



Adaptive Strategies of Indigenous Lotha Community: A Study of Doyang Dam Resettlement Area in Nagaland

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Abstract: Development-induced displacement resulted in the disruption of age-old ecological conditions among the indigenous populations worldwide. Indigenous communities who cherish a symbiotic relationship with their natural habitat were forced to evict due to the exploitation of rich natural resources in hydro-electric projects to cater to human beings' modern needs. The present study focuses on the Lotha-Nagas, from the state of Nagaland in India, who belong to the Doyang Hydro-electric project's resettled population in Wokha district, Nagaland. The study uses Michael Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model to analyse the adaptation process of the Lotha tribe in the resettlement area. The study's findings reveal that the displaced community faced challenges in terms of loss of livelihood opportunities in agriculture, imbalance in ecology, and poor transport and education facilities. This paper argues that in the process of resettlement, few elite families have become the most significant beneficiaries. In contrast, the ordinary people struggled in the resettled area, which further led to the community disarticulation despite occasional visits to their ancestral homes.

Keywords: Adaptation, Displacement, Doyang Dam, Lotha Nagas, Resettlement, Tribe.

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Introduction

Development-induced displacement resulted in the disruption of age-old ecological conditions among the indigenous populations worldwide. Indigenous communities who cherish a symbiotic relationship with their natural habitat were forced to evict due to the exploitation of rich natural resources in hydro-electric projects to cater to human beings' modern needs. Across the world, several millions of people were displaced and relocated to new settlements due to various development projects

of mining, heavy industries, large dams and forest conservation programs (Anil Kumar, 2009). Livelihood strategies and adaptation in the resettlement area become crucial in estimating development-induced displacement outcomes. Although large dams are controversial because of their disruptive effects on local communities and ecosystems, rapidly increasing energy demands have led to a new wave of large hydro-power projects planned and implemented (Bui, Schreinemacher & Berger, 2013). In India, the northeast region, which is rich in terms of vast hydro resources, has become the focal point for the development planners to build large dams to cater for the increasing demand for electricity supply in the country. In this study, the researcher examines the Doyang Hydroelectric project dam's impact on reconstructing and resettling the displaced population from the submerged villages.

Development-induced displacement leads to several disadvantages for the indigenous tribal communities in India. Studies have observed that it resulted in the deprivation of tribal communities in their access to common property resources, livelihoods, health, cultural deprivation and changes in the rural economy (Judge, 1997; Mehta, 2002; Tilt et al., 2008; Mathur, 2009). Other scholars highlighted the loopholes in the policies of resettlement and rehabilitation in terms of contradictions in the development model, flaws in compensation packages, stressing on legal reforms and improved legislation and the need for a policy dialogue before deciding on large dams (Sah, 1995; Kothari, 1996; Bandyopadhyay et al., 2002; Cernea, 2008). The question of who gets benefitted from the present development model is a highly debated issue worldwide. Further studies pointed out that the construction of large dams resulted in the transfer of resources from weaker sections to privileged ones, disparities in regional development, creating victims of development, especially among women and tribal communities In India (Parasuraman, 1993; Duflo & Pande, 2005; Mohanty, 2005). Northeast India has become a significant development focus in the last few decades to produce hydro-based energy from the region's vast natural resources. Studies from northeast India critically examined the impact of large dams in terms of land alienation and social and environmental impact among the indigenous communities while presenting the regional pattern of conflict around issues of culture, identity and indigenous rights (Fernandes, 2003; Menon, 2009; Vaghlikar & Das, 2010; Chowdhury & Kipgen, 2013).

The existing literature highlights the different aspects of development-induced displacement in policy loopholes, gender neglect, and physical and cultural disruption among the indigenous communities. Nevertheless, more empirical studies are required to understand the threats and risks these communities undergo

in the process of displacement. Knowing the role of different social actors within the community is crucial while facilitating new development projects becomes crucial.

