



RURAL LIVESTOCK MARKETS IN INDIA

An Anthropological Exploration of Economic, Social and Cultural Facets



A Report on **Alamanda Livestock Market**

Vizianagaram, Andhra Pradesh
2024

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Ministry of Culture
Government of India

Research Team

Shri Dalibandhu Pukkalla, Assistant Anthropologist (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Shri Narayana Rao Bonthu, Research Associate (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Shri Rambabu Marla, Research Associate (Cultural), AnSI, Sub-Regional Centre,
Jagdalpur

Ms. Gangarapu Sandhya, Research Associate (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Shri Yogesh Yadav, Research Associate (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Shri Sagar Kodi, Research Associate (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Ms. Shiule Gope, Senior Research Fellow (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Shri Ranjan Chatterjee, Junior Research Fellow (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Ms. Swanimamundi Rabha, Junior Research Fellow (Cultural), AnSI, SRC, Mysuru

Acknowledgement

We express our sincere gratitude to Prof. BV Sharma, Director, Anthropological Survey of India, for his continued guidance in completing this report. His guidance has not only helped us to comprehend the various facets of market dimensions, but his 'experiential knowledge' has also shaped our ideas and directed us toward meaningful stances in this research. We also thank him for his follow-ups on this research project and for steering us toward a policy-oriented approach, rooted in his vision to attract researchers and policymakers, particularly those interested in market ethnography and discourses in anthropological disciplines.

We thank Dr. M. Sasikumar, Joint Director, Anthropological Survey of India, for meticulously reviewing the report and sharing his insightful thoughts, which have significantly contributed to bolstering the scope of this research.

We sincerely thank Dr. Harashawaradhana, Deputy Director (Physical) and Head of Office, and Dr. Mithun Sikdar, Superintending Anthropologist (Physical), Southern Regional Centre, Mysuru, for their support in completing this task.

We also thank Principal Investigators and Principal Coordinators of this project for their guidance and support at the initial and later stages. We also thank the administrative teams at the Head Office, Kolkata, and the Southern Regional Centre, Mysuru, for their valuable support.

We also thank the officials from the Administrative, Animal Husbandry Department of Vizianagaram District, who supported us during the fieldwork and in all possible ways in completing it. We also acknowledge our sincere thanks to the market management committee of Alamanda Livestock Market, and we are grateful for their support during the fieldwork. Finally, we also thank every market participant who has supported us during the fieldwork, both on weekly market days and in villages, for completing the fieldwork without difficulties. Once again, we are grateful to everyone for their support.

Research Team

Contents

Chapter	Content	Page No.
	<i>List of Tables</i>	
	<i>List of Figures</i>	
Chapter 01	Introduction	1
Chapter 02	Market Setting	24
Chapter 03	Economic Facets	47
Chapter 04	Social Aspects	84
Chapter 05	Cultural Facets	135
Chapter 06	Conclusion	167
	<i>Glossary</i>	170
	<i>References</i>	171
	<i>Photographs</i>	177
	<i>Annexures</i>	180

List of Tables

S. No	Table No.	Title
1	1.1	Schedules Employed during the Fieldwork
2	1.2	Villages covered during the study
3	2.1	Constitutional Status of Market Participants
4	2.2	The Distribution of Age of the Market Participants
5	2.3	Gender Wise Distribution
6	2.4	Region and Distance of the Market Participants
7	2.5	Distance between the Market and the Native Village of the Transporters
8	2.6	Distance between the Market and the Native Village of the Market Transactors
9	2.7	Distribution of Caste
10	2.8	Distribution of Religion of Market Participants
11	2.9	Distribution of Primary Occupation of the Market Participants
12	2.10	Distribution of Secondary Occupation of the Market Participants
13	2.11	Native District of the Market Participants
14	2.12	Accompanied During Transactions
15	2.13	Number of Members Who Accompanied You for Assistance
16	2.14	Rendering Support
17	3.1	Purpose of Visits
18	3.2	Expenditure Incurred on Transport by market participants
19	3.3	Mode of Transport and Average Amount spent on Transport
20	3.4	Number of years since visiting the study market and Frequency of Visit to market
21	3.5	Type and Total Number of Cattle Transacted (Both Successful and Unsuccessful)
22	3.6	Distribution of Type of Cattle by Successful Transactions
23	3.7	Preference for Homebred and Purchased Cattle in context of successful transactions
24	3.8	Approximate Age (in Yrs.) of Cattle in context of successful transactions
25	3.9	Self-Assessment of Health in context of successful transactions
26	3.10	Average price quoted (sellers) and expected (buyers) for different types of cattle
27	3.11	Expected and Actual Price and Successful Conclusion of Sales, Purchases and Exchanges
28	3.12	Previous Number of Attempts and Waiting Periods for Successful Sale, Purchase and Exchange
29	3.13	Perception of Successful Sales, Purchases and Exchange
30	3.14	Details of Payments
31	3.15	Reasons for Successful Sale, Purchase and Exchange
32	3.16	Frequency and Purpose of Visits by Farmers
33	3.17	Transaction of Livestock by Farmers
34	3.18	Prices at which livestock were transacted by farmers
35	3.19	Benefits of Market Visits Reported by the Farmers
36	3.20	Types of Skills Needed by Traders
37	3.21	Who has influenced to Become Trader
38	3.22	Types of Tasks Assigned to Assistants and Categories of Assistants

S. No	Table No.	Title
39	3.23	Dependency on Weekly Markets by Traders
40	3.24	Average time period from purchase to sale/end use by traders
41	3.25	Types of Cattle Transacted
42	3.26	Source of Livestock for Traders
43	3.27	Sources of Capital for Traders
44	3.28	Profits from Trading (Last Five Years)
45	3.29	Types of Investment by Traders
46	3.30	Factors Affecting Livestock business
47	3.31	Use of Social Media by Traders
48	3.32	Intermediaries' Nature of Work
49	3.33	Years of experience of the Intermediaries
50	3.34	Age at entry, choice of service, and commencement of service
51	3.35	Who influenced you to take up this work
52	3.36	Intermediary Service through a Prior Appointment
53	3.37	Deals in a Month on an Average
54	3.38	Terms and Condition of Intermediary Service
55	3.39	Average Earnings per Month
56	3.40	Intermediaries and their Clients
57	3.41	Selective Qualities, Description and its Significance
58	4.1	Traditional Grazing Practices and Payment Systems in Cattle Rearing
59	4.2	Opinion on the Benefits of Regular Participation for New Contacts
60	4.3	New Contacts and Social Network
61	4.4	Typology of New Contacts – Farmers
62	4.5	Typology of New Contacts – Traders
63	4.6	Typology of New Contacts – Intermediary
64	4.7	Identity and Social Network
65	4.8	Degree of Significance of Social Identities
66	4.9	Reasons behind the Significance of Social Identities
67	4.10	Reasons behind the Non-significance of Social Identities
68	4.11	Development of Relationships with New Contacts
69	4.12	Likeness with the Identity of the New Contacts
70	4.13	Perception of the Present Status of the Relationship
71	4.14	Prime Significance of Monetary Aspects concerning Transactions
72	4.15	Importance of Similarity in Identities in Market Relations – Farmers
73	4.16	Importance of Similarity in Identities in Market Relations - Traders
74	4.17	Importance of Similarity in Identities in Market Relations – Intermediary
75	4.18	Possibility of Disputes over Transactions
76	4.19	Reasons for Disputes
77	4.20	Process of Dispute Resolution
78	4.21	Help-seeking in Dispute Resolution
79	4.22	Influence of Socio-economic Status on Decision-Making During Resolution

S. No	Table No.	Title
80	4.23	Personal Experience of Dispute
81	4.24	Experience of Dispute by Kin or Friend
82	5.1	Existence of Code Language in the Market Transactions
83	5.2	Linguistic Terms with their Equivalent Monetary Values
84	5.3	Existence of Mannerism in the Market Transactions
85	5.4	Artificial Enhancement of the Quality of the Livestock
86	5.5	Hiding or Lying about the Information Related to the Animal
87	5.6	Experience of Hiding or Lying
88	5.7	Unwritten Rules
89	5.8	Necessity of Conditions - Farmers
90	5.9	Necessity of Conditions - Traders
91	5.10	Necessity of Conditions - Intermediary
92	5.11	Engaging with Multiple Sellers or Buyers
93	5.12	Verification of the Information Provided
94	5.13	Verbal Assurance and Token System
95	5.14	Existence of Local Deity for Livestock
96	5.15	Auspiciousness of Certain Months
97	5.16	Auspiciousness of Certain Days
98	5.17	Observance of Rituals when the Purchased Livestock is Brought Home
99	5.18	Observance of Rituals during Economic Transactions of Livestock
100	5.19	Beliefs about Grazing Timing - Farmers
101	5.20	Beliefs about Grazing - Traders
102	5.21	Beliefs about Massage and Bath - Farmers
103	5.22	Perception of Beliefs Related to Preventing Diseases to the Cattle
104	5.23	Rituals Performed to Prevent Diseases and Ward-off Evil Eye
105	5.24	Beliefs and Perceptions of the Look of the Animal - Farmers
106	5.25	Beliefs and Perceptions of the Look of the Animal – Traders
107	5.26	Beliefs and Perceptions of the Look of the Animal - Intermediaries
108	5.27	Cattle related local terms and their meaning

List of Photographs

S. No	Photograph	Title
1	1	Farmers at the Weekly Market
2	2	Cattle Being Loaded onto Vans by Buyers
3	3	Service Provider Selling Decorative Products for Cattle
4	4	Researchers Interacting with Farmers
5	5	Researchers Interacting with Farmers

List of Figures

S. No	Figure No.	Title
1	2.1	GIS Map of the Alamanda Cattle Market
2	2.2	Genealogical Map of the Alamanda Cattle Market Owners
3	2.3	Notional Map of the Alamanda Cattle Market
4	3.1	Frequency of Visits
5	3.2	Frequency of Visit
6	3.3	Category of Assistants
7	3.4	Current Turnover by Traders
8	3.5	Promoted to Take up as Intermediary
9	4.1	Social Networking of traders and Intermediaries at Alamanda market
10	4.2	Social Networking of traders and Intermediaries with Suri Demudu
11	5.1	Multiplication of Cows that Women's Parents Gift

List of Annexures

S. No	Annexure No.	Title
1	1	Entry and Exit Schedule
2	2	Supplementary Schedule for Farmers
3	3	Supplementary Interview Schedule for Livestock Traders
4	4	Supplementary Schedule for Intermediaries
5	5	Schedule for Transporters
6	6	Supplementary Interview Schedule for Market Assessors
7	7	Supplementary Interview Schedule for Local Body Members
8	8	Interview Schedule for Service Providers

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The bio-cultural and socio-ecological footprint of human activity has been a significant force in shaping the recent evolutionary history of the planet. Throughout human social history, animals have been domesticated not solely for utilitarian purposes, but as integral components of social organisation, cultural meaning, and everyday life. These long-term human-animal relationships have profoundly influenced social structures, economic systems, and ecological landscapes across millennia. Within this broader framework, cattle-human relations occupy a particularly complex cultural domain, where material utility intersects with symbolic, ritual, and moral dimensions.

The longstanding interdependence between humans and animals is well documented in epics, folklore, and historical records (Jolly et al., 2022). Human-livestock relationships have been fundamental to the development of civilisation, undergoing significant transformations from prehistoric hunting and gathering societies to systems of settled agriculture and, eventually, modern industrial farming (Diamond, 1999). Archaeological evidence of cattle domestication and dairy practices dates back to the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation, one of the world's earliest urban cultures (Harris, 1996). From the early domestication of animal species to the complex configurations of contemporary animal husbandry, human-livestock relations constitute a historically layered and culturally embedded continuum.

With the emergence of agriculture as the primary mode of subsistence, the significance of domesticated animals, particularly cattle, expanded considerably. Over centuries, cattle became central to agrarian livelihoods, occupying vital economic, cultural, and socio-religious roles (Lodrick, 2005). In the Indian context, where agrarian modes of production have historically predominated, cattle-human relationships have assumed heightened social and symbolic importance, rendering India a paradigmatic site for examining enduring forms of human-animal association.

Cattle have long been an integral part of the Indian economy. In rural and tribal societies in particular, they are deeply embedded in everyday life and livelihood practices. For many communities, cattle rearing is a primary means of subsistence. For certain castes and tribal groups, it serves as a hereditary occupation through which cultural identity and social positioning are articulated. Despite advances in scientific knowledge, technological innovation, and the mechanisation of agriculture, a significant proportion of agricultural operations in India continue to rely on cattle, especially on bullocks and buffaloes, for draught power, as well as on dung for organic manure. This dependence is particularly pronounced among small and marginal landholders. In addition, the meat of domesticated animals forms an important component of the food cultures of several communities, underscoring the diverse economic and cultural roles of livestock within Indian society.

The Green Revolution of the twentieth century marked a significant turning point in livestock rearing in India, contributing to increased milk production and improving the livelihoods of millions (Horlings & Marsden, 2011). Since then, the livestock sector has emerged as a crucial sub-sector of Indian agriculture, demonstrating sustained growth and increasing economic significance. At constant prices, the sector recorded a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 7.93 per cent during the period 2014-15 to 2020-21. Its contribution to the gross value added (GVA) of the agriculture and allied sector increased from 24.32 per cent in 2014-15 to 30.13 per cent in 2020-21, while accounting for 4.90 per cent of the total GVA in 2020-21.

According to the "First Revised Estimates of National Income, Consumption Expenditure and Capital Formation for 2021-22" released by the National Statistical Office under the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, the GVA of the livestock sector stood at approximately Rs. 12,27,766 crores at current prices in 2021-22. This accounted for 30.19 per cent of the agricultural and allied sector GVA and 5.73 per cent of total GVA. At constant prices, the livestock sector generated a GVA of about Rs. 6,54,937 crores during the same period, constituting 30.47 per cent of the agricultural and allied sector GVA, as reported in "Basic Animal Husbandry Statistics 2023" published by the Department of Animal Husbandry & Dairying.

Although smaller in scale than the crop sector, livestock plays a disproportionately significant role in driving agricultural growth. As per the revised estimates, the livestock sector recorded an annual growth rate of 6.00 per cent at constant prices, substantially higher than that of the crop sector (1.65 per cent) and the overall agriculture and allied sector (3.51 per cent). This differential growth highlights the increasing importance of livestock as a stabilising and dynamic component of the Indian agricultural economy.

India also possesses extensive livestock and poultry resources that contribute significantly to the socio-economic conditions of rural populations. According to the 20th Livestock Census, the country is home to approximately 303.76 million bovines (including cattle, buffalo, mithun, and yak), 74.26 million sheep, 148.88 million goats, 9.06 million pigs, and around 851.81 million poultry, underscoring the scale and diversity of India's livestock sector.

Livestock markets often mirror the broader social and cultural organisation of the communities in which they are embedded, reflecting local knowledge systems, social hierarchies, and customary practices (Ferguson, 1988). Beyond their economic function, these markets serve as important social arenas that enable the formation and expansion of social networks across caste, religious, and ethnic boundaries. They function as sites of social negotiation and reconciliation, facilitating intercommunity interaction through the exchange of information, news, and everyday experiences. Such interactions contribute to knowledge sharing and the strengthening of social ties, which are crucial for the resilience and adaptability of rural communities facing environmental and economic uncertainties (Swallow, 1994). At the same time, transactions in livestock markets are shaped by socially embedded norms and cultural conventions that structure relationships among buyers, sellers, and intermediaries, as well as the modalities of exchange (Barth, 1967).

In rural India, livestock constitutes not merely an economic asset but a domain of profound cultural significance, often rooted more deeply in symbolic and religious meaning than in market value alone (Das et al., 2020). Animal species occupy varied positions within religious cosmologies and ritual practices across communities. While the cow holds sacred status within Hindu belief systems (Robinson & Cush, 1997), certain animals function as totems among specific tribal groups, symbolising ancestry, protection, or collective identity (Rowkith & Bhagwan, 2020). Animals and birds also appear prominently within religious iconography as 'vahanams,' or divine vehicles, and as incarnational forms within mythological narratives, underscoring their moral and cosmological significance (Ganguli, 1966). For example, *Nandi* (Bull) is the *vahana* (vehicle) of Shiva, and *Garuda* (Eagle) is the mount of Vishnu. Ganesha travels on a Mouse and has an Elephant's head. Karthikeya is seen on a Peacock. Durga is depicted on a Lion (in some cultures, a Tiger). The *Dasavathara* concept depicts Vishnu taking the form of different animals in different *avatars* (incarnations) – Fish in *Matsyavathara*, Tortoise in *Kurmavathara*, Pig in *Varahavathara*, and Half-lion, Half-man in *Narasimhavathara*. Such references to animals with loaded values in the epics and anecdotes are endless. Beyond worship and symbolism, animals are integral to ritual life, including life-cycle ceremonies and magico-religious healing practices, where sacrificial traditions continue to hold cultural relevance across regions and communities.

Given the combined economic and cultural importance of cattle, rural societies have historically maintained practices of cattle rearing that give rise to localised systems of exchange. These practices are institutionalised through periodic cattle markets, locally known as *santha*, *santhe*, or *haat*, which are typically held weekly. Organised at central locations, such markets often serve clusters of approximately 50-100 villages within a radius of 40-50 kilometres. Traditionally, they have served as important commercial hubs and social meeting places, reinforcing their role as enduring institutions within rural socio-economic life.

Livestock markets occupy a central position in pastoralist and agropastoral economies, where animals such as cattle, sheep, and goats function not merely as commodities but also as markers of social status, wealth, and collective identity. In many African societies, for instance, cattle serve as a key symbol of wealth and play a crucial role in social institutions such as marriage, where they are exchanged as bride-wealth (Herskovits, 1926).

Anthropological scholarship has consistently highlighted markets as sites of negotiation and contestation, where local actors engage with external forces including state regulation, market demands, and broader global economic trends (Blench, 2001). A notable characteristic of livestock markets is their historical continuity. Despite operating for centuries with minimal formal regulation, they have largely succeeded in meeting local economic and social needs. While government interventions have focused on establishing regulated markets, developing market yards, and creating infrastructure for agricultural produce, comparatively little attention has been paid to the systematic development and regulation of livestock markets (Working Paper, Ministry of Agriculture, 2012). As noted by Bharti et al. (2015), livestock markets fall under the jurisdiction of state governments, with supervision delegated to local self-governments, resulting in fragmented oversight and limited regulatory coherence.

The multidimensional nature of livestock markets, encompassing economic exchange, social relations, cultural norms, and institutional practices, necessitates an in-depth anthropological perspective. Recognising rural livestock markets as social institutions situated at the intersection of economy, culture, and society, the present study adopts an anthropological lens

to examine the complexities underlying their functioning. Such an approach is essential not only for understanding local market dynamics but also for informing policy interventions to promote sustainable rural livelihoods and inclusive development. To this end, a comprehensive review of existing literature was undertaken.

However, unlike other domains of agrarian and market studies, the body of literature specifically addressing livestock markets, particularly their socio-cultural and institutional dimensions, remains relatively limited. The available studies may be broadly categorised as follows:

1.1. Studies on Economic Aspects

Beyond the biological and veterinary dimensions of livestock, scholarly attention in India has largely concentrated on the census and economic aspects of livestock. A substantial body of literature documents India's position as home to the world's largest cattle and buffalo population and as the leading exporter of milk globally (Teltumbde, 2015). These macro-level analyses highlight the rapid expansion of the livestock sector, which recorded a compound annual growth rate of approximately 7.9 per cent at constant prices between 2014-15 and 2020-21, alongside a rising contribution to agricultural gross value added, from 24.3 per cent in 2014-15 to 30.1 per cent in 2020-21.

Such economic assessments have played a significant role in informing government policies and livestock development programmes over time. More recently, however, micro-level studies of cattle farming have complicated these optimistic aggregate trends by demonstrating that a substantial proportion of Indian households engaged in cattle rearing experience negative or marginal returns. In many contexts, milk production is neither consistently profitable nor economically viable, particularly for small and marginal producers. Within this economic literature, considerable debate has also emerged around the implications of slaughter bans and related regulatory restrictions, with scholars examining their effects on national economic performance, cattle health and productivity, and broader agrarian livelihoods.

1.2. Studies on Cattle Fairs

Cattle fairs, commonly known as *melas*, have been held across different regions of India since time immemorial. These fairs occupy a significant place within the social and cultural landscape of rural society, particularly in the State of Rajasthan. A limited number of these events are organised as state-level livestock fairs, while the majority function as fairs-cum-livestock exchange markets under the administrative authority of local governing bodies such as municipalities, Nagar Parishads, and Gram Panchayats.

Much of the existing literature on cattle fairs has approached them primarily from the perspective of tourism, heritage, and cultural spectacle, emphasising their potential for rural tourism and regional economic promotion. Within this body of work, some studies have also highlighted infrastructural inadequacies at cattle fairs, drawing attention to their implications for animal welfare and the experiences of traders, pastoralists, and other participants (Das et al., 2016).

1.3. Other Miscellaneous Studies

A limited number of studies address issues peripheral to mainstream livestock research, focusing on themes such as cattle smuggling, transportation-related challenges, animal health consequences in unregulated live markets, and allied concerns. While these studies contribute valuable insights into specific problem areas, particularly those related to legality, mobility, and animal welfare, they tend to remain issue-specific and fragmented, offering limited engagement with the broader socio-cultural and institutional dimensions of livestock markets.

In addition to cattle-specific research, the present study draws on the broader literature on livestock systems in India. These works provide important contextual insights into the scale, diversity, and social embeddedness of livestock-related activities across different regions and communities. The insights derived from these diverse strands of literature have been synthesised and organised as follows:

Singh & Sonwani (2023) observe that a large proportion of the country's population, from various communities, is engaged in livestock-related activities. Livestock entrepreneurship can provide the communities with income-generating opportunities by processing and marketing livestock products such as dairy, meat, leather, wool, and other by-products. Limited access to credit, inadequate market linkages, lack of training and technical support, and infrastructural gaps are among the challenges observed in promoting livestock entrepreneurship, despite the availability of government schemes. The study suggests that to ensure the sustainability and competitiveness of livestock enterprises, crucial factors to address include market integration, quality control, and value addition.

Akouegnonhou and Demirbas (2023) analyse the factors that affect farmers' participation in self-managed livestock markets. Access to market information, payment type, cooperative partnership, herd sizes of beef cattle, sheep, and goats, and farmland ownership are observed to have significant positive impacts.

Atser et al (2023) revealed that cattle marketing is profitable in the study area. The gross margin per head of cattle was highest among the wholesalers, reflecting the value added by transportation in the cattle market.

Bonis-Profumo et al. (2022) holistically investigate the role of gender relations in three areas: the production of livestock, its ownership, and decisions on production and sale; the acquisition of animal-source food (ASF), including control and decisions on income and ASF purchase; and the consumption of ASF. The study reveals local interpretations of joint decision-making that often indicate women's unequal bargaining position, influenced by social norms on the gendered division of labour and men's role and framing as income generators.

Karnaraja and Natarajan (2022) suggest that ethno-veterinary knowledge plays a significant role in understanding livestock's resource mechanisms and livelihood management. It provides functional insights into animal care and behaviour from the indigenous perspective based on their experiences and observations. These insights effectively help treat cattle illnesses, prepare healthcare remedies, and understand the animal's behaviour for their well-being. It has been

emphasized that the ethno-knowledge acquired over generations represents the socio-cultural diversity and embodies the knowledge identity in the form of belief systems.

Pethick et al. (2021) observe that a crucial step in improving the value of lamb and beef meat products is transparent carcass grading to determine yield and sensory quality. The study recommends grading, as it allows livestock producers to make more transparent decisions about the emphasis on meat yield and quality.

Tolenkhomba et al. (2021), based on their mesomorphic study, observed that the indigenous bulls of Mizoram are small-sized cattle with short, horizontally placed ears and a long tail, similar to the local bulls of Manipur and the Siri cattle of Sikkim. The adult males of local cattle of Tripura possess average body length, height at withers, and chest girth similar to that in adult males of Bachaur cattle.

Dorji et al. (2021) noted that Mithun (*Bos frontalis*) is an uncommon and unique bovine species endemic to parts of the North-Eastern Himalayas and holds a significant position in the socio-cultural fabric of ethnic communities in the region. Solung, Mopin, Reh, Si-Donyi, Etor, etc. are the ethnic festivals, and Ditgang, Eso Pipal, Unnying Giidi, Eso Dorung, etc. are the ethnic rituals among the ethnic communities of Arunachal Pradesh, where the significance of Mithun is highly observed. Although it is grouped under the Vulnerable species of mammals in India by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and it has a unique adaptive capability to subtropical broadleaf, leech, and fly-infested environments, the species has not received adequate policy and institutional support, probably due to its small population and localized distribution.

Adeyeye et al. (2021) noted that ethno-veterinary practices among smallholder goat farmers provide insights into goats' illnesses, treatments, and perceptions of illness. The study also highlights gender relations in livestock production and decision-making, examining how smallholder goat farmers perceive ethno-veterinary practices and their level of engagement with them.

Bayan (2020) provided that income and employment generation, nutritional security, and gender equality are some important aspects that can be achieved through dairying. Improvements in farm-level milk production conditions improve dairy farmers' well-being, and growth in overall dairy productivity can contribute to it. The study suggests adopting crossbreeding technology to improve income and nutritional security in commercial dairy farming, along with greater diffusion of artificial insemination technology and the deployment of exotic bulls in hard-to-reach areas to increase the number of crossbred cattle in Assam. It also suggests training and skill development for dairy farmers, along with the proper institutional support to promote dairy crossbreeding technology in the state.

Adekunmi et al. (2020) highlight the significance of ethno-veterinary practices among goat and sheep farmers, emphasizing their socio-economic characteristics, utilization, and management; the attribution of common diseases and pests; and the constraints faced by small ruminants. It also recommended some measures to sustain ethno-veterinary practices, such as combining modern and traditional ethno-veterinary medicines, and the urgent need to enhance scientific

standardization. Additionally, the study suggested that the government has to support and encourage researchers to conduct policy-oriented studies to sustain ethno-veterinary practices.

Khan and Parashari (2019) noted that the agricultural revolution dates back to 8,000 B.C., when our ancestors began domesticating plants and animals. A significant gap in demand for products derived from livestock is observed between developed and developing countries, driven by demographic transformation, structural changes in the rural-urban divide, socio-economic changes, and increasing awareness of health and nutritional intake in developing countries.

Selvakumar and Kathiravan (2019) observe that marketing leads producers to search for and adopt advanced production methods, which they consider the first step towards livestock development. Rural producers are observed to be the least organised, as bovine husbandry is guided more by tradition and custom than by an initiative for production and marketing. Under-flourishment of cattle markets lies in factors such as high brokerage, marketing costs, cheating during deal-making, and a lack of market intelligence among sellers, buyers, and policymakers. Inadequate floor area, poor sheltering and fencing, high bidding costs, inadequate watering facilities, distance from the main road, inadequate veterinary services, etc., are constraints for livestock shandy organisers.

Savanur et al. (2019) noted that India leads the world in milk production due to its enormous cattle population. However, due to the lack of regulated, efficient markets, production potential is hindered. Engagement of people from different age groups differs from place to place. For example, young people are associated with cattle marketing because of the need for physical stamina in transporting and marketing cattle. In contrast, the study finds more middle-aged sellers and buyers engaged in cattle marketing. Most buyers and sellers were found to be engaged in agriculture as their primary occupation, likely due to their understanding of the importance of mixed farming. Higher cattle sales were observed when the broker was involved, due to a lack of adequate market information and knowledge among sellers and buyers. The study recommends educating farmers about the economically important traits in the pricing of cows and bullocks, along with efforts to change farmers' beliefs about the fortune-associated marks on animals' bodies.

Meena et al. (2019) discuss ethno-veterinary practices and their significance for future purposes, particularly in treating cattle illnesses. It also argues that, due to rapid urbanization, these knowledge practices are gradually fading away, and that, for this reason, it is necessary to sustain them through documentation.

Pundir et al. (2018) reported that Tho-Tho cattle are among the indigenous cattle of Nagaland, and the study aims to characterise this cattle population so that it can be registered as a distinct breed. Genetic improvement programmes may be planned to improve the livelihood in the state. The Tho-Tho cattle are medium-sized, hardy, well-built, and docile. The cows of Tho-Tho and the desi are observed to be different in body length, height at withers, chest girth, paunch girth, ear length, and tail length without switch, where all the estimates are higher in Tho-Tho cattle in comparison to desi cows.

Khadda et al. (2018) examined the findings in detail and further explained the ethno-veterinary knowledge of goat farmers for identifying illnesses and treating them with suitable ethno-veterinary practices.

Savanur et al. (2017) noted that the utility of bullocks had decreased and the dependency on a pair of bullocks had significantly reduced due to the mechanization of agriculture, which they attributed to a stagnation in sales. A rapid increase in cow prices was observed due to the government's greater emphasis on dairy and the development of cooperative milk societies. Seasonal variation in the sale and price of cows and bullocks is observed, and it varies from place to place. Cattle fairs are the major annual events where large-scale bullock transactions take place.

Antwi et al (2017) observe that informal markets, speculators or agents, auctions, feedlots, and abattoirs are the five principal marketing channels for livestock in South Africa. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics significantly influence farmers' behaviour and decision-making. It finds a lack of formal education to be a limitation in adapting to and accessing new cattle farming innovations, along with the analysis of market information.

Boyal and Mehra (2017) attempt to reflect the status of the livestock and poultry industry in Rajasthan as a subsector of agriculture. The dominance of local low-yielding breeds, shortage of feed and fodder, inadequate disease control measures, and poor management are the major factors behind low productivity despite the state's considerable livestock wealth.

Meena et al (2017) revealed that the dairy cooperatives and animal fairs of Rajasthan provide an important platform to the milk producers, farmers, livestock keepers, sellers, and buyers for the marketing of different dairy products and transaction of livestock animals, reflecting the culture of rural Rajasthan, and attract a significant number of domestic and foreign tourists. The study recommends providing technological inputs, a feeding schedule, adequate feed and fodder, and other management aspects to make the cattle marketing system more viable.

Bhattacharjya et al. (2017) stated that urgent financial needs, fear of illness, and natural disasters such as floods are significant factors contributing to livestock sales in Assam. To acquire good, productive, and draft animals for agricultural purposes and to minimize rearing costs, farmers get rid of their unhealthy and unproductive livestock. Customers buy them mainly for meat, agriculture, and sacrifices to the goddess during rituals. The summer season is the lowest marketing season, followed by autumn and spring, with winter as the highest.

Nair et al. (2017) attempt to collect data on ethno-veterinary practices for preventing and curing animal diseases and the associated flora from healers and knowledgeable dairy farmers, and to assess these practices for their safety and efficiency rapidly. It observed the use of 441 formulations to prevent and treat animal diseases, prepared from various medicinal plants belonging to Leguminosae, Apiaceae, Cucurbitaceae, Euphorbiaceae, and Poaceae.

