



Impact of the COVID -19 lockdown on pastoralists of Rajasthan

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List of Acronyms

NDDB	National Dairy Development Board
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease or 2019-nCoV

Impact of the lockdown on Raikas of Rajasthan

Jagdish Paliwal, Maganlal Raika, Savaram Raika, Meenal Tatpati and Shruti Ajit ¹

Introduction

The sudden imposition of the nationwide 'lockdown' on 24th March 2020 brought a very challenging phase for the majority of India's population. Left to fend for themselves, the poor and marginal groups were hit the hardest by the lockdown. Throngs of migrant labour were stranded in cities even as they faced unemployment due to a disruption of all economic activities. Nomadic pastoralists too were hit by the strict restrictions on movement, given the central role that mobility plays in their livelihoods. However, the difficulties they faced during the lockdown did not receive as much attention as the plight of other vulnerable groups like the migrant labourers. We therefore felt that there is a need to examine the impact of the lockdown on the pastoralists. This study focuses on the experiences of the Raikas in Rajasthan.

Pastoralism in Rajasthan

Pastoralists of Rajasthan rear 16.36% of India's sheep, 13.32% of India's goats, and 64.01% of India's camel population (Mukherji et al 2016). More than four lakh households comprising different social groups are associated with this production system (ibid.). Traditionally, pastoralism has been a caste-based occupation in Rajasthan with specialised communities like the Raikas, Gujjars, Sindhi Muslims or the Kaimkhanis, the Rath Muslims, and Gairis engaging in pastoralism for several generations (ibid.). Several other communities have also started relying on pastoralism as an alternative source of livelihood, especially in times of severe drought and scarcity (Kavoori 1999).

Pastoralism constitutes one of the main sources of livelihood in Rajasthan. This is perhaps because much of the state is semi-arid and receives very little rainfall. Agriculture in Rajasthan has largely been rain-fed with a single crop being sown during and after the monsoons. This leaves land fallow for a considerable period which results in the annual growth of grasses and regeneration of soil. These grasses serve as a good source of fodder for the animals. The limited availability of arable land in the state and small landholdings translate into a need for supplementing agricultural activities with additional sources of livelihood. This makes agropastoralism a common occupation in the state.

Communities that belong to the dry western parts of Rajasthan have always been semi-nomadic due to frequent droughts and famines in

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² See <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/jaipur/camel-numbers-lowest-in-rajasthan-in-7-decades-6077217/>

the region. The communities living in the south eastern parts of the state migrate over longer distances due to loss of grazing pastures and commons within the state. They have now started crossing over into neighbouring states of Haryana and Punjab in search of better pastures.

The choice of animals reared by pastoral communities is determined to a great extent by the income the animals generate for the herders (Robbins 1998). Western Rajasthan is known for its large stock of camels and cattle. The production of small livestock increased in the region in the late 1970s until the devastating famine of 1987, when a dramatic decrease was reported. Sheep are brought for grazing to the region in rotational cycles by communities living in central and eastern Rajasthan. Goats are raised largely by sedentarised communities of the area. Over the years the intensification of agriculture due to tube wells and the Indira Gandhi Canal shortened the fallow period and many communities sold their herds. The camel population of the state has recorded a dramatic decline especially after the enactment of a law that elevated its status to state animal, which meant that the animal could no longer be used for trade or sold for slaughter.² This forced several pastoralists to give up their camels as their trade was disrupted. Since the late 1980s, the state has witnessed a rise in its meat production. There is now a trend of herd management being driven by the sole purpose of animal sales.

The Raikas

The Raika or Rabari community is a specialized pastoral caste group known for rearing camels and sheep. They are found mostly in the south-western part of Rajasthan. Oral history suggests they may have settled in western Rajasthan from Iran or Baluchistan, and eventually moved to other parts of the state, engaged by different kingdoms in Rajputana to care for the ruler's camel tolas (herds). The Raika community consists of subcastes including the Maru Raika, who are concentrated in and around Jodhpur, and the Godwar Raika, who stay in the fairly fertile and forested region between Marwar and Mewar. In the mid-19th century, the Maru Raikas were chiefly camel rearers, while the Godwar Raikas reared sheep and goats. The Godwar Raika community, which is recognised today as a nomadic pastoral group, started migrating out of the villages in Godwar during the great Chappania Akaal (famine) that gripped Rajasthan around the end of the 19th century.

