

Impact of the COVID -19 lockdown on pastoralists of Uttarakhand

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List of Acronyms

COVID-19 Coronavirus Disease or 2019-nCoV

FRA Forest Rights Act

Impact of the lockdown on Uttarakhand's Van Gujjar Community

Amit Rathi

Introduction

When the snow melts in the higher alpine regions in the summer, pastoralists move up to those areas to graze their animals. After monsoon they move down to occupy low altitude pastures in the winter months. Movement of people and their livestock proceeds along customary sites and routes.

Though some communities in the Himalayas are agro-pastoralists and cultivate land, the poor quality of agricultural land and small land holding means that a major portion of household income continues to be drawn from pastoral activities. Most herder families also supplement their livelihoods through handicraft, trade and transport sectors. The Van Gujjars of Uttarakhand are Sunni Muslims, belonging to the Deobandi and Barelvi sects. Known for rearing the indigenous buffalo breed 'Gojri', they are usually landless and do not possess any permanent houses. The bulk of their income is derived from the sale of milk and its products, and from the occasional sale of animals.

Their seasonal grazing pastures lie in the central Himalayas spreading across the subtropical foothill forests to the high-altitude alpine pastures. Broad leaved forests in the foothills provide forage to livestock during winter months. They begin their seasonal migration towards the high altitude summer pastures in March and April. While on the move, the animals graze in village forests and commons. Through the monsoon and till the end of October, these pastoralists stay in the subalpine and alpine pastures. By November they return with their herds to their winter pastures in the foothills of the Shiwalik range, where they stay till February.

The extent of migration of Van Gujjars has reduced significantly in scale from what it used to be two decades ago. This reduction is a result of the developmental policies of the state and the ever expanding establishment of forests into protected areas — both of which have vastly limited their access to grazing pastures. Since the establishment of the Rajaji National Park in 1983, state authorities have been pressuring Van Guijar families to either sedentarise or to vacate the forest. These factors have led to a threefold division in the way the community members are organised. There is one set of families which continues to migrate, a second set that has settled in or near the forest areas, and a third set

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that is now living in resettled colonies. The families that live in resettled colonies have sedentarised completely and cultivate wheat, rice and sugarcane. But their main source of livelihood continues to be from the sale of milk. Apart from farming, these families are also involved in wage labour either as drivers or as labourers. A point to note is that though these families' resettlement was facilitated by the state, the title of the lands on which they were moved to were not transferred to the community which continues to be a source of uncertainty for them.



Map 1: District map of Uttarakhand. Highlighted districts indicate the study area. Map prepared using D-Maps.com, accessed via https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_ car=9155&lang=en

A persistent problem that the Van Gujjars of these colonies have to face is that of restricting access to grazing areas. This has resulted in a considerable decline in the herd size from an earlier average of 80-100 animals/family to 25/30 animals/family now.

The Gojri breed

Gojri buffaloes get their name from the Van Gujjar community who have reared and tended to this breed for ages. While the Gojri buffalo was initially lesser-known and did not have a formal recognition as a distinct breed, recent characterisation by the National Bureau of Animal Genetic Resources has led to its registration as a distinct buffalo breed with its native tract in Himachal Pradesh & Punjab. Uttarakhand is yet to be included in the Gojri buffaloes' native tract. The daily milk yield of Gojri buffaloes is 5 to 7 Kg/buffalo.

Survey Method

This study examines the impact of the 2020 lockdown on the pastoralists of Uttarakhand. It focuses on the experiences of the Van Gujjar community. The idea for this survey emerged from a pilot study that was conducted by the Centre for Pastoralism in April 2020 to get a sense of the impact that the lockdown had on Indian pastoralists. That pilot study helped in identifying the main issues with reference to which the impact of the lockdown has been examined in the current survey. These include: (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).

Twenty one pastoralists were interviewed for this survey. These were conducted during June-July 2020. Two factors were relied upon for selecting respondents:

i) they should be using one of the major migratory routes of Van Gujjars or ii.) they should belong to one of the main districts in which Van Gujjars can be found in Uttarakhand.

Respondents were chosen through random sampling.