Methods

This study aims to understand the impact of displacement due to dams' construction in the areas inhabited by the indigenous communities from the north-eastern part of India. The present study analyses the adaptive strategies of Lotha Nagas in the resettlement area regarding the socio-economic and cultural spheres of the affected community's lives. The region's people are closely associated with physical environments like land, forest and hills. All these elements of nature have been essential in maintaining their identity since time immemorial. Also, the natural environment plays a vital role in their lifestyle in terms of their economic survival. The present study attempted to analyse these dynamics due to the construction of the Doyang dam in Nagaland. The Doyang reservoir, situated in the Wokha district of Nagaland, is one of the largest reservoirs in India's north-east region, located at a distance of 30 km from the District Headquarters, Wokha.

The study focused mainly on the affected villages in the Project area under the district of Wokha in Nagaland. Lotha Nagas are the traditional inhabitants of the Wokha district. Out of thirteen affected villages amounting to 8420.41 acres, the two most affected villages in the territorial land loss were Pangti (2264.42 acres) and Changsu (1856.32 acres). Three villages as an offshoot from the native place, i.e., New Changsu (a new village created before the construction of the dam with settlers from Changsu village), Asha Village (a new village built after the construction of the dam with immigrants from Pangti village) and Ekhyoyan (new village created after the construction of the dam by the settlers from both Old Changsu and New Changsu village) were selected for the present study. The total number of respondents is 253, and they are chosen based on a stratified random sampling technique. The number of respondents corresponds to the total number of household coverage as the respondents were mainly the head of the family representing the household.

The present study selected the respondents by following the stratified random sampling technique. All the respondents are chosen from those mentioned above in the five affected villages of the project. These villages were selected as they were the most affected by displacement due to the construction of the Doyang Hydro Project. The study decided to draw the data on population and households from the official government census data of 2011, and a total of 253 respondents were selected for this study. The number of respondents from sample villages was drawn

from nine per cent to fifteen per cent, depending on the requirements of the study. The number of respondents corresponds to the total number of household coverage as the respondents were mainly the head of the family representing the household.

The data collection sources consist of observation, interviews, and questionnaires and secondary such as official reports and recorded statements, newspaper articles, archives, Journals, previously conducted research, assessments by scholars, government officials, etc. and documents. Interview schedules were designed and tested based on the information elicited by having both close and open-ended questions to the respondents (mainly the head of the family). The study has quantitative and qualitative data indicators in the interview schedule.

The present study used Michael Cernea's (2000) Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model while analysing the impact of displacement among the indigenous population due to the Doyang hydro-electric project, Nagaland. The present study attempts to understand the reconstruction of the displaced people in the resettlement area. The Components of reconstruction include the following: (a) from landlessness to land-based resettlement; (b) from joblessness to reemployment; (c) from homelessness to house reconstruction; (d) from marginalisation to social inclusion; (e) from increased morbidity to improved health care; (f) from food insecurity to adequate nutrition; (g) from loss of access to the restoration of community assets and services; and (h) from social disarticulation to networks and community rebuilding. This model helps us better understand how Lotha Nagas managed themselves to survive, sustain, and progress amid challenges posed in the resettlement process in the study area.

Major Findings

Landlessness To Land-Based Resettlement

The project affected households eventually moved to nearby areas searching for new land for cultivation. Based on traditional customary law, the village leadership took land distribution among all the affected families. The nature of land-based ownership in the new settlement is categorised into three types of ownership of land, i.e., individual, clan and village land. The last two types of land ownership reflect communal ownership, the core element of Lotha Naga tradition. Understanding the distribution of land within the clan or community holdings in the new settlement indicated that landholding by an individual is prevalent as long as they are a recognised landowner by purchase. At the same time, the institution of marriage

is further supplemented by a gift of land measuring up to 100-120 sq. ft from the clan/kin landholding to the newly married couples who fulfil the customary laws of the concerned range(circle of villages) or village. The distributions of clan land depend primarily on usage rather than actual ownership, as the clan land is open to any willing household for cultivation and farming purposes. Still, ownership remains to the collective clan or clan entity. Accordingly, the affected families started cultivating or growing plants or orchards in the new settlement after the displacement from their native villages.