Today, Raikas usually keep small herds of sheep and goats and migrate for anywhere between 6-9 months. They often combine this with crop production carried out through share-cropping on others' lands or on their own land parcels. Decreasing access to commons and forage sources for their animals has forced the Raikas to take up small scale agricultural activities. This is occurring due to encroachment on public lands by elite groups, industries and major infrastructure projects, and the fencing off of commons and forest areas due to the increasing number of wildlife conservation initiatives like the Kumbhalgarh Wildlife Sanctuary (in Pali district). A large part of the sanctuary has now been proposed as a National Park and a Tiger Reserve. The forest department has even started constructing a higher cemented boundary wall around the protected area. They have also cordoned off some areas for grazing to be used only by herbivore breeding centres.

Survey Method

This report is based on a survey conducted in September 2020 to understand the impact of the lockdown on the pastoralists of Rajasthan. Field work for this study concentrated on two districts of Rajasthan and the experiences of one community, the Raikas. The choice of these districts was somewhat arbitrary and guided by the restrictions on movement that were in place in the state. This survey has emerged from a pilot study that was conducted by CfP in April 2020 to examine the impact of the lockdown on pastoralists of India through a telephonic survey. The findings of that pilot study helped in identifying the issues that have been examined in this survey. A simple questionnaire was designed for collecting data with regard to the impact of the lockdown on: (i) movement (ii) access to markets (iii) expenses and incomes (iv) labour for herding (v) veterinary care (vi) ration availability (vii) social stigma and (viii) perceptions about COVID-19's impact on livelihoods (See Annexure II for questionnaire).

Data was collected through interviews conducted by a team in different villages of Pali and Sirohi districts through interviews of 28 respondents. Data analysis has been carried out by a second team, members of which were in constant touch with the first team when the interviews were being conducted. Most respondents were men with the exception of one woman in Pali district. This survey thus captures the impact of the lockdown on the pastoralists mostly from the perspective of men, while the experiences of women remain beyond its scope.

Findings

All 28 respondents belong to the Raika community, and are from 12 villages situated in the neighbouring districts of Pali and Sirohi . The villages include, Hiravav settlement (Sadri Municipality), Ghanerao, Desuri, Jojawar, Sewadi, Bijapur and Sadri Jhupa in Desuri Tehsil of Pali district; and Bharja, Mandwada, Telpur, Bhavri and Turgi villages of Pindwara tehsil of Sirohi district. (See map 1)

Among the respondents, 14 reported being sedentarised pastoralists. They graze their herds for seven to eight hours a day on sources that range from gauchars or common lands, agricultural fields, and forest lands around their villages. The choice of grazing pastures usually varies with the season. The remaining 14 respondents are mobile pastoralists who engage in long term migration. They leave their villages after the harvest of the kharif crop in late October to early November, and travel towards Gujarat in the south, Madhya Pradesh in the east and Haryana towards the north east. And return to their villages 3 to 7 months later.

The respondents of Pali district reported they primarily rear sheep and goats, and have an average herd size of 200 animals per family. The other most common animal that migratory Maru Raika respondents reported rearing was the camel. The average size of herd owned by the respondents was in the range of 25-35 camels. Most of the camels in the herd are females, while the number of males stands at 4-5 per herd. Some respondents also reported owning cows along with camels, though only one migratory respondent owned a herd of 50 cows. In Sirohi districts, most migratory as well as sedentary shepherd respondents owned cows and buffaloes, with an average herd size of up to 300 animals per family.

