



Impact of the COVID -19 lockdown on pastoralists of Maharashtra

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Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Sajal Kulkarni for facilitating the interviews and providing background information on Maharashtra.

List of Acronyms

FGD	Focus Group Discussion
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease or 2019-nCoV

Impact of the lockdown on pastoralists of Maharashtra

Ashwini Kulkarni ¹ and Ajinkya Shahane ²

Introduction

The dry land regions of Maharashtra provide natural topographies that are suitable for livestock rearing. They are crucial resources for sustaining pastoral lifestyles in the state. The pastoral communities of Maharashtra consist of the Dhangars, Nanda Gawalis, Melghat Gawalis, Mathura Lambada, Rabari, Kurumars, Kanadi Hindu Talwar, Bharwads, Golkars, and Gowaris. In 2000, there were 313 nomadic tribes and 198 denotified tribes in Maharashtra (Rathod 2000). Together the nomadic and denotified tribes constitute about five million of Maharashtra's population and about 60 million of India's population (ibid.). Pastoral communities in Maharashtra are transhumant with movement being guided by the search for pastures for their animals. Pastoralists are typically on the move after the monsoon, which happens to be the kharif season. On the way, they stay on farmlands in exchange for their animals' manure. The droppings of these animals are a rich source of natural manure for the farmlands. If not in farmlands, the herders camp near or on the common lands of villages and in forests. Their migration lasts till almost the next monsoon.

Survey Methodology

Migrant labourers in India were undeniably hit hard by the sudden imposition of lockdown and received much needed coverage. However, the impact on pastoralists and their livelihoods have not received as much attention. We, therefore, felt that it was important to assess the plight of pastoralists during the lockdown. This is more so because mobility is a key part of their livelihood and at the time the lockdown was imposed, some of them were already on their migration.

An initial pilot study was conducted by the Centre for Pastoralism towards this aim through a telephonic survey of pastoralists in April 2020. The findings of that study helped us identify the core issues with reference to which the impact of the lockdown has been examined in this more detailed survey. These issues include: (i) movement of pastoralists, (ii) access to markets, (iii) changes in expenses and incomes (iv) situation of labour for herding (v) access to veterinary care services (vi) ration availability (vii) social stigma and (viii) perceptions about COVID-19's impact on livelihoods (See Annexure II for questionnaire).

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We had initially planned to conduct at least 20 interviews in each state. But movement restrictions due to the lockdown added an extra layer of difficulty in accessing the pastoralists. Therefore, we had to adopt a slightly different method for conducting this survey in Maharashtra. We conducted focused group discussions (FGD) led by community leaders. We relied on conference calls for facilitating these discussions. Sajal Kulkarni, a researcher and activist who works closely with pastoralists in Maharashtra, helped us identify and reach out to the communities for this survey. The interviews were conducted in May and June 2020. Members from six different communities were a part of these FGDs. A distinguishing feature of our respondents was that a majority of them were youngsters, which eased the process of conducting a telephonic survey as they are more comfortable with these devices. The following table indicates a community-wise account of the respondents we spoke to for this study.

Table 1: Community wise break up of respondents

Community	Number of Pastoralists
Dhangar	11
Kanadi Hindu Talwar	13
Kurmar	15
Mathura Lambada	15
Nandgawali	15
Rabbari	10
Total	79