Usha et al. (2016) observe that traditional medicine practitioners in Shevaroy Hills use plants to treat various diseases in animals, such as mastitis, enteritis, arthritis, stomatitis, salivation, wounds, and conjunctivitis. Worship of nature before starting the treatment and chanting of

hymns locally known as 'Paadam padithal' are the unique features observed among the Malayali tribes. Seeds, leaves, and roots of Aloe vera, Aristolochia indica, Alpiia officinarum, Piper longum, Abrus precatorius, Piper nigrum, Withamia somnifera, Azadirachta indica, Cuminum cyminum, Embelia ribes, Cordia monoica, Piper betle, Corallocarpus epigaeus, etc., are found to be used to treat the mentioned diseases in livestock. The study suggests conserving biological resources and integrating them into regional economies, so they can be used for household consumption and commercial purposes to generate community income.

Hannfors (2016) reports constraints in milk production due to disease, inadequate feed, and poor quality, resulting in decreased milk yield. India has significant potential to increase milk yield through improved feeding, with better use of concentrate and higher-quality roughage considered essential. The study observes that the usage of concentrate in the feed in India has been associated with more intense farming, stall-feeding at the expense of grazing, and proximity to well-developed market sites. Therefore, an adequate infrastructure is needed to intensify dairy production.

Manoj (2015) observes that cattle-feed manufacturers are adopting modern, sophisticated methods to incorporate the best global practices. The cattle-feed industry is evolving from a fragmented industry into an organized sector. Dairy farmers in India face several problems in marketing their milk because the market for milk exists mainly in urban areas. In contrast, most milk is produced in rural areas of India. The study points out that, due to the continued use of traditional feeding and cattle management practices in India, cattle productivity is very low and cattle health is poor. It suggests improving feeding practices by providing feeds with enhanced nutrient contents, which is vital in the Indian context.

Pundir et al. (2015) attempt to characterize and evaluate the indigenous cattle of Mizoram to help plan genetic improvement programmes to improve productivity and, if required, to initiate the registration of that population as a breed. Mizoram's indigenous cattle breed contributes significantly to its economic prospects and shows uniformity in mesomorphic and physical characteristics. The cows in the state are observed to have the potential to produce milk in difficult climatic conditions with the help of proper genetic improvement programmes.

Yadav et al (2014) noted that socio-economic, feeding, breeding, management, and healthcare constraints are the major problems faced by the tribal livestock owners in the study area. The study suggests the formulation of plans and development programmes in tribal-specific areas to improve the poor economic conditions of these farmers. They suggested allocating adequate land for fodder cultivation, establishing breeding centres in the study area, providing health care, and providing technical support for breeding improvement to overcome the constraints observed.

Singh et al. (2014) note that Uttar Pradesh has the largest livestock population in the country, with several departments responsible for livestock development. It treats voluntary disclosure of market information and experience as the animal's attributes, as they are essential for

credence attributes and the efficient functioning of markets. It suggests the need for a regulatory framework and infrastructure development to enhance the efficiency of livestock markets.

Jadoun et al (2014) noted that Haryana is known as the 'Milk Pail' of India. 'Murrah' is one of the best buffalo breeds in the world. It is also recognized as an animal of the 21st century, and Haryana is a home tract. Milch, dry, pregnant heifers, and male calves are the different categories of Murrah buffaloes marketed from different sources, such as villages, animal fairs, cattle owners, mediators, etc., in different seasons. Individual owners of the buffalo breed decide to sell or purchase Murrah buffaloes in Haryana. The fresh calves are readily available during winter, leading to major marketing activities at that time. The need for emphasis on veterinary check-up practices to ensure the marketing of healthy buffaloes has been noted.

Birthal (2014) noted that a significant increase in private investment in the livestock industry has been observed since the Government of India liberalised the livestock industry for private sector participation. Dairy co-operatives in India are concentrated in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, although significant progress in the livestock sector has occurred. Poor access to markets and finances, as well as constraints of feed, health, and reproduction, are barriers to scaling up livestock commercialization in India.

Saha et al (2014) provide insights into the ethno-veterinary practices of livestock by the tribal communities. It highlighted the challenges, such as the exploitation and disappearance of medicinal plant species driven by demand, as well as the potential for positive change. By managing medicinal plants for ethno-veterinary purposes, we can prevent the disappearance of plant species. The study also indicates that cultivating and documenting medicinal plant species can promote ethno-veterinary sustainability, offering a hopeful future.

Mishra (2013) emphasizes that ethno-veterinary medicine (EVM) is a traditional system rooted in folk knowledge and practices for treating and maintaining animal health. Healers worldwide use herbal remedies to treat wounds, skin infections, asthma, diabetes, and snakebites. Commonly used medicinal plants include *Moringa oleifera*, *Azadirachta indica*, *Aloe vera*, *Allium sativum*, and *Curcuma domestica*. Notably, around 90% of livestock owners reportedly avoid veterinary services, primarily due to the high cost of allopathic treatments.

Singh (2013) noted that by taking into consideration the development goals of increasing efficiency, improving equity, and enhancing the sustainability of the production system, the report provides priorities for livestock research and development in Bihar and Odisha. Livestock production suffers millions of dollars due to disease, breeding, and reproduction issues, feed and nutrition problems in Bihar, and constraints related to breeding, health, nutrition, and management in Odisha.

Das and Tripathi (2013) noted that animal husbandry and agriculture significantly boost India's economic growth. Integrating agricultural practices with animal husbandry, such as domestication and trading cattle for agricultural activities and meat purposes, contributes to economic growth. These markets provide essential services to the human population and help

to increase food security. Moreover, they also offer crucial livelihood support, particularly to rural populations, thereby contributing to social development.

Girei et al. (2013) noted that costs of buying cattle and transportation, government taxation commonly known as 'Jangali', the cost of loading and off-loading cattle for transportation, and commissions are observed in the study as costs associated with the cattle market. Constraints associated with cattle marketing in the study area include capital, transportation, access to roads, inadequate information about the market, and inadequate infrastructure, among others. Herrero et al. (2013) highlight livestock's vital role in sustaining rural livelihoods by connecting the livestock sector with water, land, and biodiversity conservation systems. It also underscored the significant role of women in livestock development, recognizing their contributions by creating gender-inclusive policies to develop livestock management systems that empower women.

Moyong (2012) discussed the various socio-cultural and economic dynamics in Arunachal Pradesh that are responsible for the commoditisation of Mithun and formulated a strategy to address the problems associated with its sustainable management. The study identified medium of exchange, economic dynamism, liquidity, high demand for meat, and monetary needs as factors responsible for Mithun's commoditization in the state. Declining fodder resources, indiscriminate slaughtering, inadequate Mithun health coverage, and rampant inbreeding are Mithun's sustainability issues. Conservation of biodiversity and natural habitat for Mithun in the area, adequate Mithun health coverage, cultivation of natural fodder, and improved breeding conditions are among the measures the study suggests to address the problems for sustainable growth and development of Mithun.

Pratap Kumar and Tanaji (2012) noted that the typical Solapur buffalo belongs to the group *Macrocerus*, along with Jafrabadi, Mehsana, Nagpuri, Surti, and Pandharpuri breeds, which are famous for milk production and are known as the poor man's buffalo. Marketing practices followed in the market include preparation of buffalo for marketing, malpractices by sellers and buyers, agencies, the method of assembly and distribution, and, lastly, the method of business.

Singh et al. (2012) noted that climate-induced disasters, such as severe droughts, floods, intense rainfall, and landslides, directly affect farmers' livelihoods. Livestock producers have traditionally adapted to climate change over the centuries by building on their in-depth knowledge of their environment. It is necessary to find a suitable solution to mitigate the impacts of climate change on livestock production.

Ubale and Lokhande (2011) attempt to assess the spatial distribution of cattle market centres and analyse their relationship with physiography, administrative unit, area, population, settlement, etc., in Solapur district, Maharashtra. The study observes that the spatial distribution of cattle market centres is uneven in the study region and is primarily influenced by physiography, population, the development of the transportation network, settlement patterns,

and the development of agricultural practices. The area has a random-to-regular distribution of cattle market centres.

Kayastha et al (2011) noted that the indigenous cattle of Assam hold a place of significance as they possess traits such as capacity of draught tolerance, heat tolerance, adaptability to harsh agro-climatic conditions, disease resistance, adaptability to survive and perform under scarce feed and fodder, etc. which have been evolved through several generations of natural selection in the humid and subtropical climate of the place. The coat colour patterns are mostly patchy rather than solid. Switch, neck, ear, head, and body length, height at withers, heart girth, pouch girth, and tail length are significantly different between sexes and age groups.

Jagwe (2010) pointed out that market participation is affected by the factors of production a household is endowed with and the transaction costs involved in accessing markets for both inputs and outputs. Transaction costs include searching for a trading partner, marketing, and contract enforcement. Fixed transaction costs influence a household's decision of whether or not to participate in a market.

Balaji and Chakravarthi (2010) observe that ethno-veterinary practices have grown recently due to their fewer harmful side effects and lower drug resistance. It finds that traditional healing practices use three significant elements: applying natural products such as medicinal plants and their by-products, edible earth and minerals, parts and products of other elements, and other ingredients, appealing to spiritual forces, and manipulation and surgery. It points out the advantages and disadvantages of ethno-veterinary medicine (EVM).

Mishra and Patro (2010) focuses on some common veterinary ailments and their treatment with herbal folk-medicines in Ganjam district of Orissa and observes that older people aged 50-70 years are knowledgeable about ethno-veterinary medicines (EVM) who have sufficient information about the diseases, their symptoms, and methods of preparation and administration of herbal medicines prepared from the plants and its parts available around them. The economic condition of the people and the presence of little or no side effects are among the factors influencing their preference for EVM treatments.

Deshingkar et al (2008) observe caste-specific differences regarding livestock kept in Andhra Pradesh, where the OC category keeps more buffaloes than other castes. Livestock is observed to be a particularly important contributor to income among the better-off in the state. Land, diversification, and species are more important variables determining livestock ownership than institutional loans.

Watson and Binsbergen (2008) pointed out that the subsistence orientation of pastoralists, lack of market infrastructure, lack of institutional capacity, structural inefficiencies, high transaction costs, high transport costs, insecurity, fees, tax, corruption, and buyers-driven livestock marketing chains are observed by the report to be the significant constraints associated with livestock marketing in Turkana. The study recommends improving the livestock market system by lowering the cost of livestock transportation, improving security, increasing information flows, creating opportunities for pastoralists to sell livestock, reapportioning the value added

in livestock marketing chains, improving access to credit, and training the livestock traders and pastoralists. It provides recommendations on policy formulations.

Ganesan et al (2008) noted that the main reasons for leaning towards ethno-veterinary practices are the lack of proper veterinary infrastructure and economic reliance on livestock. It has documented several significant cattle illnesses and the treatment methods employed by local villagers.

Sinn et al. (1999) observed that information on the different roles played by livestock in the developing and developed worlds is essential to address key issues in the often ill-informed or generalised discussion of livestock's present and future roles in livelihoods, economic development, and the environment. The role of livestock can be positive, such as income generation, or negative, such as pollution, which can shift depending on location. The role of livestock and women in livestock production and marketing for food security and nutrition is important to consider, particularly the importance of livestock to women, as livestock is a sustainable asset that can be sold to invest in land or small businesses, and vice versa. The study finds that men and women differ in the breeds they own within a given species, the rights they have over livestock, animal care, objectives for keeping animals, authorities and responsibilities regarding animal management, and their abilities to access and use new information and improved technologies. Human health in developing countries is inextricably linked to livestock, as they play an essential role in promoting good health by providing animal-source foods and income to buy food and access health care.

Timon and Hanrahan (1985) provided that small ruminants are efficient converters of forage feeds, whether they are farmed in temperate, arid, or semi-tropical conditions, as the significant advantages of these are their low cost, small size, suitability to small holdings, and, in many developing countries, their triple purpose use for meat, milk, and fibre. Expert Consultation on Small Ruminant Production in Sofia, organised by FAO in 1985, focused on addressing three areas: biological efficiency, structural/organizational efficiency, and more effective use of basic feed resources. The study suggests that national and international institutions should prioritize and invest more in research and development for small ruminant production, particularly in developing countries, by incorporating new technologies into existing farming systems.

Gell (1982) undertook an in-depth analysis of the weekly markets in Bastar District from a symbolic perspective, exploring social and hierarchical relationships within the market structure. Further, it views markets as symbols of social order by examining the complex relationships among the village, society, market, hierarchy, and the state to understand social relations within the market structure.

The literature review summarized the various dynamics of livestock systems by examining diverse social, economic, and cultural elements. These elements emphasize the value chains between the networks and market beneficiaries through a livestock management perspective. However, there is a gap between the development and adaptive capacities of the livestock markets and the surrounding facets, which play a consequential role in understanding grassroots-level issues, such as gender dimensions, entrepreneurial aspects, ethnoveterinary

knowledge, and the impact of globalization on livestock markets, etc. Further, this literature provides an overview of the various economic, social, and cultural facets from the perspective of market ethnography.

1.4. Objectives

Drawing on the insights gained from the review of existing literature, the identified research gaps, and the emerging issues surrounding local livestock markets, the present study is guided by the following objectives:

1. Examination of rural livestock markets as an economic and social unit existing for centuries.
2. Analysis of the role and significance of rural livestock markets in the lives of people.
3. Exploration of rural livestock markets as sustainable entities.

In essence, this study seeks to explore and interpret the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of rural livestock markets through an anthropological lens.

1.5. Methodology

The complexity of the research problem necessitated careful methodological planning during the study's preparatory phase. An extensive review of interdisciplinary literature across relevant fields informed the identification of key themes, contextual nuances, and potential field-level dynamics. Based on these insights, the study population was systematically categorised to capture the diversity of actors involved in rural livestock markets.

The primary criterion for categorisation was the nature of an individual's engagement with the livestock market, with particular emphasis on the roles and tasks performed in relation to market activities. This approach enabled the inclusion of multiple stakeholder groups, such as traders, farmers, intermediaries, service providers, and other participants, thereby facilitating a comprehensive understanding of livestock markets as complex social and economic institutions.

1.6. Conceptual Categories

Seven different categories of people were identified in relation to the functioning of the rural livestock markets. These categories were developed to capture the diversity of actors involved in market processes. The operational definitions of each category are as follows:

1. **Farmer:** An individual who engages in livestock transactions as part of agricultural or household practices, such as animal husbandry, distress sales, ritual requirements, or festival-related exchanges, but not as a primary profession.

2. **Trader:** An individual who engages in the buying and selling of livestock as a principal occupation and regularly visits livestock markets and villages as part of this professional activity.
3. **Intermediary:** An individual who facilitates or mediates livestock transactions, primarily within livestock markets but not exclusively so, and receives remuneration for this role.
4. **Transporter:** An individual responsible for transporting livestock involved in transactions, typically using motorised or other conveyance systems.
5. **Market Assessor:** An individual who attends livestock markets to observe trends, assess prices, or gather information, with the potential intention of participating in future transactions, but who does not engage in buying or selling on the day of observation.
6. **Service Provider:** An individual who offers ancillary services related to livestock markets, such as food vending, cattle decoration, or the sale of accessories, which are supportive of market activity but not directly part of livestock transactions.
7. **Local Body Member:** An individual affiliated with formal or informal institutional structures, including political, administrative, cooperative, or community bodies, who plays an active role in the organisation, regulation, or functioning of the livestock market.

1.7. Categories of Schedules

Schedules constituted the primary data collection instrument in the present study. A total of eight distinct schedules were developed through multiple rounds of discussion and deliberation, incorporating perspectives from the organisation's different regional centres. These schedules were designed to capture the diverse roles, experiences, and interactions of the various actors involved in rural livestock markets. The schedules and their respective areas of coverage are outlined below:

1. **Entry–Exit Schedule:** Captures transaction-related information collected at points of entry and exit for individuals engaged in livestock transactions within the market.
2. **Supplementary Schedule for Farmers:** Documents the general, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of farmers' engagement with livestock transactions.
3. **Supplementary Schedule for Traders:** Records general, economic, social, and cultural aspects related to traders and their transactional practices.
4. **Supplementary Schedule for Intermediaries:** Focuses on the general, economic, social, and cultural characteristics of intermediaries and the nature of the transactions they facilitate.
5. **Schedule for Transporters:** Collects detailed information on transportation activities related to livestock transactions and market operations.

6. **Schedule for Market Assessors:** Captures basic profile information and assessment practices of individuals who attend markets primarily for observation and evaluation purposes.
7. **Schedule for Service Providers:** Documents the types of services offered, modes of service provision, and their relationship to livestock market functioning.
8. **Schedule for Local Body Members:** Examines the roles, responsibilities, and institutional linkages of local body members in regulating livestock markets.

Following their development and conceptualisation, these schedules were pilot-tested and implemented during the first cycle of the project across four study areas located in different states. Based on this experience, the same schedules were subsequently employed in the second cycle of the project, of which the present study forms a part.

1.8. Selection of Study Area for the Fieldwork

Following a detailed screening of several livestock markets in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the Alamanda cattle market in Vizianagaram District was selected as the primary field site for the study. The selection was guided by the market's historical continuity and contemporary significance as a major centre of livestock exchange, characterised by a high volume of economic transactions and regular participation by diverse categories of market actors.

The Alamanda cattle market is among the region's prominent livestock markets and provides a suitable empirical setting for examining the functioning of rural cattle trade. Its location within Vizianagaram District, an area marked by strong agrarian and cultural traditions, enables the examination of interactions between long-standing market practices and emerging economic and institutional forces. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of participants, including farmers, traders, intermediaries, transporters, service providers, and local institutional actors, enables an in-depth analysis of economic transactions, social relations, and cultural exchanges embedded within the market.

The selection of this site thus facilitates a contextually grounded understanding of rural livestock markets as complex socio-economic institutions, while providing analytical insights relevant to similar market settings in other parts of rural India.

1.9. Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted over a period of three days, from 6th to 8th September 2024, to familiarise the research team with the field setting and to refine the research design. On the first day, the team visited the District Collectorate in Vizianagaram District, where detailed discussions were held with the District Revenue Officer regarding the project's objectives, and the necessary information on the functioning of the cattle market was gathered. This was followed by a visit to the District Animal Husbandry Department, during which interactions with the Joint Director and other officials provided information on the breeds available in the market, the volume and nature of transactions, market dynamics, and existing monitoring mechanisms.

On the second day, the research team visited the Alamanda cattle market in the morning to observe its spatial organisation, physical infrastructure, and patterns of participation. Informal interactions were conducted with farmers present at the market and in nearby villages to gain preliminary insights into market functioning and local perceptions. Subsequently, the team visited Kothavalasa Tehsil to make the necessary logistical and administrative arrangements for the main phase of fieldwork.

The third day involved a follow-up visit to the cattle market to observe its dynamics on the eve of the market day, allowing the team to capture variations in activity levels and preparatory practices. The pilot study concluded on the third day.

Overall, the pilot study enabled the research team to develop a contextual understanding of the market setting through direct observation and interaction with farmers and relevant officials. It facilitated an initial comprehension of the complex operational mechanisms and socio-economic dynamics of the livestock market, thereby informing the refinement of research tools and strategies for the subsequent phases of the study.

1.10. Fieldwork

The main phase of fieldwork commenced on 9 September 2024, following the integration of additional team members with the pilot study team. The fieldwork was conducted over 40 days, from 9 September to 18 October 2024, encompassing 6 market days and 34 non-market days.

The fieldwork strategy involved systematic engagement with the livestock market and the surrounding villages connected to it through livestock transactions. Market visits were conducted on Mondays, corresponding with the scheduled market day, while the intervening six days each week were devoted to visits to villages participating in market activities. This approach enabled the documentation of both transactional processes occurring within the market and the broader socio-economic practices linked to livestock exchange in everyday village life.

The following section presents details of the schedules administered during the fieldwork period and the corresponding data collected through their application.

Table 1.1: Schedules Employed during the Fieldwork

Sl. No.	Type of Schedule	Number of Schedules Used
1	Entry-Exit Schedule	414
2	Supplementary Schedule for Farmers	300
3	Supplementary Schedule for Traders	200
4	Supplementary Schedule for Intermediaries	150
5	Schedule for Transporters	115

6	Schedule for Market Assessors	120
7	Schedule for Service Providers	18
8	Schedule for Local Body Members	7
Total		1,324

The schedules described above were administered alongside additional data collection through a range of anthropological methods, as outlined below.

1.11. Sampling

Multiple sampling strategies were employed to address the heterogeneity of actors involved in livestock markets and related village contexts. Within the market setting, simple random sampling was adopted, as all individuals present on a given market day were considered potential respondents relevant to the study objectives.

In village settings, a purposive sampling approach was followed. Villages were selected based on the likelihood of relevant data availability and logistical feasibility, particularly in relation to their transactional linkage with the livestock market. In certain cases, snowball sampling was employed, especially for intermediaries, owing to the socially sensitive and value-laden nature of terms such as *dalari* and the associated social implications, which often required referral-based access.

Sampling was not applied to service providers due to their limited and identifiable numbers within the market. Similarly, local body members were selected exhaustively rather than sampled, given their fixed and institutionally defined roles in market functioning.

1.12. Interviews

Interviews constituted the principal method of data collection in the present study. The structure, length, and tone of interviews were adapted to the demands of specific field situations and the nature of information sought. Both semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted, allowing flexibility while ensuring coverage of key thematic areas. Wherever feasible, in-depth interviews were conducted to elicit detailed economic, social, and cultural narratives about livestock markets and associated practices.

1.13. Key Informant Method

Key informant interviews were also conducted in both market and village settings, which proved particularly valuable for collecting culturally embedded, historically grounded data. Elderly respondents served as key informants for understanding cultural practices, ritual significance, and changes over time, while experienced traders and intermediaries provided critical insights into pricing mechanisms, transaction norms, and market dynamics. This method enabled triangulation of data and enriched the analysis by incorporating informed perspectives rooted in long-term engagement with the livestock economy.

1.14. Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted primarily in village settings during interactions with farmers. In certain instances, FGDs also involved traders, particularly when collective perspectives on market practices and transactional norms were required. For the collection of culturally embedded data, especially those related to gendered practices, FGDs were conducted with women participants. Some discussions focused specifically on women's roles and experiences in livestock-related activities.

Additionally, three FGDs were organised exclusively with intermediaries to examine their roles in livestock transactions in greater depth. These discussions addressed multiple dimensions of intermediation, including negotiation practices, the use of hand gestures, and the deployment of coded linguistic expressions during market transactions, thereby illuminating informal communicative systems embedded within market interactions.

1.15. Genealogical Method

The genealogical method was employed selectively to trace the historical origins of the livestock market and to understand its continuity across generations. This approach facilitated insights into patterns of inheritance, familial involvement, and institutional memory associated with the market, contributing to an understanding of its longevity and embeddedness within local social structures.

1.16. Observation

Non-participant observation constituted a foundational method throughout the research process. Given the complexity of the subject matter, the presence of a floating population within the market, and the diversity and occasional hesitancy of respondents in village contexts, sustained observation proved essential. It also enabled the documentation of both articulated and unarticulated aspects of market life, capturing tangible practices as well as intangible social cues.

Through direct observation, transactional processes, including negotiations and deal-making, became clearer as they unfolded in real time. This method allowed the research team to contextualise interview data, identify discrepancies between stated practices and observed behaviour, and gain a holistic understanding of the everyday functioning of rural livestock markets.

1.17. Ethical Considerations

Throughout the study, sustained efforts were made to adhere strictly to established ethical principles of anthropological research. Data were collected only after obtaining informed consent from participants, and a clear explanation of the objectives and scope of the study was provided prior to each interview or interaction. The research was conducted with careful attention to cultural sensitivity, respecting local customs, traditions, and social norms that shape everyday life in the study area.

Respondents were approached with due respect, and professional boundaries were consistently maintained to ensure that research activities did not disrupt routine economic or market-related practices. Confidentiality was strictly upheld with regard to personal and sensitive information, safeguarding participants' privacy and avoiding any potential harm or exploitation. Particular care was taken to ensure accuracy in data recording and representation. The research team remained mindful of existing power dynamics and consciously avoided coercive, manipulative, or extractive practices. At no stage were false expectations or promises made to participants.

1.18. Limitations of the Study

The inherent complexity of the subject matter posed a significant methodological challenge. While the research team's prior experience conducting a similar study proved useful in navigating this complexity, issues related to data reliability and validity necessitated repeated cross-verification. Engaging with a continuously mobile and often sceptical population within the market setting further complicates data collection.

Several dimensions of the study involved socially and culturally sensitive issues, which at times limited the depth and openness of responses. Although certain cultural barriers could be negotiated through prolonged engagement and trust-building, others remained inaccessible. The market's privately managed nature introduced additional constraints, occasionally restricting access and raising concerns about the consistency and completeness of the data.

Furthermore, the scope for generalising findings beyond the study context remains limited and requires cautious interpretation. The seasonal nature of agriculture and allied activities also influenced the temporal breadth of fieldwork, potentially affecting the representativeness of certain observations. Despite these constraints, the study offers a grounded and context-specific understanding of the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the Alamanda Livestock Market.

The following villages were covered during the fieldwork. Data were collected using qualitative methods to substantiate the study's arguments by integrating villagers' knowledge. They lived experiences of livestock markets, particularly with reference to the economic, social, and cultural dynamics associated with the Alamanda Livestock Market.

Table 1.2: Villages covered during the study

Sl. No	Name of the Visited Village	Mandal	Distance from Alamanda Livestock Market (In Kilometres)
1	Godu Kommu	Jami	2
2	Neyyala veedi (Jami)	Jami	7
3	Satakam Pattu Veedi	Jami	8
4	Kayachetti Veedi (Jami)	Jami	7

Sl. No	Name of the Visited Village	Mandal	Distance from Alamanda Livestock Market (In Kilometres)
5	Vijinigiri	Jami	9
6	Telaga Palem	Jami	7
7	Somayajala Palem	Jami	7
8	Venkataraja Palem	Jami	8
9	Vasantha	Jami	14
10	Korukonda	Jami	9
11	Korukonda Palem	Jami	10
12	Alamanda II	Jami	3
13	Kirla	Jami	8
14	Bhimali	Kothavalasa	9
15	Gedalavari Palem	Lakkivarapu kota	5
16	Vechala Vani Palem	Lakkivarapu kota	10
17	Lakkivarapu Kota	Lakkivarapu kota	11
18	Kasapeta	Lakkivarapu kota	8
19	Talari	Lakkivarapu kota	7
20	Kotyada	Lakkivarapu kota	6
21	Santapeta	Lakkivarapu kota	11
22	Sanduluru	Lakkivarapu kota	14
23	Maarla Palli	Lakkivarapu kota	16
24	Pilla Agraharam	Lakkivarapu kota	18
25	Kittana Peta	Lakkivarapu kota	15
26	Rangapuram	Lakkivarapu kota	16
27	Sriram Puram	Kothavalasa	20
28	Tamara Palli	Kothavalasa	21
29	Adduri Vani Palem	Kothavalasa	25

Sl. No	Name of the Visited Village	Mandal	Distance from Alamanda Livestock Market (In Kilometres)
30	Veerabadra Puram	Kothavalasa	22
31	Karri Chinnayya Palem	Kothavalasa	26
32	Nimmala Palem	Kothavalasa	27
33	Dhani Peta	Kothavalasa	13
34	Chinna Rayi Palli	Kothavalasa	9
35	Katika Palli	Kothavalasa	8
36	Kantika Palli	Kothavalasa	7
37	Kottaru	Kothavalasa	8
38	Balighattam	Kothavalasa	10
39	Chipura Valasa	Kothavalasa	16
40	Rajupatru Palem	Kothavalasa	14
41	Golla Palem	Kothavalasa	19
42	Duvvala Palem	Visakhapatnam	26
43	Adavi Varam	Visakhapatnam	28
44	T Somi Naidu Peta	Visakhapatnam	24
45	Mindi Valasa	Kothavalasa	19
46	Ramachandra Puram	Lakkivarapu kota	20
47	Denduru	Kothavalasa	21
48	Lotla Palli	Jami	2
49	Ramayya Puram	Kothavalasa	10
50	Ganisetti Palem	Kothavalasa	20
51	Gulivindada	Kothavalasa	21
52	Mangala Palem	Kothavalasa	18
53	Mummana Vanni Palem	Kothavalasa	21
54	Bhemanna Dora Palem	Visakhapatnam	22

Sl. No	Name of the Visited Village	Mandal	Distance from Alamanda Livestock Market (In Kilometres)
55	Desipatranu Palem	Kothavalasa	18
56	Golla Peta	Kothavalasa	20
57	Alamanda I	Jami	3
58	Bangara raju Puram	Jami	5
59	Kuddu Palem	Jami	5
60	Anmaraja Peta	Jami	6

Chapter 2

MARKET SETTING

Markets have long functioned as critical nodes in human civilisation, structuring patterns of exchange, interaction, and social organisation. This is particularly evident in the case of cattle markets, given the enduring and multifaceted relationship between humans and animals. In an agrarian country such as India, cattle markets operate not merely as sites of economic transaction but also as arenas of social interaction and repositories of cultural beliefs and practices.

The present study is situated in the Alamanda Livestock Market and its surrounding villages. The market functions on a weekly basis and is comparable to various *shandies* operating across the state, typically on Mondays. These markets serve extensive rural hinterlands, connecting hundreds of villages and facilitating transactions among thousands of farmers and traders. Although no definitive historical record exists regarding the year of its establishment, local accounts consistently suggest that the Alamanda cattle market has been in operation for over three centuries, underscoring its historical continuity and institutional embeddedness.

The Alamanda cattle market is one of the prominent livestock markets in the region, attracting participants from multiple districts within Andhra Pradesh, including Vizianagaram, Parvathipuram Manyam, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Guntur, and Ongole. In addition, a significant number of traders and farmers travel from neighbouring states such as Telangana, Odisha, and Chhattisgarh to engage in livestock exchange. The market is particularly known for the availability of diverse cattle breeds, making it an important regional hub for livestock trade.

2.1. The Area

2.1.1. Geographical Location

The Alamanda livestock market is located in the Vizianagaram District of Andhra Pradesh. It lies along the route connecting Vizianagaram town with Kothavalasa Tehsil and is situated approximately midway between the villages of Alamanda and Lotlapalli. Both villages fall under the administrative jurisdiction of Jami Tehsil. The market is located approximately 20 kilometres from the Vizianagaram district headquarters and 17 kilometres from the Kothavalasa tehsil headquarters.

Geographically, the market occupies a strategic position at a junction connecting four districts, i.e., Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, and the recently constituted Parvathipuram Manyam district. This locational advantage has enabled the market to function as an important node of economic activity within the region. Its proximity to agriculturally active districts and its accessibility through well-developed road networks linking numerous villages and neighbouring markets have contributed to its sustained relevance as a regional business centre.

Despite broader socio-economic changes over time, these geographical factors have allowed the market to maintain its significance within the rural livestock economy.



Figure 2.1. GIS Map of the Alamanda Livestock Market

2.1.2. History

The Alamanda livestock market has a long history and institutional legacy, with local accounts estimating its existence at approximately 250-300 years. The market has consistently been organised in the same open tract of land, marked by scattered trees. Oral narratives indicate that the area was once densely populated with tamarind trees, of which only a few remain today. Notably, there has been no recorded relocation or spatial shift of the market site over time, suggesting a strong continuity in its physical and social anchoring within the region.