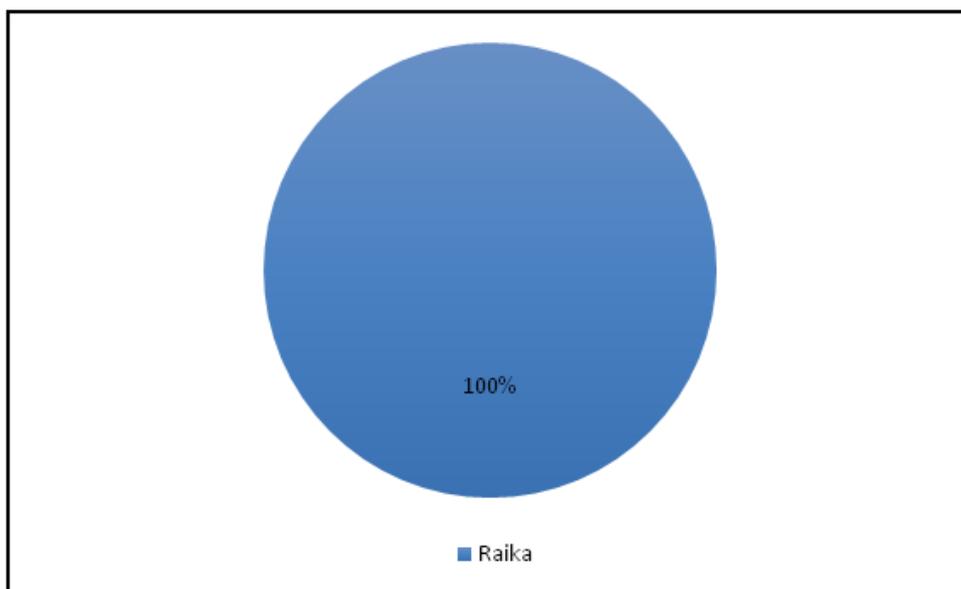


Figure 1: Community wise break up of respondents

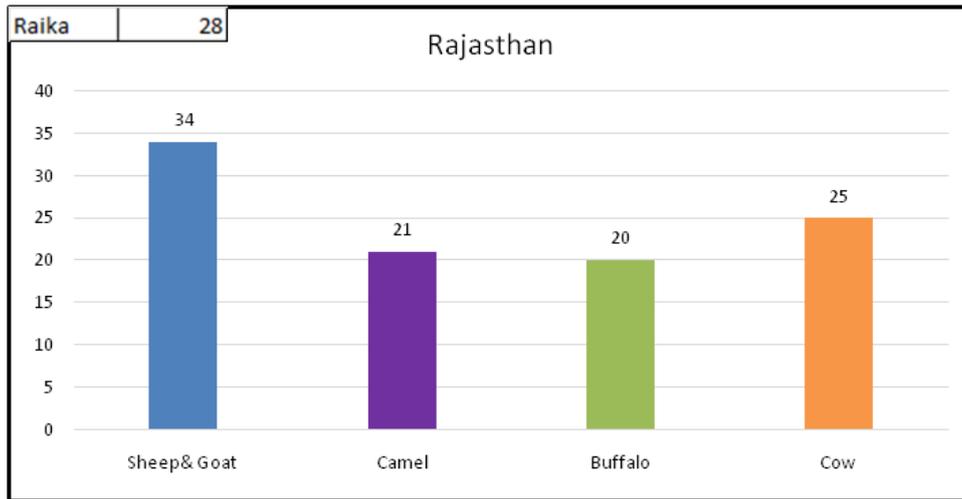
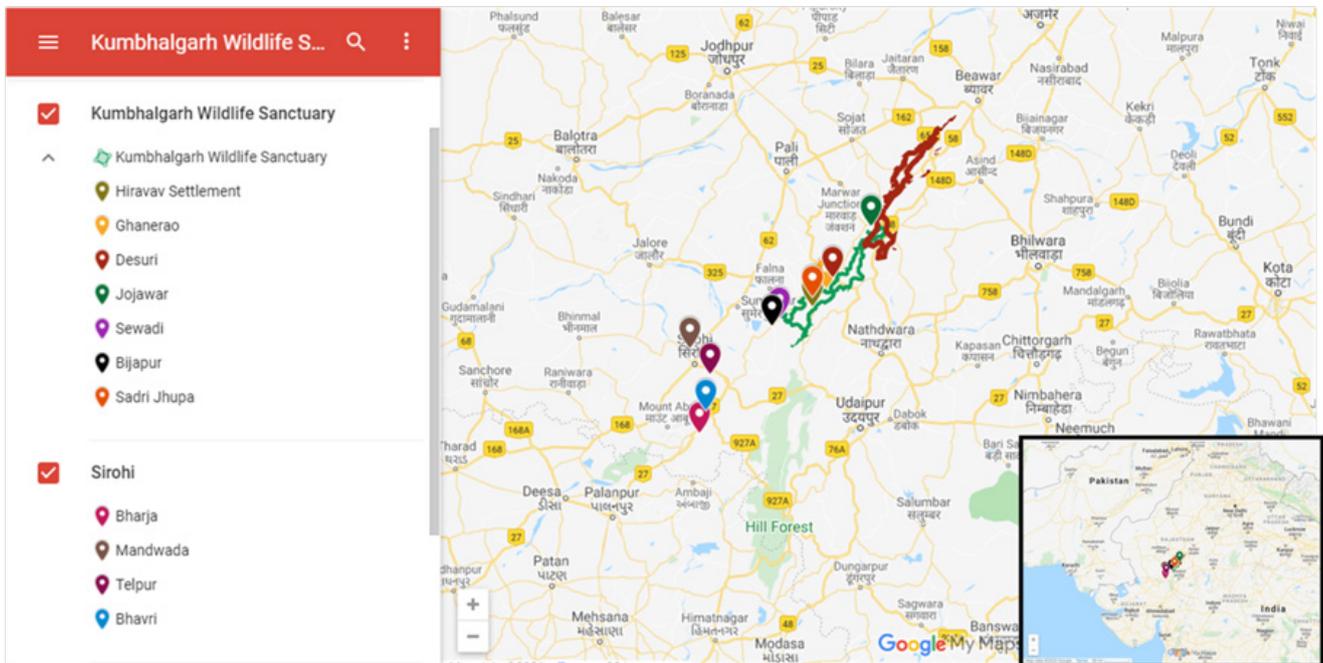