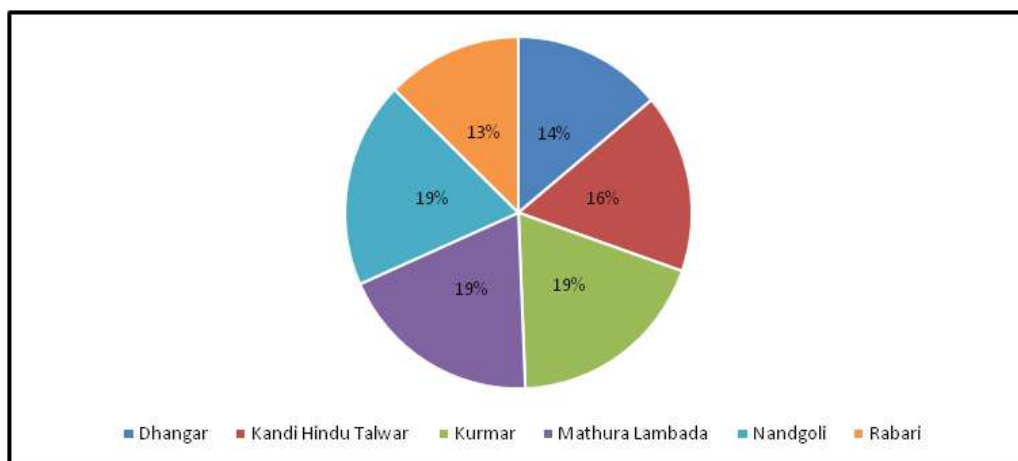
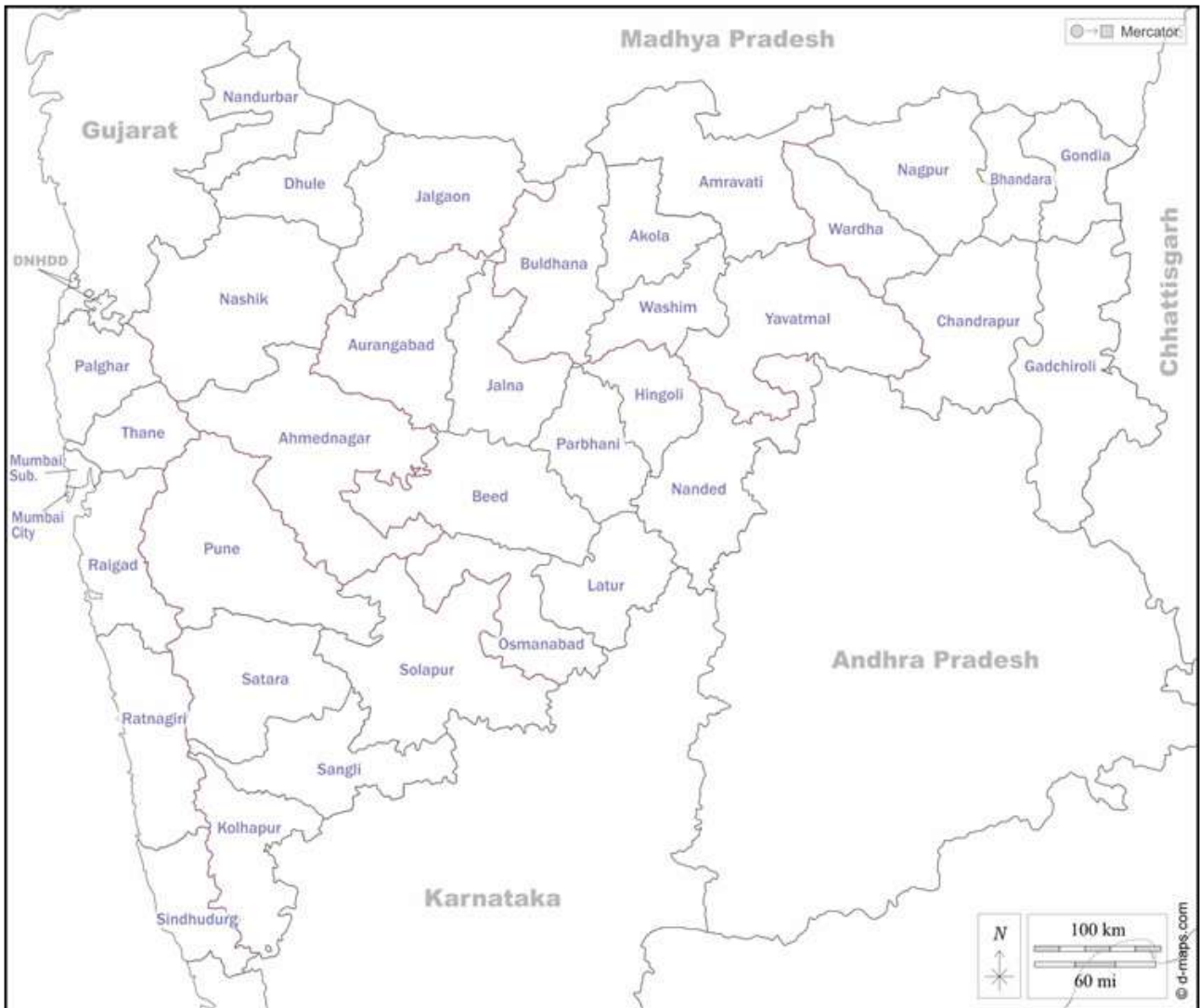