Findings

Of 21 individuals interviewed, one belonged to Dehradun district, nine belonged to Haridwar district and eleven belonged to Pauri Garhwal district. All respondents are transhumant. Approximately 81% possessed Aadhar cards and 66% had bank accounts. Ninety percent of respondents were with their herds during the lockdown.

 Table 1: District wise distribution of respondents

District	No. of respondents interviewed		
Dehradun	1		
Haridwar	9		
Pauri Garhwal	11		

Table 2: Profile of respondents

Community/Group	Aadhar card holders	Bank accounts	Migratory	Are you with herd	Migration during lockdown
Van Gujjars	17/21	14/21	21/21	19/21	5/21

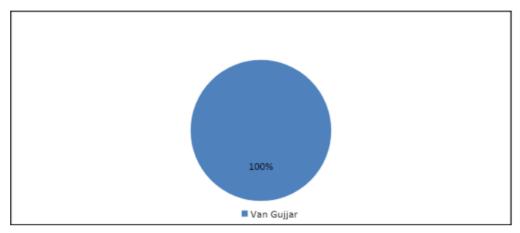


Figure 1: Community representation of respondents (percentage wise)



Map 2: Respondents' migratory routes

There are four major migratory routes they take during their seasonal migration, which vary according to the point from which they start their journey (See map 2). Among the respondents, one migrates to Rudraprayag district, five migrate to Uttarkashi district, one migrates to Haridwar, and one migrates to Chamoli district of Uttarakhand. The remaining 13 migrate to Bijnor district in the neighbouring state of

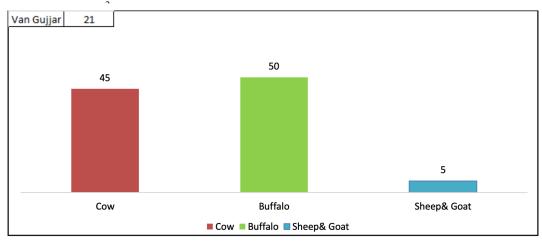


Figure 2: Livestock composition of respondents (percentage wise)

Migration under the lockdown

The movement restrictions resulted in a changed or shorter migratory route. Six respondents were not allowed to migrate (and had to stay back at their winter homes), ten had already migrated, and five were on migration. Of these five, two were stuck in their route, and two reached their summer pasture with difficulties, while one was turned away by forest department and police officials.

The respondents which could not migrate to their summer pastures had a tough time finding adequate grazing pastures. The fact that there were several other such individuals who had stayed back put immense stress on the already limited pastures., This forced them to buy fodder from nearby villages or markets at higher prices (refer to the section on forage for price details). Adding to their pains was the constant harassment they had to face from forest department officials, who were demanding bribes for allowing vehicles carrying fodder to enter the forest. The Van Gujjars had to pay Rs.500 per vehicle to forest department officials so they could feed their animals. They had to live in constant fear of forest fires which is a common phenomenon in Uttarakhand during summers. Finally, staying back at the winter pastures meant that they had to live through the summer heat during the lockdown. The high temperatures impacted the health and milk production capacity of their animals.

On the other hand, the ten respondents who were able to migrate to Bijnor faced a different set of difficulties. The villagers of that area made it clear to the herders that they were unwelcome there. In some instances, villagers even complained to forest department and police officials about their presence in those parts. The restrictions imposed by these officials and the villagers prevented the pastoralists from entering nearby villages, making the procurement of ration and other essential supplies difficult for them.

The two respondents who were stuck on their way decided to camp for a few days on forest lands they were close to. While staying there they were harassed regularly by forest department officials and asked to vacate the area. These had around 70 animals with them, out of which 12 fell ill due to the summer heat.

^{2.} After 1990 many Van Gujjars started migrating to the Khadar region near the River Ganga in Bijnor district in Uttar Pradesh. They changed their migratory route due to movement restrictions imposed by the forest department, particularly while moving to their summer pastures. The relatively easy availability of forest and water in Bijnor district, and the fact that it can be reached within two days from Pauri and Haridwar, made it an appropriate destination for summer grazing. As of now around 3000 families migrate to the Khadar region. This option however is not ideal, as far as the Gojri buffalo breed is concerned, since it is poorly adapted to the summer heat in the plains which reduces their milk yield to 4-5 litres/animal than the usual 6-7 litres/ animal produced when they graze in the alpine meadows.