Figure 2: Livestock composition of respondents (percentage wise)



Map 1: Location of villages of respondents



Map 2: District map of Rajasthan. Highlighted districts indicate the study area. Map prepared using D-Maps.com, accessed via https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=9043&lang=en

Brief overview of pastoralism in the study area

Most Raika families live at a distance from the main village and have temporary housing structures in the gauchars called vadas. However, the village elites have been increasingly capturing the gauchars and pushing out the Raikas from these spaces. To prevent these kinds of encroachments, the state government encouraged local governance of the commons by constituting panchayat level committees to monitor the use of these lands. The result, however, has not been very favourable for the Raikas as these committees have started reserving the gauchars for grazing larger cattle belonging to dominant groups in the village. Raikas are thus unable to take their herds in these areas for grazing. Another important source of pasture has been the agricultural fields where usually a single crop is grown during the monsoons and at times in winters. These fields remain fallow for the remaining parts of the year during which period shepherds are invited by farmers to graze their

Impact on mobility

The immediate impact of the lockdown felt by the sedentarised Raikas of Pali was on their daily mobility. All respondents reported an increased presence of police around the villages and the installation of checkpoints in the area. The police did not allow any movement in or out of the villages. Since the forests and grazing lands are at some distance from their settlements, these restrictions prevented Raikas from taking their herds out for regular grazing. They were also not able to gather forage through lopping for their herds, an activity which they engage in daily under normal circumstances. The lack of transport services made it very difficult for them to procure fodder from other villages and farmers.

In Sirohi, the sedentarised Raikas were prevented from entering villages and markets by the villagers. By way of contrast to the experience of respondents from Pali, the Raikas of Sirohi were allowed to take their herds for grazing by requesting the local police guards. But the grazing time was restricted and they had to get back to their villages before dusk. Some even reported camping in the forests to avoid the back and forth movement from the villages.

The camel breeders from Jojawar (Pali district) who had already set out on their migration reported that the sudden announcement of the lockdown forced them to stop at one place for a longer period than they usually do due to the strict movement restrictions. A similar account was reported by the Raikas who had travelled to Madhya Pradesh with their herds. They became completely dependent on the farmers whose fields they had camped in. Some shepherds on the other hand decided to return to their respective villages when they heard about the lockdown. But for this they had to seek alternate routes along mountain paths and travel at night to reach the villages. While moving through these routes they had to take special care to ensure that their herd were not attacked by wild animals. In several places, the villagers did not allow them to enter the village due to fears of COVID-19 transmission. Thus, they were forced to cut short their grazing period by approximately two months.