Figure 1: Community wise break of respondents



Map 1: Map of Maharashtra. Map prepared using D-Maps.com, accessed via https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=8851&lang=en

Communities covered

Dhangar

Dhangars are the most well-known nomadic herders of Maharashtra and are considered to be one of the oldest pastoral communities like the Yadavs of north India. Earlier accounts of Dhangars say that they used to rear cattle, but presently they herd sheep and goats. Though traditionally they are wanderers, some sections have presently sedentarised. The sedentarised sections are known as Khutekar Dhangar, which means someone who has pitched tents. Besides rearing sheep and goats, they also engage in farming activities. They usually stay in their villages and graze their herds around their settlements, and depend more on the village commons. The Dhangars who continue to be transhumant are called the Hatkar Dhangars, which means 'the ones who have stuck to their old ways'.

Many Dhangars have settled in the dryland areas of Sangamner, which is a part of Ahmednagar district in the state. These groups are

agro-pastoralists who farm during the Kharif season and later move with their flock to the Konkan areas which receives high rainfall and where one can find green pastures for a longer time. They leave after the Kharif season and return only at the end of summer. They move with their families and camp in different places while on their migration. The choice of these sites is determined by the availability of grazing pastures and pre-existing relationships with the locals.

In the summer they sell their animals to traders. Besides the sale of animals, other sources of income include the sale of wool and dung.

Kanadi Hindu Talwar

Kanadi Hindu Talwar is a backward community mostly found in Akole and Sangamner Talshil of the Ahmednagar district. The district hosts the annual ox and cow bazaar which usually lasts for 3-4 days, where Dangi cows and bulls are sold at a large scale. Kanadi Hindu Talwars are known in particular for their Dangi cows. They rear other animals such as bulls, buffalos, and goats.

This transhumant community travels towards Mumbai, where on the way they cross hilly terrains with high rainfall like Shahapur of Thane district. Over the years they have also taken up farming and tend to sow single season crops. They migrate after the Kharif season with their families and travel in groups. Their migration lasts till the end of summer and they return at the onset of monsoon.

Their main sources of income are the sale of milk, dairy products, and animals. Most families of this community also prepare and sell khoa and ghee. Usually, village traders buy their khoa and sell it in nearby towns like Sangamner, Akole, or Rajur. Rajur khoa and pedhe are in fact well known delicacies that are made of the khoa supplied by them. Summers bring wedding seasons and mark an important opportunity for their community as they receive high demands for their khoa. A few members of the community also have links with hotel owners and caterers for this purpose.

Kurmar

Previously known as Kurba, the Kurmars are a nomadic tribe who hail from Karnataka and mainly rear sheep. Having travelled from Karnataka across Telangana and Andhra Pradesh to finally settling in Maharashtra, they are a multilingual tribe who can speak Kannada, Telugu, Marathi, Hindi, and Bengali. This helps them converse with farmers and villagers while moving through these regions. In Maharashtra, they are mostly found in the Gadchiroli and Chandrapur districts. A majority of this community resides in the Mul tehsil of Chandrapur district.

During their seasonal migration, they travel around 50 to 60 km away from their native places to find suitable pastures for their animals.

Cotton, soyabean, and paddy fields serve as good fodder for their herds. They often engage in penning which allows them to stay near villages on farms. Alongside penning, they also source their income from selling animals and wool.

Mathura Lambada / Laman / Banjara

The Mathura Lambada community, also known as the Banjara, is a nomadic tribe. One of the main features of this community is that they rear only the Umrada cows. Though these cows do not produce a very high quantity of milk, the quality of their milk is considered one of the best due to its high nutritional content. This is what drives up the demand for the Umrada bull across several states in the country. A major part of this tribe resides in the Yavatmal district in Vidarbha region of the state. They are also found in large numbers in the Umarkhed tehsil of this district. Their villages are usually at the foot of the Pusad hills. They start migrating with their entire family in November and roam around 70 to 80 Km from their village. They move towards Nanded in Maharashtra, and also towards the neighbouring state of Telangana. They return home before the monsoon.