The two respondents who managed to reach their summer pastures shared their journey was a long and arduous one as, while on their way, they were looked upon with suspicion by villagers and were not allowed to graze their herds in the villages. They thus had to keep moving till they reached their destination, making the journey very tiring for them and their herd.

Accessing forage and water

All respondents faced difficulties in accessing forage and water due to the ban on movement and limited availability of transport facilities. As mentioned before, several Van Gujjar families were forced to stay back at their winter pastures and deal with the problem of forage shortage due to excessive pressure on the same pasture land. Market closures and constraints on transportation led to a shortage of fodder and caused inflation in its prices. Fodder prices increased from Rs. 800 to Rs. 2500 per hectare while transportation charges increased from Rs.1500 to Rs.2500 per round.

Only two respondents indicated they buy fodder regularly for their herd while the remaining 19 do not generally buy fodder and rely on forest lands. Three respondents indicated they were able to buy fodder during the lockdown. While 17 indicated they were forced to explore the option of buying fodder, but were unsuccessful as the markets were closed and transportation services were scarce. The inadequate access to fodder, combined with the summer heat affected the health and productivity of their animals. Eight herders reported their animals had fallen sick and the milk production reduced to 3-4 litres / animal from the usual of 6-7 litres / animal. None of the respondents received any support from the state animal husbandry department in procuring fodder during this period.

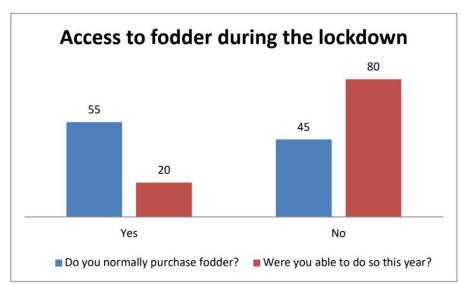


Figure 3: Livestock composition of respondents (percentage wise)

Impact on revenues

Sale of milk

Sale of milk forms a core part of Van Gujjars' livelihood -- they sell to institutions, shops and individual families in large towns such as Haridwar, Rishikesh and Dehradun. But during the lockdown they were unable to transport their milk to these centres due to movement restrictions and limited transport facilities. Another factor which contributed immensely to the decline of milk sales was the rumour that the milk Van Gujjars were selling was carrying the Coronavirus (See section on social stigma below for details). Nearly 90% of respondents reported they were not able to sell their milk and milk based products like ghee and cheese. In the few instances when they were able to make sales, they had to sell their products at lower prices. Milk prices had reduced from the regular rates of Rs. 48-50 per litre to Rs. 25-30 per litre. And unfortunately the milk prices continued to remain depressed even after the lockdown had eased, resulting in major financial losses.

Sale of animals

All respondents indicated they were unable to sell animals. In normal times, there is a good demand for the high-quality bulls reared by the Van Gujjars. These sales occur before the seasonal migration begins. Proceeds from these sales are used for covering expenses during their migration. Selling animals at this time also helps them in keeping a check on their herd size for them to migrate easily. This year however, none of the respondents could make any bull sales. Situation of labour

Most respondents reported their herds are managed by family members and they seldom hire additional labour for this purpose. The need for hiring labour used to be felt earlier when the average herd size was 100-150 animals / family. But with the reduction of herd size to an average of 30-50 animals per family, they no longer feel the requirement of hiring labour. Only two respondents indicated they still hire labour for their animals from the community, of which one was not able to do so this year due to the prevailing COVID-19 situation.

Availability of transport

Under normal circumstances pastoralists use their own vehicles to transport belongings and herds. They also rely on public and private vehicles for carrying their milk to urban centres for making sales. During the lockdown they were neither able to move in their own vehicles nor hire public vehicles for transportation. Herders who had been separated from their herds were not able to join their herds. The limited transport facilities that were available were charging Rs. 2500 per round while the regular rates are Rs. 1500 per round.