The pastoralists of Sirohi who migrated to Gujarat and Haryana reported that their mobility was severely restricted. They were prevented from camping in the village farm lands by the police and village residents. As a result the herders had to remain wherever they camped earlier. The restrictions on movements made it difficult for them to search for other grazing areas. Some of them were forced to camp permanently in the forests. They too became quite dependent on the farmers for food, medicines, and other supplies.

Access to fodder

The sedentarised shepherds of Pali purchase fodder for their herds to supplement the daily grazing they take their animals for. When the lockdown was imposed, they could not anticipate the quantities of fodder they would need and ended up facing a fodder shortage. The few herders who could purchase it were forced to buy it at inflated prices.

The sedentary shepherds from Sirohi faced an overall shortage of fodder during the lockdown. As it is, in the dry season, the gauchars and forests are already short on fodder. Compounding this problem was the restriction on mobility which prevented them from searching for fodder in other areas. Those who did not move out of their villages stall-fed their herds. Only one respondent who owned his farmland could meet his fodder requirement from his harvested field. And respondents from a few villages could take their herds out to graze in the forests.

The migratory pastoralists of Pali purchased fodder from farmers on whose fields they had camped on. The Raikas who rear camels did not need to purchase fodder since their camels could browse off trees. Those who were migrating to Gujarat and Haryana from Sirohi had to purchase fodder at higher than regular prices from farmers.

Shelter

The Raikas who had already started their migration faced major difficulties in finding shelter during the lockdown. In Madhya Pradesh, Haryana and Gujarat, farmers were reluctant to allow the shepherds to enter their villages or even camp on their farmlands due to fears of COVID-19 transmission. In the few places where they were permitted to camp, they were forced to stop for a much longer period than usual, affecting their access to fodder considerably. Some shepherds were even asked by police officials to get themselves tested for COVID-19.

Sale of animals and milk

In Pali, sedentary herders usually sell their animals to traders who visit their villages. But the lockdown prevented the traders from visiting their villages, making the sale of animals difficult for the herders. In ordinary years, good sales are recorded especially during Eid-al-Fitr. Given that last year's Eid occurred during the lockdown, the celebrations were dampened, and many shepherds could not make any sales. The cancellation of the Pushkar fair also deprived camel herders of an important market for making animal sales. Adding to their troubles was the reduction in the rate of milk procurement by Rs. 10-12. Given that most restaurants were shut, shepherds who were migrating could not sell their surplus milk. But unlike in other states, where pastoralists were forced to throw away surplus milk, in Rajasthan the herders used the milk for self-consumption.

As mentioned earlier, traders from as far as Bikaner come to purchase animal dung from the pastoralists. But this year they could not come due to the lockdown, resulting in a financial loss for the herders.