Nandgawli

Members of the Nandgawli community reside mostly in Wardha, Amravati, and Yavatmal districts and constitute a population of over one lakh. This community is believed to be originally from Uttar Pradesh. Legend has it that they came with the revered Hindu god Lord Krishna in Dwaparyug for his marriage to his consort, Rukmini. This mythical event is popularly known as 'Rukmini Swayamvar'. According to the legend, a few of them stayed back in the region that is now known as Maharashtra.

The main occupation of the community is animal husbandry. They are known in particular for the famous 'Desi Gaolao' cows they rear. They sell bulls, milk, and milk products for their livelihood.

Nandgawlis' migration usually begins in January and ends in June. It is often the male members of the community who take herds for migration, although they also hire labour in some instances. Forest areas used to be the chief source of fodder for their animals, but after new forest rules were formulated their entry to forests was forbidden. As a result, they are now forced to travel longer distances in search of pastures. Since this community maintains large herds, they require large pastures to graze their animals.

Rabari

Rabaris are a community that originally hail from the Anjar tehsil of Kutch district in Gujarat and are now spread across many states of the country. They are mainly known for rearing sheep and goats. As the

community does not own land in Maharashtra, they depend on the sale of animals and wool as their main source of income.

In Maharashtra, Rabaris are mostly concentrated in Wardha, Nagpur, and Yavatmal districts. Some of them also live in Bhandara and Chandrapur districts. They move during the summer in search of pastures consisting of forest lands and commons. They usually travel using camels within a radius of 150-200km from their settlements with their entire families. While on migration, they also use private vehicles to transport their animals.

Findings

Table 2: Profile of respondents

Community/Group	Aadhar card holders	Bank account holders	Herd size	Presence of sheep and goat	Travel beyond 10km from their native places
Dhangar	11/11	11/11	200-800	11/11	10/12
Kanadi Hindu Talwar	13/13	13/13	10-32	0/13	12/13
Kurmar	15/15	15/15	120-360	15/15	15/15
Mathura Lambada	15/15	15/15	12-40	0/15	14/15
Nandgoli	15/15	15/15	15-40	0/15	15/15
Rabari	10/10	10/10	80-400	10/10	10/10

As seen in Table 2, all respondents have Aadhaar cards and bank accounts. While the Dhangar, Kurmar, and Rabari are sheep and goat herders, the Kanada Hindu Talwar, Mathura Lambada, and Nandgawali are cattle herders. Almost all of them travel well beyond 10 Km of their settlement for their migration.

Community	Animal	Min	Max	Average
Dhangar	Sheep	200	800	540
Kanadi Hindu Talwar	Dangi Cow and Buffalo	10	32	18
Kurmar	Sheep and Goat	120	360	217
Mathura Lambada	Cows	12	40	24
Nandgawali	Gaulau Cattle and Nagpuri Buffalo	15	40	27
Rabbari	Sheep	80	400	193

Table 3: Herd size of respondents

The herd size of cattle herders is in the range of 10 to 40 animals while for the small ruminants it is 80 to 800.

Impact on movement

All respondents reported facing difficulties in their movement due to the lockdown and lack of transport facilities. When some form of transport became available, they had to bear extra costs as the transport was more expensive than usual. Members of the Kanadi Hindu Talwar and Nandgawali communities reported that they were not able to migrate at all. Pastoralists belonging to other communities shared that their migration was delayed. Once they began their migration, several villages denied them entry which forced them to stay in one place for a long time. For instance, the Dhangar respondents reported they had to stay put for ten days during lockdown, in places where they usually stayed for two days under ordinary circumstances. Members of the Mathura Lambada, Nandgawali, and Rabari communities were denied entry by villagers while they were on the move. The Kurmar community was asked to leave by villagers, forcing them to move during the night. Members of the Mathura Lambada community reported they were not allowed to return to even their own villages, leading to arguments and fights. In a few instances however, where farmers have had long relations with pastoralists, herders were allowed by farmers to enter their farms.

While crossing district borders, pastoralists were asked for e-passes by state officials. On being unable to produce one they were harassed by police officials for bribes. Dhangar respondents reported they were even beaten by the police for this. Members of the Mathura Lambada community reported that forest officers restricted their movement near Nanded due to which they had to stay outside the villages in farmlands. Rabaris reported that they were unable to visit their native places in

Gujarat due to movement restrictions because of the lockdown. One respondent reported that he was unable to visit his relative's funeral in Anjar due to restricted movements.