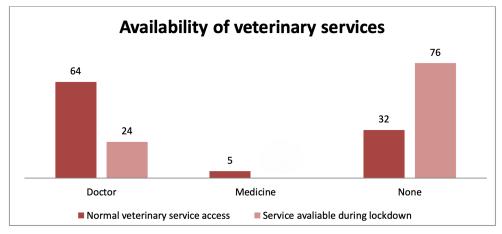


Figure 4: Herder responses w.r.t. availability of veterinary service during lockdown (percentage wise)

Access to veterinary services

Van Gujjars still depend upon their traditional knowledge for treating their animals with local plants and herbs of the forest but in critical situations they reach out to private veterinary doctors in nearby towns. Besides, there are no government hospitals in the area and neither are any local health camps organised regularly by state veterinary department. Fourteen respondents indicated they consult doctors for their animals' treatment, while the rest of them rely on their traditional wisdom Those who consult doctors found it difficult to do so during the lockdown. Only five respondents could avail the help of doctors telephonically, and bought the prescribed medicines from nearby markets.

Rations

In normal years, while on the move, pastoralists obtain ration from local stores in nearby villages or from shops in small towns. They also have a stock of supplies while returning from their winter homes. This year they found it difficult to access rations from these sources. Sixty six percent of respondents reported that villages that are normally welcoming were wary of their presence due to fears of potential transmission of COVID-19 due to the herders' mobile lifestyle and were not permitted to enter the villages. Adding to their difficulties was the fact that there was very little state support for them. A majority of the respondents (76%) did not receive any support from state agencies in accessing rations during the lockdown. While the remaining 24% reported receiving help from a local community organisation called the 'Van Gujjar Yuva Sanghatan'.

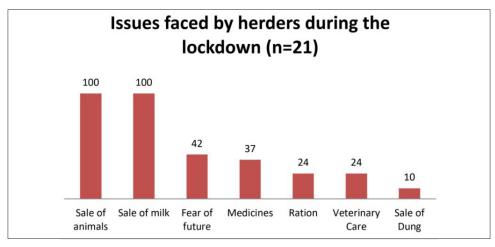


Figure 5: Difficulties faced by Van Gujjars (percentage wise)

Social stigma

All respondents reported experiencing a great deal of social stigma on account of their religion and their mobile lifestyle. This was a direct consequence of the false rumours spread about the 'Tablighi Jamaat' by national media channels. According to this rumour, individuals who had attended the Tablighi Jamaat congregation, a Deobandi Islamic organisation, in New Delhi in March 2020, were on a mission of spreading Coronavirus across the country. In reality what had happened was that the attendees of the congregation, like many others in the country, found themselves in a spot due to the sudden imposition of the lockdown. Many individuals who had attended this event hurriedly left for their homes to avoid being stuck in Delhi for an unknown period of time. However, multiple national media portals portrayed the attendees of this congregation as potential carriers of Coronavirus, who were deliberately dispersing throughout the country with the aim of spreading the virus. This misinformation was further spread through social media by the use of derogatory terms like 'Corona Jihad' and 'Manav bomb' for referring to them.

The spread of this kind of Islamophobia shaped the forms of stigma that the Van Gujjars of Uttarakhand had to face. They were termed as 'jamaatis' by people they came by. Van Gujjars from Rishikesh/Haridwar areas faced difficulties in selling milk. In both instances, there were rumours that their milk carries the Coronavirus due to which customers and dairy owners refused to buy their milk. They were not allowed to enter the villages to purchase fodder. Those who started their migration faced issues on their way and were not allowed to camp in their summer pastures by the people living in those areas.

All respondents expressed a sense of fear and dismay at the way they were discriminated against by the villagers. What made it worse was the fact that up until 2020, they used to have cordial and mutually respectful relations with those very same people. There existed a symbiotic relationship between the two groups with the villagers buying milk

products from the Gujjars, and the Gujjars in turn buying fodder and grains from them. Respondents shared this was the first time that their religious identity became a problem for them. All of them were worried about the extent to which the pandemic had weakened the fabric of relations in the area and expressed fears about the possibility of facing similar discrimination in the following migratory season.