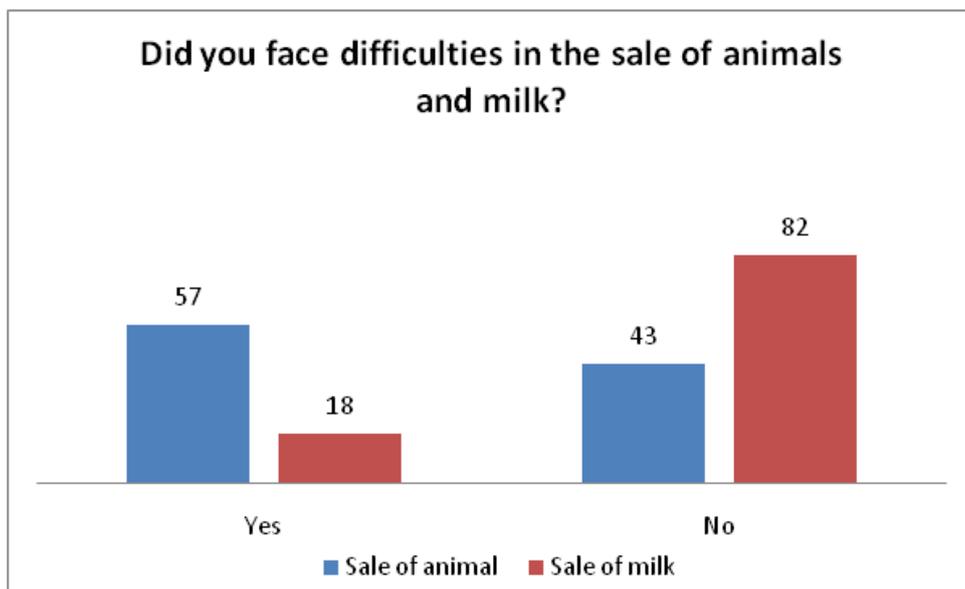


Figure 3: Herder responses w.r.t. difficulties faced in selling animals and milk (percentage wise)

In Sirohi, the movement restrictions prevented traders from visiting villages from buying animals and their produce. These restrictions also kept the shepherds from visiting the markets -- making the sale of animals and milk difficult. More importantly, since the markets were shut during the lockdown, there were very few options available for the sale of animals. Herders also reported a decline in the sale of bullocks. Most shepherds who were already on their migration could not sell milk. Only the sedentary shepherds belonging to a village in Sirohi were able to sell their milk to a cooperative dairy.

Wool shearing

Wool, though not sold, has to be sheared off the sheep thrice a year. Earlier the shepherds used to carry out this activity on their own, but now professional shearers have started visiting villages for shearing. Shepherds have to pay a fee to these individuals, besides covering costs for their food and other basic expenses. While the costs of shearing have increased, wool prices have declined considerably, making the entire process expensive for shepherds. During the lockdown, the professional shearers could not visit the shepherds. As a result, the shepherds had to spend a lot of time shearing the wool manually.

Summing up the situation on income and expenditure

On the whole, the respondents reported experiencing an increase in their expenditures and a reduction in their incomes during the lockdown. Nearly 52% of the respondents reported they had to spend more money on

purchasing medicines for their animals as compared to normal times. The next source of increased expenditure was food, with 34% of respondents reporting they had to shell out more money for buying food. And 14% reported spending a higher amount of money on transport facilities.

The greatest loss to income occurred due to their inability to sell their animals and dung. The sale of animals which is highest during Eid was completely missed out this year. The sale of milk and dung was dampened as well. Some respondents also reported losing out on the income that is earned by younger men in their families. These men usually work at small shops in cities and send a share of their wages back home. But this year they had to rush back home when the lockdown was announced. Since many of them returned without collecting their wages, it resulted in a serious loss of income to their families, particularly the ones who already have low incomes.

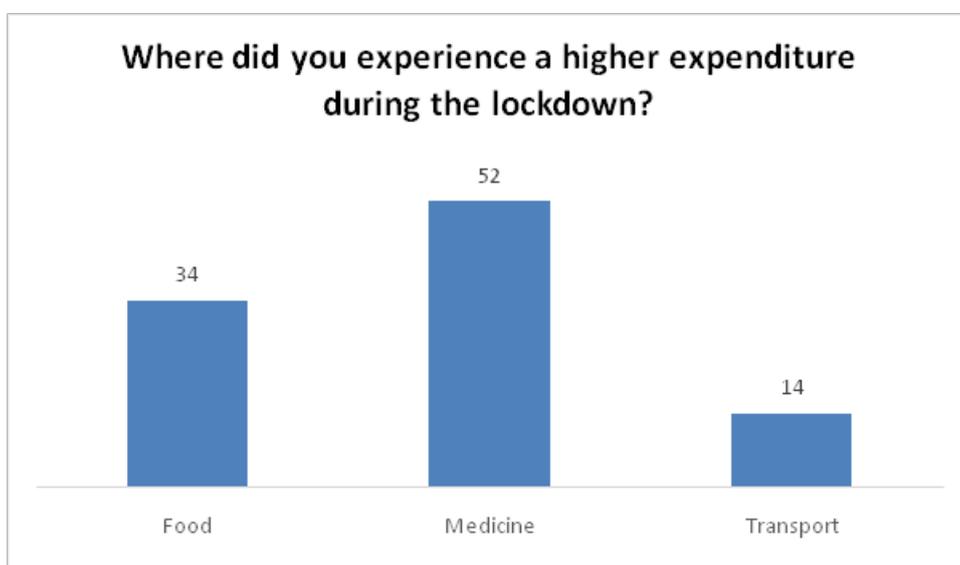


Figure 4: Herder responses w.r.t. higher expenditure (percentage wise)

