as a source of life



Figure 16: traditional Kalai wedding

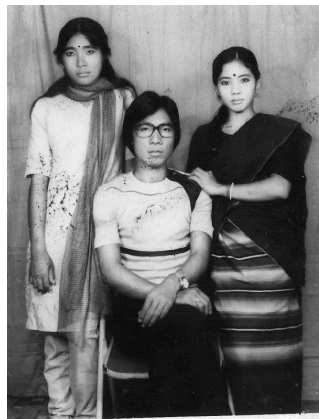


Figure 17: Kalai youths in 1980s



Figure 18: Kalai youth in 2014