Prospects in the resettlement area

The respondents from the new settlement near the project area enjoyed the benefits of the new environment, new location, new home, search for new lands for cultivation purposes, etc. The new settlements, as compared to the native lands, are located near the project area and close to the reservoir, which encouraged more fishing activities and new livelihood opportunities for the people from the new settlements. The respondents revealed that the new territory holds a bright scope for those interested in managing land resources via organic farms, plantation avenues like fruit orchards, timber, acra-palm, rubber plantations, and so on that are suitable to warm humidity and forest vegetation.

Challenges in the resettlement area

The connectivity had become a significant problem for the resettled households with the construction of the Doyang reservoir. The road connectivity of the two new settlements, i.e., Asha and Ekhyoyan villages, whereas Ekhyoyan village still lacks road connectivity. To reach the new village, one must take the route from either Wokha-Merapani road, estimated around 14 km from Wokha and reach the village by boat. The other way is to arrive at the fishers' hub/Juncture (Voro-Emen) located in the foothills of Pangti Village at 22 km and ply to the new settlement by boat. This situation has resulted in everyday struggles for the new colony's displaced population, i.e., Ekhyoyan village. The weather and humidity in the new settlements are much harsher than in the native lands. The nature of crops also varies from that of the native land. Few cases of crop failure have been reported in recent years due to the harsh weather conditions that resulted in crop infestation by insects due to the climate change due to the construction of the Doyang reservoir.

According to the respondents, villagers and farming communities are vulnerable to the threat on both land and homes due to the unpredictable passage tracks of wild

elephants that destroy everything in their way. This matter has threatened farming communities that depend entirely on their livelihood by cultivating the land. There have been cases where wild elephants destroyed fields and homes while crossing the wild forests.

Joblessness to Reemployment

Lothas traditionally depend primarily on agriculture for their survival. Most households in the affected area earn their livelihoods in agriculture and allied activities. This section explains gaining new employment opportunities among the local community after shifting to the resettlement area.

Most (94.1%) of the respondents did not have access to new job opportunities after the dam's construction. Only 5.9 per cent of the respondents had opined that they had access to new job opportunities after the dam's construction as an affected landowner. The Doyang Dam Project entailed job opportunities for the post of Grade IV cadre employment to the affected landowners; however, the continuation of this service in replacement of retirement by the landowner is no longer active or effective as promised by the project authorities in the beginning. Only a few households in the project-affected population could get employment in the Doyang Hydro Electric Project. Few others migrated to nearby urban areas and settled there, searching for better education facilities and new job opportunities. The latter households again belong to the affluent elite families who could afford to settle down in the towns. According to the respondents, farming and fishing activities have become significant livelihood opportunities for most homes in the resettlement area.

Table 1: Economic Improvement in the Resettlement Area:

Sl no	Village	Any Economic Improvement				Total
		Yes	%	No	%	
1	Pangti	54	32.9%	110	67.1%	164
2	Old Changsu	20	38.5%	32	61.5%	52
3	New Changsu	3	12.5%	21	87.5%	24
4	Asha	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10
5	Ekhyoyan	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3
Total		77	30.4%	176	69.6%	253

The above table explains that most (69.6%) respondents reported not making economic improvements after moving to the resettlement area. The remaining

30.4% of the respondents are in a better financial state; most belong to the employee category. The economic improvement varies depending on the socio-economic background of the households in the resettlement area. Economic factors that influenced the native people to leave their native place were mainly searching for job opportunities and other reasons like educational facilities, land purchase in urban areas, and a vision for future business investments. It is found that the affluent households' cash compensation was invested further in the urban areas, and they consider that their economic position has improved due to this.

On the other hand, those who settled near the Doyang reservoir and took up agriculture opined that there was not much economic improvement in their lives. The significant challenges faced by these people include the following: delay in the distribution of land in the resettlement area, channelling of sources for drinking water purposes, house-reconstruction, challenges of the initial stages for seeking and exploring new lands for cultivation and finally, the most severe problem was of transportation. This case discusses how cash compensations for the development projects result in varied outcomes among the displaced population.

Homelessness to House Construction

The study found that 31.2% of the respondents felt the need to construct a new house in the new settlement, while 68.8% did not have to build a new home in the new colony. Since they were located on the hilltops, submergence did not affect most houses. On the other hand, those who migrated to nearby towns built their new homes. The households with a less financial background who had ancestral land to look after constructed their new houses and cultivated the land in the new settlement.