Health services

Most respondents reported that they carry some essential medicines for themselves as well as their herds. Medical camps are also organised in the villages for their animals, where they are provided with antibiotic injections and other medicines. These camps were not organised during the lockdown. Eighty-six percent of the respondents reported that they were unable to access any kind of medical services. A majority of the shepherds reported that they had to rely on traditional remedies for treating minor ailments. Some respondents from Pali who had started their migration and were in Madhya Pradesh reported their animals died due to a lack of emergency medical services. Some respondents sought the help of farmers on whose lands they were camping for procuring medicines since they were forbidden from entering villages. However, the medicines were at more expensive rates than the normal ones.

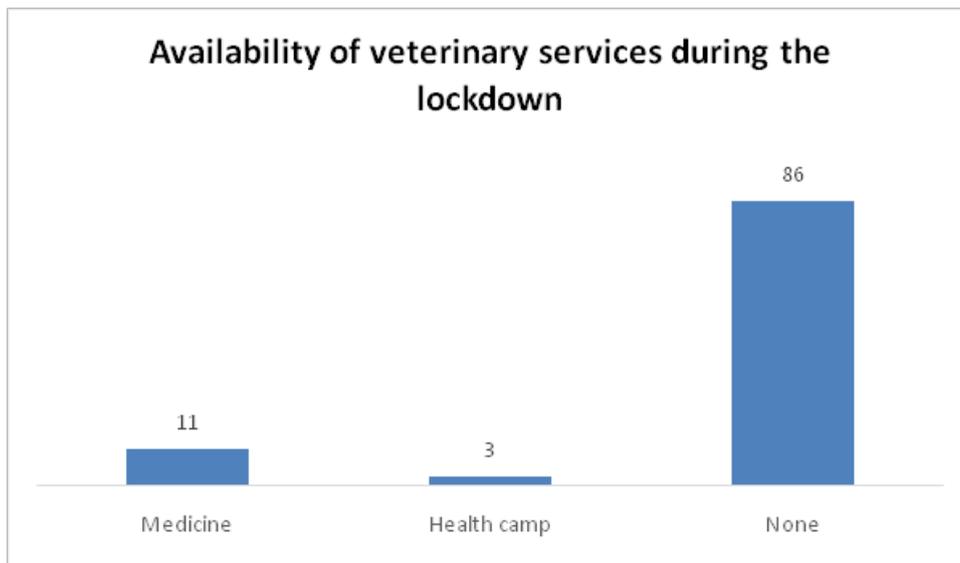


Figure 5: Herder responses w.r.t. availability of veterinary services (percentage wise)

Ration

Under usual circumstances, the respondents from Pali are provided ration by the farmers on whose fields they camp on. The camel herders also carry their own wheat grain which can be made into porridge and eaten along with camel milk, a practice they heavily relied upon for food during the lockdown. The herders also ask family members to send supplements at different points of time. However, the lockdown meant that the family members could not reach them, forcing them to purchase ration at higher prices from shops whenever they could find any shop open. They received supplies from the public distribution shops only once during the entire lockdown period. At other times they had to buy ration at inflated rates from the market. In Sirohi, a few of the respondents reported receiving help from the donation drives undertaken by Jain traders.

Impact on labour

The requirement of labour is often dependent on the size of herds and the income of the herders. A majority of the respondents reported that the size of their herds was small enough for them to manage their animals on their own. Under normal conditions they are helped by family members in taking care of the animals. Another reason for not hiring any extra labour is that they simply cannot afford to do so as their income from pastoralism is low. The respondents who undertake migration reported that since they travel in groups or deras, they manage their animals collectively. This saves them from hiring any extra help. During the lockdown there was no substantial change for them with regard to the situation of labour. However, one respondent reported that since mobility was such a problem, the women in their family took up a larger role in looking after the herd.