2.1.2.1. Origin

According to local historical narratives and family accounts, the market's origins are closely linked to the family's lineage, which continues to own and manage the market. The ancestors of this family are said to have migrated from Rajasthan to the Ongole region of present-day Andhra Pradesh several centuries ago. During the Pusapati dynasty, the Maharaja of Vizianagaram is believed to have granted 14 villages to the family's forefather, who had married the younger sister of the Maharani.

Subsequently, the family, locally known as the Kakarlapudi family, migrated from Ongole to the Vizianagaram District approximately six to seven generations ago. Drawing upon their agrarian connections and recognising the growing regional demand for cattle exchange, the family is understood to have established a cattle market at the present location after settling in

the area. The village where the market is currently located is identified as one of the fourteen villages historically associated with the family.

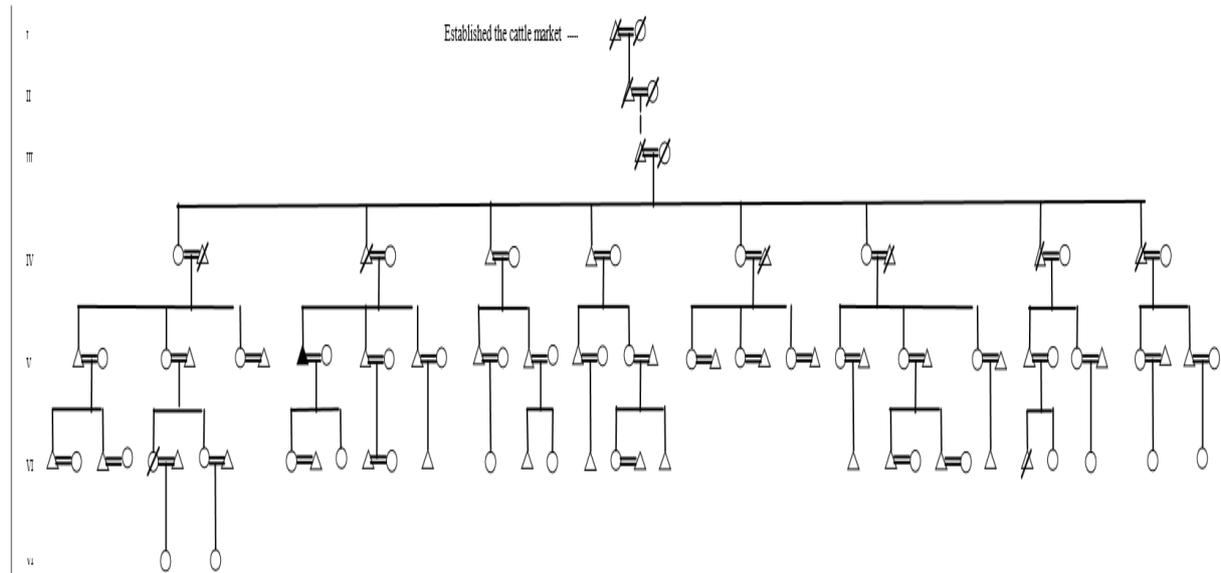


Figure 2.2. Genealogical Map of the Alamanda Livestock Market Owners

The establishment of the Alamanda livestock market can be tentatively traced to a period preceding two major historical conflicts in the region: The Battle of Padmanabham and the Battle of Bobbili. The Battle of Padmanabham (1794) was fought between Vijayarama Raju II and the forces of the East India Company led by Colonel Pendergast under the command of Sir Charles Oakeley, the then British Governor of Madras. The earlier Battle of Bobbili (1757) was fought between the ruler of Bobbili and the Raja of Vizianagaram, Pusapati Vijayarama Gajapati Raju I, with military assistance from the French General Marquis de Bussy-Castelneau. The battle remains historically significant for the valour of Tandra Paparayudu, the General of Bobbili.

2.1.2.2. Etymology and Mythology

In Telugu, a cattle market is commonly called *Pasuvula Santha*, derived from *pasuvulu* (cattle) and *santha* (market). Owing to the royal household's historical involvement in establishing and patronising the market, it is also popularly known as *Rajugari Santha* (the King's market). Over time, however, the market has come to be widely identified as *Alamanda Santha*, named after the village in which it is located. Since the market is held every Monday, it is additionally referred to as *Somavarapu Santha* (Monday market), distinguishing it from nearby periodic markets held on other weekdays.

Local narratives further associate the village of *Alamanda* with the recurrent congregation of *aalamandalu* (cattle) at the site over long periods. In this understanding, the settlement is believed to have derived its name from the sustained presence of cattle gatherings rather than from a singular founding event. While this explanation remains part of popular etymology

rather than documented linguistic history, it reflects the deep identification of the locality with cattle and market activity.

Alongside these etymological explanations, the region is also embedded within a broader landscape of mythological associations linked to the Mahabharata. Although such connections cannot be historically corroborated, local belief systems attempt to situate nearby places within episodes from the epic. For instance, Bheemali is associated with Bhima, Jami is linked to the episode of the Pandavas concealing their weapons on the *Jammi* tree prior to *Agnathavasa*, and Jagaram is believed to mark a site where the Pandavas spent a sleepless night. Similarly, Lakkavarapu Kota is associated with the episode of the burning of the lac house. While these mythological linkages function primarily at the level of oral tradition and cultural memory, they contribute to the symbolic landscape within which the market and its surrounding settlements are situated.

2.1.3. Mode of Operation

The Alamanda livestock market is privately owned, with the land remaining under the control of the erstwhile royal family. The organisation and management of the market are carried out through their appointed representatives. Historically, the right to conduct the market was periodically auctioned by the owners in return for an annual payment. Although the tenure was not rigidly fixed, it typically ranged between three and five years. Groups comprising 5-10 individuals from neighbouring villages would often form teams to participate in these auctions. In recent years, however, this practice has been discontinued, and the owners have resumed direct management of the market.

Revenue is primarily generated through the collection of *aaseelu* (entry tax). A charge of Rs. 100 per animal, locally referred to as *thoka* (tail), is collected from individuals bringing cattle for sale (until recently, this amount was Rs. 50 per animal). For poultry such as hens and cocks, a fee of Rs. 20 is levied. Additionally, small sums (Rs. 10) are collected from ancillary establishments within the market, including vegetable vendors, meat sellers, and other traders. The collection process is systematically organised, with 2-3 individuals responsible for issuing receipts and collecting payments, and 7-8 individuals monitoring entry and exit points to ensure compliance and prevent evasion.

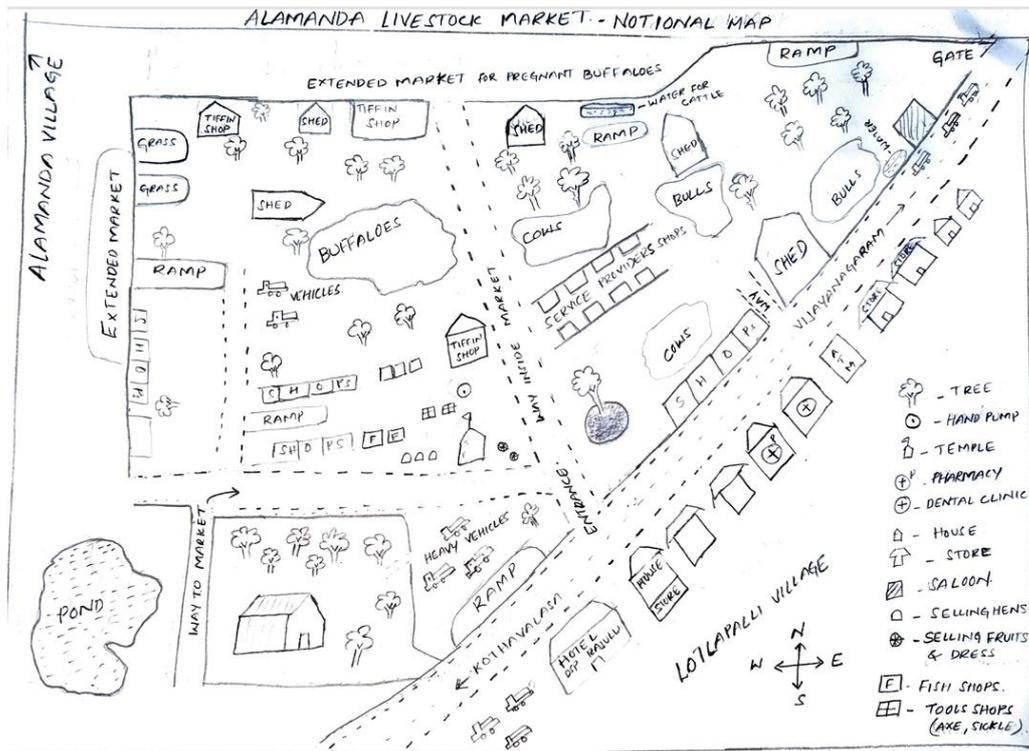
Although the market does not follow strict spatial compartmentalisation, different animal categories tend to occupy relatively distinct areas. Buffaloes, cows, oxen, and calves constitute the principal livestock categories transacted. Notably, buffaloes are present in comparatively higher numbers than in many neighbouring markets. Animals are generally tethered under tamarind and neem trees or within makeshift sheds to ensure shade and safety. In earlier periods, goats and sheep were also brought to the market in significant numbers.

The regional livestock economy has undergone shifts over time. A nearby market in Kothavalasa previously facilitated cattle transactions; however, the spatial layout of that market, spread along both sides of a railway track, led to multiple accidents resulting in cattle deaths. With subsequent railway infrastructure development, cattle transactions gradually declined there. Over time, the Kothavalasa market became specialised in goats and sheep, while the Alamanda market consolidated its position as the principal cattle exchange centre in the region. Other significant markets in the broader area include Thimaram and Manapuram. Despite the presence of these markets, the Alamanda livestock market has historically remained the largest and most influential cattle market in the region, functioning as a central node in the regional livestock trade network.

2.1.4. Infrastructure and Facilities

The Alamanda livestock market benefits from its location along the road connecting Kothavalasa and Vizianagaram, which ensures regular accessibility. Public transportation is provided by buses operated by the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC), supplemented by private auto-rickshaws and vans. The nearest railway stations are located at Kothavalasa and Vizianagaram, facilitating inter-district connectivity. Historically, bullock carts were commonly used for transport; however, at present, cattle are primarily brought to and taken from the market on foot, whether sold or unsold.

A compound wall encloses the market premises, though it is presently in a deteriorated condition. Infrastructure in the market includes five sheds: two relatively large and three smaller structures, constructed by the owners for livestock shelter. In certain cases, animals remain within the market premises for several days after transactions have been completed. For the loading and unloading of cattle into goods vehicles, temporary ramps have been constructed using mud and paddy straw.



Not to Scale

Figure 2.3. Notional Map of the Alamanda Cattle Market

Water facilities are limited. Although two tanks exist within the open market area, they are currently non-functional. A single hand pump near one of the entry points serves as the primary water source. Basic amenities such as toilets and electricity are absent within the market premises.

On market days (Mondays), a range of temporary commercial establishments operate within the premises, including food stalls, vegetable vendors, meat shops, cattle accessory sellers, cool-drink and ice-cream carts, and a licensed beverage outlet. In addition to these weekly establishments, several permanent shops of similar kinds operate daily along the adjacent main road, reflecting the broader commercial ecosystem that has developed around the market.

2.1.5. Animals and Breeds

The Alamanda livestock market facilitates the exchange of a wide range of cows, bulls, and buffaloes. In local terminology, cattle are broadly classified into *Naatu* (local varieties) and *Desi* (indigenous breeds associated with the region). Crossbred animals are commonly referred to as *Hybrids*, while exotic breeds are either subsumed under the hybrid category or identified by their specific breed names.

Among buffalo breeds, the Murrah buffalo is the most prominently reared and traded. In the case of cattle, Jersey cattle are particularly valued for their milk yield, while Ongole cattle bulls are preferred for their draught capacity and physical strength.

A distinctive feature of the region is the relatively high prevalence of buffalo rearing. The presence of both formal and informal dairy networks in the surrounding districts appears to contribute to this pattern. Buffalo milk is locally preferred due to its higher fat content and perceived superior quality. Historically, male buffaloes were also utilised for draught purposes, particularly in wet and muddy agricultural fields, where their physical build and adaptability made them suitable for labour-intensive tasks.

The historical presence of sugar production in the region further sustained demand for draught animals. The sugar factory established under the patronage of the erstwhile Vizianagaram rulers contributed to prolonged reliance on bullock and buffalo carts for transportation. For decades, these animal-drawn carts served as a sustainable, locally adapted mode of transport within the agrarian economy.

Over time, the Alamanda market acquired a reputation as a regional hub for the exchange of multiple cattle varieties, including breeds from different regions of India. The following section provides a detailed account of the specific breeds transacted in this market.

2.1.5.1. Indigenous - Dairy

Gir: Originating in the Gir region of Gujarat, the Gir breed is characterised by its distinctively curved and spiralled horns, long pendulous ears, and a prominent convex forehead profile. It is recognised for its relatively high milk yield among indigenous breeds, along with notable disease resistance and adaptability to tropical conditions.

Red Sindhi: The Red Sindhi breed, originating in the Sindh region of present-day Pakistan, is a zebuine dairy breed exhibiting varying shades of red. It is valued for its milk production capacity and adaptability to tropical climates. The breed has also been widely used in crossbreeding programmes with temperate dairy breeds to enhance productivity under hot climatic conditions.

Sahiwal: The Sahiwal breed originated in the Sahiwal (formerly Montgomery) region of Pakistan. Typically, reddish-brown in colour with loose skin, it is known for its substantial milk yield and tolerance to heat and parasites. Historically, large herds of Sahiwal cattle were managed by professional pastoralists known as *Charwahas*. It is widely regarded as one of the most productive indigenous dairy breeds of the Indian subcontinent.

2.1.5.2. Indigenous - Draught

Hallikar: The Hallikar breed originated in the Vijayanagara region of Karnataka and is commonly associated with the Hallikar belt of the state. These animals are muscular and compact, with strong legs and a prominent forehead. They are especially known for their trotting ability and draught strength. In recognition of its regional importance, the Department of Posts issued a commemorative postage stamp featuring the breed in 2000.

Khillari: Originating in Maharashtra, the Khillari breed is characterised by its compact build, tight skin, and distinctive forward-turned horns. These animals are known for their speed, endurance, and suitability for work in drought-prone and tropical regions.

Kangayam: The Kangayam breed traces its origin to the Kongunadu region of Tamil Nadu. Typically, grey to dark grey in colour, with erect pointed ears and black rings around the eyes, Kangayam cattle are recognised for their robustness, endurance, and athletic capacity, making them well suited for draught purposes.

2.1.5.3. Indigenous - Dual

Tharparkar: Originating in the Tharparkar region of present-day Pakistan, this medium-sized breed possesses moderate horns and semi-pendulous ears. It is well adapted to arid environments and harsh climatic conditions, making it suitable for both milk production and draught work in resource-scarce regions.

Hariana: The Hariana breed originated in Haryana. Typically, white to grey in colour with short horns and a medium to large frame, these cattle are valued for their draught strength while also contributing moderate milk yield.

Kankrej: Originating in the arid tracts of Gujarat and adjoining Rajasthan, Kankrej cattle exhibit coat colours ranging from silver-grey to iron-grey, with distinctive lyre-shaped horns. The breed is known for its strength, endurance, and speed. Its characteristic gait, locally referred to as *sawai chaal* (one-and-a-quarter pace), is considered distinctive among draught breeds.

Ongole: Locally known as *Ongolu Gitta*, this breed originated in the Ongole region of Andhra Pradesh. It is a large, muscular breed with a prominent hump and is widely recognised for its suitability for heavy draught work. The Ongole bull was adopted as the mascot (“Veera”) of the 32nd National Games of India, reflecting its symbolic prominence. The breed has also been exported internationally for breeding purposes and is valued for its adaptability to tropical climates, rapid growth, and physical robustness.

Malnad Gidda: Originating in the Malenadu region of Karnataka, the Malnad Gidda is a small-statured indigenous breed known for its adaptability, agility, and resistance to local diseases. It is suited to hilly and forested terrains and contributes modest milk yield relative to its size.

Vechur: The Vechur breed, native to Kerala, is recognised as one of the smallest cattle breeds in the world. It is known for efficient feed utilisation and relatively good milk yield for its size. At one point listed under endangered categories in FAO’s global livestock diversity monitoring frameworks, conservation initiatives have contributed to its revival. Local beliefs emphasise the digestibility and perceived health benefits of its milk, which are attributed to specific compositional characteristics.

Punganur: Originating in the Chittoor region of Andhra Pradesh, the Punganur breed is another small indigenous variety with crescent-shaped horns. Once considered at risk due to

declining population, conservation efforts have improved its status. It is valued for adaptability and low maintenance requirements.

2.1.5.4. Exotic

Holstein Friesian: Originating in the Friesland region spanning parts of the Netherlands and Germany, the Holstein Friesian is a large dairy breed characterised by black-and-white coat patterns. It is widely valued for its high milk production and has been incorporated into crossbreeding programmes in India to enhance dairy yield.

Jersey: The Jersey breed originated on the island of Jersey in the English Channel. Characterised by a dished forehead, compact angular body, and reddish-fawn coat, Jersey cattle have adapted relatively well to Indian climatic conditions. Despite being an exotic breed, it is commonly found in the region due to its comparatively high milk yield and feed efficiency.

2.1.5.5. Crossbred

HF Crossbred: Holstein Friesian crossbreds are developed to enhance milk productivity. These animals typically exhibit higher milk yield than indigenous breeds, though the milk fat percentage is relatively lower. While productive, they tend to be less tolerant of extreme heat and are generally better suited to moderate or temperate climates unless managed carefully.

Jersey Crossbred: Compared to other exotic crossbreeds, Jersey crossbreds are considered relatively better adapted to tropical climates. Milk yield may increase significantly, sometimes two to three times, depending on the genetic potential of the indigenous breed involved in the cross. Their comparatively lower body weight and feed requirement also make them attractive to small and marginal dairy farmers.

2.1.5.6. Buffaloes

Jaffarabadi: The Jaffarabadi breed is concentrated primarily in Gujarat. It is one of the heaviest Indian buffalo breeds and is characterised by large drooping horns that curve downward along the sides of the neck before turning upward at the tips. The breed is traditionally reared by pastoral communities such as the Maldharis. Jaffarabadi buffaloes are valued for good milk production, and males are used for draught purposes in certain regions.

Mehsana: The Mehsana breed, also concentrated in Gujarat, is believed to have developed through selective breeding between Murrah and Surti buffaloes. Compared to Murrah, it typically has a longer body and comparatively less tightly curved horns. It is recognised for good milk yield and adaptability.

Murrah: Originating in the Haryana–Punjab region, the Murrah buffalo is characterised by its jet-black coat and tightly curled horns. It is widely regarded as one of the most productive dairy buffalo breeds in India and has been exported to several countries for genetic improvement programmes. Within India, Murrah is commonly used for upgrading local buffalo varieties.

Pandharpuri: The Pandharpuri breed, native to Maharashtra, is distinguished by its exceptionally long horns, which may measure 60-100 centimetres. It is known for good milk production, and its milk is locally valued for higher fat and nutrient content.

2.1.6. A Monday in the Market

The market comes to life much before sunrise and gradually wanes by the time the sun sets. As the actual preparations and arrangements for running the market begin the previous day, by Sunday night the market becomes active. People traveling long distances sometimes prefer to reach the market the previous night. By midnight, the sheds and other logistics are made ready. Cooking activities at eateries also start early on Monday to prepare for business after the market opens.

Two- or three-hours past midnight, the arrival of cattle increases. While the surrounding areas are in deep slumber, amid silence and darkness, the market becomes alive. The sound of the bells hanging around the cattle's necks adds a background rhythm to the murmurs and sighs of the farmers as they bring the cattle. The number of cattle and people gradually increases, and by dawn, the market reaches its peak. The main road adjacent to the market is filled with vehicles of different types, transporting cattle and people. The horns from the vehicles and the cattle compete with each other to create a sense of urgency among the crowds moving inside and outside the market, leading to a great bustle.

At the entry gate, tax collection starts. At times, arguments take place between the guards and the people bringing cattle, if the people try to escape or if they think that the tax is too high. Even though it is not clearly demarcated, people arrange themselves in the market, occupying places that are loosely designated for different cattle. The North-Western and Western part of the market gets filled with buffaloes of all breeds. The North-Eastern and Eastern part of the market gets loaded with bulls. The northern and central parts of the market are busy with cows and their calves. Male calves can be seen in the Southern part of the market, near the entry gates. The South-Western part has a section for a few shops selling vegetables, fish, sweets, utensils, etc., and the South-Eastern part has shops selling ropes, bells, beads, etc.

Everywhere, the transactions take place. Buyers trying to select an animal suitable to their needs at a reasonable price, sellers trying to give away the animal for some profit, and intermediaries trying to mediate the transaction and earn some money in the process together form the core of market transactions. While people of all ages can be seen in the market, middle-aged people are the most numerous. Women can be seen seldom. Cattle are unloaded from and loaded onto the vehicles using the mud ramps. As the tiffin shops, cool-drink carts, and other shops also start getting busy, the market reaches its fullest activity by noon.

The buyers check the animal's skin, build, horns, tail, hump, udder, etc. The grace of walking and the ease of taming are also checked for. They try to pretend it is not so good, even if they like it, to bargain for a lower price. The sellers try to present the animal in the best possible way to get the maximum returns. Bargaining starts at the seller's upper limit and the buyer's lower limit, and ends somewhere in the middle. If the transaction fails, it sometimes leads to

mild fights and arguments. Intermediaries, leveraging their skills, play a crucial role here, mediating the process. With their bargaining and persuasion skills, at times using linguistic and physical codes, they turn a potential or failed transaction into a successful one. A *bayana* (token advance) of 1 rupee (nowadays 10 rupees) is kept on the animal under transaction, limiting it to specific parties and reinforcing the concepts of trust and integrity. All these aspects create a dramatic environment in the market.

During the summer, sweating people trying to manage their tired cattle can be seen in the market. On a rainy day, people struggle to walk in the muddy land, and it is not easy to handle the cattle. Winter mornings are characterized by shivering people and troubled cattle. Heavy rains and festivals significantly affect market transactions.

The market starts diluting in the afternoon. Entry into the market decreases, and the exit of people and cattle increases from noon onwards. While some people return with a satisfactory transaction, some sellers go back highly disappointed, along with their unsold animal, and some buyers go back with empty hands without the animal they sought due to unsuccessful transactions. While everybody in the market is seen standing, walking, or walking briskly during the market's active hours, most people are seen sitting here and there in the evening. Chit-chatting under the trees and drinking inside the sheds takes place at an increased pace. People are seen washing their cattle at the pond outside the market. The market's activity gradually decreases in the evening.

By night, the active, energetic market falls silent, and it appears as if nothing had happened there that day. The market disappears into the night to rise again the next Monday with a new life.

2.2. The Participants

As discussed in the section on Methodology, the market participants are divided into seven categories in this study. They are:

1. Farmers
2. Traders
3. Intermediaries
4. Transporters
5. Market Assessors
6. Service Providers
7. Local Body Members

The socio-demographic information of these participants, obtained through interviews using schedules and other instruments, is presented below with necessary quantitative analysis.

2.2.1. Distribution of Constitutional Status of Market Participants

Table 2.1: Constitutional Status of Market Participants

S. No	Nature of Participants	ST		SC		BC		Others		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Farmer	2	0.48	24	5.80	301	72.71	18	4.35	345	83.33
2	Farmer Trader	1	0.24	0	0.00	10	2.42	0	0.00	11	2.66
3	Dairy Farmer	0	0.00	2	0.48	23	5.56	1	0.24	26	6.28
4	Trader	0	0.00	5	1.21	25	6.04	2	0.48	32	7.73
	Total	3	0.72	31	7.49	359	86.71	21	5.07	414	100.00

N - Number, % - Percentage

Various market participants are observed on weekly market days, representing diverse social groups. Among them, 0.72% belong to Scheduled Tribes (ST), 7.49% to Scheduled Castes (SC), 86.71% to Backward Classes (BC), and 5.07% to Other Categories. The Scheduled Tribe participants belong to the Konda Dora community, while the Scheduled Castes include communities such as Mala, Madiga, Relli, and Pydi. Most of the backward classes are identified as Turupu Kapu, Koppula Velama, Golla (Yadava), and Gavara, among others. Those in the Other Categories include Reddi, Raju, Telaga, etc. All these communities, encircling tribal and caste groups, play a vital role in nurturing social and economic ties. Their relations extend beyond immediate market transactions, enabling their socio-economic networks and inter-community relationships.

2.2.2. The Distribution of Age of the Market Participants

Table 2.2: The Distribution of Age of the Market Participants

S. No.	Age Group	Farmers		Traders		Intermediaries		Transporters		Market Assessors		Service Providers		Local Body Members		Market Participants	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	<21	1	0.33	1	0.50	0	0.00	1	0.87	3	2.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	1.21
2	21-30	9	3.00	14	7.00	3	2.00	40	34.78	18	15.00	1	5.56	1	14.29	40	9.66
3	31-40	39	13.00	36	18.00	15	10.00	50	43.48	29	24.17	3	16.67	3	42.86	105	25.36
4	41-50	90	30.00	55	27.50	35	23.33	18	15.65	29	24.17	7	38.89	2	28.57	145	35.02
5	51-60	90	30.00	56	28.00	42	28.00	4	3.48	23	19.17	5	27.78	1	14.29	115	27.78
6	61-70	55	18.33	36	18.00	42	28.00	2	1.74	17	14.17	2	11.11	0	0.00	3	0.72
7	>70	16	5.33	2	1.00	13	8.67	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00	115	100.00	120	100.00	18	100.00	7	100.00	414	100

The majority (91.34 %) of the farmers are 31-70 years old. 60% of the farmers are aged 41-60 years. Distribution of farmer participants by age group broadly reveals that farmers with some

experience of cattle markets usually attend, as it is feared that younger farmers are cheated or fail to achieve the expected returns. More than half (55.50 %) of the traders belong to the age group of 41-60 years. The majority (91.50%) of traders are aged 31-70 years. Middle-aged persons dominate trading. It is difficult to continue with trading in old age due to the skill and toil it demands. And most (89.33%) of the intermediaries belong to the age group of 31-70 years. Around two-thirds (64.67%) of the intermediaries have crossed the age of 50. This signifies that experience is an important attribute of an intermediary. The lesser physical work required compared to farming and trading can also be one of the reasons behind such a scenario. Also, 93.91% of the transporters belong to the age group of 21-50 years. More than three-fourths (78.26 %) of the transporters belong to the age group of 21-40 years. This shows a positive correlation between the young age and the transporting work.

More than two-thirds (67.50 %) of the market assessors belong to the 31-60 years’ age group, with more than a quarter (29.17 %) distributed across the 21-30 years and 61-70 years’ age groups. This category comprises individuals belonging to all age groups. It shows the level of market activity and liveliness. And, two-thirds of the service providers belong to the 41-60 years’ age group, while the others fall into the 21-40 years and 61-70 years’ age groups. This is due to the nature of the service provided and other market conditions.

All local body members fall within the age group of 21-60 years due to the official nature of most positions and the need for exposure and experience in other roles. Further, more than a third (35.03 %) of the market transactors belong to the 41-50 years’ age group, while more than half (53.14 %) are distributed across the 31-40 years and 51-60 years’ age groups. This trend is positively correlated with the type of work required throughout the market transaction operations.

2.2.3. Distribution Gender of Market Participants

2.3: Gender Wise Distribution

S. No.	Gender	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary		Transporter		Market Assessors		Service Provider		Local Body Members		Market Transactor	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Male	278	92.67	198	99.00	150	100.00	115	76.67	118	98.33	13	72.22	4	57.14	412	99.52
2	Female	22	7.33	2	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.67	5	27.78	3	42.86	2	0.48
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00	115	76.67	120	100.00	18	100.00	7	100.00	414	100.00

Most of the farmers who participated in the market were males. Only when the senior male members are absent from the family, the women venture to the market to sell cattle. Cattle trading is a male-dominated field. Only 1.00 % of the sample are females. The physical work the trade demands, combined with the other social reasons, leads to such a scenario. All the intermediaries are males. No female intermediaries were identified in the study region. A stigma of a crooked and cunning nature is associated with the role of intermediary, and it may be one of the reasons why females are completely absent in this field. The nature of the work in the market, like shouting, arguing, bargaining, nudging, touching, dragging, etc., is another

important reason. All the transporters are males. There are no female transporters in the region. This reasserts the gender-exclusive nature of the driving field.

Most (98.33%) of the market assessors are male. However, the females are not completely absent. Females can be seen in the market, though not very frequently. Unlike in other categories, more than a quarter (27.78%) of the service providers are female. Works like selling ropes, beads, tiffin, etc. have accommodated women due to the nature of the work.

A fairer gender distribution is evident in this category, reflecting various social and policy changes occurring in the country. Most (99.52 %) of the market transactors are males. Females are not completely absent, though seen in minor proportions.

2.2.4. Region and Distance of the Market Participants

Table 2.4: Region and Distance of the Market Participants

S. No.	Distance (km)	Farmer		Traders		Intermediary		Market Assessor		Service Provider	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	1-5	26	8.67	76	38	74	49.3	25	20.8	6	33.3
2	6-10	80	26.7	23	12	8	5.33	27	22.5	0	0
3	11-15	77	25.7	26	13	16	10.7	18	15	2	11.1
4	16-20	44	14.7	36	18	18	12	11	9.17	3	16.7
5	21-25	31	10.3	24	12	20	13.3	8	6.67	1	5.55
6	26-30	20	6.67	8	4	12	8	7	5.83	1	5.55
7	31-35	14	4.67	3	1.5	1	0.67	5	4.17	2	11.1
8	36-40	6	2	2	1	0	0	3	2.5	1	5.55
9	> 40	2	0.67	2	1	1	0.67	16	13.3	2	11.1
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100	120	100	18	100

The market is within 25 km of the native village for 85.99% of the farmers. Limited facilities for transporting cattle by motor vehicles could be one reason for the limited number of farmers from far-off villages. However, the farmers interviewed at the market indicated that many come from very distant places, especially when they are interested in specific buffalo breeds. The distance of the market from the native village of most (92.50 %) of the traders is within 25 km. The data are mainly collected from the region within a 40 km radius of the market, as the region is known for traders and intermediaries. Most (98.66%) of the intermediaries in the market are from surrounding villages within a 30 km radius. Around half (49.33%) of the intermediaries belong to villages within a 5 km radius of the market. This shows how the livelihoods of people in villages can be affected by the presence of a cattle market.

More than half (58.33%) of the market assessors belong to villages within a 15 km radius of the market. People also come from villages far from the market to assess the market trends. A third of the service providers are from villages within a 5 km radius of the market, and two-thirds are from villages within a 25 km radius. Some of the service providers visit different markets on different days.