Difficulties faced in the process of house reconstruction in the new area

The study found that 24.5% of the respondents faced challenges to housing reconstruction in the new settlement. In comparison, 75.5% opined that they hadn't encountered any difficulties with house construction in the new settlement area. It is found that, apart from the modern materials needed to construct *pucca*,¹ The people in the new settlements struggled to find the essential and indigenous bamboo species that have become a limited forest resource. These species of bamboo include the following: Bambusabalcooa, Dendrocalamus bamboo family ranging from Gigantues (baby bamboo shoot also consumed as an indigenous cuisine), Hamitonii, Hookeri and Schizotachyum families such as Dolloa and Polymorphum

which are a primary material for house construction and also vary in specific and handicraft items such as making bridges, roofing, ceilings, walls, fencing, water containers, mugs, pipes, mats, fishing and in domestic home utilities like baskets and boxes, walking sticks for the old and needy etc.

Marginalisation to Social Inclusion

Table 2: Awareness of compensation benefits:

<i>Awareness of compensation benefits</i>						
<i>Sl no</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Pangti	90	54.9%	74	45.1%	164
2	Old Changsu	36	69.2%	16	30.8%	52
3	New Changsu	19	79.2%	5	20.8%	24
4	Asha	3	30.0%	7	70.0%	10
5	Ekhyoyan	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3
Total		148	58.5%	105	41.5%	253

The study reveals that the majority (58.5%) of the respondents were aware of the compensation benefits. On the other hand, 41.5% of the respondents were unaware of the compensation benefits. Some affected community members availed themselves of white-collar jobs (Technical and Professional) through examination and interview. Also, preference was given to the affected community in fourth-grade jobs like Messenger, Peon, Sweeper and other manual work jobs. However, some are now deprived of these Fourth-grade jobs due to the discontinuation of their service after retirement.

Other benefits included a scholarship to students belonging to the affected landowning community, or economically backward students living within a 20km radius of NEEPCOs Operating stations and projects, enrolled in full-time courses in schools/colleges/institutions/universities recognised by ICSE/CBSE/State Education Boards/MCI/AICTE/Association of Indian Universities. For scholarship, four categories of students can apply, i.e. (a) 10+/Diploma course from ITIs; (b) B.Sc./B.Com/B.A.etc; (c) B.E/B.Tech; (d)MBBS. A few are aware of the project's scholarship scheme for the students from the affected community. This scholarship is sponsored for a year only, depending on the students' re-application each year. The applicants' preference is given to those with the highest marks in the 12th standard. However, the number of scholarships is restricted because only ten students are awarded each year under each category.

Decision-making body for the people in the new resettlement

The village councils, land owners' unions, and *kbel* Leaders are interrelated decision-making units and bodies representing the project-affected communities in native and new settlements. Data collected through a primary group interview with respondents from the new settlement revealed that decision-making units such as Clan-*Khel* leaders and the village council were the decision-making bodies for the people in the new settlement area. Most importantly, the collective general is the main decision body. Generally, the affected community is represented by the Land Owners Union of each respective village. The study found no change in significant decision-making bodies in the new settlement. The displaced community still upholds and practices the traditional governance system even in the new settlement area.

Table 3: Member of the decision-making body in the new resettlement:

<i>Member of the decision-making body in the new settlement</i>						
<i>Sl no</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Pangti	0	0.0%	164	100.0%	164
2	Old Changsu	0	0.0%	52	100.0%	52
3	New Changsu	4	16.7%	20	83.3%	24
4	Asha	5	50.0%	5	50.0%	10
5	Ekhyoyan	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3
Total		11	4.3%	242	95.7%	253

The above table shows that 4.3% of the respondents are official executive members of the decision-making bodies, and majorities (95.7%) of the respondents are mere members/citizens of the community. The selection of members for the Village Councils and Village Development Boards (VDB) is the same as in the old (native) villages. For example, members for VDBs are drawn from representatives

Table 4: Empowerment due to resettlement

<i>Empowerment due to resettlement</i>								
<i>Sl no</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Pangti	15	9.1%	61	37.2%	88	53.7%	164
2	Old Changsu	6	11.5%	35	67.3%	11	21.2%	52
3	New Changsu	1	4.2%	21	87.5%	2	8.3%	24
4	Asha	1	10.0%	7	70.0%	2	20.0%	10
5	Ekhyoyan	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	3
Total		24	9.5%	126	49.8%	103	40.7%	253

from all the *khels* in the village. In the village council, the members are elected through the extensive consensus of the people.