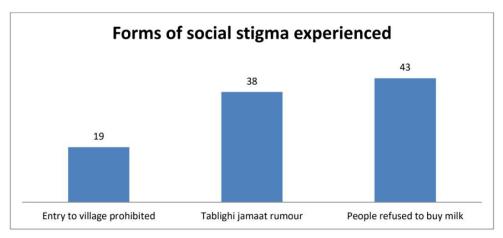


Figure 6: Ways in which Van Gujjars faced social stigma (percentage wise)

Hopes and fears

All respondents were hopeful that COVID-19 would not have any major long-term impact on their livelihood, and shared a degree of confidence for overcoming the difficulties of the current situation. All respondents indicated that compared to other rural communities, they were in a better off situation during the pandemic. Regarding fears for the future, they shared two major concerns. The first was the circular issued by the state government banning their seasonal migration. This made them doubt whether they would be allowed to migrate next year or not. The second cause of worry was the changed dynamics in their relationship with the villagers and other communities, and the possible impact this might have on milk markets.

The chronic problem of harassment by state forest department officials An additional issue which surfaced in this survey was the illegal vandalisation activities carried out by state officials on the legal settlements of Van Gujjars. This is related to the larger chronic problems that have persisted in the state — relating to forest department officials harassing members of the community. An extreme form of this harassment was reported by Mastu in the Sukhro beat of Kotdwar forest division, in Pauri Garhwal district. Officials from the forest department vandalised his dera (hut) in his absence, when his wife and children were at home and threatened his family to leave the forest immediately. He was able to continue camping in the spot only after senior officials intervened in the matter.

Another individual, Ghulam Mustafa, who lives near Asharodi check post in the Ramgarh range of Rajaji National Park in Dehradun district, reported a similar experience. Officials from the state forest department visited his hut on 16th June 2020 with the purpose of vandalising the settlement. When he objected to their actions citing the claims that had been filed under the Forest Rights Act (FRA) 2006, and the Supreme Court's orders issued on 28th March 2019, which imposed a stay on their eviction, the officials assaulted him and his family members. Disregarding the FRA and the Supreme Court's order, officials threatened him and asked him to vacate the place. This is despite the fact that he had shown them relevant documents that supported his claims. This was such a serious issue that the state government was forced to set up an inquiry committee to investigate the incident.

Discussion

This section discusses the information that has emerged from the ongoing work of a Centre for Pastoralism fellow, Mr. Mohammad Meer Hamza, who works in Uttarakhand and is a member of the community himself. Further, this section will show that the findings of this survey with respect to disruption in migration, difficulties in accessing fodder, challenges in selling milk and animals are issues that were experienced by a much larger section of the Van Gujjars living in Tehri and Pauri Garhwal areas and Dehradun district.

Difficulties in movement

In the Tehri Garhwal region, 150 families reside in the Shivpuri range of the Narendra Nagar forest division. Under normal circumstances, 30 families out of these 150 migrate to the bugyals in Rudraprayag, while the remaining migrate to Lakkarghat in Rishikesh. When the lockdown was announced, these 30 families had already started their migration and found themselves stranded near Ghumaniwala in Rishikesh. Half of these families decided to stay on land under the control of the Dehradun forest division, while the other half rented land near the Nirmal Hospital, close to Garhi Shyampur in Rishikesh. Both sets of families faced problems during their stay in these vastly different spaces. The families which stayed back in the forest lands had to face harassment by forest department officials who insisted that they vacate the land, notwithstanding the movement limitations imposed by the lockdown. The ones who were living in Rishikesh were forced to pay higher rents and experienced stigma due to rumours which labelled Van Gujjars as 'Jamaatis' spreading the Coronavirus. Adding to their difficulties, was the challenge they had to face in finding adequate grazing pastures for their herd of nearly 250 animals. Another set of families which was stuck close to the Asan river in Vikasnagar tehsil of Dehradun were asked to leave the area by residents of nearby villages. People also refused to buy milk from them due to fears of COVID-19 transmission and the Tablighi Jamaat rumours.