2.2.5. Region and Distance of Transporters

Table 2.5: Distance between the Market and the Native Village of the Transporters

S. No.	Distance (km)	N	%
1	1-10	14	12.17
2	11-20	20	17.39
3	21-30	19	16.52
4	31-40	15	13.04
5	41-50	8	6.96
6	51-60	6	5.22
7	61-70	3	2.61
8	71-80	0	0.00
9	81-90	2	1.74
10	91-100	3	2.61
11	101-200	11	9.56
12	201-300	3	2.61
13	301-400	1	0.87
14	401-500	2	1.74
15	> 500	8	6.96
Total		115	100.00

Transportation activity pertaining to the market transactions takes place covering large region. Vehicles carrying cattle travel hundreds of kilometres. The distance between the market and the native villages of around 40.00 % of the transporters is beyond 40 km, signifying a large market coverage area.

2.2.6. Distribution of Region and Distance of Market Transactors

Table 2.6: Distance between the Market and the Native Village of the Market Transactors

S. No.	Distance (km)	N	%
1	1-10	91	21.98
2	11-20	84	20.29
3	21-30	70	16.91
4	31-40	46	11.11
5	41-50	27	6.52
6	51-60	28	6.77
7	61-70	13	3.14
8	71-80	8	1.93
9	81-90	5	1.21
10	91-100	11	2.66
11	101-200	25	6.04
12	201-300	2	0.48
13	301-400	3	0.72
14	401-500	1	0.24
Total		414	100.00

Most (83.58 %) of the market transactors belong to the villages lying within a 60 km radius from the market, while more than half (59.18 %) of the market transactors belong to the villages lying within a 30 km radius from the market. Some market transactors come from as far as 400-500 km away, indicating the market's large geographical coverage.

2.2.7 Distribution of Caste of Market Participants

Table 2.7: Distribution of Caste

S. No.	Constitutional Status	Caste	Farmers		Traders		Intermediaries		Market Assessors		Service Providers		Local Body Members		Market Transactors	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Un-Reserved (General)	Telaga	5	1.67	6	3.00	4	2.67	1	0.83	1	5.56	0	0.00	16	3.86
2		Reddy	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.72
3		Rajulu	0	0.00	1	0.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	14.29	2	0.48
4		Kamma	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
5		Komati	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	16.67	0	0.00	0	0.00

6		Brahmin	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
7	Other Backward Classes (BC A- E)	Koppula Velama	217	72.33	42	21.00	43	28.67	38	31.67	0	0.00	2	28.57	132	31.88
8		Turupu Kapu	29	9.67	25	12.50	34	22.67	14	11.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	111	26.81
9		Golla	28	9.33	72	36.00	40	26.67	32	26.67	0	0.00	2	28.57	54	13.04
10		Gavara	1	0.33	29	14.50	14	9.33	3	2.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	18	4.35
11		Settibalija	3	1.00	4	2.00	1	0.67	7	5.83	6	33.33	0	0.00	11	2.66
12		Dasari	3	1.00	5	2.50	1	0.67	2	1.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	1.69
13		Vadabalija	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	11.11	0	0.00	0	0.00
14		Nagavamsa	0	0.00	1	0.50	4	2.67	2	1.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	1.69
15		Sistakaranam	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	0	0.00	0	0.00
16		Kalinga	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.72
17		Kamsali	4	1.33		0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	11.11	0	0.00	0	0.00
18		Chakali	2	0.67	1	0.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
19		Reddika	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.72
20		Padmasali	2	0.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
21		Chittari	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
22		Jalari	0	0.00	1	0.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
23		Mangali	1	0.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
24		Faqir	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	0	0.00	0	0.00
25		Ayyaraka	1	0.33	9	4.50	5	3.33	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
26		Uppara	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24
27	Scheduled Castes	Mala	3	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	5.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	23	5.56
28		Madiga	1	0.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	1	5.56	1	14.29	3	0.72
29		Pydi	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.72
30		Relli	0	0.00	1	0.50	4	2.67	6	5.00	1	5.56	0	0.00	3	0.72
31	Scheduled Tribes	Valmiki	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	1.21
32		Konda Dora	0	0.00	2	1.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.72
33		Koya	0	0.00	1	0.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
34		Yerukula	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	14.29	0	0.00
35	Gadaba	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.24	
Total			300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00	120	100.00	18	100.00	7	100.00	414	100.00

The region is dominated by Backward Classes. 97% of the sample belongs to the OBC Category. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has categorized the Backward Classes into 5 types - BC A, BC B, BC C, BC D and BC D. The dominant caste in the region is BC D. Majority (91.34 %) of the farmers belong to three castes - Koppula Velama, Turupu Kapu and Golla, all belonging to BC D category. Koppula Velama is the numerically dominant caste in the region. The majority (72.33%) of the sample belongs to this caste. Koppula Velama and Turupu Kapu are agricultural castes. Animal husbandry is an integral part of their agricultural activities. Golla is a caste with animal husbandry as a traditional occupation. But animal husbandry is not limited to these castes. Almost all communities in the region engage in

agriculture and animal husbandry. There are no tribal farmers in the immediate vicinity. All these factors together lead to such a statistical scenario.

Most (84%) of the traders belong to four castes: Golla, Koppula Velama, Gavara, and Turupu Kapu. More than a third (36.00%) of the traders belong to the Yadava caste. The caste's affiliation with animal husbandry may be one reason. A significant portion (12.00%) of the traders belong to the Telaga, Ayyaraka, Dasari, and Settibalija castes. The majority (90.65%) of the intermediaries belong to the Koppula Velama, Golla, Turupu Kapu, Gavara, and Ayyaraka castes. In the case of market assessors, individuals of various castes and categories are included, reflecting the diverse nature of the market. More than two-thirds (70.01%) of the market assessors belong to three castes: Koppula Velama, Golla, and Turupu Kapu. In addition, the service providers belong to different castes, while most of them belong to five castes: Settibalija, Komati, Vadabalija, Kamsali, and Yata. The three castes (Koppula Velama, Yadava, and Turupu Kapu), which dominated all other categories, are observed to be absent in this category. This is due to the working of caste as an important factor in the provision of service. The Komati caste, which was completely absent in other categories, has surfaced in this category due to its association with trade. This highlights the cattle trade as a distinct form of trade with its own special features. Further, a distribution across all four categories of castes can be seen among local body members due to the official nature, ownership, and caste proportions. Further, the market transactions are numerically dominated (88.19%) by the Koppula Velama, Turupu Kapu, Golla, Mala, Gavara, Telaga, and Settibalija castes. Even though the transactions are not restricted to any castes, a caste-based pattern can be observed linked to the occupation.

2.2.8 Distribution of Religion of Market Participants

Table 2.8: Distribution of Religion of Market Participants

S. No.	Religion	Farmer		Trader		Intermediaries		Market Assessors		Service Providers		Local Body Members		Market Transactors	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Hindu	300	100	200	100	150	100	118	98.33	17	94.44	6	85.71	411	99.28
2	Christian	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.67	0	0	1	14.29	3	0.72
3	Muslim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.56	0	0	0	0
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100	120	120	18	100	7	100	414	100

Hinduism is the major religion in the region. The whole farmer sample belongs to Hindu religion. All the traders considered for the study belong to the Hindu religion, with none belonging to other religions such as Christianity or Islam. All the intermediaries considered for the study belong to Hindu religion. No intermediaries belonging to other religions could be seen in the market. Most (98.33%) of the market assessors belong to the Hindu religion, while individuals of other religions are also represented, though in minor proportions.

While most (94.44 %) of the service providers belong to Hindu religion, Muslim can also be seen as part of the service providers. Most (85.71%) of the local body members belong to the Hindu religion, while one individual belongs to Christianity. Most (99.28 %) of the market transactors belong to Hindu religion, while a minor proportion (0.72 %) of Christians could also be seen.

2.2.9. Distribution of Primary Occupation of Market Participants

Table 2.9: Distribution of Primary Occupation of the Market Participants

S. No.	Occupation	Farmer		Trader		Intermediaries		Transporters		Market Assessor		Service Providers		Market Transactors	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Agriculture	281	93.67	31	15.50	33	22.00	8	6.96	80	66.67	0	0.00	376	90.82
2	Animal husbandry	19	6.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	11	9.17	0	0.00	1	0.24
3	Trader	0	0.00	168	84.00	1	0.67	0	0.00	3	2.50	0	0.00	31	7.49
4	Intermediary	0	0.00	0	0.00	115	76.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00		0.00
5	Agricultural labour	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.67	0	0.00	5	4.17	0	0.00	2	0.48
6	Waged labour	0	0.00	1	0.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	1	0.24
7	Driver	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	105	91.30	14	11.67	0	0.00		0.00
8	Business	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.74	2	1.67	0	0.00	3	0.72
9	Government Employee	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.83	0	0.00	0	0.00
10	Cattle Accessory (Ropes, beads, etc.) Seller	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	55.56	0	0.00
11	Hoof-maker	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	0	0.00
12	Private Employee	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	2.50	0	0.00	0	0.00
13	Food Stall	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	11.11	0	0.00
14	Cool-drink Cart	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	11.11	0	0.00
15	Rag picker	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	0	0.00
16	Faqir	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	0	0.00
17	Ironsmith	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	0	0.00
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00	115	100.00	120	100.00	18	100	414	100.00

The primary occupation of most farmers (93.67%) is agriculture, including animal husbandry. A few (6.33%) of the farmers depend solely on animal husbandry as their main occupation. 84.00% of traders' trade as their primary occupation. They buy cattle from the market or villages and sell it in the market or villages. They can be categorized into big, medium, and small traders based on the scale of their businesses. More than three-fourths (76.66%) of the intermediaries undertake that work as their primary occupation.

Most (91.30%) of the transporters are driving as their primary occupation. Their transporting activity is not limited to one market or to the market days. They transport passengers, cattle, and other objects as needed. There are also vehicles specially designed or modified for carrying cattle. Two-thirds of the market assessors are farmers, while a significant proportion (9.17 %) perform animal husbandry. The market assessors' category includes individuals from diverse occupations.

While services like hoof-making, cattle accessory selling, and ironsmith work are directly related to cattle, services like food selling, rag picking, and faqir work are directly linked to market participants. More than half (55.56%) of the shops sell items such as ropes, beads, bells, etc., which are tied to cattle for decoration or handling. While diverse occupations such as animal husbandry, trade, agricultural labour, waged labour, and business are evident, agriculture is the primary occupation of most (90.83%) of the market transactors.

2.2.10. Distribution of Secondary Occupation of the Market Participants

Table 2.10: Distribution of Secondary Occupation of the Market Participants

S. No.	Secondary Occupation	Farmers		Traders		Intermediaries		Transporters		Market Transactors	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Agriculture	7	2.33	140	70.00	38	25.33	43	37.39	38	9.18
2	Animal husbandry	281	93.67	18	9.00	2	1.33	0	0.00	60	14.49
3	Trader	0	0.00	32	16.00	74	49.33	0	0.00	14	3.38
4	Intermediary	0	0.00	3	1.50	35	23.33	0	0.00	0	0.00
5	Agricultural labour	12	4.00	7	3.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	51	12.32
6	Waged labour	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	3.48	12	2.90
7	Business	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	1.69
8	Driver	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	8.70	0	0.00
9	None	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.67	58	50.43	232	56.04
Total		300	100	200	100.00	150	100.00	115	100.00	414	100.00

Animal husbandry is the secondary occupation of the majority (93.67%) of farmers. In fact, it is difficult to strictly differentiate between agriculture and animal husbandry as occupations due to their overlapping and interdependent nature. Around 70.00% of traders are farmer-traders or trader-intermediaries. These multiple activities are performed to make proper use of the skill and have better livelihood options. Intermediary work is also undertaken as a supplementary livelihood activity to earn an extra rupee. This is substantiated by the presence of trader-intermediaries, farmer-trader-intermediaries and farmer-intermediaries.

More than half (50.43%) of the transporters do not undertake any secondary occupation, signifying the demand for transport. Agriculture, animal husbandry, and agricultural labour are the secondary occupations of more than a third (35.99%) of the market transactors. More than half (56.04%) of market transactors do not have a secondary occupation.

2.2.11. Local Body Members

The market is monitored by a Market Monitoring Committee comprising seven members. The Extension Officer (Panchayat Raj & Rural Development) is an honorary member, and the Mandal Revenue Officer, Sub-Inspector, Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, Panchayat Secretary, Sarpanch, and Market Owner are the main members. This broad representation ensures that various aspects of governance, from administrative oversight to market operations and law enforcement, are covered comprehensively. For example, the Sarpanch represents the elected leadership, while the Sub-Inspector ensures law and order, and the Veterinary Assistant Surgeon focuses on animal health. The Extension Officer (PR&RD), the Mandal Revenue Officer, and the Panchayat Secretary represent the Executive. The inclusion of diverse roles demonstrates a holistic approach to addressing the needs of market participants and ensures the smooth functioning of the livestock market. It conducts periodic meetings for the market's functioning and has the authority to grant and renew licences for the market's operation.

2.2.12. Market Participants on Weekly Market Days

The data pertaining to this category were collected using entry-exit schedules. Market transactors comprise farmers and traders who are potential or actual buyers or sellers or exchangers. The transactions also include failed transactions. The sample size is 414.

Table 2.11: Native District of the Market Participants

S. No.	District	N	%
1	Vizianagaram	377	91.06
2	ASR Manyam	7	1.70
3	Visakhapatnam	15	3.62
4	Srikakulam	11	2.66
5	East Godavari	3	0.72
6	Guntur	1	0.24
Total		414	100.00

Even though most (91.06 %) of the market transactors belong to Vizianagaram district itself, the transactions cover participants from other distant districts like ASR Manyam, Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, East Godavari and Guntur.

The diverse participants act in multiple ways turning the market into a dynamic and lively space. Other elements of the study and the related analysis are presented in the following chapters on Economic, Social and Cultural Facets.

2.2.13. Accompanied During Transactions

Table 2.12: Accompanied During Transactions

S. No	Who Accompanied	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Grand Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Single	12	2.26	30	5.64	0	0	42	7.89
2	Family Members	44	8.27	67	12.59	1	0.19	112	21.05
3	Close Kin	36	6.77	86	16.17	0	0	122	22.93
4	Friends	40	7.52	113	21.24	1	0.19	154	28.95
5	Intermediary Or Agent	36	6.77	42	7.89	0	0	78	14.66
6	Others	14	2.63	9	1.69	1	0.19	24	4.51
Total		182	34.21	347	65.23	3	0.56	532	100

Most market participants conducted their transactions on weekly market days with support from different members, such as friends (28.95%), close kin (22.93%), family (21.05%), and intermediaries (14.66%). Accompaniment during livestock transactions always enables them to make successful transactions, and their support is particularly needed for proper bargaining, identifying suitable cattle qualities, avoiding cheating, and ensuring safe transport. Notably, the intermediaries also played a role in facilitating successful transactions with buyers/sellers/exchangers, and they maintained expertise and knowledge in assessing cattle, which enabled them to complete livestock transactions more quickly than others.

2.2.14. Who Accompanied You for Assistance

Table 2.13: Number of Members Who Accompanied You for Assistance

S. No	No Of Members of Accompanied	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Grand Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	1-2	127	34.14	231	62.1	2	0.54	360	96.77
2	3-4	4	1.08	8	2.15	0	0	12	3.23
Total		131	35.22	239	64.25	2	0.54	372	100

Most (96.77%) are accompanied by 1-2 members, and 3.23% are accompanied by 3-4 members. 64.25% are accompanied during purchase, 35.22% during sale, and only 0.54%

during exchange. The role of the accompanier is to help others assess cattle and transport them safely to their destination.

2.2.15. Rendering Support

Table 2.14: Rendering Support

S. No	Rendering Support*	During Sale		During Purchase		During Exchange		Grand Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Care Of Cattle	69	16.67	117	28.26	0	0	186	44.93
2	Price Negotiations	65	15.7	148	35.75	1	0.24	214	51.69
3	Transporting Of Cattle	99	23.91	197	47.58	2	0.48	298	71.98
4	Advice On Cattle Health	4	0.97	16	3.86	0	0	20	4.83

* One participant reported multiple responses as rendering support. The total number of respondents (N=414)

The data show that one individual expressed multiple responses during livestock transactions, thereby supporting successful conclusions. They opined that rendering support accompanies the buyer/seller/exchanger and helps facilitate quick, effective transactions. Most reported receiving rendering support (71.98%) for transporting cattle, and 51.69% reported receiving price negotiations support, while only 4.83% received advice on cattle health during livestock transactions.

Chapter 03

ECONOMIC FACETS

With the emergence of civilizations, humans formed intimate bonds with various animals and birds, depending on the geographical and climatic conditions in which they lived. The domestication of several types of animals and birds for various purposes gradually resulted in economic systems that facilitated increased production and distribution of those animals and birds, like any other economic goods. The livestock markets are products of such an evolving economic system in many parts of the world. These markets emerged as significant economic institutions in all regions in India, as in many other countries worldwide.

Cattle rearing became even more significant as agriculture expanded, and integrated agriculture emerged as the preferred system. However, with changes in agricultural practices driven by modern farming methods, a noticeable shift has occurred in cattle rearing and its place in rural economies. Use of cattle for agricultural operations and rural transport has significantly declined. However, demand for milk, milk products, and meat also increased. A growing number of rural households are thus attempting to exploit the economic opportunities in this area. Such a trend increased India's cattle population. Recently, there has been a decline in the number of cattle owned by rural households due to various factors, including a shortage of grazing land, a shift to commercial crops, the disappearance of traditional institutions for cattle grazing, and higher cattle feed costs.

Livestock markets are largely unorganized, organized mainly through community participation. Singh et al. (2019) noted that research on livestock markets assesses and evaluates markets based on economic factors, such as prices and fluctuations, which determine market conditions. This study focused especially on the economic significance of livestock markets, considering aspects such as participants in livestock markets, volumes of livestock and money transacted, profits earned and losses incurred by farmers and livestock traders, processes followed in economic transactions, etc. Further, the economic aspects of livestock markets are addressed in two sections of this report. The first section analysed data collected from 414 market participants (including 345 farmers, 11 farmer-traders, 26 dairy farmers, and 32 traders). In the second section, data obtained through supplementary schedules administered to farmers, traders, and intermediaries in the villages surrounding Alamanda (the livestock market site) are separately analysed and presented.

3.1. Weekly Market Days and Livestock Transactions

3.1.1. Purpose of Visit, Transport Expenditure and Mode of Transport

Market participants belong to various categories, although many visit the market to sell, purchase, or exchange livestock. While farmers dominate among sellers, traders constitute a significant proportion of purchasers. Those who visit to exchange their cattle with others are in negligible numbers these days. Among the 414 respondents interviewed in the market setting on six market days during the fieldwork, 143 (34.54%) reported that the purpose of their visit was to sell their cattle, 269 (64.98%) to purchase, and 0.48% to exchange.

Table 3.1: Purpose of Visits

S. No	Purpose of Visit	N	%
1	Sale	143	34.54
2	Purchase	269	64.98
3	Exchange	2	0.48
Total		414	100.00

Table 3.2: Expenditure Incurred on Transport by market participants

S. No	Expenditure (Rs.)	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	0-50	19	4.59	5	1.21	0	0.00	24	5.80
2	51-100	0	0.00	4	0.97	0	0.00	4	0.97
3	101-200	3	0.72	8	1.93	0	0.00	11	2.66
4	201-300	7	1.69	20	4.83	0	0.00	27	6.52
5	301-500	23	5.56	50	12.08	0	0.00	73	17.63
6	501-1000	41	9.90	115	27.78	1	0.24	157	37.92
7	1001-1500	15	3.62	27	6.52	0	0.00	42	10.14
8	1501-2000	16	3.86	19	4.59	1	0.24	36	8.70
9	2001-2500	0	0.00	4	0.97	0	0.00	4	0.97
10	Above 2500	19	4.59	17	4.11	0	0.00	36	8.70
Total		143	34.54	269	64.98	2	0.48	414	100.00

Though those from nearby villages mostly walk to the market, many who visit livestock markets use private transport. For many participants (5.80%) of the market, the expenditure on transport was less than Rs 50. On the other hand, those who spent more than Rs 2500 constituted 8.70%. Most frequently (37.92%), participants had incurred an expenditure between Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000 on transport. Participants from the same village or a nearby village shared transport to reduce costs. Further, the average expenditure incurred by those who visited the market to sell cattle was more than the average expenditure incurred by those who visited the market to buy cattle. This also means that those who came to sell cattle in the market had traveled longer distances, resulting in greater expenditure on transporting their animals. On the other hand, the buyers were from nearby villages and incurred lower transport costs. Many

long-distance sellers prefer this market because they can sell their cattle on the first attempt, given its greater participation.

Table 3.3: Mode of Transport and Average Amount spent on Transport

S. No	Mode of Transport	Sale			Purchase			Exchange			Total		
		Average Spent (Rs.)	N	%	Average Spent (Rs.)	N	%	Average Spent (Rs.)	N	%	Average Spent (Rs.)	N	%
1	Private Pass Vehicle	2916.16	6	1.45	1428.57	14	3.38	0	0	0.00	2172.36	20	4.83
2	Private Goods Vehicle	1367.97	123	29.71	1131.20	242	58.45	1300	2	0.48	1266.39	367	88.65
3	Public Transport	0	0	0.00	168.57	7	1.69	0	0	0.00	168.57	7	1.69
4	Own Vehicle	0	0	0.00	200	2	0.48	0	0	0.00	200	2	0.48
5	On Foot	0	14	3.38	0	4	0.97	0	0	0.00	0	18	4.35
Total		2142.06	143	34.54	732.08	269	64.98	1300	2	0.48	951.83	414	100.00

The table above shows the distribution of transport modes and the average amount spent on transporting livestock. 4.35% of the market participants from nearby villages came on foot. Most participants (88.65%) reported using a private goods vehicle, with an average transport expenditure of Rs. 1266. Fewer participants (approximately 0.48%) reported using their own vehicles for transportation. The average transport costs for sellers were Rs. 2142.06, while for purchasers they were Rs. 732.08. The reduced costs for purchasers were because the transporters would return to their places in the evening, so there was scope for some bargaining by the cattle buyers. Further, sellers may bring more than one animal for sale, whereas sellers usually buy and take one animal home and use a shared vehicle.

3. 1.2. Frequency of Visit and Weekly Livestock Market

Table 3.4: Number of years since visiting the study market and Frequency of Visit to market

S. No	No. of Year	N	%
1	0-5	26	6.28
2	6-10	63	15.22
3	11-15	49	11.84
4	16-20	90	21.74

5	21-25	63	15.22
6	26-30	64	15.46
7	More Than 30	59	14.25
Total		414	100.00

Approximately 15.5% of the participants reported visiting the livestock market at Alamanda for more than 26–30 years, and those who reported visiting since the last five years constituted 6.28%. However, 14.25% have accumulated a long experience with the Alamanda market, with over 30 years of experience. Those who have been visiting the market for a long time find it easy to make transactions quickly and think it helps them update their knowledge of breed varieties, price fluctuations, and market trends. Further, they felt they had significantly expanded their social network. Regular visitors had the advantage of identifying with other participants in the market, which helped them close deals quickly. Market participants, particularly traders and intermediaries who have been active for several years, play a notable role in understanding market dynamics, conditions, and situations. Further, long-time regular market visitors help resolve conflicts efficiently. Most (36.9%) of the market participants reported visiting the Alamanda market once in 4-6 months. Those visiting at least once a month accounted for about one-tenth of the participants, who are the more popular figures in the Alamanda market.

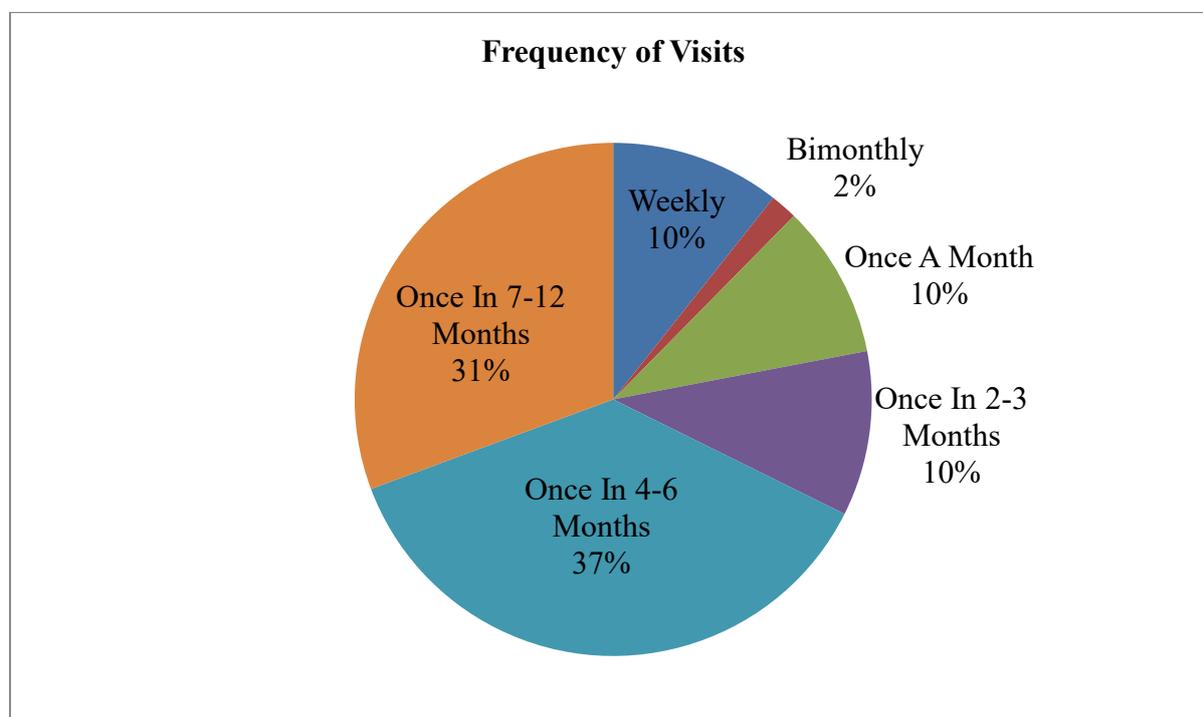


Figure 3.1: Frequency of Visits

3. 1.3. Type and Total Number of Cattle Transacted

Table 3.5: Type and Total Number of Cattle Transacted (Both Successful and Unsuccessful)

S.NO	Type of Cattle	Sale				Purchase				Exchange				Grand Total (Both Successful & Unsuccessful) (N=665)			
		Successful		unsuccessful		Successful		unsuccessful		Successful		Unsuccessful		Successful		Unsuccessful	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Cows	43	7.83	17	14.66	78	14.21	3	2.59	1	0.18	0	0.00	122	18.35	20	3.01
2	Cow And Calf	20	3.64	15	12.93	66	12.02	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	86	12.93	15	2.26
3	Calf/Calves	28	5.10	10	8.62	14	2.55	2	1.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	42	6.32	12	1.80
4	Bullocks	20	3.64	23	19.83	40	7.29	8	6.90	0	0.00	0	0.00	60	9.02	31	4.66
5	Buffalo & Calf	2	0.36	0	0.00	60	10.93	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	62	9.32	0	0.00
6	She Buffaloes	50	9.11	17	14.66	71	12.93	7	6.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	121	18.20	24	3.61
7	He Buffaloes	4	0.73	6	5.17	23	4.19	0	0.00	2	0.36	0	0.00	29	4.36	6	0.90
8	Buffalo Calf	4	0.73	6	5.17	23	4.19	2	1.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	27	4.06	8	1.20
Total		171	31.15	94	81.03	375	68.31	22	18.97	3	0.55	0	0.00	549	82.56	116	17.44

Table 3.6: Distribution of Type of Cattle by Successful Transactions

S. No.	Type of Cattle (N=549)	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Cow	43	7.83	78	14.21	1	0.18	122	22.22
2	Cow and Calf	20	3.64	66	12.02	0	0.00	86	15.66
3	Calf/Calves	28	5.10	14	2.55	0	0.00	42	7.65
4	Bullocks	20	3.64	40	7.29	0	0.00	60	10.93
5	Buffalo and Calf	2	0.36	60	10.93	0	0.00	62	11.29
6	She Buffalo	50	9.11	71	12.93	0	0.00	121	22.04
7	He Buffalo	4	0.73	23	4.19	2	0.36	29	5.28
8	Buffalo Calf	4	0.73	23	4.19	0	0.00	27	4.92
Total		171	31.15	375	68.31	3	0.55	549	100.00

Among the 143 respondents (sellers) included in the entry interviews, those who sought to sell milch animals formed the majority. The FGDs and key informant interviews revealed that this market was once popular due to the large number and variety of bullocks and he-buffaloes brought for sale. The gradual decline in the number of bullocks and increase in the number of milch animals can be attributed to three reasons: 1. Decline in the use of cattle for agricultural activities; 2. The sugar factory in the district was closed, resulting in a decline in demand for bullock carts for transport 3. Moreover, the opening of Visakha Dairy and other private dairy farms increased the demand for milch animals.

3. 1.4. Preference for Homebred and Purchased Cattle

Table 3.7: Preference for Homebred and Purchased Cattle in context of successful transactions

Type of Cattle (N=549)	Sale				Purchase				Exchange				Grand Total	
	Purchased		Homebred		Purchased		Homebred		Purchased		Homebred			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cows	25	4.55	18	3.28	57	10.38	21	3.83	1	0.18	0	0	122	22.22
Cow And Calf	16	2.91	4	0.73	46	8.38	20	3.64	0	0	0	0	86	15.66
Calf/Calves	20	3.64	8	1.46	4	0.73	10	1.82	0	0	0	0	42	7.65
Bullocks	18	3.28	2	0.36	31	5.65	9	1.64	0	0	0	0	60	10.93
Buffalo & Calf	0	0	2	0.36	50	9.11	10	1.82	0	0	0	0	62	11.29
She Buffaloes	25	4.55	25	4.55	63	11.48	8	1.46	0	0	0	0	121	22.04
He Buffaloes	2	0.36	2	0.36	20	3.64	3	0.55	2	0.36	0	0	29	5.28
Buffalo calf	2	0.36	2	0.36	6	1.09	17	3.1	0	0	0	0	27	4.92
Total	108	19.67	63	11.5	277	50.46	98	17.9	3	0.55	0	0	549	100

The process of *empikulu* (selection of cattle) constitutes a crucial stage in market transactions. Sellers aim to align their offerings with buyer preferences, particularly regarding breed, age, productivity, and work capacity. Buyers, in turn, assess animals carefully by examining behavioural traits, physical health, productivity indicators, and temperament either independently or with the assistance of intermediaries.

A significant preliminary distinction made by buyers is between *doddi bakka* (homebred cattle) and *santha bakka* (purchased cattle). Homebred cattle refer to animals that are born and raised within the seller’s household, whereas purchased cattle are those acquired through previous market transactions and circulated within the broader trade network. This distinction carries informational and moral implications. In the case of *Doddi Bakka*, buyers can directly access detailed knowledge about the animal’s lineage, feeding practices, health history, and productivity from the seller. In contrast, *Santha Bakka* often provides incomplete or second-hand information, increasing uncertainty about their background.

Field data indicate that among the 549 cattle transacted during the observed market days, approximately 71 per cent were purchased cattle (*santha bakka*), while 29 per cent were homebred (*doddi bakka*). However, of the 171 cattle brought for sale by seller respondents over five market days, only about 11.5 per cent were homebred. This suggests that although homebred cattle command demand, they constitute a relatively smaller share of animals brought to the market by direct owners.