Among the displaced population, 49.8% felt less empowered, 9.4% felt empowered due to resettlement, and the remaining 40.7% of the respondents gave no response. Other responses from the interview suggested that the new settlement's community enjoyed better fishing and farming activities than the old settlement. Most households in the resettlement area are not convinced of social and economic empowerment. Only a few families opined that they got economic improvement after resettlement. Interestingly, around 40 per cent of the respondents did not respond to this specific question, which shows their ignorance of the issue, marginality, and fear of opinion.

Increased Morbidity to Improved Health Care

About the welfare facilities in the new settlements, i.e., Asha and Ekhyoyan villages have access to electricity, and only Asha village has road connectivity and a primary school. The new villages do not have access to the water supply system and Health services (PHC/CHCs). The project involved people given jobs in NEEPCO to avail themselves of the medical facilities. In case of emergencies under the project jurisdiction, the people are provided medical treatment limited to first-aid only by the health centre run by the NEEPCO. Otherwise, people in the new settlement had to rely on the existing health facilities in the old settlement or at the block headquarters in everyday situations.

Food Security to Adequate Nutrition

In the new settlement, the displaced Lotha Nagas depended on various means of survival. The majority engaged in agriculture, forest resources and fishing occupation. Most common crops in the new settlement include Millets, Maise, Lentils and pulses, Sugarcane, potatoes, Yam (*Colocasia*), Tapioca, Barley, Mustard, Brinjal, Chilli, Tomato, Chives, Bitter eggplant (*Solanum*), Cucumber, Squash, varieties of pumpkin and gourds, varied indigenous and aromatic spices and herbs like Hibiscus Rosella, cilantro, Red Ginger, Turmeric and so on. There are a variety of different types of tropical fruits like berries, bayberries, gooseberry, Burmese grape (*Baccaurea*), citrus and tropical fruits consisting of grapefruit, lemon, orange, *Elaeagnus Latifolia*, *Prunus Nepalensis*, *Myrica Nagi*, wild apples, papaya, mango, banana, litchi, pineapple, passion fruit etc. However, due to climatic conditions, many crops, fruits, and vegetables suitable to the native land are losing yield. Wild and indigenous items are rare in the new settlement and land resources.

Other sources of income generation

- **Bee-Keeping:** Most respondents felt that the practice of bee-keeping or organic honey production is a reliable source of annual income in the new settlement.
- **Jaggery production:** Responses obtained regarding the sources or practices of income generation in jaggery production, according to the respondents, is scope for only those with sufficient land holding for sugarcane plantations and the workforce's efficiency.
- **Rearing silk-worm cocoons (sericulture):** Under this income generation, many households practice it for consumption or sale in the local markets.
- **Home-grown mushrooms (oyster/shitake):** Most villagers are engaged in organic and rearing mushrooms at home for consumption and market sale. Even though it does not bring remarkable profit to those practising it, it is treated as a hobby.
- **Fishing activities:** Many new settlers take up fishing occupations due to applying their skills in fishing. Most fishers sell their catch of the day in a localised buyers' circle. For them, this particular occupation has become the alternative source of income annually rather than monthly since they only depend on primary fishing techniques such as nets, self-made rafts, and boats. It becomes problematic when the waters have a strong current during the monsoons.
- **Plantations:** The study also found that people from new settlements also make an effort in their interests to utilise available land resources by taking up plantations such as timber, rubber, fruit orchards, beetle nut etc. However, these types of farms are laborious in nature and time-consuming. In many cases, timber and rubber plantations require efficient labouring throughout the year, take years to mature, laborious harvesting of the farm (sometimes with expensive equipment), and find potential buyers to sell the primary materials. Thus, this is limited again to the affluent prominent households only.