During migration, herders tend to request shopkeepers or farmers to recharge their mobile batteries. However, they were unable to do so this year as markets were shut due to lockdown. Their mobiles were reduced to useless toys. This made it very difficult for them to contact their families for many days.

The following excerpt from an interview of a respondent called Gobra Mathavan, who belongs to the Mathura Lambada, captures perfectly the difficulties that pastoralists faced during their migration:

"During the lockdown, villagers didn't allow us to stay in the village and farmers didn't allow us to stay in the fields, people from the forest department didn't allow us to enter the forest. We had nowhere to go. If we could go to the forest for grazing, animals would have proper fodder and water and we would not have been bothered. But we were scared about forest officials arresting us if we go to the forests and the suffering that would bring to our animals. Still, we somehow managed to survive, but to watch my animal die was a very painful experience for me".

Fodder, forage and access to water

Owing to the disruption in their movement, most respondents faced difficulties in accessing forage grounds for their animals. They were forced to purchase fodder from market sources at higher prices, putting a financial strain on them. An obvious consequence of the inadequate access to quality forage and fodder was that it led to health problems for the animals. Members of the Nandgawli community reported that their inability to find cottonseed cake for their cows during this period affected their cow's milk producing capacity. Among our respondents, members of the Dhangar and Rabari communities reported they were abused and barred by villagers from using village wells.

Changes in income and expenditure

Impact on sale of milk and milk products

The sale of milk and milk products was affected drastically due to the lockdown. The main reasons that contributed to this are: a lack of public transportation, collapse of dairy markets, and restrictions on movement. The unavailability of transport facilities affected the daily milk distribution undertaken by members of the Kanadi Hindu Talwar. They were forced to sell their milk to local milk collection centres at lower prices. Members of the Mathura Lambada community who usually supply milk to the city on a daily basis were unable to do so as the lockdown did not permit them to enter the city, even though the dairies they sold their milk to were operational. The dairy market of the Arvi tehsil in particular suffered a major setback during this period. Members

of the Nandgawli community usually sell their milk to the traders of this market. However, they were unable to do so during this period. The lockdown also caused a decline in the demand for milk based products like khoa, curd, butter, and paneer. This, combined with the collapse of the wedding season, contributed to the setback suffered by the dairy market of Arvi tehsil. A few pastoralists who are registered with local dairies were able to sell their milk. But they too had to sell their milk at lower prices as dairies had reduced milk prices by Rs. 10/litre.

Unable to sell their milk, respondents belonging to Kanadi Hindu Talwar and Nandgawli communities decided to prepare ghee out of their milk as it has a longer shelf life and in the hope that they could sell ghee at a later time. But since markets were shut, they were unable to sell the ghee as well. Even while the market for milk and its products was passing through such a lean phase, pastoralists had to continue milking their animals as it is essential for maintaining the animal's health. Several respondents reported they were forced to throw away large quantities of their milk. All of this naturally brought financial stress to the pastoralists. The Nandgawlis were hit particularly as the sale of milk is their only source of income. Since they are members of the Mahanubhav sect and are strict vegetarians, they could not sell their sheep or engage in poultry farming as they are considered taboos, making their situation even worse.

Impact on sale of animals

Difficulties in the sale of animals forced several pastoralists to sell their animals at lower prices. The respondents attributed three main reasons for the problems they faced in the sale of their animals.

First, they had a limited scope for selling animals as livestock markets were unavailable. The animal bazaars that are held regularly at Malshiraj, Natepute, and Lonand in May were delayed. In more extreme cases, animal bazaars were not held at all. Dhangars usually sell their goat and sheep before the rains in May at good prices. But this year these animal bazaars could be organised only in June after the rains had set in. This forced them to sell their animals at lower prices. Some members of the community also tried to sell their sheep in Hyderabad but were sent back from the state border. The lack of similar animal bazaars forced members of both Mathura Lambada and Kanadi Hindu Talwar communities to sell their animals for lower prices. The community members reported that they are hoping for a revival of the weekly animal bazaars at Ghoti and Sinner tehsil to make up for their financial losses.