Both economic and affective considerations shape the reluctance to sell homebred cattle. Farmers and traders typically retain homebred animals unless compelled by financial distress or the practical difficulty of maintaining them. Emotional attachment plays a significant role, as homebred cattle are often regarded as part of the household economy and social life rather than as mere commodities. When farmers decide to sell such animals, they frequently prefer private transactions within their own village or neighbouring settlements, where trust networks facilitate better prices and smoother negotiation.

3. 1.5. Approximate Age (in Yrs.) of Cattle

Table 3.8: Approximate Age (in Yrs.) of Cattle in Context of Successful Transactions

Type of Transaction	Type Of Cattle	0-2 Yrs		3-4 Yrs		5-6 Yrs		7-8 Yrs		9-10 Yrs		More Than 10 Yrs		Grand Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sale	Cows	4	0.73	14	2.55	18	3.28	6	1.09	0	0.00	1	0.18	43	7.83
Purchase		2	0.36	36	6.56	32	5.83	6	1.09	2	0.36	0	0.00	78	14.21
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.18
Sale	Cow and Calf	0	0.00	6	1.09	14	2.55	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	20	3.64
Purchase		0	0.00	16	2.91	24	4.37	12	2.19	10	1.82	4	0.73	66	12.02
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sale	Calves	28	5.10	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	28	5.10
Purchase		14	2.55	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	14	2.55
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sale	Bullocks	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	1.09	4	0.73	10	1.82	0	0.00	20	3.64
Purchase		0	0.00	5	0.91	27	4.92	8	1.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	40	7.29
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sale	Buffalo & calf	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36
Purchase		0	0.00	10	1.82	34	6.19	16	2.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	60	10.93
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sale	Buffalo (F)	5	0.91	16	2.91	15	2.73	12	2.19	2	0.36	0	0.00	50	9.11
Purchase		0	0.00	22	4.01	31	5.65	15	2.73	3	0.55	0	0.00	71	12.93

Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sale	Buffalo (M)	0	0.00	2	0.36	2	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.73
Purchase		1	0.18	9	1.64	9	1.64	3	0.55	1	0.18	0	0.00	23	4.19
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36
Sale	Buffalo calf	4	0.73	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.73
Purchase		23	4.19	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	23	4.19
Exchange		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total		81	14.75	136	24.77	215	39.16	84	15.30	28	5.10	5	0.91	549	100.00

Age is a significant factor in assessing cattle and directly influences price. The farmers assess age based on the number, size, and wear and tear of teeth. If the cattle lost two teeth on the left and right sides, they were three to four years old. If the cattle have more than four teeth, it indicates that they are above five to six years old, and they are also considered to have strong teeth (*gattipallu*), which indicates that they are in adulthood. Losing teeth before the age of two is called the fall of milk teeth (*palapallu*). If an ox has two teeth, it is two years old and is called *a nevada*. The ox having more than six teeth is considered aged. If the cattle have given a single birth, it indicates that the age of the cattle is three to four years of age; if it has given birth to two calves, it indicates that it is five to six years of age; if it is the third delivery or pregnancy, it is estimated to be seven to nine years of age.

3. 1.6. Self-Assessment of Health of Animals

The sellers were asked about their perception of the health of the animals that they brought for sale. Similarly, the buyers were probed about their perception of the health of the animal that they had purchased in the market.

Table 3.9: Self-Assessment of Health in context of successful transactions

S. No	Self-Assessment of Health	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%		%
1	Good	166	30.24	359	65.39	3	0.55	528	96.17
2	Satisfactory	3	0.55	13	2.37	0	0.00	16	2.91
3	Not Satisfactory	2	0.36	3	0.55	0	0.00	5	0.91
Total		171	31.15	375	68.31	3	0.55	549	100.00

Most participants (96.17%) reported that the health status of the animals transacted is good. Participants, especially buyers, were assessed on various parameters. Notably, for cattle assessment, buyers mostly relied on intermediaries' support. The various criteria they consider are presented in a subsequent section in this chapter.

3. 1.7. Expectations of Buyers and Sellers Regarding the Price of Animals

Market participants were asked about the price at which they would like to buy or sell the animals. Generally, the bullocks were quoted at higher prices. The average sale price quoted for cows, bullocks, buffalo and calves, and he-buffaloes was about Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 3,000 lower than the average price at which buyers were willing to buy these animals. The average sale price for she-buffaloes was Rs. 45,000, compared with the average amount buyers wanted to invest in she-buffaloes, which was Rs. 73,451. Similarly, the difference is significant in the case of calves of cows and buffaloes. That means the buyers were prepared to invest more if the cattle were of the quality they expected or a breed they desired to purchase. The average sale price would occasionally rise when high-quality buffaloes and cows from other districts or states were brought to market. As buyers preferred to purchase young and healthy animals, even if it costs them more, the average price from the buyers' side for all categories of animals remained slightly higher than the average expected price of sellers.

Table 3.10: Average price quoted (sellers) and expected (buyers) for different types of cattle

S. No.	Type of Cattle	Average of Seller Price	Average of Buyer Price
1	Cow	39,167.00	43,250.00
2	Cow and Calf	47,500.00	45,602.00
3	Cow Calf	10,000.00	15,750.00
4	Bullocks	69,375.00	70,691.00
5	Buffalo and Calf	65,000.00	65,225.00
6	Buffalo (F)	45,000.00	73,451.00
7	Buffalo (M)	53,913.00	56,564.00
8	Buffalo Calf	13,330.33	18,705.00

Data were obtained from exit interviews with sellers on the expected and actual sale prices of the cattle they successfully sold. Many sellers were unable to conclude their sales due to the lower prices offered for their cattle. Hence, this data on the average price at which the cattle were sold included a few distress sales and many comfort sales. Generally, farmers appear to have mentally prepared themselves to sell at prices far below the prices quoted to buyers, due to the need for cash. This is particularly so in the case of homebred cattle, as they had no price to compare. These factors also led the average actual price to exceed the minimum expected

price across all cattle categories. However, compared to the prices they quoted, the actual sale prices are considerably lower.

Table 3.11: Expected and Actual Price and Successful Conclusion of Sales, Purchases and Exchanges

S.No.	Type Of Cattle	Sale (On average)		Purchase (On average)		Exchange (On Average)	
		Sale Price (Rs.)	Difference between Expected & Actual Price (Rs.)	Purchase Price (Rs.)	Difference between Expected & Actual Purchase Price (Rs.)	Exchange Price (Rs.)	Difference between Expected & Actual Exchange Price (Rs.)
1	Cow	28,735.29	(-) 5,983.87	37,776.71	(+) 5,835.38	30,000.00	5,000.00
2	Cow and Calf	38,500.00	(-) 5,833.33	38,666.66	(+) 6,906.25	0.00	0.00
3	Calf/Calves	6,500.00	(-) 500.00	13,500.00	(+) 2,125.00	0.00	0.00
4	Bullocks	64,700.00	(-)14,500.00	64,166.66	(+) 6,428.57	0.00	0.00
5	Buffalo and Calf	55,000.00	(-)10,000.00	59,451.61	(+) 6,064.51	0.00	0.00
6	Buffalo (F)	45,322.58	(-) 7,500.00	60,951.61	(+) 12,500.00	0.00	0.00
7	Buffalo (M)	32,000.00	(-)13,000.00	53,142.85	(+) 5,614.28	60,000.00	5,000.00
8	Buffalo Calf	7,666.66	(-) 4,250.00	15,687.50	(+) 2,093.75	0.00	0.00
Total		34,803.06	(-) 7,695.90	43,337.59	(+) 6,458.12	45,000.00	5,000.00

The difference between the expected and actual sale price is highest for bullocks. The difference in the case of bullocks and he-buffaloes was found to be Rs. 14,500 and Rs. 13,000, respectively. The difference was not so much in the case of calves. The difference between the expected and actual purchase price is highest for she-buffaloes. In most cases, sellers reported losses, while purchasers claimed they had to pay a higher price than expected. This market proves itself as a place for accommodating all sorts of transactions with diverse cattle and a chain of losses and profits.

This data thus shows that farmers' sales of homebred calves are invariably distress sales for various reasons. The sale of cows is to a great extent compromised. Since intermediaries are more involved in the case of bullocks and she-buffaloes, due to higher stakes and because they are usually '*santha bakkalu*', the price is marginally higher than the quoted price.

3. 1.8. Previous Number of Attempts and Waiting Periods

Table 3.12: Previous Number of Attempts and Waiting Periods for Successful Sale, Purchase and Exchange

Previous Attempts	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Zero	114	20.77	260	47.36	1	0.18	375	68.31
One	26	4.74	7	1.28	2	0.36	35	6.38
Two	5	0.91	15	2.73	0	0.00	20	3.64
Three	12	2.19	11	2.00	0	0.00	23	4.19
Four	4	0.73	24	4.37	0	0.00	28	5.10
Five	5	0.91	21	3.83	0	0.00	26	4.74
More than five	0	0.00	37	6.74	0	0.00	37	6.74
Not Reported	5	0.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.91
Total	171	31.15	375	68.31	3	0.55	549	100.00

Typically, when cattle are sold early, they may fetch a reasonable price, and as the number of attempts increases, sellers generally compromise on price. Sometimes, sellers also conduct livestock transactions in their surrounding villages if they are unsuccessful in the market. Market participants reported that the waiting period is considerably shorter for homebred varieties. Notably, most sellers could sell their livestock within 1 to 3 months, though some took up to 6 months due to inconsistent effort. Often, buyers and sellers also inform other intermediaries, traders, and fellow farmers of their livestock requirements, which reduces waiting time.

3. 1.9. Perception of Successful Cattle Transactions

Table 3.13: Perception of Successful Sales, Purchases and Exchange

S. No	Perception	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Grand Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Good	161	29.33	349	63.57	3	0.55	513	93.44
2	Satisfactory	4	0.73	12	2.19	0	0.00	16	2.91
3	Not Satisfactory	6	1.09	14	2.55	0	0.00	20	3.64
Total		171	31.15	375	68.31	3	0.55	549	100.00

Approximately 93.44% of participants reported that livestock transactions were good, meaning they obtained or sold cattle at an expected price. Interestingly, many buyers had paid more than they initially intended, yet expressed satisfaction with the price. This is because they were more than convinced of the animal's health and appearance, as well as the prevailing prices for the animals. The sellers generally have no preferences other than a reasonable price. The deal is considered satisfactory if the seller receives a reasonable price with few conditions. The poor deal is said to result from the buyer's or his representative's middleman's bargaining skills. The intermediaries may act one-sidedly to secure a larger commission, which can occasionally lead to a 'distress deal' for sellers. In any case, the sellers do not express dissatisfaction with the sale price while selling a homebred animal, as there is no benchmark for comparison. Only when they sell an animal they purchased earlier do they have rigid expectations based on how many years of service the animal has rendered and how much of the cost they have already recovered.

3. 1.10. Details of Payments

Table 3.14: Details of Payments

S. No	Details Of Payments	Sale		Purchase		Exchange		Grand Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Cash	132	31.88	251	60.63	2	0.48	385	93.00
2	Digital Payments	11	2.66	18	4.35	0	0.00	29	7.00
Total		143	34.54	269	64.98	2	0.48	414	100.00

The data show that 93% preferred cash payment for livestock transactions, while only 7% made digital payments via PhonePe or Google Pay. Notably, market participants have recently adopted digital payments. Younger generations are more interested in digital payments than the elderly are in livestock transactions. The market participants agreed that digital payments save time and ensure immediate payments along with a proof of payment.

3. 1.11. Reasons for Successful Sale, Purchase and Exchange

Various reasons for the sale of cattle by the market participants have been reported. Most participants reported financial constraints as the reason for selling. This also means that cattle rearing is a response to overcome the economic crisis. It is a means of providing economic security to farmers using their resources. Some of the respondents reported selling cattle as part of their trading activities. This finding is also important, as it reflects that rural households relying on cattle trading as a form of self-employment are substantial. The number of farmers selling their cattle due to maintenance issues is also noteworthy. Notably, cattle management and feeding are becoming increasingly complex for cattle rearers due to the decreased availability of grass and the high price of animal feed in local markets. Many households aim to acquire cattle as soon as possible once the economic crisis subsides, as the sale of cattle is also viewed as a loss of social reputation among relatives and friends.

Table 3.15: Reasons for Successful Sale, Purchase and Exchange

Type of Cattle	S. No	Type of Reason	Sale (N=171)		Purchase (N=375)		Exchange (N=3)		Grand Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cows	1	Maintenance Problem	8	1.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	1.46
	2	Reproductive Issues	5	0.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.91
	3	Household Difficulty	13	2.37	0	0.00	0	0.00	13	2.37
	4	Milk Production issues	2	0.36	0	0.00	1	0.18	3	0.55
	5	Cyclic Trading	1	0.18	29	5.28	0	0.00	30	5.46
	6	need of money	13	2.37	0	0.00	0	0.00	13	2.37
	7	to sell and buy other	1	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.18
	8	For Milk	0	0.00	28	5.10	0	0.00	28	5.10
	9	For Dairy Purpose	0	0.00	18	3.28	0	0.00	18	3.28
	10	Trading	0	0.00	3	0.55	0	0.00	3	0.55
		Total	43	7.83	78	14.21	0	0.00	121	22.04
Cow and Calf	1	Agriculture expenditure	2	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36
	2	Household Difficulty	14	2.55	0	0.00	0	0.00	14	2.55
	3	Milk Production issues	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	4	Cyclic Trading	0	0.00	28	5.10	0	0.00	28	5.10
	5	need of money	4	0.73	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.73
	6	For Milk	0	0.00	32	5.83	0	0.00	32	5.83
	7	For Dairy Purpose	0	0.00	6	1.09	0	0.00	6	1.09
	8	Not Reported	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
		Total	20	3.64	66	12.02	0	0.00	86	15.66
Calf	1	Household Difficulty	24	4.37	0	0.00	0	0.00	24	4.37
	2	Cyclic Trading	0	0.00	2	0.36	0	0.00	2	0.36
	3	need of money	4	0.73	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.73
	4	For Milk	0	0.00	10	1.82	0	0.00	10	1.82
	5	For Dairy Purpose	0	0.00	2	0.36	0	0.00	2	0.36
		Total	28	5.10	14	2.55	0	0.00	42	7.65
Bullocks	1	Maintenance Problem	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	2	Household Difficulty	6	1.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	1.09
	3	Cyclic Trading	0	0.00	24	4.37	0	0.00	24	4.37
	4	need of money	6	1.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	1.09
	5	to sell and buy other	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	6	Not capable for agricultural activities	2	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36

	7	For Running Vehicle	0	0.00	2	0.36	0	0.00	2	0.36
	8	Trading	6	1.09	4	0.73	0	0.00	10	1.82
	9	Agriculture Purpose	0	0.00	10	1.82	0	0.00	10	1.82
		Total	20	3.64	40	7.29	0	0.00	60	10.93
Buffalo& Calf	1	Agriculture expenditure	2	0.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.36
	2	Reproductive Issues	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	3	Cyclic Trading	0	0.00	30	5.46	0	0.00	30	5.46
	4	For Milk	0	0.00	20	3.64	0	0.00	20	3.64
	5	For Dairy Purpose	0	0.00	10	1.82	0	0.00	10	1.82
			Total	2	0.36	60	10.93	0	0.00	62
Buffalo (F)	1	Maintenance Problem	7	1.28	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	1.28
	2	Agriculture expenditure	1	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.18
	3	Household Difficulty	18	3.28	0	0.00	0	0.00	18	3.28
	4	Cyclic Trading	2	0.36	23	4.19	0	0.00	25	4.55
	5	need of money	20	3.64	0	0.00	0	0.00	20	3.64
	6	Physical condition	1	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.18
	7	to sell and buy other	1	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.18
	8	For Milk	0	0.00	46	8.38	0	0.00	46	8.38
	9	For Dairy Purpose	0	0.00	1	0.18	0	0.00	1	0.18
	10	Trading	0	0.00	1	0.18	0	0.00	1	0.18
	11	Not Reported	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
		Total	50	9.11	71	12.93	0	0.00	121	22.04
Buffalo (M)	1	Maintenance Problem	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	2	Household Difficulty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	3	Cyclic Trading	4	0.73	14	2.55	2	0.36	20	3.64
	4	need of money	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
	5	Trading	0	0.00	5	0.91	0	0.00	5	0.91
	6	Agricultural Purpose	0	0.00	4	0.73	0	0.00	4	0.73
		Total	4	0.73	23	4.19	0	0.00	27	4.92
Buffalo Calf	1	Trading	0	0.00	6	1.09	0	0.00	6	1.09
	2	Cyclic Trading	0	0.00	10	1.82	0	0.00	10	1.82
	3	For Milk	0	0.00	7	1.28	0	0.00	7	1.28
		Need money	4	0.73	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.73
		Total	4	0.73	23	4.19	3	0.55	30	5.46

269 buyers could be probed for reasons behind their cattle purchases. The fact that cattle trading is a significant economic activity pursued by many households is reflected in the reasons given by these buyers. The purchasers were farmers who used their products to meet their dairy and agricultural needs. Among them, a significant percentage invested in milch cattle with the expectation of earning supplementary income from surplus milk sales.

3. 1.12. Reasons for Unsuccessful Sale and Purchase

Market participants reported various reasons for unsuccessful cattle transactions. More often, the sale/purchase could not be completed in case of bullocks, as the prices of bullocks are usually quoted high, and the buyers do not conclude a sale transaction unless they are fully satisfied with the price commensurate with the health and age of the animal. Similarly, the sale/purchase of the she-buffaloes and the he-buffaloes is not concluded due to a mismatch of the sale price and the offer price. For smaller animals, such as calves, there is no significant issue with completing transactions.

3.2. Livestock Transactions by The Farmers

3.2.1. Frequency and Purpose of Visits by Farmers

Table 3.16: Frequency and Purpose of Visits by Farmers

S. No	Purpose	Yes		No		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Transact livestock	265	88.33	35	11.67	300	100
2	Render Support to Kin/Friend	15	5	285	95	300	100
3	To Know the Price of the	16	5.33	284	94.67	300	100
4	Animal						
5	To Know New Breeds	2	0.67	298	99.33	300	100
6	To buy household goods	2	0.67	298	99.33	300	100

Among the 300 farmers interviewed, 88.33% visited the livestock market to transact livestock, 5% provided support as kin or friends, 5.33% visited to check livestock prices, and 1.34% visited the livestock market to learn about new breeds and buy household goods. Regular market participation and visits provide updates on market conditions and help them strengthen their social networks. Most farmers (31%) visited markets at least once in six months—those who reported visiting once a year or rarely accounted for more than a quarter of the sample. Importantly, about 18% reported visiting the market at least once a month or every week.

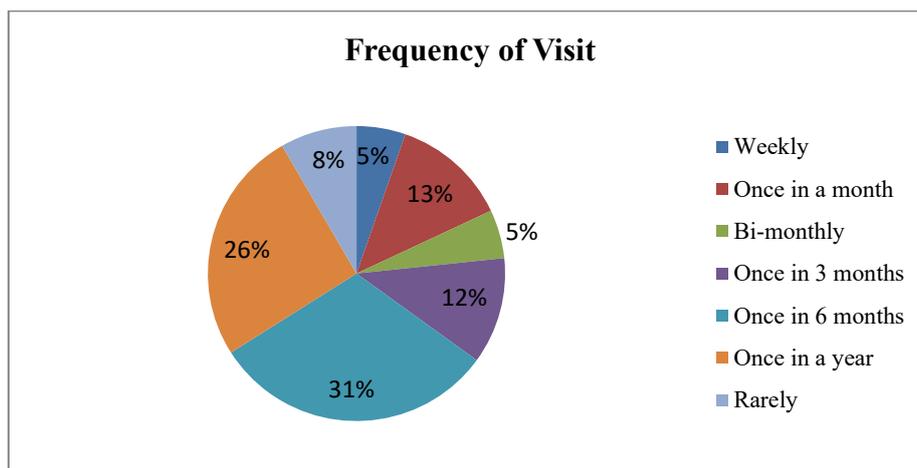


Figure. 3.2: Frequency of Visit

3.2.2. Transaction of Livestock by Farmers

Table 3.17: Transaction of Livestock by Farmers

S. No	Type of Livestock	Yes	%
1	Buffalo	157	52.33
2	Bullock	4	1.33
3	Cow	121	40.33
4	Cow, Calves and Buffaloes	18	6
Total		300	100

Approximately 52.33% of the farmers transacted buffalo, and 40.33% transacted cows. This means that the milch animals are frequently sold and bought by the farmers as these animals get older and the milk yield reduces. Notably, the demand for milch animals in this livestock market is also why many prefer to sell their milch animals; a few (1.33%) transacted bullocks for agricultural activities, particularly for ploughing their lands.

3.2.3. Prices at Which the Farmers Transacted their Livestock

Table 3. 18: Prices at which livestock were transacted by farmers

S.No.	Transaction Amount in Rs.	N	%
1	Below 10,000	15	5.00
2	10,000-30,000	54	18.00
3	31,000-60,000	128	42.67
4	61,000-90,000	71	23.67

5	91,000-1,20,000	13	4.33
6	1,21,000-1,50,000	4	1.33
7	1,51,000-1,80,000	3	1.00
8	Above 1,80,000	1	0.33
9	Not Reported	11	3.67
Total		300	100.00

The farmers were involved in the buying and selling of different cattle at the weekly market; while some sold their animals, others purchased cattle for various purposes. Analysis of data from 300 farmers in surrounding villages who transacted cattle at the weekly market revealed that the majority transacted between Rs. 31,000 to Rs. 60,000. Those who sold or purchased animals costing above Rs. 90,000 in this market were few, comprising only about 7% of the total. As the majority of farmers do not wish to sell calves, particularly female calves, which usually cost little, transactions of less than Rs. 10,000 account for about 5% of the total.

3.2.4. Benefits of Market Visits by Farmers

Table 3.19: Benefits of Market Visits Reported by the Farmers

S. No	Type of Advantage	N	%
1	Information on Agricultural Practices	105	35.00
2	Information on Govt. Scheme	28	9.33
3	Building Social Network	102	34.00
4	Acquisition of Health Information	7	2.33
5	None of the above	32	10.67
6	Not Reported	26	8.67
Total		300	100.00

There are many advantages to a farmer visiting livestock markets. Over one-third felt that visiting livestock markets helps them stay up to date on agricultural practices. Almost a similar proportion reported that these visits help build social networks. For another 9.33% the visits are helpful for information on government schemes.

3.3. Livestock Transactions by Traders

In this region, a significant number of rural households engage in livestock trading within weekly markets as a source of livelihood. While some individuals depend exclusively on cattle trading as their primary occupation, many others participate in it as a supplementary income-generating activity. Farmers, for instance, often combine agricultural work with periodic livestock trading. Likewise, intermediaries who primarily earn commissions through facilitating transactions occasionally engage in direct trading when favourable opportunities arise.

Despite its apparent informality, cattle trading is widely perceived by participants as a skill-intensive occupation. Traders emphasise that success in the market depends not merely on capital investment but on a set of specialised competencies developed through experience and social learning. According to respondents, certain skills are considered fundamental to effective trading. These key skills are discussed in the following sections.

3.3.1. Type of Skills Needed

Table 3.20: Types of Skills Needed by Traders

S. No	Type of Skills	N	%
1	Communication Skills	27	13.50
2	Contacts	8	4.00
3	Convincing	2	1.00
4	Experience	37	18.50
5	Relation	2	1.00
6	Hard Work	5	2.50
7	Honest	2	1.00
8	Knowledge about livestock	68	34.00
9	Marketing	30	15.00
10	Social network	13	6.50
11	Capital and risk management	2	1.00
12	Trust	4	2.00
Total		200	100.00

Approximately 34% reported that traders should have knowledge of livestock, 18.50% emphasized experience, and 13.50% felt that communication skills are important for successful

negotiations with sellers. Traders also reported that, in addition to the above traits, they need contacts, a commitment to working hard, and some risk-taking attitudes.

3.3.2. Influenced to become Trader

Table 3.21: Who has influenced to Become Trader

S. No	Who Influenced	N	%
1	Consanguineous Kin	105	52.50
2	Friends	51	25.50
3	Community Members	25	12.50
4	Others	7	3.50
5	Affinal Kin	1	0.50
6	Not Reported	11	5.50
Total		200	100.00

Approximately 52.5% of the traders were influenced by consanguineous kin to take up trading. While about one-fourth of them have taken up trading on the influence of friends, another 12.50% were guided by their community members. After receiving some essential skills from their mentors, they entered livestock trading. Many traders attribute their success to their risk management skills and timely decisions. Most importantly, they felt that trading was like gambling, so luck was also important.

3.3.3. Types of Tasks Assigned to Assistants and Categories of Assistants

Table 3.22: Types of Tasks Assigned to Assistants and Categories of Assistants

S. No	Task Assigned	N	%
1	Care of Animals	65	32.50
2	Transportation and Care of Animals	69	34.50
3	Transportation of Animals	7	3.50
4	Identification of Clients, Information Dissemination and Care of Animals	4	2.00
5	Care of Animals and Price Negotiation	5	2.50
6	Not reported	50	25.00
Total		200	100.00

A good number of traders’ recruit assistants to pursue their business. These assistants are assigned different jobs depending on the scale of their business and engagement in other economic activities. Approximately 34.5% of traders reported assigning transportation jobs and animal care to their assistants. About one-third of them sought their assistance exclusively for livestock care during intermittent periods of livestock procurement and sale. Traders who manage without paid assistants rely on family members and friends to care for animals and handle other tasks. Some of those members also claim that their profit margins are more due to reduced expenses.

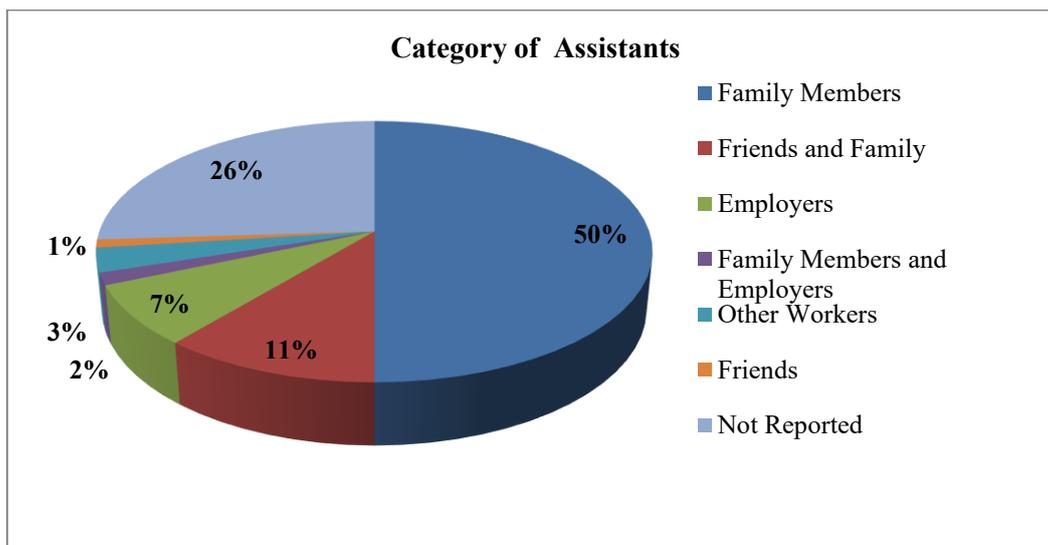


Figure. 3.3: Category of Assistants

3.3.4. Dependency on Weekly Markets by Traders

Table 3.23: Dependency on Weekly Markets by Traders

S.No.	Dependency (%)	N	%
1	0-25	10	5.00
2	26-50	68	34.00
3	51-75	105	52.50
4	76-100	13	6.50
5	Not Reported	4	2.00
Total		200	100.00

The data show that more than half of the traders (51%-75%) rely primarily on weekly markets for their business. Similarly, slightly more than one-third of the traders reported depending on weekly markets to some extent, ranging from 26% to 50%. Some of those members who depend less on weekly markets for the procurement of cattle and sale maintain relationships with villagers surrounding their native village through frequent visits for their

operations. Furthermore, they operate with less risk because they work according to their clients' specific requests.

3.3.5. Average Time Period

Table 3.24: Average time period from purchase to sale/end use by traders

S.No.	Average Time Period	N	%
1	<1 Month	123	61.50
2	1-2 Months	49	24.50
3	3-4 Months	19	9.50
4	5-6 Months	3	1.50
5	>6 Months	6	3.00
Total		200	100.00

Data from 200 traders from surrounding villages indicate that their average waiting period for a transaction to be successfully concluded is significantly shorter (approximately 45 days). Most traders (61.5%) reported successfully selling the cattle they secured for their trade within 30 days. About 25% took an average of two months to resell the cattle they secured. The time period is slightly longer, as many of them are farmer-traders who are not in a hurry to sell at lower margins and have facilities to keep the cattle for some time. Only a few traders took three to four months to resell the cattle. Generally, traders seek rapid capital rotation, as they operate with limited funds and do not want to miss opportunities.

3.3.6. Type of Cattle Transacted

Table 3.25: Types of Cattle Transacted

S. No	Type of Animals	N	%
1	Cow and Calves	26	13.00
2	Cow, Calves and Bullocks	6	3.00
3	Cow, Calves and Buffaloes	55	27.50
4	Cow, Calves, Bullocks and Buffaloes	65	32.50
5	Cow, Calves, Goat and Sheep	3	1.50
6	Buffaloes	33	16.50
7	Bullocks	5	2.50
8	Bullocks and Buffaloes	3	1.50

9	Buffaloes, Bullocks, Goats and Sheep	4	2.00
Total		200	100.00

Approximately 32.5% of the traders did not maintain any speciality in animals. As many as 32.50% of traders reported trading cows, calves, bullocks, and buffaloes. Those who dealt with only milch animals accounted for 27.5%. Traders who exclusively dealt in either buffaloes or bullocks accounted for 16.50% and 2.50%, respectively. However, some traders transacted sheep and goats in other livestock markets. Furthermore, approximately 98.5% of the cattle are transacted in livestock markets for the resale of draught and milch animals to farmers, and only 1.5% is traded by traders for hides and meat.

3.3.7. Source of Livestock for Traders

Table 3.26: Source of Livestock for Traders

S. No	Source	N	%
1	Self-Rear	9	4.50
2	Directly from Farmers	29	14.50
3	Directly from Farmers and Markets	58	29.00
4	Directly from Farmers and Through intervention of informant or Intermediaries	24	12.00
5	Directly from Farmers and Through other markets or intervention of Informant or intermediary	19	9.50
6	Self-Rear and Through Informant or Intermediary	8	4.00
7	Through Informant or Intermediary	22	11.00
8	Self-Rear and Through other Markets	6	3.00
9	Self-Rear and Directly from Farmers	2	1.00
10	Self-Rear, Directly from Farmers and Through Informant or Intermediary	2	1.00
11	Through Informant or Intermediary and Through other Markets	1	0.50
12	Self-Rear and Directly from Farmers and Through other Markets	2	1.00
13	Through other markets	15	7.50
14	Through other markets and directly from farmers	3	1.50
Total		200	100.00

The traders listed various livestock sources, which help them expand their deals and profits. Approximately 29% of them acquired cattle directly from farmers and markets, 14.5% depended exclusively on farmers (14.5%), and 12% carried their business with the assistance of farmers and select intermediaries and 'well-wishers'. A sizable number of traders depend on rearing cattle for the sale of homebred cattle in the markets. Occasionally, fellow traders also help the traders identify cattle and customers. The reciprocal relationships and cooperation among traders always play a significant role in successful cattle transactions, based on the client's choices.