Unavailability of fodder and health problems in herders' animals

Fifty Van Gujjar families who belong to the Gohri range of Rajaji Tiger reserve in Yamkeshwar block in Pauri Garhwal, were stuck there during

the lockdown. They had around 350 animals with them and struggled to find adequate fodder for their animals. This forced them to buy fodder at prices as high as Rs. 2500 per hectare. They had to pay an additional sum of Rs. 2,500 per round for transportation. They were also forced to shell out another Rs. 500 per vehicle to cover the bribes demanded by forest department officials for letting the entry of these vehicles in the forest. The lack of adequate quality fodder led to around 55 animals falling ill, and 15 animals died due to heat and other health issues.

Problems in sale of milk due to social stigma

Difficulty in selling milk was a core problem that Van Gujjars had to face during and after the lockdown. The families of Tehri Garhwal region who usually sell their milk in Rishikesh reported that after the rumour of 'Tablighi Jamaat' spread, no one came to buy milk from them for ten days. In the aftermath of the lockdown, local dairies started buying milk at Rs. 30- 35 per litre, which is lower than the usual price of Rs.48-50 per litre. The Gujjars of Pauri Garhwal suffered from a broadly similar depression of milk prices that sustained way past the lockdown. The Gaindikhata colony near Haridwar has more than a thousand Van Gujjar families as its residents. Together these families constitute a major centre of milk supply with a daily production of nearly 5000 litres. The situation became so difficult for these families that they were on the verge of throwing their milk due to lack of buyers as the area was sealed off due to the Tablighi Jamaat rumours. A month later even though the situation became normal, they were forced to sell their milk at Rs. 25-30 per litre.

Conclusion ——

On the whole, the key problems that Van Gujjars faced during the lockdown included disruption in their migration and inadequate access to quality pasture, financial stress due to an overall increase in expenditures and decline in incomes, harassment by forest department officials, and social stigma due to their religious identity.

The restrictions on movement forced most of the respondents to stay back at their winter pastures. The limited availability of grazing pastures, and restricted access to fodder due to lack of transport facilities, translated into inflated fodder prices, wherever it was available. Quite naturally, the lack of quality pasture and adequate fodder had an impact on the health and productivity of their livestock. In more extreme cases, it also led to the death of animals. All these factors led to a steep increase in the expenditure that pastoralists had to incur during the lockdown. Their expenditures further exacerbated due to the bribes they had to pay to the forest department officials for permitting entry of vehicles carrying fodder into forest areas. On the other hand, their income levels declined as milk prices were depressed in the market. The restrictions on their movements and lack of transport facilities ensured that they were unable to sell their animals.

The decrease in milk prices occurred due to two things: social stigma stemming from fears of COVID-19 transmission and a lack of transportation for carrying milk to the markets. Their usual buyers refused to buy milk from them citing concerns of COVID-19 transmission through their milk. This perception was generated particularly due to their Muslim identity and the Tablighi Jamaat rumours. Besides adding to the financial burden, social stigma was also a cause of much anxiety to the Van Gujjars. They were not allowed to enter nearby villages and were socially boycotted by the villagers. They were termed names like 'jamaatis' 'tablighis' and stigmatised as carriers of Coronavirus. The fact that respondents found these incidents of discriminatory behaviour deeply upsetting is evident from the fears they shared of facing similar discrimination. In the same vein, they expressed worries about the difficulties they may have to face during their seasonal migration next year. This is more so because some of them have already been forced to change their migratory routes. Making further changes to the routes is something that they are not looking forward to.

Lastly, the state officials' response towards Van Gujjars during the pandemic — the harassment that they have had to face at the hands of forest department officials is something that is a chronic problem. But the complete lack of state support in providing them with rations and the constant harassment by forest department officials of Van Gujjars during the lockdown is a very concerning finding that has emerged in this study. The state government must take active steps to check improprieties of the forest department and police officials.

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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. Guijars 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 #

Home Location
 Current Location
 Aadhaar Card Y/N
 Bank account Y/N

5. Migratory Y/N 6. Owner/helper?

7. Are you with the herd Y/N9. Herd size8. What animals do you manage?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