Second, the Tablighi Jamaat rumour spread through national media portals also hampered the sale of animals. This rumour portrayed that Muslims were deliberately spreading Coronavirus throughout the country after having attended the Tablighi Jamaat's congregation held in Delhi in March 2020. In Maharashtra, the prejudice generated by this rumour prevented Muslim traders from buying animals from herders as

Community	Animal	Regular price	Prices during the lockdown
Dhangar	Lamb	Rs. 6,000-7,000	Rs. 4,000-5,000
Mathura Lambada	Ox	Rs. 60,000	Rs. 40,000
Kanadi Hindu Talwar	Bullock	Rs. 50,000-60,000/pair	Rs. 30,000-40,000/ pair

Table 4: Decline in prices of livestock during the lockdown

they were not allowed to enter the herders' villages by other villagers, who viewed the Muslim traders as potential carriers of the virus. Under normal circumstances, these Muslim traders buy sheep and goats from the Dhangars, but were unable to do so this year. The Dhangars in turn were forced to sell their animals at lower prices to the few buyers they could find in and around their villages.

Third, the misinformation that was spread through social media that COVID-19 spreads through meat affected the sale of animals. Respondents from the Rabari community particularly reported this third factor as the reason they faced a hard time selling their animals. The most frustrating part about the dismal experience of the pastoralists is that even when they were forced to sell their animals at lower rates, the prices of meat were soaring in Maharashtra.

Impact on sale of wool

The Kurmar community relies on mechanical shears for wool shearing. A few of them travel from their native places with some tools to repair the necessary equipment. Since shearing of wool occurs in March, the lockdown disrupted this activity last year. They could not even travel to any tehsil or even to Chandrapur district to repair their equipment. Consequently, the herders were unable to generate any income from the sale of wool as they could not shear their wool in time.

Impact on penning

Pastoralists of Maharashtra are known to have close relationships with farmers on whose fields they pen their animals. However, respondents from the Rabari community reported that farmers did not allow them to do so during the lockdown.

Access to veterinary services

All respondents reported that veterinary care services had shut down and health camps were not held. When they tried to get their sheep and goats vaccinated the doctors refused to do so, citing the lockdown as the reason. Subsequently, some of their animals fell sick and a few even died because of the combined effect of lack of vaccinations, early monsoons, and lack of quality fodder. The Dangi cattlemen who have started relying

on artificial insemination for breeding their animals reported that for the initial two months of the lockdown, they could not access any veterinary services. They could not find any help while using nitrogen and semen for this process either. Most of them reported that there was absolutely no help during the fertility period of the cow, which disrupted their plans for breeding through the use of artificial insemination. Few of them used bulls of different and low-level breeds for breeding their animals. This is bound to have a long term impact on the health of their herds and their livelihoods.

Access to rations, other essential supplies and availability of state support

While on the move, pastoralists carry provisions from home and also buy along the way. Since they were stuck in one place and were prevented by villagers from entering the villages, it became difficult for them to buy rations and other basic commodities. The limited availability of shops also meant that prices of ration supplies became higher than usual. Consequently, some herders were forced to stay hungry a few times. Some respondents reported receiving help from local NGOs to access ration and other basic supplies. Longstanding relations with farmers and their families also helped herders access rations and receive financial support. The respondents also shared that their families back in villages received additional free rations as was announced for all ration card holders. Apart from that the pastoralists did not receive any form of support from the state government during the lockdown.

Social stigma

The social stigma faced by the respondents stemmed mostly from a fear of transmission of COVID-19 harboured by villagers due to the mobile lifestyle of pastoralists. Respondents reported that the experiences of social stigma and discrimination were heightened particularly when they had to cross villages while on their migration. Respondents belonging to the Dhangar and Rabari communities were not allowed to use the village wells for accessing water. In some instances, they were even afraid of being physically attacked by the local people who feared COVID-19 transmission due to their mobile lifestyle. When the pastoralists were returning to their own villages, other village residents did not allow them to return, which started arguments that also turned into fights in some places.

Hopes and fears for the future

Pastoralists shared that they feel safe in their village and home while being outside feels very unsafe in such times. They shared that even under normal circumstances they are treated as outsiders, when seen without their herds, as many of them lack any documentary evidence that establishes their occupational identity as a pastoralist.

The pandemic worsened this situation by various degrees. The herders expressed a fear that if this pandemic doesn't end this year, the consequences will be very severe as it has already drained all their resources.