3.3.8. Sources of Capital for Traders

Table 3.27: Sources of Capital for Traders

S. No	Source of Capital	N	%
1	Savings	91	45.50
2	Loans from friends and relatives	24	12.00
3	Savings and Private Financers	27	13.50
4	Savings and Loans from friends and relatives	25	12.50
5	Private Financers	8	4.00
6	Bank loan	5	2.50
7	Loans from friends and relatives and Private Financers	8	4.00
8	Savings, Loans from friends and relatives and Private Financers	6	3.00
9	Savings and Bank loan	2	1.00
10	Savings and Gift from relatives	1	0.50
11	others	3	1.50
Total		200	100.00

The source of capital for most (45.5%) of those engaged in cattle trading is their own savings. A substantial number of them also depend on friends, relatives, and financiers for additional funds, along with their savings for capital. Thus, 13.5% reported mobilising capital from savings and local private financiers. A small percentage (4%) depended entirely on the private financiers for capital.

3.3.9. Profits from Trading (Last Five Years)

Table 3.28: Profits from Trading (Last Five Years)

S. No.	Profit (Rs.)	N	%
1	50,000-1,00,000	22	11.00
2	1,00,001-2,00,000	21	10.50
3	2,00,001-3,00,000	21	10.50
4	3,00,001-4,00,000	20	10.00
5	4,00,001-5,00,000	55	27.50
6	5,00,001-6,00,000	22	11.00
7	6,00,001-7,00,000	4	2.00
8	7,00,001-8,00,000	3	1.50
9	8,00,001-9,00,000	15	7.50
10	Above 9,00,000	17	8.50
Total		200	100.00

The profits made by traders for the last five years have been noted. Interestingly, cattle trading provides substantial income for many traders. Almost one-third of traders earned more than 5 lakh annually from cattle trading. Most traders (27.50%) reported profits of between ₹4 lakhs and ₹5 lakhs over the last five years. Those who earned more than 10 lakhs and above as profit from trading constituted 8.50% of the total. For this, they depended on both weekly livestock markets and surrounding villages. With a strong network and relationships, traders can conduct more livestock transactions, thereby increasing turnover and profits. These profits may be reinvested in cyclic trading and accumulated into other assets, thereby enhancing their economic well-being and improving their services. However, the senior traders also revealed that sometimes traders might get into debt due to unplanned investments and improper assessment of livestock health.

3.3.10. Types of Investment by Traders

Table 3.29: Types of Investment by Traders

S. No	Capital Uses	N	%
1	House	18	9.00
2	House and Land	15	7.50
3	Land	16	8.00

4	Expanding business	81	40.50
5	House and More Network in trading	11	5.50
6	Gold	3	1.50
7	Land and More Network in trading	6	3.00
8	House and Vehicle	4	2.00
9	Other business	5	2.50
10	Others	4	2.00
11	Not reported	37	18.50
Total		200	100.00

The data show that most (40.50%) traders invested their earnings from cattle trading in expanding their businesses. Furthermore, only a few invested in immovable assets, such as houses and land—a small percentage also invested in other businesses.

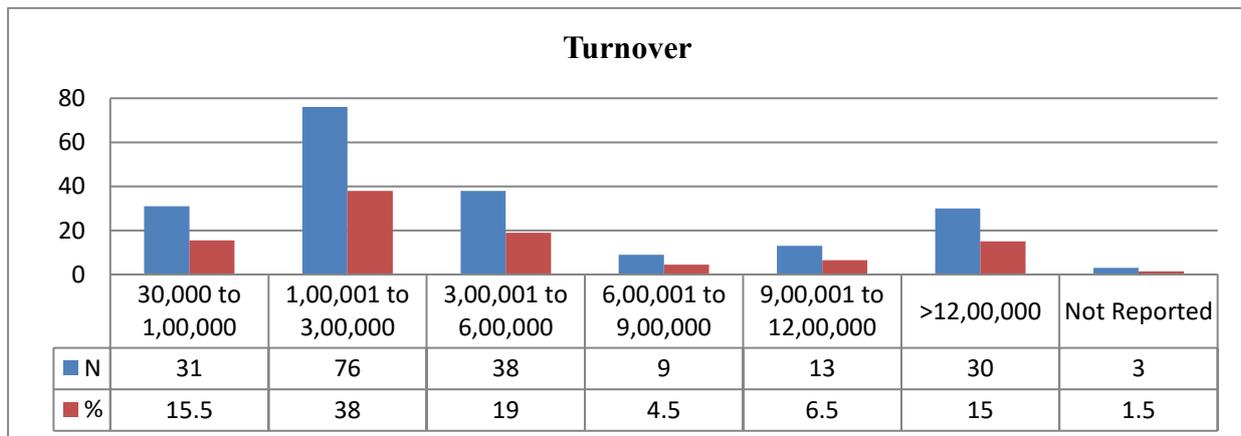


Figure 3.4: Current Turnover by Traders

Approximately 38% of traders have attained a turnover of three lakhs. On the other hand, the turnover was more than 9.0 lakhs for 16.5% of traders. Interestingly, the cattle traders commence trading with a small capital of about Rs. 50000 or less. Over the years, they accumulate profits and increase their turnover. However, even those earning profits of less than Rs. 25000 per year with a small capital are satisfied with their returns, as they believe this profession is better than wage labour or other professions that involve physical stress. The non-material advantages of this profession outweigh the economic returns for many traders.

3.3.11. Factors Affecting Livestock business

Table 3.30: Factors Affecting Livestock business

S. No	Factors	N	%
1	Weather-related	113	56.50
2	Weather-related and Government Policies	8	4.00
3	Social	22	11.00
4	Social and Weather- related	26	13.00
5	Social, Weather-related and Government Policies	3	1.50
6	Government Policies	2	1.00
7	Not Reported	26	13.00
Total		200	100.00

Most traders (56.50%) noted that weather-related factors significantly affect cattle demand and livestock health. Social factors, such as festivals, myths, and beliefs about inauspicious months, also influence market fluctuations. Interestingly, negligible traders attributed government policies to the demand and supply of cattle and their prices in cattle markets.

3.3.12. Use of Social Media by Traders

Table 3.31: Use of Social Media by Traders

S. No	Response	N	%
1	Yes	123	61.50
2	No	77	38.50
Total		200	100.00

Most traders (61.50%) reported using social media to promote and enhance their business. Only 38.50% of them are not interested in or unable to use social media due to their lack of knowledge of social media platforms. Younger generations are more interested in expanding their businesses than elderly traders. Social media can help them easily communicate with other market participants and expand their networks and social circles. The elderly and experienced traders reported that recent technological innovations for expanding human development are always promising when used correctly. Similarly, traders use social media and digital platforms to enhance their business skills.

3.4. Engagement Intermediaries in Livestock Transactions

Like many other businesses, intermediaries play a significant role in the cattle trade. Every village in this part of the country boasts of having one or two popular intermediaries whose help is sought after by many. These intermediaries are knowledgeable about cattle and, at the same time, skilled negotiators. Some intermediaries pursue their activity as full-time work, while others do so part-time.

3.4.1. Intermediaries' Nature of Work

Table 3.32: Intermediaries' Nature of Work

S. No	Work Nature	Number	%
1	Full Time	89	59.33
2	Part-Time	61	40.67
Total		150	100

The data show that over half of the intermediaries interviewed for this study are full-time workers. As they cover multiple livestock markets, they have the opportunity to pursue multiple deals and transactions. The full-time nature of work facilitates satisfactory economic returns and the enhancement of their social networks.

3.4.2. Years of Experience of the Intermediaries

Table 3.33: Years of experience of the Intermediaries

S. No	Experience (Years)	N	%
1	1-5	4	2.67
2	6-10	14	9.33
3	11-15	7	4.67
4	16-20	25	16.67
5	21-25	13	8.67
6	26-30	32	21.33
7	More than 30 years	55	36.67
Total		150	100

Approximately half of the respondents reported over 20 years of experience as intermediaries, and those with less than 10 years of experience were few. A few intermediaries completed a long apprenticeship under a senior and established intermediary to acquire skills. The

apprenticeship was necessary to know about livestock market trends, the client’s demands, and the assessment of cattle’s health.

3.4.3. Age at Entry, Choice of Service, And Commencement of Service

Table 3.34: Age at entry, choice of service, and commencement of service

S. No	Age (Years)	N	%
1	20 & below	81	54
2	21 – 30	46	30.7
3	31 – 40	18	12
4	41 – 50	4	2.67
5	51 – 60	1	0.67
Total		150	100

Approximately 54% of intermediaries commenced this service at under twenty years of age, reflecting their interest in pursuing this career. A few individuals also began their careers as intermediaries after the age of 40. Notably, they chose this service for additional income. Furthermore, most intermediaries (68.67%) chose this service, while the remaining 31.33% did so for compelling reasons.

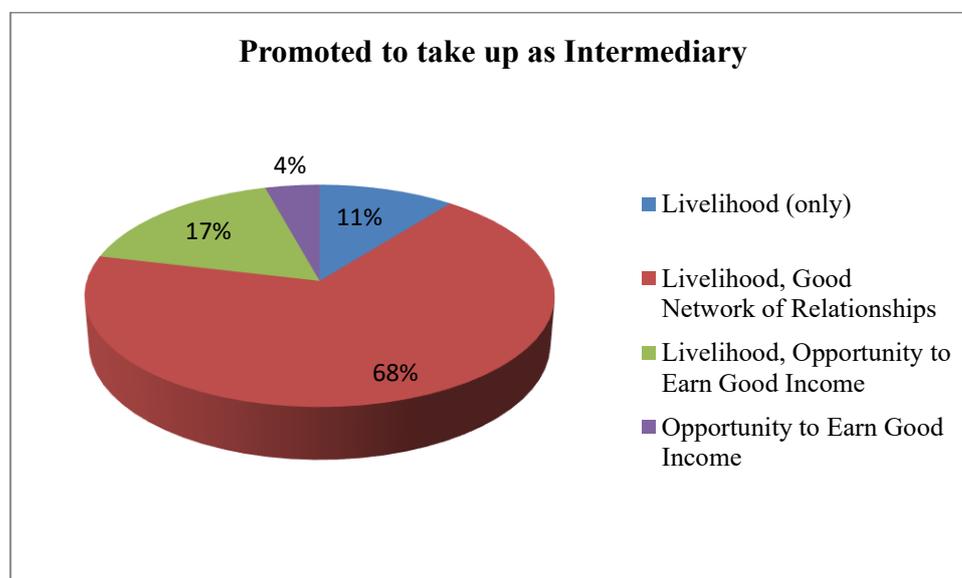


Figure 3.5: Promoted to Take up as Intermediary

3.4.4. Who Influenced You to Take Up

Table 3.35: Who influenced you to take up this work?

S. No	Influenced to Take up as an Intermediary	N	%
1	Consanguineous Kin	73	48.67
2	Affinal Kin	1	0.67
3	Community Member	52	34.67
4	Community Members, Friends	4	2.67
5	Consanguineous kin, Community Members	11	7.33
6	Friends	9	6
Total		150	100

The data show that intermediaries are mostly influenced to take up the work by consanguineous kin (48.67%) and community members (34.67%). Friends also influenced others to take up the role of an intermediary, either full-time or part-time, as a source of livelihood.

3.4.5. Intermediary Service through a Prior Appointment

Table 3.36: Intermediary Service through a Prior Appointment

S. No	Prior appointment	N	%
1	Yes	129	86
2	No	21	14
Total		150	100

The data show that most (86%) intermediaries operate on a prior-appointment basis for cattle transactions. The intermediaries noted that the prior appointment enables them to find suitable cattle in line with the buyer's preferences. The intermediaries can help connect sellers and buyers. Prior appointments also save the time of the purchaser, seller, and exchanger, enabling successful transactions and deals. Of the 129 respondents who reported operating on a prior-appointment basis, most manage appointments through personal meetings and telephone messages (54.26%). Those who insist on personal meetings for their service accounted for 29.46%. Some intermediaries visit multiple markets to render their services. Those who reported operating in more than one market accounted for 26% of the respondents. Thus, 74% of the sample respondents in the selected study villages around Alamanda depended on the Alamanda livestock market.

3.4.6. Deals in a Month on an Average

Table 3.37: Deals in a Month on an Average

S. No	Deals in a Month	N	%
1	1-9	39	26.00
2	10-19	76	50.67
3	20-29	28	18.67
4	30-39	7	4.67
Total		150	100.00

Most intermediaries (50.67%) reported making 10-19 deals monthly. A few (4.67%) made more than 30 deals, too, and thus earned substantial income from this profession. Operating in multiple livestock markets and covering several surrounding villages could increase the number of deals. Furthermore, making more deals depends on how an intermediary engages clients to meet their expectations and achieve successful deals through their expertise.

3.4.7. Terms and Condition of Intermediary Service

Table 3.38: Terms and Condition of Intermediary Service

S. No	Terms and conditions	N	%
1	Fixed amount	59	39.33
2	% of total deal	64	42.67
3	Based on client wishes	4	2.67
4	Both fixed amount and % of total deal	20	13.33
5	Depends on customers	2	1.33
6	Not Responded	1	0.67
Total		150	100

Regarding the intermediary service's terms and conditions, it is reported that there are different terms and conditions for achieving successful economic transactions. Most intermediaries (42.67%) preferred the percentage of total livestock transactions and fixed amounts (39.33%). The remaining intermediaries (13.33%) rendered their service, taking a certain percentage of the total deal as their fees.

3.4.8. Average Earnings per Month

Table 3.39: Average Earnings per Month

S. No.	Earnings per Month (Rs.)	N	%
1	2,001-3,000	12	8.00
2	3,001-4,000	8	5.33
3	4,001-5,000	12	8.00
4	5,001-6,000	2	1.33
5	6,001-7,000	7	4.67
6	7,001-8,000	7	4.67
7	8,001-9,000	8	5.33
8	9,001-10,000	30	20.00
9	More than 10,000	61	40.67
10	Not reported	3	2.00
Total		150	100.00

The distribution of respondent intermediaries by earnings per month is as follows: 40.67% reported earnings of more than Rs. 10000, and 20% earned between Rs. 9000 to Rs. 10000 per month through intermediary services. Notably, these earnings vary based on the successful conclusion of deals intermediaries secure that month.

3.4.9. Intermediaries and their Clients

Table 3.40: Intermediaries and their Clients

S. No	Clients	N	%
1	Person of surrounding village	11	7.33
2	Persons of native village	9	6.00
3	Acquaintances through clients, Persons of native and surrounding villages	44	29.33
4	Persons of native and surrounding village	86	57.33
Total		150	100.00

The data show intermediaries maintain close networks and strong relationships when making livestock transactions. Most intermediaries maintain relationships through clients: mostly

native villagers and surrounding villagers (57.33%); acquaintances through clients (29.33%); and other clients from native and surrounding villages.

3.5. Selective Qualities (*empikulu*) of Cattle

During the livestock selection, the buyer insists on some selective features of cattle. The insisted features may vary from buyer to buyer during the cattle transaction. However, there are also some universals in this regard. The following table summarizes the features considered in selecting cattle.

Table 3.41: Selective Qualities, Description and its Significance

S. No	Name of the Selective Qualities (<i>Empikulu</i>) (In Local Terms)	Description of the selective quality	Significance/Buyer Preference
1	<i>Gangadolu</i>	Stomach's right and left sides are unequal.	Considered undesirable.
2	<i>Nadumpalam</i>	Waist is unequal in size. Preferred cattle have equal waist and a broader stomach.	Buyers prefer an equal waist.
3	<i>Tella Reppalu</i>	Cow or ox with white eyelashes and white tail.	Not applicable to buffaloes. Goes for normal value.
4	<i>Nalla Kallu</i>	Spot only on one eye is undesirable. Spot on both or none is acceptable.	Selective trait: spot on one eye is not preferred.
5	<i>Chirama Korasa</i>	Milch cattle with fewer than four nipples.	Undesirable for milk production.
6	<i>Rasa Mooti</i>	White mouth and nose colour in cattle.	Descriptive; preference may vary.
7	<i>Siram Bollu</i>	Marks on nipples. Nipple and body colour should match.	Discoloration or mismatched colour is undesirable.
8	<i>Budda Rommulu</i>	Hard and large nipples.	Typically, undesirable. Indicates milking difficulty.
9	<i>Meka Rommulu</i>	Thin nipples in cows and buffaloes.	Considered a desirable trait.
10	<i>Podumu Orugudu</i>	Udder is uneven (one side lower/higher). Called also <i>vaara podumu</i> .	Believed to give less milk. Undesirable.
11	<i>Sepu Tappu</i>	More than two nipples on one side of the udder. Indicates malfunction.	Undesirable; linked to lower milk production.
12	<i>Tella Podumu</i>	Udder is completely white, but body is black.	Buyers show less preference; believed to give thin and less milk.
13	<i>Podumu Maccha</i>	White burn-like marks on the sides of the udder.	Generally undesirable.

S. No	Name of the Selective Qualities (Empikulu) (In Local Terms)	Description of the selective quality	Significance/Buyer Preference
14	<i>Mandagudi</i>	Cattle walk by forcefully pushing back legs. Applies to male and female buffaloes only.	Negative trait; buyers avoid such buffaloes.
15	<i>Kalu Debba / Nidipi Kalu</i>	Cattle walk touching both legs. Leads to early fatigue. Applies only to oxen and he buffaloes.	Not suitable for agriculture; avoided by buyers.
16	<i>Nataku / Dangudu Paadulu</i>	Cattle walk lifting legs. Preferred in milch cattle, not in oxen/he buffaloes.	Buyers avoid it in working animals; preferred in milch cattle.
17	<i>Mundukalu Kurasa</i>	Uneven front legs.	Undesirable, especially in ox and he buffalo.
18	<i>Neren dekka</i>	Legs curl inward while walking, causing restricted movement.	Buyers avoid such cattle due to limited mobility.
19	<i>Sivalu</i>	Cattle rotate neck in all directions.	Observation trait: no clear buyer preference indicated.
20	<i>Javunu Pika / Javunu Kattu</i>	Cattle with broad and large necks.	Descriptive; buyer preference may vary.
21	<i>Onti Pika</i>	Thin-necked cattle.	Neutral or context specific.
22	<i>Kannerru</i>	Infection or wounds on the neck caused by yoke during ploughing. Veins (<i>meda naram</i>) may be damaged.	Buyers avoid oxen with this condition.
23	<i>Kunga Meda / Kukka Meda</i>	Cattle with short necks.	Undesirable in oxen and buffaloes.
24	<i>Kalava Toka</i>	White hair at the tail tip, especially in buffaloes. Highly preferred in country he buffaloes. Also called <i>podum bollu</i> if udder has marks.	High demand; linked to strength and value in agriculture.
25	<i>Toka Koruku</i>	Cattle drink urine and bite their own tail due to itching caused by worms. Seen mostly in cows and oxen.	Indicates health issue; undesirable.
26	<i>Pikkarudupu / Kunka Tudupu</i>	Shortened tail. Buyers prefer tails that are below the knee.	Preferred trait.
27	<i>Naga Bandam / Naga Sarpam</i>	Black coloration under the tail.	Undesirable in oxen; buyers avoid.
28	<i>Padugommu</i>	Horns are not equal and are bent on one side. Right or left bent may be avoided, but both bent is preferred.	Both bent horns are preferred; single bent are less preferred.

S. No	Name of the Selective Qualities (Empikulu) (In Local Terms)	Description of the selective quality	Significance/Buyer Preference
29	<i>Nidi Kommu</i>	Horns are of equal size and in normal position.	Highly preferred trait.
30	<i>Sapitalu</i>	Horns grow inward, toward the head, potentially hurting the cattle.	Undesirable; less demand among buyers.
31	<i>Kellu</i>	Horns grow unevenly is one upward, one downward.	Considered undesirable.
32	<i>Tella Kommulu</i>	Cows or buffaloes with white horns.	Primarily descriptive; specific preference not noted.
33	<i>Dumpa Kommu</i>	Thick horns, considered only in she-buffaloes. Believed to indicate lower milk yield.	Avoided in milch buffalo selection.
34	<i>Badda Kommu</i>	Thin horns considered ideal in buffaloes (not cows). Believed to produce more milk.	Preferred in buffaloes; advantageous trait.
35	<i>Kommu Kottudu</i>	Itchy horns due to worm infestation. Cattle rub horns on hard surfaces and move their heads frequently. Applies only to buffaloes.	Indicates health issue; undesirable trait in buffaloes.
36	<i>Kommu Kurasa</i>	Unequal horn size. Also includes cases of no horns or very small horns (<i>bodidey goddi</i>).	Undesirable; avoided in oxen and he-buffaloes.
37	<i>Chinna Kommulu</i>	Small horns growing in the correct direction.	Considered beautiful and preferred.
38	<i>Pedda Kommulu</i>	Large and thick horns.	Less preferred; not considered aesthetically pleasing.
39	<i>Gandam Maccha</i>	White oxen with henna green (<i>gorintaku rangu</i>) marks on the body. Believed to be fast and hardworking.	Highly preferred oxen; white with black marks are less desirable.
40	<i>Neren Pandu Avulu</i>	White oxen with grape-colored marks on the body.	In demand among buyers.
41	<i>Raavi Aku Eddu</i>	Oxen with a leaf-shaped mark on the forehead.	Highly preferred by buyers.
42	<i>Nakka Rangu Eddu / Nakka Ekala Eddu</i>	Brown color along the spinal cord of oxen.	Considered attractive; in demand.
43	<i>Tati Pandu Rangu Eddu</i>	Ox with black body and broad shoulders.	Positive trait; implies strength, though demand is not clearly stated.

S. No	Name of the Selective Qualities (Empikulu) (In Local Terms)	Description of the selective quality	Significance/Buyer Preference
44	<i>Tana Sudi</i>	Whorls located just above the eyes.	Less preferred.
45	<i>Boddi Sudi / Raju Sudi</i>	Whorls on the spinal cord.	Highly in demand.
46	<i>Muggonna Sudi</i>	Whorls between the eyes.	Preferred by buyers.
47	<i>Pamu Naluka / Naluka Potu</i>	Cattle constantly move tongue like a snake. Rare condition.	Rare; buyer preference not strongly defined.
48	<i>Mugurodam / Mukku Rodam</i>	Frequent sneezing and breathing difficulty in cattle. Applies to oxen and buffaloes.	Undesirable; lowers demand in oxen and buffaloes.
49	<i>Muggunnu</i>	Round ring present in the center of the forehead of cows or oxen.	Primarily descriptive; buyer preference not clearly specified.
50	<i>Mundamopu</i>	Round-shaped ring below the hump in cows and oxen.	Primarily descriptive; buyer preference not specified.
51	<i>Gaju Kannu</i>	One eye is white and the other is black.	May be considered abnormal; likely less preferred.
52	<i>Digumanavulu</i>	Unequal buttocks in milch cattle. Causes difficulty during delivery and more labor pain.	Undesirable trait in milch cattle.
53	<i>Jnanamudusu</i>	Buttocks are unequal in size.	Undesirable; similar to <i>digumanavulu</i> .
54	<i>Mondumuka</i>	Unequal ribs on the chest, identified by expert touch.	Undesirable; subtle defect requiring expertise.
55	<i>Onti Paya</i>	Cattle that appear very thin.	Indicates poor health or nutrition; not preferred.
56	<i>Boddu Sodu</i>	Round ring mark on the waist.	Buyers avoid oxen with this trait.
57	<i>Monnaram</i>	Presence of nerve on the <i>arru</i> (location unclear).	Buyers avoid oxen with this trait.
58	<i>Onti Piccha</i>	Male cattle with small testicles, believed to be infertile.	Strongly undesirable for breeding or work.
59	<i>Tamare</i>	Full white cattle with small skin abscesses on the body, causes itching.	Undesirable; associated with skin problems.
60	Body Spots	HF breed with body spots	Preferred by buyers; believed to produce more milk.
61	Colour Related	Jersey cattle with light brown colour and no/short horns (<i>bodidi</i>)	Preferred; believed to be high milk yielders.

S. No	Name of the Selective Qualities (Empikulu) (In Local Terms)	Description of the selective quality	Significance/Buyer Preference
62	Body Spots	Full black cattle with no body spots	Believed to give less milk; less preferred.
63	Colour Related	Full white cattle with no black spots	Believed to give more milk; preferred.
64	Veins in Nipple	Thin veins in nipples	Believed to be a trait of high milk production.
65	Tail Related	Thick tail with soft-skinned body	Believed to be a good milking trait.
66	Ear Related	Thin ears	Believed to be associated with higher milk yield than thick ears.
67	Horns Related	Broader horns (<i>balla kommulu</i>) twisted slightly towards head	Preferred horn shape; considered aesthetically and functionally ideal.
68	Nipple Related	Thick, 3–5-inch-long nipples	Believed to be ideal for higher milk yield.
69	Nipple Related	Equal-sized, finger-length nipples	Preferred; associated with good milking capacity.
70	Nipple Related	Front nipples long and back nipples small	Undesirable; not preferred by buyers.
71	Tail Related	Thin-tailed cattle are in demand; thick tails are less preferred. Thin-tailed oxen are considered more active.	Buyers prefer thin-tailed oxen for agricultural work.

3.6. Economic Interrelationships among Farmers, Traders, and Intermediaries in Livestock Transactions

Farmers participate in livestock markets to buy, sell, and exchange cattle as needed. The farmers maintain relationships with other farmers to obtain support in selecting livestock for dairy or agricultural purposes. The farmers take assistance from other farmers to bargain while buying cattle, assess cattle health, and transport the cattle from the livestock market or from their villages. The farmers also noted that they should have minimal knowledge of assessing cattle by looking at them. Thus, healthy relationships amongst farmers in their village and neighbouring villages facilitate cattle transactions at livestock markets.

The traders generally buy livestock, rear them for a short period, and sell them at weekly markets and in villages. Trader networks are also important for disseminating information about prospective buyers and sellers in villages and markets. The traders buy cattle by visiting local villages and canvassing on their reputation. The traders also maintain good relationships with other market participants, such as farmers, transporters, and intermediaries, to buy and sell cattle at suitable prices. Among the traders are primary, secondary, and tertiary traders who

operate livestock transactions with the help of other market participants, particularly fellow traders, intermediaries, and farmers in the surrounding villages. The primary traders generally buy livestock from the secondary traders or directly from the farmers who rear cattle and sell them to others. The primary traders deal with more cattle and rear cattle in their sheds. They tend to invest substantial amounts in livestock and engage in high-risk management, which may result in greater profits and losses. The secondary traders also buy livestock from local weekly markets and surrounding villages and sell it to farmers and other traders. They also rear the cattle at their sheds and deal with other traders. Tertiary traders buy directly from all categories of sellers and sell cattle to primary and secondary traders. They have less risk when trading livestock.

Traders also maintain healthy relationships with intermediaries to secure more deals and increase profits. The role of intermediaries is also to assist in assessing the health of the animals. Intermediaries with strong networks among other farmers will allow traders to expand their businesses.

3.7. Continuity and Change in Agricultural Practices and Livestock Rearing

Day by day, farming is declining for various reasons, most importantly due to lower margins for produce. The shift to mechanization and the adaptation of modern agricultural methods have further reduced the significance of cattle in agriculture. The reduction in cattle use in agriculture, in turn, made farmers more dependent on inorganic fertilizers and pesticides.

Farmers noted that cattle rearing these days is not simple and is intertwined with emotion, as cattle are generally considered part of the family. Earlier, farmers who reared cattle had a special recognition at the village level. Having more cattle indicated their economic status. In addition, the joint family systems are a supportive social institution for cattle rearing. The decline of the joint family system is also affecting cattle rearing in farming communities.

The gradual decline of cattle rearing by farming communities affected the functioning of weekly markets due to less demand for cattle, particularly oxen and buffaloes. The demand for oxen and he-buffaloes for agricultural-related work helped sustain the markets earlier. Currently, the markets are sustained by demand for milch animals, supported by the dairy sector's access to funding.

The farmers reported that cattle suffered from fewer diseases earlier and fewer premature deaths than they do now. In the past, cattle rearers did not face problems with grazing or providing sufficient feed for their cattle. Overall, investments were lower, and returns were higher in the past. The farmers also noted that earlier, they used to rear the local breeds rather than hybrid varieties. The local breeds could withstand the weather conditions and were suited to agricultural activities. Rearing hybrid varieties requires more investment and working capital. Hybrid cattle varieties are susceptible to many diseases and require more personal attention. Hybrid cattle are also unsuitable for agricultural activities. These economic calculations compelled farmers to keep a few cattle at home. Though the declining demand for cattle affected the functioning of the livestock markets, they still survive with appropriate adaptations from time to time.

Chapter 4

SOCIAL ASPECTS

Alamanda Rural Livestock Market is more than a centre for economic exchange; it is a vibrant hub of social interaction and community bonding. This market plays a crucial role in shaping rural social dynamics by facilitating interactions among diverse groups, fostering relationships, and reinforcing traditional social networks. Beyond buying and selling, it serves as a space for exchanging knowledge, negotiating cultural practices, and maintaining social hierarchies. Livestock transactions often reflect trust, kinship ties, and reciprocal obligations, highlighting the social fabric of rural life. By blending economic activity with social engagement, this market sustains community cohesion and promotes collective well-being in rural societies.

4.1. Private Market – Maintaining the Social Hierarchies

The Alamanda cattle market stands out from many other regional cattle markets as it operates as a private market, distinct from those governed entirely by the Agricultural Produce Market Committee (APMC). This market is owned and controlled by the Rajulu (Kshatriya caste), a dominant group in the area. The market was established on the privately owned land by these individuals, giving them exclusive control over its operations, administration, and revenue. This ownership reflects and reinforces the caste-based social hierarchy that has historically been prevalent in rural India. The Rajulu, being socially and economically powerful, uses its market ownership to assert the social hierarchy within this region. This control extends beyond economic benefits; it strengthens their influence over other social groups who rely on the market for their livelihood. Farmers, traders, and all other market participants, many of whom belong to marginalised or less dominant castes, depend on the market to buy, sell, and exchange livestock. This dependency often translates into an unequal power dynamic, in which the dominant caste can leverage its control to maintain or enhance its socio-economic status.

Additionally, the private ownership of the market allows the Rajulu to set the terms and conditions of trade, including stall fees, access to resources, and dispute resolution. In some cases, conflicts between traders or buyers and sellers are resolved informally by the owners, further entrenching their authority. This system bypasses formal mechanisms of justice or regulation, often leaving marginalised groups without a platform to effectively address grievances. Addressing these inequities would require more inclusive practices, such as formalising the market under regulatory bodies like the APMC, ensuring equal access for all participants, and providing mechanisms for fair dispute resolution.