Education Loss to Access to Education

In this study, it is found that only the respondents (4%) from Asha village have access to education facilities in their new location, whereas respondents (1.2%) from Ekhyoyan village do not have any educational facilities. Data from the field also revealed that only Asha village has a government primary school of the two new settlements. Even though Asha village is close to Ekhyoyan, there is no road

connectivity, and they had to cross the river by boat to reach the school in Asha village. Hence, students from Ekhyoyan village were forced to attend school in a more distant Old and New Changsu village location. This scenario shows that some of the project-affected populations faced challenges in the lack of school facilities in the resettlement area.

Loss of Access to CPR (Common Property Resources) to the Restoration of Community Assets and Services

Common property resources available in the new settlement

The *Oyan Liko* (village land) and the *Woman Liko* (clan land) are essential Common Property Resources in the new area, followed by water resources and rain harvesting tanks. The landholding system in the new settlement is more or less similar to the landholding system of the native villages. The distributions of clan land depend primarily on usage rather than actual ownership, as the clan land is open to any willing household for cultivation and farming purposes. Still, ownership remains to the collective clan or clan entity. In some cases, some individuals had landholding rights per clan in both the old and new settlements; likewise, some had individually purchased lands in both native and new territories but were not members of the new village. It is found people from the native villages also owned new village areas. Still, due to recurrent issues and challenges of livelihood, new villages had to emerge to cope with the increasing challenges of the project-affected people.

The coping mechanism for the loss of common property resources

After sacrificing their land/fields during the relocation process, most people depended on their cash compensation to purchase their food for consumption since they could no longer attend to the old farmland or explore new lands for cultivation.

Social Disarticulation to Networks and Community Building

The majority (54.2%) of the respondents visit the native lands depending on the situation, while 29.6% visit occasionally. Another 16.20% of the respondents that seldom see the native place mainly include those families from modern occupation backgrounds who migrated to the nearby towns as part of resettlement. Among the resettled households, 38.4% of the respondents hold membership in the native village. In comparison, the remaining 61.5% do not adhere to the membership of

Table 5: Visiting Native Place

<i>Visiting Native place</i>								
<i>Sl no</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Seldom</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Depends on situation</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Pangti	42	25.6%	25	15.2%	97	59.1%	164
2	Old Changsu	14	26.9%	12	23.1%	26	50.0%	52
3	New Changsu	12	50.0%	3	12.5%	9	37.5%	24
4	Asha	4	40.0%	1	10.0%	5	50.0%	10
5	Ekhyoyan	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3
Total		75	29.6%	41	16.2%	137	54.2%	253

the native village. The reason is that some families continue to own individual land in their native villages.

Participation of the PAPs in the social activities held in the native place

The above table indicates the respondents' participation in the native place/village's social activities. We can see that the majority (49.0%) of the respondents participate in social activities. Another 4% of the respondents did not participate in such activities, and the remaining 47.0% remained silent on the matter. Some social occasions are community festivals during the harvesting season, jubilee celebrations of church, weddings and funerals, state-funded sports events, and various village bodies' elections.

Manifestation of change in the community pattern, traditional customary laws

According to the responses obtained from the primary data sources, many customary laws and traditions have been disappearing in recent decades. Although cultural continuity is seen in the present scenario, it is not practised. Its importance is imparted thoroughly among the modern and younger generation due to its changing lifestyle and living standards.

Some of the standard modes of transportation

Data collected from the field revealed that before the dam's construction, the native people depended on ferry boats, bridges and roadways to ply from one village to another and for other purposes with the mentioned mode of transportation. The various means of transport available were narrow footpaths, handcrafted boats and hanging bridges connecting the village to neighbouring villages. Some of the

examples of hanging bridges available in the past are the 60 ft hanging bridge connecting Pangti village and Aree village, the 90 ft hanging bridge connecting Chubi and Doyang, 250 ft hanging bridge connecting Pofu and Pangti, 150 ft hanging bridge connecting Pangti to Lakhuti via Chubi river, and lastly a 250 ft hanging bridge connecting to Old Changsu village. These connecting bridges were no longer used because of new and broader roadways, which superseded the previous mode of transportation.