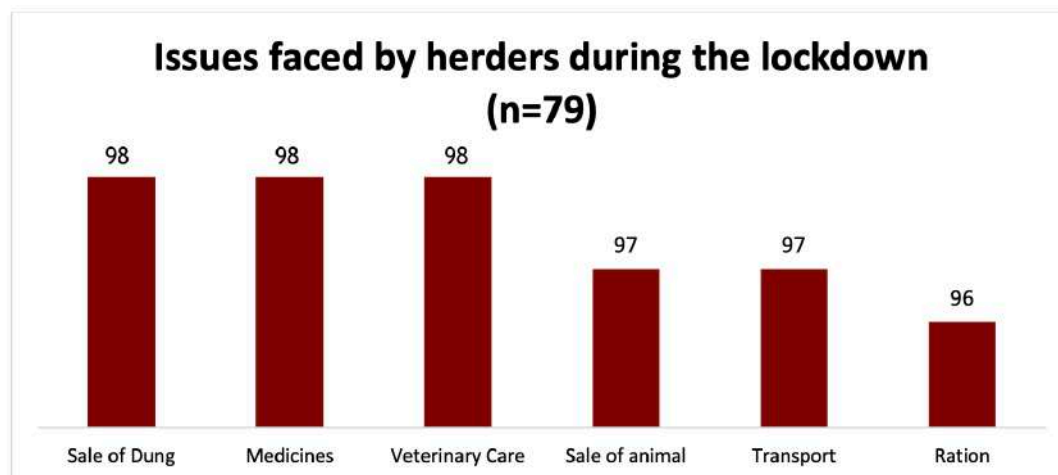


Figure 2: Issues faced by herders during the lockdown (percentage wise)

Conclusion

While most people across the country learned about the lockdown within hours, some pastoralists with limited access to phones only found out after several days. The shutting of markets brought huge financial distress, which forced them to sell their animals at prices that were much lower than usual. They also had to incur higher expenditures while purchasing fodder, medicines, and other food provisions. Thus, on the whole, the lockdown led to a reduction in their incomes and an increase in their expenditure. Other sources of anxieties for the pastoralists included a fear of losing their flock due to theft or disasters like untimely rains. The unavailability of veterinary services and the lack of vaccinations in all likelihood will have a lasting effect on their animal's health. The lockdown, therefore, did not only make a dent in their earnings of the current year but has impacted their future earnings too.

Furthermore, there was the agony of being treated as 'unwanted' by the people in the villages while they were on their migration. The herders also had to face harassment by police and forest officials. Since they were completely unaware of the virus and its effect, they did not know about the precautions they were expected to take. They also found it difficult to contact their family members as they were unable to recharge their mobile phones while they were on the move. All this generated a sense of fear and nervousness affecting their emotional well-being.

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Annexure I

Summary of findings from a telephonic survey undertaken by CfP in April 2020

1. Restrictions on movement

Pastoralist migrations were halted by state governments either temporarily or for the entire year, on the assumption that all movements held the potential for transmission of the virus, and hence represented a threat to communities that pastoralists interacted with. In some instances, pastoral communities were able to convince governments to permit them to continue with their migrations. Others, such as the Van Gujjars of Uttarakhand were banned from moving to their summer pastures for the entire year, and were forced to either stall feed their buffaloes or find alternative grazing arrangements within the lower altitudes. Either option resulted in higher costs but also significantly reduced animal productivity. The Himachal government was particularly proactive in supporting pastoralist movement, because for the most part herders travel alone and tend to spend time in relative isolation, reducing the likelihood of viral transmission.

b). Accessing markets:

Pastoralist communities across states spoke of the difficulties of accessing milk, meat and feed markets, all closed due to the national lockdown. Some surplus milk was being converted into ghee and buttermilk, but as the weather warmed, even these products needed to be disposed of to avoid spoilage. The closure of meat markets had implications for immediate cash flows but did not represent the loss of a crop, such as may have been experienced by milk-selling pastoralists or by farmers with perishable, fresh produce.

c) Shortage of Labour:

In some instances, herders had returned home in February to attend to family functions or to help with cultivation. Post the imposition of restrictions, these herders were unable to move to where their herds were, resulting in a significant shortage of labour in managing the herds. Many herders also reported instances of hired labour choosing to return to home, owing to the limited information available on the pandemic and the associated desire to be close to home during this period of uncertainty

d) Shearing sheep:

Sheep need to be sheared just before the onset of summer, and this is generally undertaken by shearers not necessarily part of the herding community. When sheep are not shorn, ahead of the summer heat,

there are heightened levels of sickness within the herd. Owing to the lockdown, shearers were simply unable to travel to where the sheep were located. While the Himachal government was ultimately able to facilitate shearer travel to the herds, in most States shearing operations were badly impacted. Many herders spoke of the likely impact of the lockdown and its aftermath on the import of wool and on the export of woollen carpets and durries.

e) Obtaining ration

Pastoralists on the move normally obtain ration from village kirana shops or from shops in small towns. Pastoralists across the country spoke of the fact that villagers, normally welcoming, were wary of potential transmission of COVID and were often unwilling to have transient pastoralists enter the village. In instances where the state was providing ration, pastoralists tended to miss out since they were on the outskirts of villages or were grazing their animals at some distance from human habitation.

f) Social Stigma:

Pastoralists from various parts of the country reported that they experienced a great deal of social stigma on account of their religion or their nomadic lifestyle. Gujjars in Chamba, Himachal Pradesh and from the Rishikesh/Haridwar areas in Uttarakhand faced ostracism as minorities and had difficulty in selling milk and in embarking on their annual migrations. In both instances, there were rumours to the effect that their milk carried the coronavirus and so customers should not buy their milk. Pastoralist mobility in itself has been causing social stigma for many decades and reports from across the country indicate this was accentuated throughout the lockdown.

g) Pastoralism, Resilience and COVID-19:

Several pastoralists mentioned that they may have experienced fewer negatives resulting from the lockdown than many other with rural livelihoods. This is likely linked to the fact that pastoral communities have historically needed to adapt to climatic, political and other changes. Pastoralist adaptability may have played a role in mitigating to some degree the various issues listed above.

Annexure II

Questionnaire to understand how pastoralists have fared under COVID-19

Code (State letters, followed by 1st three letters of Community name, followed by serial number of interview, in two digits – e.g. GUJRAB01)

Interviewers name

Date

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| a. Name | b. M/F |
| c. Community | d. Phone # |
| 1. Home Location | 2. Current Location |
| 3. Aadhaar Card Y/N | 4. Bank account Y/N |
| 5. Migratory Y/N | 6. Owner/helper? |
| 7. Are you with the herd Y/N | 8. What animals do you manage? |
| 9. Herd size | 10. Were you on migration during LckDn Y/N |

On each of the following please describe your normal practice and how this is affected because of the COVID epidemic:

A. Obtaining forage/water

1. What is your normal pattern of migration at this time? Do you cross district or state boundaries?
2. Has your movement been interrupted this year? Positively/Negatively?
3. Where have you obtained forage and water this year (village commons, Forest Department land, Protected Area, cultivated land, purchased, others?)
4. Do you normally purchase fodder? Were you able to do so this year?

B. Revenues/Expenditures

1. During lockdown have you had difficulty in the following:
 - a) Sale of milk and milk products
 - b) Sale of animals
 - c) Sale of wool
 - i) Difficulties with shearing?
 - ii) Getting wool to markets?
 - d) Penning
2. Has COVID/lockdown caused a fluctuation in the rates you receive for produce?

3. Where have these expenses changed (medicines, food, water, transport, alcohol, labour)?
4. Has COVID had an impact on your earnings?
A bit, Medium, A lot

C. Labour

1. What is the normal labour requirement? How much of this is hired labour?
2. What is the situation during lockdown? (could not come, had to leave, stranded?)

D. Veterinary care

1. What are the normal veterinary services that you access? Health camps, doctors, medicines, vaccinations?
2. Are these services available during lockdown?

E. General Questions (Rations, health care, places to stay, social stigma)

1. Where do you normally get your rations while on migration?
2. What difficulties have you encountered because of the lockdown?
3. What state or other support has been available to ensure you have adequate ration?
4. Were you required to carry a Coronavirus free certificate? Where were you required to show such a certificate? Did you need permission to move?
5. Have you experienced difficulties in finding places to camp during the lockdown?
6. Have you experienced social stigma? Please elaborate?

F. Open-ended

1. During COVID have you been better off or worse off than other rural communities (agriculture, settled livestock keepers)... Can you compare your situation with others from your community who have moved out of herding?
2. What are your hopes and fears with regard to the next 6-12 months?
3. Do you have anything to add?

G. Additional Comments by interviewer



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