Social stigma

A majority of the respondents (75%) reported that the main form of stigma they were subjected to stemmed from a fear of COVID-19 transmission. Villagers feared that pastoralists would transmit the virus due to their mobile lifestyle. Respondents reported that villagers denied them entry which made it difficult for them to buy necessary essentials from the villages while on migration. They could only procure supplies by either entering the village late at night or through some farmer who was willing to help them out. But even while helping them, the farmers had to ensure that nobody in the village discovered that they were supporting the herders. The section of respondents (25%) which reported not facing any form of stigma attributed it to the fact that since they were already living inside the village, they were a part of the village community. The lockdown therefore did not bring a change in attitude of their fellow residents towards them.

Hopes and fears

On the question of hopes and fears for the future, respondents expressed a sense of fear about the situation they would be in if the lockdown and the pandemic were to continue next year. They reported that similar movement restrictions for another migration cycle would make survival very difficult for them. The main problem they anticipated is sourcing fodder — which is crucial for keeping their animals alive. The continuation of movement restrictions would prevent them from finding adequate fodder for their animals.

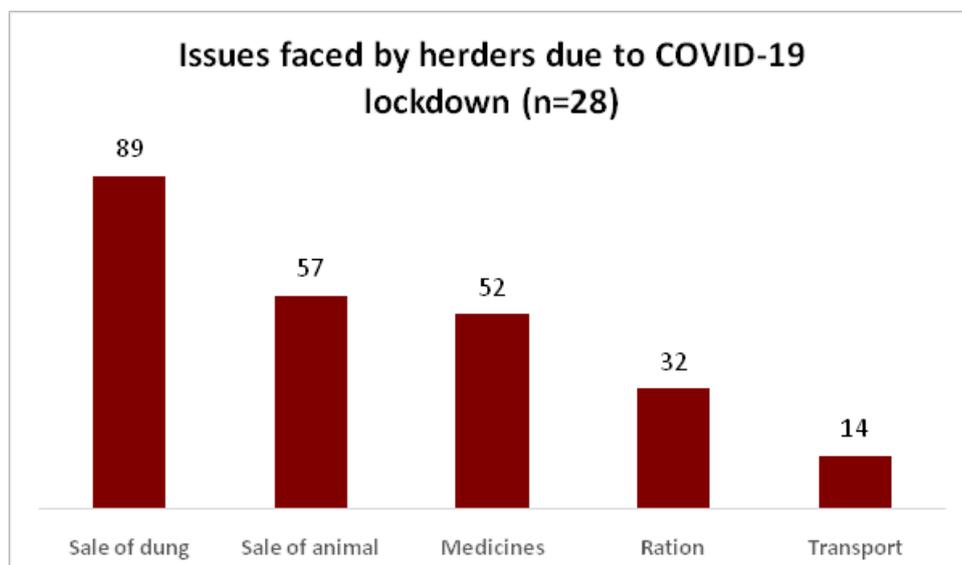


Figure 6: Herder responses w.r.t. issues faced (percentage wise)

They felt that in such a situation, they may have to reduce their herd size and continue with their migration, even if that meant transgressing any lockdowns that may be imposed in the future. When asked about their hopes, seven interviewees responded by making an appeal to

the government for formulating policies that are directed to meet the requirements of pastoralists with regard to support for medicines, health camps, and insurance for animals. Others also demanded a policy for

Conclusion

This study suggests that there has been a considerable economic loss to the families since income was greatly reduced during the summer months. At the same time, there was a considerable increase in expenditure. A natural corollary of this was that they suffered from a serious financial crunch during this period. It also affected their migration patterns and routes. The lack of availability of veterinary services also contributed to a decline in the health of animals and in a few extreme instances, it resulted in the death of animals. The only form of state support that was available to the pastoralists was the ration supply provided through the public distribution service once during the entire period of the lockdown. Given that the spread of COVID-19 continues to affect the entire country for nearly one and a half years now, the effects of these changes in loss of income and seasonal migration will have to be studied in the long term to understand the real impacts of the pandemic on the community. The state may also need to formulate specific policies that are aimed at alleviating the conditions of the pastoralists.

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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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