4.2. Traditional Agriculture to Dairy Farming: Shift in the Livelihood Patterns

Recently, several changes have occurred in the agricultural sector, particularly in the traditional farming practices. It was observed during fieldwork that most villagers rely on agriculture as their primary occupation. Historically, a sugar factory in the Kothavalasa region played a

pivotal role in shaping the local economy. Farmers primarily grew sugarcane and used bullocks for farming activities and transporting the sugarcane produce to the factory. As a result, the Alamanda livestock market mainly catered to the trade of bullocks, reflecting the agricultural practices of the time. However, the closure of the sugar factory, following financial losses, had a profound impact on the local communities, who depended on it as a source of livelihood and became responsible for increased unemployment. Many farmers who had previously relied on sugarcane cultivation faced economic hardships due to a lack of proper infrastructure and insufficient price value, leading to a significant shift in agricultural practices. As a result, several communities adopted dairy farming as a source of livelihood.

The communities gradually transitioned from sugarcane cultivation to alternative agricultural ventures in response to these challenges. One of the most notable shifts was towards dairy farming. The establishment of Visakha Dairy provided a new opportunity for farmers and local households to diversify their income sources by engaging in dairy farming. This shift was crucial as dairy became a supplementary household income and, for many, the primary livelihood. The transition from traditional agriculture to dairy farming reflects a broader trend of adaptation to changing economic circumstances. Rural households without access to agriculture have become entirely dependent on dairy farming as their primary source of income. The shift from crop cultivation to livestock rearing, primarily focusing on cows and buffaloes, has reshaped the Alamanda livestock market, where the trade now revolves more around dairy animals than the once-prevalent bullocks. This gradual shift highlights the community's resilience in adapting to new economic realities, as dairy farming has become increasingly important both as a primary occupation and a viable alternative to traditional agricultural practices.

Socially, the shift also impacted the roles and responsibilities within households. Women traditionally played supportive roles in agricultural activities and became increasingly active participants in dairy farming, contributing to tasks such as milking, feeding livestock, and managing dairy-related finances. This enhanced women's economic contribution and altered gender dynamics within the household and the community, with women playing a more prominent role in decision-making. The gradual shift from traditional agriculture to dairy farming has transformed the community's economic fabric and influenced social structures, roles, and relationships, reflecting a broader adaptation narrative to changing circumstances. The shift from traditional agricultural practices to dairy farming enhanced the household economy and strengthened community interactions.

4.3. Cattle Rearing and Social Interactions

In the past, cattle keepers shared a profound emotional bond with their livestock, viewing them as economic assets and integral household members. This attachment stemmed from a deep sense of dependency and care, as cattle provided essential support in agriculture, transportation, dairy production, and even cultural and religious practices. Affectionate names given to cattle, such as Lakshmi, Parvathi, and Ganga, as well as other feminine names. They treated cattle lovingly, included in family rituals, symbolising their elevated status in rural households. The preference for naming female cattle arose because cows and buffaloes were valued as life-

givers, providing milk, dung for fuel, and calves that sustained family nutrition and the agricultural cycle. Associating them with goddesses or sacred rivers also reflected cultural beliefs that linked female cattle with fertility, prosperity, and nurturing qualities. Through daily routines, such as feeding, grooming, and tending to the animals, a relationship built on mutual trust and understanding further nurtured the bond. Farmers recognised the individuality of their cattle, appreciated their unique traits and behaviours, and often mourned their loss as deeply as they would a family member.

However, over time, this emotional connection began to wane due to modernisation and the commercialisation of agriculture. The introduction of mechanised farming reduced reliance on cattle, transforming them from cherished companions to mere commodities. Industrialised meat and dairy production further distanced humans from the intimate process of caring for livestock. Urbanisation and changing lifestyles also contributed to this disconnect, as market-driven priorities replaced traditional agrarian values. This shift has had broader implications, including ethical concerns around animal welfare and the loss of traditional knowledge about livestock management. Reconnecting with these past values could foster more sustainable and humane practices, emphasising the importance of preserving the 'cultural and emotional significance.

During those days, when transportation was not available to take cattle to the market, cattle owners hired pastoral communities and other village labouring groups to transport the cattle from their homes to the market and vice versa for cattle transactions. People would walk their cattle to the market, as markets were often located far from their houses. When the markets are near the villages, they typically start early in the morning, conduct transactions, and then return to the owner's home from the market. If the markets were far from the villages, they would start before market day and would rest in different villages, where people and cattle would find food and shelter in their cattle shelters. Sometimes, they walk for 2-3 days and rest in many villages. At that time, they contacted the village people for food vessels to cook and places to shelter. While returning from the market, they also rest in the same areas. This repeated contact with the village people allowed them to form relationships that were utilised in the market for livestock transactions.

During the British rule in India, the British government assigned some intermediaries known as Zamindaris, who belonged to the higher class, and granted them control over the large tracts of land to collect land tax from the peasants, as it was easier for the British government to get tax from the few persons than from every individual farmer. In times when the peasants do not pay the tax, they will be evicted from their lands, and the lands will be in the control of Zamindaris. From that time, land ownership was primarily held by the higher caste, who occupied a dominant position in the social hierarchy, which translated to control over land resources (Francis, 1908; The Hindu, 2016; Vizianagaram Estate, Wikipedia).

The land is viewed as both an economic asset and a socio-political entity that confers power and status. Additionally, the higher castes had greater access to resources, education, and credit, enabling them to acquire and maintain land ownership to this day. Large tracts of land were in the hands of higher caste people, so they needed cattle labour for agricultural work. This led them to have more cattle in their households than those without land, who were lower-caste people. Another reason local people also said is that higher castes have more cattle because they have more land for cattle grazing and shelter. Earlier in the villages, households had more cattle, indicating that they had more land and belonged to higher castes in the social order. While lower castes with limited access to resources and a lack of opportunities used to work in the agricultural fields of higher caste people. Today, some lower castes, with the help of government schemes, are rearing cattle and supplying milk to dairies to earn a monthly income, thereby improving their economic conditions.

The term *sommulu kaase vallu* is used for those who graze cattle, despite this work's essential role in managing livestock and supporting the agricultural and dairy sectors. The term reflects the social hierarchies within rural communities, where cattle grazing is often associated with lower castes or landless individuals and is viewed as demeaning. Although cattle grazers endure hard physical labour and contribute significantly to the community's economy, they are frequently excluded from social events, disrespected, and face limited chances for upward mobility. However, the stigma is less pronounced when individuals from certain backward classes or higher-status households undertake cattle grazing. In such contexts, grazing is often seen as an extension of household agricultural work, and these individuals are not subjected to the same level of social exclusion as landless or lower-caste grazers.

4.4. Traditional Grazing Practices and Payment Systems in Cattle Rearing

In many rural and pastoral communities, cattle rearing follows traditional grazing agreements between owners and caretakers. Based on mutual trust and economic cooperation, these agreements facilitate the efficient management of livestock while ensuring fair compensation for those responsible for their care and well-being. The following three common grazing arrangements and payment systems offer insight into how these practices support and strengthen cattle rearing through their reciprocal relationships, thereby benefiting community well-being.

4.4.1. *Mepukooli* as Balanced Reciprocity

Mepukooli refers to labourers or feeders who temporarily care for livestock, typically during the peak agricultural season when farmers are overwhelmed with work. It reflects an intricate system of mutual assistance and social cooperation within rural communities. During the harvest season, the demands of farming intensify—farmers are preoccupied with sowing, cultivating, or harvesting crops, and space becomes scarce as the harvested produce needs to be stored safely. In such times, farmers often entrust their cattle to *Mepukooli*, who temporarily take on the responsibility of caring for the animals, such as newborn calves that require special feeding, milking cows and buffaloes that need regular attention, and working oxen that must

be maintained for ploughing and transport. By managing these categories of cattle, *Mepukooli* ensured that both agricultural work and livestock care could continue smoothly without disruption. This arrangement typically lasts about six months, after which the *Mepukooli* are compensated for their efforts with rice bags, a portion of the farmer's harvest. This system functions as a barter system, exchanging labour for goods rather than money.

The *Mepukooli* receive rice as payment for their care of the livestock, which in turn supports their own family's food needs or can be sold to meet other expenses. The arrangement goes beyond simple transactional exchange; it fosters deeper social bonds and reinforces mutual dependence within the community. It highlights the importance of social relationships in rural economies, where help is offered based on necessity and long-standing ties of trust and reciprocity. Providing cattle to *Mepukooli* enables farmers to concentrate on their essential agricultural tasks while ensuring their livestock is well cared for. In return, the *Mepukooli* gain sustenance and economic security through the rice they receive at the end of the season. This system of mutual support also helps maintain social harmony. It exemplifies the concept of *sahayam* (helping one another), which is deeply embedded in rural culture. The *Mepukooli* are often seen by farmers as an extension of the family, and their role in the agricultural cycle is respected and valued. While the arrangement is rooted in practical necessity, it also reflects broader social values of cooperation, interdependence, and community cohesion.

Furthermore, these informal exchanges and labour systems strengthen social networks within the village. The relationships built through *Mepukooli* arrangements are reciprocal; farmers who help others by sending their cattle to be cared for may also receive similar assistance in times of need. This system of collective support ensures that no one is left to struggle alone, creating a social safety net that protects the well-being of everyone in the community. In essence, *Mepukooli* arrangements represent a unique fusion of economic pragmatism and social solidarity, emphasising the concept of Balanced Reciprocity. They illustrate how rural communities navigate the challenges of agricultural life through shared labour, mutual support, and reciprocal exchanges, which are crucial in maintaining the social fabric of these close-knit villages.

4.4.2. *Addi Cooli*

In the *Addi Cooli* (Fixed Lump Sum Payment System), a cattle owner pays an agreed lump sum to a caretaker or a grazing community to look after their livestock. The caretaker assumes full responsibility for the animals' grazing, feeding, and protection until they mature. When the cattle are ready for use or sale, the owner must repay double the original amount to reclaim them. This system is commonly used for young or semi-grown cattle that require long-term rearing, giving owners an option when they lack grazing land or time. Caretakers benefit from financial security through a guaranteed and enhanced return on investment. At the same time, the arrangement also motivates them to raise the cattle properly, as their earnings depend on the animals' healthy growth.

If a cattle death occurs during the period, the responsibility usually falls on the caretaker, as they have accepted a fixed payment and are responsible for the animal's upkeep. However, in

practice, outcomes vary as sometimes the loss is negotiated and shared between the owner and caretaker, depending on the cause of death and the social relationship between them.

4.4.3. *Sari Bagam*

Under the *Sari Bagam* (Equal Profit-Sharing System), cattle owners entrust their livestock to caretakers for grazing, agreeing that the profits from their sale will be shared equally. This system is particularly applied to male calves and young oxen that require long-term rearing, since their market value increases significantly once they are strong enough for ploughing or sale. Milking cattle are rarely included, as owners usually prefer to retain daily access to milk. For example, if an owner initially provides Rs. 30,000 to a caretaker for managing the cattle, and the livestock is later sold for Rs. 80,000, the caretaker receives an additional Rs. 10,000 to balance the 50-50 profit-sharing agreement (since half of Rs. 80,000 is Rs. 40,000). Both parties benefit: caretakers are motivated to raise the livestock well because their income is tied to the market price, and owners share the risks and rewards without direct management.

In cases of cattle death, losses are generally shared between the owner and caretaker, as the arrangement is based on a partnership and an equal sharing of risk and reward. The exact distribution of losses often depends on prior negotiations or customary norms within the community.

In the *Bagam* (Unequal Profit-Sharing System – 1:2 Ratio), the profit from selling the cattle is divided between the owner and the caretaker in an unequal ratio of 1:2, meaning that the caretaker receives twice the share of the owner's portion. This is commonly used for oxen and buffalo, which demand significant labour for feeding, grazing, and protecting. It intensifies the caretaker's role, ensuring they receive a higher reward for their work. For instance, if the total revenue from selling the cattle is Rs. 90,000, the owner would receive Rs. 30,000, while the caretaker would receive Rs. 60,000. This model is particularly beneficial in communities where caretakers rely heavily on cattle rearing for their livelihoods. Since they take on the primary responsibilities of grazing, feeding, and protecting the cattle, the higher compensation is a fair reward for their labour-intensive work.

If an animal dies, caretakers usually bear the greater share of responsibility, since they receive the larger reward. However, as with *Sari Bagam*, many cases are resolved through mutual understanding, particularly when deaths occur from natural causes, such as disease or accidents.

These traditional grazing agreements reflect a deep-rooted social system that balances the interests of cattle owners and caretakers, fostering interdependence and strengthening the social fabric. While the *Mepukooli* receive rice as payment for livestock care, *Addi Cooli* provides a fixed, predictable income for caretakers, and *Sari Bagam* allows for profit-sharing based on the success of cattle sales. These systems help sustain rural livelihoods and strengthen community cooperation in livestock management.

Table 4.1: Traditional Grazing Practices and Payment Systems in Cattle Rearing

System	Types of Cattle Involved	Payment /Reward Method	Duration	Risk if Cattle Die	Key Feature
Mepukooli (Balanced Reciprocity)	Newborn calves (special feeding), milking cows & buffaloes (daily care), working oxen (maintenance for ploughing/transport)	Rice bags or share of harvest (barter system)	~6 months (peak agricultural season)	Usually shared informally, loss is absorbed collectively due to strong social ties.	Based on mutual help (<i>sahayam</i>), it strengthens village reciprocity.
Addi Cooli (Fixed Lump Sum Payment)	Young or semi-grown cattle needing long-term rearing	Owner pays a lump sum → must repay double to reclaim cattle	Until cattle mature (1–2 years)	Generally, a caretaker's responsibility, though sometimes negotiated	Provides guaranteed income and incentivises proper care
Sari Bagam (Equal Profit-Sharing)	Male calves, young oxen (value grows with rearing); rarely milking cattle	Equal (50-50) share of sale proceeds between owner and caretaker	Until sale/maturity	Losses are usually shared between the owner and the caretaker	Encourages joint responsibility; risks and rewards are shared equally
Bagam (Unequal Profit-Sharing, 1:2 Ratio)	Oxen and buffaloes (labour-intensive care)	Profit split 1:2 (caretaker gets twice the owner's share)	Until sale/maturity	Caretakers bear greater responsibility but sometimes adjust to community norms.	Acknowledges the caretaker's heavier workload with a higher reward

4.5. Visakha Dairy as a Catalyst for Social Cohesion and Community Development

Visakha Dairy serves as more than just an economic institution; it acts as a hub around which interethnic relationships are built and strengthened. The daily routine of villagers selling milk to the dairy, often twice a day, has fostered a sense of community and created opportunities for social networking that transcend traditional social and ethnic boundaries. The dairy is a gathering place where people from diverse backgrounds and communities regularly interact. These interactions contribute to the formation of stronger social bonds and networks within the village. The shared experience of contributing to the dairy fosters unity and mutual respect among villagers, encouraging healthy competition in milk production and quality. While fostering individual growth and motivation, this competition enhances collective participation and fosters a sense of community spirit. Visakha Dairy has become a platform for village participation and engagement, fostering community relationships that extend beyond economic transactions. The presence of the dairy has facilitated informal exchanges of ideas, knowledge, and experiences, enabling villagers to collectively address challenges, share solutions, and work toward common goals. This dynamic has also provided an opportunity for reinforcing identities, as individuals take pride in their contributions to the success of dairy and its role within the broader agricultural and economic ecosystem.

The impact of dairy extends beyond social networking and community building; it also contributes to food security and the broader goals of the "White Revolution." By supporting local milk production, Visakha Dairy ensures stable household incomes while increasing the availability of dairy products. These dairies serve as a microcosm of the larger village society, embodying the values of collaboration, interdependence, and mutual support. It also provides a space for women to actively participate, whether through direct involvement in milk production or through social interactions at the dairy. This inclusion further enriches the village's social fabric, empowering individuals to take on more active roles in their community. It exemplifies how an economic institution can transcend its primary purpose to become a cornerstone of social networking, interethnic relationships, and community identity. It has not only bolstered livelihoods but has also strengthened the bonds that hold the community together, making it an integral part of village life and a driving force behind collective progress.

4.6. Community Dynamics, Gender Role, Social Interactions and Its Social Space

The informants reported that selling milk to multiple dairies was experienced as social pressure in the villages. In Gavarapalem and other nearby villages, individuals who sold milk to multiple dairies often faced significant social pressure from their communities. In rural settings, milk supply is deeply intertwined with social relationships and collective loyalties. Dairies cultivate loyalty among suppliers through long-standing associations, credit provision, input support, or alignment with influential local leaders. When someone chose to sell milk to two competing dairies, it was seen as a breach of community trust, leading to criticism, subtle exclusion, or overt backlash. Families were sometimes labelled as unreliable, excluded from informal

support networks, or denied access to collective resources such as grazing land or shared water points. To overcome such pressures, some individuals negotiated by alternating their sales seasonally, discreetly selling to the second dairy, or seeking the support of local leaders to legitimise their choices. Others justified their actions based on economic need, arguing that they could not rely on a single buyer.

Caste affiliations and power dynamics further shaped these experiences. Members of dominant caste groups were more vulnerable to community censure because they were expected to exemplify loyalty and obedience. In contrast, those from lower or marginalised groups often faced less direct pressure, as they were already on the periphery of decision-making processes. However, for lower groups, defying expectations could still bring consequences such as reduced access to patronage, denial of fodder-sharing, or strained relations with local elites. In all cases, selling to multiple dairies highlighted the tension between economic independence and social conformity. This shows how livelihood strategies are closely policed by community norms in these rural villages.

It is also reported that cleaning the dairy and the container is also responsible for the shift in gender roles. During the fieldwork, it was observed that a significant change in traditional gender roles occurred in the operations of Visakha Dairies across many villages. The cleaning of dairy premises and milk containers, tasks traditionally associated with women in domestic settings, was predominantly performed by male employees in these units. This change marks a redefinition of gendered labour roles within the rural economy. Traditionally, such activities were seen as extensions of women's domestic responsibilities. However, the formal employment structure in organised dairies has redistributed these tasks by role rather than adhering to gender norms. This shift carries broader social implications, challenging long-standing stereotypes and promoting a more equitable perception of work responsibilities. The visibility of men performing these tasks in public spaces, such as dairy units, helps normalise the idea of shared responsibilities. It may influence younger generations to adopt more egalitarian practices in their personal lives.

Additionally, the professionalisation of cleaning and maintenance in dairy units reflects economic considerations, with efficiency and hygiene prioritised. For men seeking employment outside traditional agricultural roles, these units provide new opportunities, contributing to the reorganisation of rural labour. Overall, men's involvement in tasks traditionally viewed as women's work highlights economic transformation and evolving social norms in rural communities, fostering a more inclusive and equitable division of labour.

In Gulivindada village, it is noted that the role of community participation and resource optimisation in strengthening dairy activities involves utilising an old, unused primary school building for the Visakha Dairy Collection Unit. They demonstrate an effective reuse of infrastructure to meet contemporary needs, particularly for dairy purposes. This transformation revitalised an otherwise abandoned space and created a social hub for the community. The dairy unit became a gathering space for milk sellers, fostering interaction and strengthening social bonds among villagers. The milk collection process was organised on a first-come, first-served basis, ensuring fairness and transparency. Sellers arrived early, often engaging in

conversations and building camaraderie while waiting their turn by sitting on the newly constructed cement benches in front of the building, fostering social networks. This initiative demonstrates how an underutilised community asset was effectively turned into a functional, socially vibrant space. It reflects the villagers' ability to adapt to changing social contexts while preserving community and cooperation.

4.6.1. Gavara Community (*Bindelollu*) as Milk Distributors

The term "*Bindelollu*" was traditionally used to refer to the Gavara community, which historically specialised in milk production and distribution as a caste-based occupation. Members of this community were primarily involved in rearing livestock and selling milk directly to households, carrying it in containers and delivering it door-to-door. This occupation gave them a prominent role and economic stability within village societies. However, the establishment of organised milk dairies, such as Visakha Dairy, significantly disrupted this traditional caste-based occupation in the studied villages. Introducing these dairies modernised the milk supply chain and reduced the Gavara community's monopoly in the local milk trade. This shift led to a decline in their traditional role, as dairies became the primary suppliers of milk, catering to broader markets and reducing the reliance on individual vendors. Despite these changes, it was observed that some members of the Gavara community have adapted by continuing to supply milk to individual households in villages such as Mindivalasa, Ramachandrapuram, Denderu, and Gavarapalem.

4.6.2. Cattle Rearing – Changing Social Dynamics

Through conversations with elderly informants in the market, insights emerged about the socio-economic and emotional dimensions of cattle rearing, market practices, and institutional support, such as Visakha Dairy or other dairies. A key concern raised by the informants was the lack of basic facilities on the market premises, despite the authorities collecting fees, which has led to widespread dissatisfaction among market participants. However, the role of Visakha Dairy provides a counterpoint, showcasing how institutional support can bridge some of these gaps while fostering loyalty and trust among cattle owners. As described by the informant, Visakha Dairy plays a pivotal role in supporting livestock owners by providing veterinary care and health cards for the cattle, as well as for the entire family of the person who sells milk to the dairy. The shared-cost model, in which cattle owners and the dairy each contribute Rs. 400 annually, reflects a shared responsibility between the institution and the community. The health cards and medical services provided to cattle ensure better livestock health and alleviate some of the emotional and financial burdens on owners. For many families, cattle are more than economic assets; they hold emotional significance, symbolising tradition, livelihood, and social status. Knowing their animals receive proper care fosters a sense of security and trust in the dairy.

Beyond veterinary and health care, the dairy's loan facilities for dairy farming further cement its role as a beneficial institution within the rural economy. These loans enable cattle owners to invest in their livelihood, often leading to improved incomes and better living standards. In return, the requirement for a continuous milk supply over the course of a year encourages loyalty to the dairy, fostering a mutually beneficial relationship. These dynamics foster a sense

of belonging and reliance on the institution, with many cattle owners viewing the dairy as a critical partner in their lives. However, this dependency on institutional support has its drawbacks. The requirement to continuously supply milk for a year to access family healthcare benefits can be challenging for some owners, particularly during times of hardship, such as cattle illness or reduced milk yield. This condition can also create pressure to maintain an unsustainable production level, potentially leading to frustration or disenchantment with the dairy.

Additionally, the informant noted the decline of cattle rearing in villages as younger generations migrate to cities for better livelihoods. This shift reduces participation in traditional practices and weakens the dairy's long-term sustainability, as fewer families rely on cattle for their livelihood. Socially and emotionally, the dairy's presence fosters a sense of trust and community among cattle owners who feel supported in their efforts. However, it also highlights the growing tension between traditional rural practices and modern economic shifts. As reliance on institutions like Visakha Dairy grows, so does the need for these organisations to address broader community concerns, such as improving rural infrastructure, market facilities, and local access to medicines. Balancing these social and economic needs is crucial for maintaining the trust and loyalty of the cattle-rearing community while addressing the challenges posed by shifting societal dynamics.

4.6.3. Personal Narratives of Women and Gender Perspectives

The Focus Group Discussion conducted with the five women in Palem and Veerabhadrapuram noted that they belong to a joint family and collectively own the livestock. A joint family allows them to keep more cattle, as the combined resources and shared labour make it manageable. "With so many hands to help, tasks like feeding, milking, and cleaning are divided among us, making it much easier to take care of the cattle," one of the women remarked. They also listed the economic benefits, stating that the profits from livestock rearing are shared among all family members. This not only ensures financial stability but also strengthens family bonds. "By working together and sharing the earnings, we maintain harmony and keep the family united," they said. The women further noted that owning more cattle, alongside living in a joint family, enhances their social status in the community. "Joint families are rare these days, and having both a strong family and many cattle makes us stand out. It shows prosperity and unity," they added proudly.

The women of Veerabhadrapuram village also offer intriguing insights into women's gender perspectives and emotional attachment to cattle. The women shared deeply rooted bonds with their livestock, seeing them as more than mere assets. A telling example was the sound "*amba*" made by the cattle, similar to '*amma*', which means mother, particularly when the women left the house. The cows would continue to make this sound if the women remained absent for an extended period until the woman returned, reflecting the animals' dependence and longing for their caregivers. One woman said, "When the day comes on which the cow I fed and took care of for a longer duration is taken to market for selling, I feel immense sadness as if one of my children is taken away from me, and it will take days for me to become normal and forget the cow." This behaviour highlights the emotional connection between women and their cattle,

shaped by women's nurturing roles in rural households. Their interactions with the cattle are practical, involving feeding and tending, and deeply personal. Women often see their cattle as companions, forming relationships rooted in mutual care and familiarity. Women's emotional attachment to cattle can also be observed when the household sells them. At that time, men did not allow women to come along with them, as they would be emotionally down, which is also a reason for not allowing women into the markets. These observations highlight the unique connections women in agrarian societies have with livestock, underscoring the intersection of gender, livelihood, and emotional labour in rural contexts.

Furthermore, in one of the Brahmin households in Jami village, cows play a significant role in various cultural and religious rituals. For instance, during housewarming ceremonies, a cow is often brought into the home first to symbolise purity and prosperity. However, it is considered inauspicious to use a pregnant cow for such ceremonies. Additionally, in the event of a family member's death, Brahmin families may choose to donate cows to individuals belonging to lower castes. This act of cow donation is not merely a gesture of charity; it also fosters reciprocal social relationships between the Brahmin family and the recipients. Maintaining these inter-caste connections is essential to avail of such services and to ensure mutual support in times of need. The recipients of the donated cow often express deep gratitude towards the Brahmin family, recognising the significance of this gesture. This gratitude is not just personal; it also reinforces social bonds. The beneficiaries may strive to maintain a close relationship with the Brahmin family, which enhances their social standing within their own caste groups. By demonstrating this association, they project an image of strength and alliance, further solidifying their social networks.

4.7. Pasuvulamma Festival: Social Significance, Apprehensions, Cattle Wellbeing

During the fieldwork, it was observed that the Pasuvulamma festival, celebrated in Kasapeta village and other villages where most of the population belongs to the Koppula Velama community, is dedicated to the well-being of livestock. This festival provides a fascinating lens into the intersection of caste, tradition, and moral values in rural communities. A key festival ritual involves the sacrifice of a piglet, purchased collectively by the entire village. However, the piglet's cutting, carrying, and eventual consumption is performed exclusively by a Scheduled Caste (SC) individual from a specific family, a role passed down through generations. This individual, referred to as the "*Pujari*"—a term traditionally reserved for Brahmin priests—plays a central role in the ritual. This unique designation reflects the festival's prioritisation of the health and prosperity of cattle over rigid caste hierarchies. The ritual involves mixing the piglet's blood with rice grains (*bali ginjalu*) and carrying it around the temple in a basket (*chata*), symbolising life and fertility, before consuming the piglet. The choice of a pig for the sacrifice is deeply symbolic. Unlike cattle, which were revered in Indian culture, pigs hold a lower status in the socio-religious hierarchy, a perception shaped by both religious values and caste-based occupational divisions. Unlike cows and buffaloes, which are revered for their milk and centrality to agrarian and ritual life, pigs are often associated with

impurity due to their scavenging habits. In Hindu society, rearing pigs has historically been linked to lower or "polluting" castes, reinforcing their marginalised image, while in Islam, the pig is explicitly considered *haram* (forbidden), further strengthening its negative symbolism in multi-religious contexts. By contrast, though reared for meat, goats and sheep are accepted as relatively "clean" animals and are even used in sacrificial rituals. Pig-rearing communities, such as the Yerukula and Madiga, have faced stigma because of this association, which has translated into their broader social marginalisation.

Their use in the ritual reflects a moral compromise that aligns with the values of agrarian communities: protecting cattle, which is vital for farming and livelihood, by sacrificing an animal perceived as less significant. This act underscores the community's collective morality, ensuring the well-being of all livestock through the symbolic offering of one animal. The festival also reinforces social cohesion and shared beliefs. The ritual, performed by an SC individual, challenges conventional caste dynamics by elevating their role to a sacred status. While caste hierarchies remain, the community's and its livestock's collective welfare temporarily transcends these boundaries during the festival. The *Pasuvulamma* festival exemplifies how traditional practices adapt to meet the social, cultural, and economic needs of rural societies, underscoring the interplay between ritual, morality, and collective values.

The *Pasuvulamma* festival, traditionally celebrated in villages where most residents belong to the Koppula Velama community, holds significant cultural and religious importance. However, the celebration of this festival varies widely depending on the village's social makeup. During a visit to Sunkarapalem village, it was observed that the festival is not celebrated there, as the village has a higher population of the Ayyaraka (Patrulu) caste, and the Koppula Velama community is less prominent. The absence of significant numbers of the Velama community has led to a decline in this tradition in the village. In contrast, surprisingly, Alamanda village, which has the most significant number of Koppula Velama residents and hosts a bustling livestock market, does not observe the *Pasuvulamma* festival. The villagers explained that despite the strong cultural connection to livestock, there is no tradition of celebrating the festival in the area. This indicates the changing cultural dynamics, where newer generations may not feel as strongly connected to specific practices or where the festival's significance may have diminished over time.

Meanwhile, the situation is more complex in villages such as Mindivalasa, Mangalapalem, and Korukonda. The residents shared that the festival was once a central part of community life, with rituals and festivities dedicated to honouring the goddess of livestock. However, the festival's tradition has faded due to growing political conflicts and divisions within the community. No one is willing to take the initiative to raise funds and organise the event, fearing further social rifts. The competition for leadership roles and the breakdown of communal trust have made it difficult to maintain such collective practices.

Moreover, villagers deeply feared the negative consequences they believed would arise from abandoning the festival. There is a widespread belief that not celebrating the festival could bring bad luck or adverse effects on their livestock. This fear is rooted in the belief that without the blessings of *Pasuvulamma*, the goddess who protects livestock, their cattle may fall ill or suffer losses. This apprehension concerns the immediate impact on livestock and the potential unravelling of the social fabric that historically united these communities. The loss of the festival also signals a broader decline in traditional practices, and many residents are concerned about the erosion of their cultural heritage. They worry that as such traditions fade, their communities' identity and social cohesion will weaken, losing the shared values that have bound them together for generations. The declining trend in the *celebration of the Pasuvulamma* festival in these villages thus highlights the intersection of cultural, social, and political changes transforming rural life, leaving many to wonder about the long-term consequences of abandoning these essential cultural markers.

4.8. Sharabulu caste - making wooden idols for the *Pasuvulamma* festival

The *Sharabu* caste, renowned for its expertise in crafting wooden idols, plays a vital role in the cultural and social practices of rural communities. One such practice is the creation of wooden idols for festivals like *Pasuvulamma*, which honours the goddess of livestock. Their craftsmanship goes beyond religious figures; they also fashion sharp wooden tools used in ritual animal sacrifices, such as killing a piglet during the festival. The ritual of slaughtering a piglet outside the temple with a wooden tool crafted by the *Sharabu* people holds profound social and cultural significance. Their involvement in idol creation and sacrificial tools underscores their crucial role in maintaining the community's spiritual and social fabric.