One respondent provided another dimension to this inquiry about the mode of transportation in his life experience of travelling on foot, recalling how he travelled 20-30 km in a day by foot from his native village (Pangti) to Mokokchung via Mangmetong and Longkhum in a time frame of eight hours. Likewise, it took him five hours to reach Lakhuti Village. He further raised concerns about how the winter and summer seasons may affect the crossing of the Chupi River, as swimming was the only way out and way in after the hanging bridges were not in use. He vividly recalls the year 2010, which introduced the road link from Wokha headquarters to his native village via Mokokchung and the August month of the same year, which started the initial construction of the Chupi Bailey Bridge connecting Doyang to his native village. When asked what his most worthy travels were, he shared his most held memory of 1986 when he travelled continuously for 12 days on foot, covering twelve villages. Being a student and learning the importance of youth on social unity, he was also motivated to mobilise the youth from other villages for the importance of students' role in forming the Lotha Middle Range Students Union (LMRSU).

Table 6: Changes in the celebration of festivals

Sl no	Village	Changes in celebration of festivals				Total
		Yes	%	No	%	
1	Pangti	136	82.9%	28	17.1%	164
2	Old Changsu	35	67.3%	17	32.7%	52
3	New Changsu	19	79.2%	5	20.8%	24
4	Asha	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	10
5	Ekhyoyan	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3
Total		200	79.1%	53	20.9%	253

From the above table, we see that majority (79.1%) of the respondents agree that there is a change in the cultural festivals in celebration and their importance to the native communities. In comparison, the remaining 20.9% of the respondents

disagreed. According to the respondents, the village and the (Lotha Naga) community have undergone several changes in cultural heritage. Even though cultural continuity exists, only the prominent and identifiable traits in festivals are celebrated briefly. For example, the *TokhuEmong* festival (celebrated initially for nine days and now for 6-7 days). Most ceremonial and intrinsic values of festivals and ceremonies are lost due to modernity's acculturation to the younger generations. Many festivals and rituals of cultural and social importance to the variant native communities like traditional agrarian culture (Inclusive of land, field, rice cultivation and yearly and half-yearly rituals), others such includes the folkways, mores and norms to the institution of marriage, family, social relations and agencies of pattern maintenance or latency (social regulation) like restrictions on taboo.

Discussion

As noted by Fernandes (2003), in northeast India, people's dependence on the environment, including land, forest, biodiversity, water resources and knowledge systems, is very high. Due to the construction of the Doyang dam in Nagaland, during the initial resettlement, the Lotha community faced considerable challenges in losing common property resources of both flora & fauna. Development-induced displacement confronts many moral and ethical issues when we try to analyse the displaced communities' emotional stress and human trauma (Mehta, 2002). The displaced community faced difficulties in road connectivity and harsh climatic conditions that became unfavourable for agriculture and wild animals in the resettlement area. It is evident from several studies that in the development-induced displacement process, women bear more burden and have less access to benefits of development than men (Thukrul, 1996).

On the other hand, fishing has become an additional source of income for the people in the resettlement area. The loopholes in the policy framing of displacement need to be addressed meticulously. Thus, we need to concentrate on the community's genuine mobilisation right from the beginning and invest in building its capacity to face drastic changes caused by displacement (Kabra, 2003). No significant improvement is found in education and medical facilities for the resettlement area except for those few who got employment in NEEPCO and students who availed scholarships. Several studies recommended to implement the compensation package for the resettled populations in more transparent manner in order to reach benefits to the most deprived one from the project affected population (Nagaraju & Anil, 2021). Regarding social organisation and cultural practices, the resettled

community continues to follow the traditional systems. Finally, the development projects should explore alternatives to land alienation and look forward to creating non-conventional sources of energy which are environmentally friendly (Baijal & Singh 2000; Fernandes 2017). Thus, the policymakers in the country need to prioritise sustainable development models to avoid disruption among indigenous peoples' lives and their environment.

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Notes

1. It refers to a dwelling that is designed to be solid and permanent.
2. Village wards or local residential units that are inhabited by the same clan or dialect-speaking families.

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