At the same time, their association with animal sacrifice exposes them to certain taboos. Although the *Sharabu* themselves may not perform the killing, the very act of producing tools meant explicitly for slaughter symbolically links them to blood, death, and impurity. Since pigs hold a low position in the socio-religious hierarchy, any connection to their sacrifice—whether direct or indirect—is viewed as polluting in mainstream Hindu society. This perception creates an ambivalent position: the *Sharabu* are respected as indispensable craftsmen yet marginalised for their association with practices regarded as ritually unclean or socially controversial.

This paradox highlights the caste's place in rural society: simultaneously honoured for enabling essential rituals and stigmatised for the polluting aspects of those same practices. Their role symbolises both reverence and exclusion, reflecting the ongoing tensions between tradition, caste, and the evolving social landscape of rural life.

4.9. Sacred Bull (*Tamudupeddu /Devuni Eddu*) and Social Significance

The *tamudupeddu /devuni Eddu* is a sacred male bull with deep cultural and religious significance in several rural villages. This bull is considered holy because it was born during the auspicious days of Makar Sankranti, which marks a period of transition and harvest in agrarian communities. The bull's divine status is further emphasised by the fact that, in the past,

it played a crucial role in the insemination of cattle within the village. This was done naturally, as the bull would mate with cows from various households, ensuring the fertility and productivity of livestock across the community. In the villages visited, especially Kittannapalli and Gollelapalem, the *tamudupeddu* can roam freely within the village, a sign of its sacred status and the community's reverence for it. Villagers treat the bull with great care and devotion, feeding it with nutritious food, offering prayers, and performing rituals to ensure its well-being. The presence of the bull is regarded as a symbol of fertility, prosperity, and divine blessing for the livestock, and by extension, the agricultural livelihood of the community.

Social and community interactions play a significant role in promoting the sacred bull and improving local breeds. By bringing their cows to the *tamudupeddu* for mating, villagers from different households and castes created bonds and shared knowledge about livestock care and breeding practices. These interactions reinforced communal ties and allowed the selective enhancement of desirable traits in local cattle, thus strengthening indigenous breeds. Villagers perceive local breeds as hardy, adaptable, and integral to their agricultural sustainability, and the *tamudupeddu* is regarded as a central figure in maintaining these qualities.

The family that owned the *tamudupeddu* gained considerable respect and prestige within the village. This respect is not only due to the bull's sacred status but also because the family is entrusted with its care and the responsibility of overseeing its role in the community's livestock management. As a result, the owning family becomes a central figure in social and ritual practices, often regarded as guardians of the village's prosperity. The family's role extends beyond care for the bull; they are usually called upon to perform blessings or participate in local ceremonies, reinforcing their elevated social status. The reverence for the *tamudupeddu* also has broader social implications. It strengthens communal ties as villagers come together to ensure the bull's welfare, affirming their shared beliefs in divine protection and prosperity in the process.

Additionally, the practice underscores the strong connection between religion, agriculture, and social hierarchy in rural settings. The bull's role as a symbol of divine power and a practical means of livestock insemination highlights the integration of spiritual beliefs with agricultural practices, illustrating how sacred animals are central to the community's livelihood and cultural identity. The *tamudupeddu* continues to symbolize unity and reverence in villages like Kittannapalli and Gollelapalem, where it is still given pride of place. Its continued importance reflects the enduring nature of traditional practices in rural life, where the sacred and the practical intertwine, ensuring the community's spiritual and economic well-being. Even though new technologies, such as artificial insemination, are now widely used in cattle breeding, traditions like the reverence for the *tamudupeddu* continue to be widely followed, showcasing how deeply ingrained cultural practices and social aspects are in rural communities. The persistence of tradition, despite modern advancements, underscores the community's strong cultural identity and the deep-rooted connection between its agricultural practices, religious beliefs, and social structures.

The *tamudupeddu /devuni eddu* is a sacred male bull with deep cultural and religious significance in several rural villages. This bull is considered holy because it was born during

the auspicious days of Makar Sankranti, which marks a period of transition and harvest in agrarian communities. The bull's divine status is further emphasised by the fact that, in the past, it played a crucial role in the insemination of cattle within the village. This was done naturally, as the bull would mate with cows from various households, ensuring the fertility and productivity of livestock across the community. In the villages visited, especially Kittannapalli and Gollelapalem, the *tamudupeddu* can roam freely within the village, a sign of its sacred status and the community's reverence for it. Villagers treat the bull with great care and devotion, feeding it with nutritious food, offering prayers, and performing rituals to ensure its well-being. The presence of the bull is regarded as a symbol of fertility, prosperity, and divine blessing for the livestock, and by extension, the agricultural livelihood of the community.

Social and community interactions play a significant role in promoting the sacred bull and improving local breeds. By bringing their cows to the *tamudupeddu* for mating, villagers from different households and castes created bonds and shared knowledge about livestock care and breeding practices. These interactions reinforced communal ties and allowed the selective enhancement of desirable traits in local cattle, thus strengthening indigenous breeds. Villagers perceive local breeds as hardy, adaptable, and integral to their agricultural sustainability, and the *tamudupeddu* is regarded as a central figure in maintaining these qualities.

The family that owned the *tamudupeddu* gained considerable respect and prestige within the village. This respect is not only due to the bull's sacred status but also because the family is entrusted with its care and the responsibility of overseeing its role in the community's livestock management. As a result, the owning family becomes a central figure in social and ritual practices, often regarded as guardians of the village's prosperity. The family's role extends beyond caring for the bull; they are often called upon to perform blessings or to participate in local ceremonies, reinforcing their elevated social status. The reverence for the *tamudupeddu* also has broader social implications. It strengthens communal ties as villagers come together to ensure the bull's welfare, affirming their shared beliefs in divine protection and prosperity. Additionally, the practice underscores the strong connection between religion, agriculture, and social hierarchy in rural settings. The bull's role as a symbol of divine power and a practical means of livestock insemination highlights the integration of spiritual beliefs with agricultural practices, illustrating how sacred animals are central to the community's livelihood and cultural identity. The *tamudupeddu* continues to symbolize unity and reverence in villages like Kittannapalli and Gollelapalem, where it is still given pride of place. Its continued importance reflects the enduring nature of traditional practices in rural life, where the sacred and the practical intertwine, ensuring the community's spiritual and economic well-being. Even though new technologies, such as artificial insemination, are now widely used in cattle breeding, traditions like the reverence for the *tamudupeddu* continue to be widely followed, showcasing how deeply ingrained cultural practices and social aspects are in rural communities. The persistence of tradition, despite modern advancements, underscores the community's strong cultural identity and the deep-rooted connection between its agricultural practices, religious beliefs, and social structures.

Before artificial insemination, people used to take their female cattle to a person who had *tamudupeddu* for desirable qualities for the calf. At that time, they established relationships with families, regardless of their caste. However, now cattle owners are using artificial insemination to achieve the desired qualities they want, specifically the Murra buffalo breed. Through this method, people lose the relationships they maintained through cross-breeding their female cattle with the *tamudupeddu*. Artificial insemination increases the number of livestock in the villages, but it disturbs the reproductive cycle of cattle.

4.10. Burial Practices of Cattle

It was noted that the burial practices for livestock in rural communities' exhibit striking similarities to human burial rituals, reflecting deep emotional and social ties between people and their animals. When cattle die, they are often buried with salt, an act that is akin to human burial practices, where various rituals are followed to ensure the deceased's peace. The use of salt, which is considered purifying and protective, symbolises respect for the animal's life. The mourning of cattle's death is an emotional response that mirrors the grief experienced when humans lose a loved one. Their loss is felt profoundly, as it represents not only the death of a valued animal but also the disruption of the family's daily life and livelihood. In some communities, offerings such as boiled *java* (a local dish) or *satthu* (a nutritious food made from grains) are prepared and placed at the burial site as a tribute and a sign of respect for the deceased animal. This ritual is like the human practice of offering food and prayers to the departed, underscoring the belief that the deceased animal has a spirit that must be honoured. Sometimes, the animal's favourite food is placed at the grave, which is seen as a way to comfort its spirit or provide it with something familiar in the afterlife, a symbolic gesture of love and respect.

In villages like Kittannapalli and Gollelapalem, communities traditionally involved in livestock rearing commonly perform these burials. Due to cultural taboos or occupational norms, some other castes may not directly participate in cattle burial, though they may assist in related rituals or mourning. The burial is generally performed by adult household members who have cared for the animal. Typically, the head of the family or those closely associated with the cattle carry out the burial, assisted by other villagers if needed. Animals are usually buried in an open area near the household or village outskirts, with the body laid in an east–west orientation, head facing east, which is considered auspicious and aligns with local beliefs about life and spiritual energies.

The burial is usually performed soon after death, often on the same day or in the early morning, to prevent disease and maintain ritual propriety. Some communities prefer specific days deemed auspicious according to the lunar calendar, though practicality usually takes precedence. After burial, rituals are performed to honour the deceased animal. Villagers may conduct a small puja at the grave, offering prayers, flowers, and sometimes food items. Sometimes, a local priest or elder recites mantras, and family members may observe a brief period of mourning, sharing their grief collectively with neighbours. These post-burial

practices reinforce the perception of cattle as sentient beings deserving respect and reflect the intertwining of animals' economic, emotional, and spiritual roles in rural life.

These practices are also deeply rooted in the social fabric of rural life. They reflect a community's shared values of empathy, respect, and interconnectedness. The mourning and burial rituals help reinforce social bonds within the village, as members come together to express their grief and offer support collectively. The communal aspect of the ritual, whether in the form of assistance with the burial or the shared mourning, strengthens social ties, ensuring that the emotional pain of losing a beloved animal is felt and processed within the larger group. Furthermore, these practices highlight the recognition of animals as sentient beings that deserve respect, not just as commodities. The emotional attachment to livestock reflects the integral role animals play in rural economies and families. The death of a cow or buffalo is not just an economic loss but a personal one, and these burial rituals acknowledge the deep connection between humans and animals, elevating animals' role in a community's emotional and spiritual life. The similarities between human and livestock burial practices speak to the emotional depth of the bond between humans and their animals. These rituals not only mark the death of a creature but also reinforce the values of empathy, respect, and communal unity, helping to navigate grief and maintain the social fabric that ties the community together.

4.11. Kasapeta Cattle Race - A Celebration of Strength, Community, and Social Bonds

The Kasapeta cattle race competition is a vibrant and eagerly anticipated event that transcends mere sport, bringing together farmers, traders, intermediaries, and other market participants from several villages. This event serves as a platform to showcase cattle's strength and agility while fostering social cohesion and cultural pride. Villages unite in collective enthusiasm, cheering for participants and their prized animals and celebrating the spirit of rural life. The competition encourages cattle owners to bring diverse breeds, including Murrah, Ongole, Deoni, Hallikar, and local desi breeds, with some even sourcing cattle from distant regions such as Karnataka and Kerala to participate. This highlights the lengths to which owners go to pursue recognition, prestige, and higher status within their communities. Owning a winning bull is a matter of immense pride, symbolising strength, prosperity, and social respect. It demonstrates the intertwining of economic pursuits and social aspirations, where owning exceptional cattle elevates an individual's standing in the community. Attractive prizes are awarded to the winners, adding a competitive edge to the event. These prizes are funded collectively by contributions from all participating villages, emphasising the communal spirit that underpins the race. This resource pooling strengthens inter-village ties, ensuring the event remains inclusive and participatory. The competition becomes a shared celebration, where the joy of participation and collective pride outweigh individual interests.

The race day transforms the Kasapeta grounds into a vibrant social gathering. The event serves as a melting pot, bringing together various stakeholders, including traders, farmers, and cattle

intermediaries. It is a marketplace for ideas and interactions, fostering connections beyond the event. Discussions about cattle breeds, market prices, and trading opportunities flow freely, reinforcing the market's role as a centre for economic transactions and social engagement. Information about the cattle race is often circulated at the Alamanda cattle market, highlighting its role as a hub of economic activity and the dissemination of information about cultural and social events. The market becomes the nucleus of a complex network, intertwining economic, social, and cultural dimensions and reinforcing their interdependence in rural life. The event also attracts women and children, making it a family affair and ensuring that the spirit of celebration is shared across all demographics. The presence of women reflects the event's inclusive nature and their active involvement in rural social life. Children witness the energy and camaraderie, learning about the significance of cattle in their communities. Adding an element of thrill, betting on cattle races has become a common practice. Villagers were seen placing wagers on their favourite bulls to earn money and as an expression of participant support and encouragement. This added excitement to the event, creating a lively and animated atmosphere where economic stakes and communal cheer converge. The Kasapeta cattle race competition is a vivid example of how rural traditions epitomise broader social structures. It blends the economic importance of livestock with cultural pride and social bonding. Uniting villages in a shared celebration reinforces mutual support, collaboration, and respect networks. Race is more than an event; it is a living testament to the intertwined nature of rural life, where economic pursuits, cultural traditions, and social relationships form a cohesive and vibrant whole.

Table 4.2: Opinion on the Benefits of Regular Participation for New Contacts

S. No.	Leads to a new contact	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	249	83	189	94.5	115	76.67
2	No	51	17	10	5	33	22
3	Not reported	0	0	1	0.5	2	1.33
4	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

When people regularly visit a specific location, they naturally increase their chances of interacting with new people, particularly in livestock markets, which serve as vibrant hubs for trade and socialisation. Regular visits to these markets allow Farmers, Traders, and Intermediaries to build relationships, exchange information, and expand their professional and personal networks. The above highlights that 83% of farmers, 94.5% of traders, and 76.67% of intermediaries reported meeting new people through consistent market participation. These interactions enhance their trade opportunities and foster a sense of community and mutual support.

Table 4.3: New Contacts and Social Network

S. No.	New Contacts and the Social Network	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	248	82.67	189	94.50	92	61.33
2	No	17	5.67	10	5	29	19.33
3	Not Reported	35	11.67	1	0.5	29	19.33
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The data reveal that for 82.67% of farmers, 94.50% of traders, and 61.33% of intermediaries, their new contacts will become part of their social networks through regular market participation. Those new contacts may be from different castes and villages, which will help him expand his social networks in this and nearby markets, facilitating easier livestock transactions.

Table 4.4: Typology of New Contacts – Farmers

S. No.	Category	Yes		No		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Tax Collection and Space Management Staff	87	29	84	28	129	43	300	100
2	Government Officials	0	0	87	29	213	71	300	100
3	Political Leaders	1	0.33	87	29	212	70.67	300	100
4	Insurance Agents/Officials	6	2	87	29	207	69	300	100
5	Transportation Personnel	124	41.33	52	17.33	124	41.33	300	100
6	Private Financers and Moneylenders	6	2	86	28.67	208	69.33	300	100
7	People Running Petty Businesses	74	24.67	85	28.33	141	47	300	100

8	Wholesale Merchants	51	17	86	28.67	163	54.33	300	100
9	Service Providers	113	37.67	71	23.67	116	38.67	300	100
10	Livestock Traders	232	77.33	26	8.67	42	14	300	100
11	Intermediaries	235	78.33	21	7	44	14.67	300	100
12	Ethno-veterinary Specialists	151	50.33	21	7	128	42.67	300	100
13	Fellow Farmers	196	65.33	21	7	83	27.67	300	100

The data reveal farmers' insights into the likelihood that different categories of new contacts will join their social networks while participating in livestock markets. Out of 300 farmers, 78.33% add intermediaries as new contacts in their social networks, as they depend more on intermediaries to sell and purchase livestock in the market. When a new farmer enters the market, it may be difficult for them to buy and sell, so they often depend on intermediaries, which results in a larger share of intermediaries being added to the former's social circle. 77.33% of the farmers add traders to their social networks after adding intermediaries, as these are the ones who will buy and sell cattle from the farmers. Fellow farmers are the next group to be added to the farmers' social network, with 65.33% of the respondents doing so, possibly because they share the same profession. They may share market updates, cattle prices, and information on where and with whom to buy or sell cattle. 50% of respondents reported adding ethno-veterinary specialists to their networks, indicating that farmers rely on these specialists to treat their cattle when they are ill. The farmers were found to add new contacts from other categories, such as transporters, tax collectors, space management staff, service providers, and wholesale merchants. Out of the respondent farmers, 41.33% added new contacts with transporters for cattle transportation to and from the market, 29% added Tax Collection and Space Management Staff, 37.67% added Service providers, and 17% added wholesale merchants to their social networks through regular participation in the market.

Table 4.5: Typology of New Contacts – Traders

S. No.	Category	Yes		No		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Tax Collection and Space Management Staff	44	22	147	73.5	9	4.5	200	100
2	Government Officials	7	3.5	184	92	9	4.5	200	100
3	Political Leaders	0	0	191	95.5	9	4.5	200	100
4	Insurance Agents/Officials	4	2	187	93.5	9	4.5	200	100
5	Transportation Personnel	72	36	119	59.5	9	4.5	200	100
6	Private Financers and Moneylenders	6	3	185	92.5	9	4.5	200	100
7	People Running Petty Businesses	22	11	169	84.5	9	4.5	200	100
8	Wholesale Merchants	16	8	175	87.5	9	4.5	200	100
9	Service Providers	48	24	143	71.5	9	4.5	200	100
10	Farmers	172	86	19	9.5	9	4.5	200	100
11	Intermediaries	184	92	7	3.5	9	4.5	200	100
12	Ethno-veterinary Specialists	76	38	115	57.5	9	4.5	200	100
13	Fellow Traders	112	56	79	39.5	9	4.5	200	100

According to the table, among 200 traders, the data revealed distinct patterns in the formation of new contacts in livestock markets. Most traders reported making new connections with intermediaries, 92%, highlighting their crucial role as a bridge between traders and farmers during buying and selling transactions. In contrast, traders reported no new contacts with political leaders. The most frequent new contacts were with farmers (86%), as traders interacted directly with them during negotiations or through intermediaries. Fellow traders ranked third, with 56% of respondents establishing new connections within their peer group, reflecting the

market's collaborative and competitive dynamics. Contacts with Ethno-veterinary specialists (38%) and transport personnel (36%) were also significant, emphasising the importance of animal healthcare and logistics in the livestock trade.

Additionally, service providers (24%) and Tax Collection and Space Management Staff (22%) formed a more minor but notable portion of traders' networks, as these groups facilitate market operations. Though traders occasionally form connections with individuals in other categories, the frequency of such contacts is lower compared to the above groups. This data underscores the hierarchical nature of networking in livestock markets, where traders prioritise relationships that directly impact their business efficiency and profitability. Regular interactions with intermediaries and farmers streamline trading processes, fostering trust and mutual dependency within the market.

Table 4.6: Typology of New Contacts – Intermediary

S. No.	Category	Opinion				Total		If yes, % of chances on average (%)
		Yes	%	No	%	N	%	
1	Staff of the tax collection & space management agency	3	2	147	98	150	100	2.5
2	Government officials	0	0	150	100	150	100	0
3	Political leaders	0	0	150	100	150	100	0
4	Insurance agents/officials	0	0	150	100	150	100	0
5	Transportation personnel	5	3.33	145	96.67	150	100	4.17
6	Private financiers & money lenders	1	0.67	149	99.33	150	100	0.83
7	People run small businesses, selling food, jewellery, clothes, and other items.	11	7.33	139	92.67	150	100	9.17

8	Wholesale merchants	1	0.67	149	99.33	150	100	0.83
9	Service providers	18	12	132	88	150	100	15
10	Livestock traders	88	58.67	62	41.33	150	100	73.33
11	Farmers	88	58.67	62	41.33	150	100	73.33
12	Ethno-vet specialists	50	33.33	100	66.67	150	100	41.67
13	Members of your professional group	79	52.67	71	47.33	150	100	65.83

The above table shows that individuals in intermediary professions in the market mostly interact with traders and farmers, acting as a bridge between them to facilitate the sale and purchase of livestock. These two categories of people will be added to his social network because he mainly engages with them in the market. For both, the chance of adding farmers and traders to their social network is 58.67%. After that, he will meet his fellow group members, with 52.67% of his focus on social network expansion, market updates, and market-related transactions. Then, an Ethnoveterinary specialist will be added to his social contacts, which will help him treat sick animals when brought by his fellow contacts, either from traders or farmers, before they sell or purchase in the market. The chances of adding them to his social networks are 33.33%.

4.12. Social Networking of Traders at Alamanda Market

During our conversations with traders at the Alamanda cattle market, it became clear that social networking is crucial in connecting local traders to markets across a broader region, including Timaram, Manapuram, Jeypore, and other livestock markets. Traders explained that these market linkages are built on trust, shared experiences, and mutual support. Many traders highlighted that they use these networks to exchange information about livestock, pricing trends, and market conditions, which helps them make more informed decisions and navigate trade risks. By participating in various markets, traders expand their social circles, allowing them to establish connections that offer both practical and strategic benefits. One key aspect that emerged in discussions was the economic and social advantages these networks provide. Traders often rely on their connections for support during difficult times. Whether receiving financial help, securing cattle from other regions, or accessing trade credit, these relationships help ensure their survival and success in the market. During crises, some traders spoke about how particular individuals in their networks came to their aid—offering loans, advice, or simply providing guidance. The size and quality of these networks varied, with some traders having extensive contacts across multiple markets while others preferred to maintain closer, more specialised ties with trusted individuals. The most valuable networks, as shared by traders, are built on reliability and trust, with consistent communication key to their durability.

Traders also discussed how their social networks were essential for expanding business opportunities. Many mentioned collaborating with other traders to pool resources, share transportation costs, and coordinate livestock supply to meet market demands. This collaboration enabled them to access markets they might not have otherwise reached, ultimately increasing their competitiveness and profit margins. Networking also provided opportunities for traders to share knowledge on livestock management, pricing, and negotiation, helping each other to strengthen their businesses. Beyond business, traders spoke about the importance of informal social interactions—such as chit-chat at the food stalls on market day, sharing meals, celebrations, and exchanging information—which help build stronger personal bonds and reinforce their sense of community. These social interactions also serve as platforms for discussing market trends, political changes, and community events. In essence, the social networks observed in the Alamanda cattle market are not just a tool for trade but are deeply embedded in the community's social fabric, contributing to economic success and social cohesion.

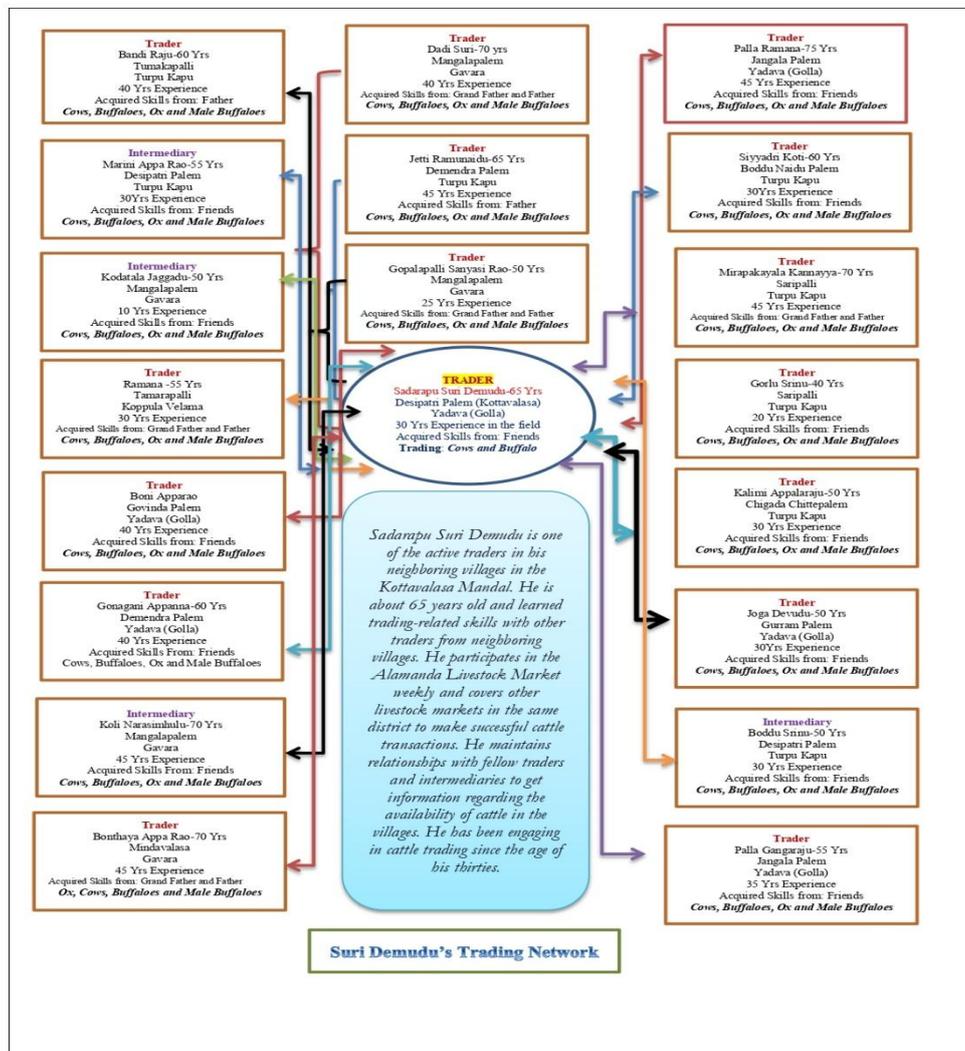


Figure 4.1. Social Networking of traders and Intermediaries at Alamanda market

Social Network of Traders and Intermediaries (with Suri Demudu at Centre)

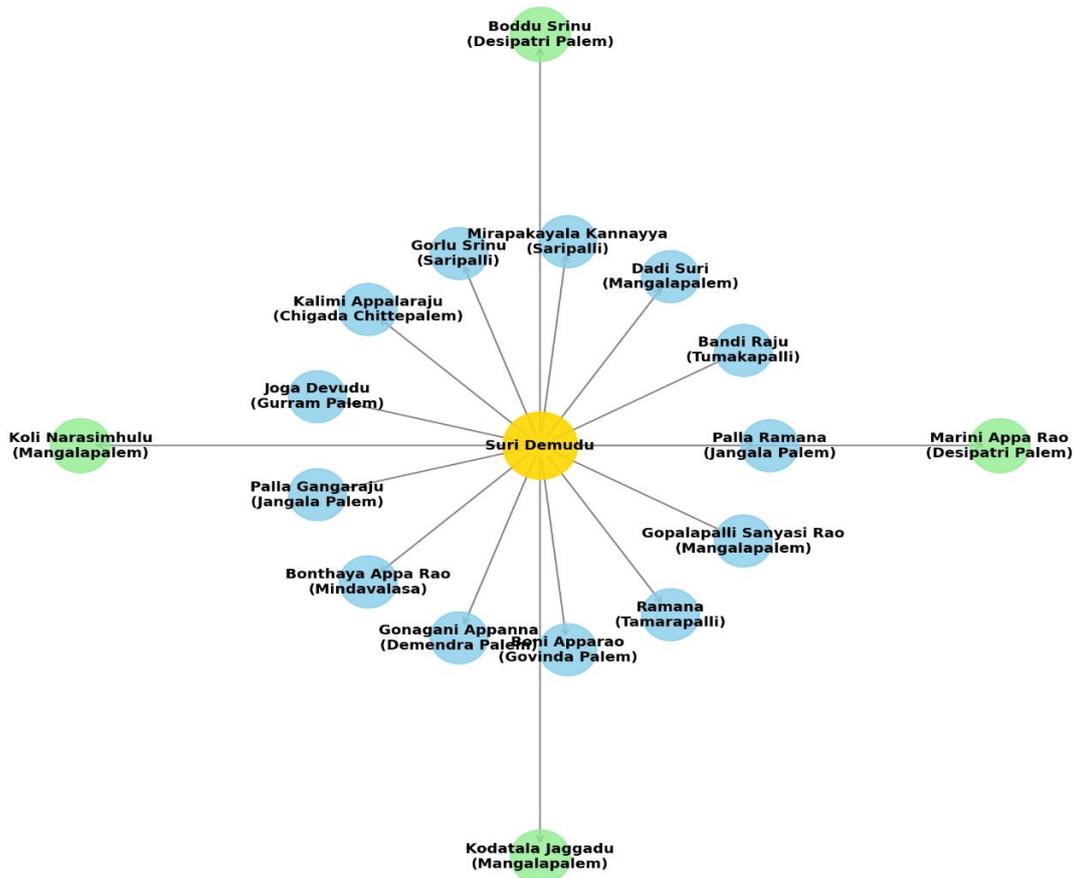


Figure 4.2. Social Networking of traders and Intermediaries with Suri Demudu

The flowchart presented here is a case study of Sadarapu Suri Demudu, a 65-year-old who belongs to the Yadava community and engages in trading from Desipatri Palem (Kothavalasa), illustrating how livestock markets operate through complex networks of traders and intermediaries. With over three decades of experience, Demudu actively participates in the Alamanda livestock market and engages with other markets in the district. His trading knowledge, acquired through peer learning and long-term associations, reflects the socially embedded character of cattle markets.

At the first level, Demudu relates to senior and peer traders such as Palla Ramana (Jangala Palem), Bandi Raju (Tumakapalli), Dadi Suri (Mangalapalem), and Mirapakayala Kannayya (Saripalli), as well as younger traders such as Gorlu Srinu (Saripalli). These relationships are rooted in shared learning, kinship ties, and decades of collaborative work. They represent horizontal linkages through which information about livestock availability, health status, and price fluctuations circulates rapidly. Trust and reputation built over time allow transactions to occur even on credit, reducing uncertainty in the marketplace.

At the second level, intermediaries such as Marini Appa Rao (Desipatri Palem), Boddu Srinu (Desipatri Palem), and Koli Narasimhulu (Mangalapalem) serve as a bridge. They connect small-scale cattle owners and village producers with established traders, mediate negotiations,

and coordinate logistics, such as transportation. Their presence reduces search costs, smoothens bargaining, and minimises the risk of disputes. Intermediaries thus act as connective tissue in the trading network, ensuring that the flow of cattle into weekly markets remains steady and efficient.

These relationships illustrate that market exchanges are not purely economic but embedded in dense social networks of trust, reciprocity, and mutual dependency. The flow chart, with Suri Demudu at the centre, demonstrates this layered structure: core traders forming the inner circle, intermediaries constituting the outer ring, and arrows symbolising the constant back-and-forth of cattle, credit, information, and services. This configuration highlights how social relations significantly facilitate market transactions by expanding reach, reducing risk, and reinforcing the collective strength of the trading community.

While Suri Demudu occupies a central and visible position in the livestock trading network, the relationships among traders and intermediaries are not limited to him alone. Many traders, such as Palla Ramana, Bandi Raju, and Dadi Suri, are also connected through long-standing kinship relations, caste affiliations, and decades of trading together. These horizontal connections allow them to share information, exchange cattle directly, and extend credit independently of Demudu. Similarly, intermediaries such as Marini Appa Rao and Boddu Srinu maintain overlapping networks with other traders and intermediaries, creating channels through which cattle, prices, and opportunities are circulated.

This interwoven structure makes the network multi-nodal rather than strictly hierarchical. Instead of all transactions being routed through Demudu, multiple flows co-occur between traders and intermediaries, making the system more resilient. For example, if Demudu is absent from a market, his peers and intermediaries can still conduct exchanges through mutual ties. The flow chart thus represents not just a hub with surrounding actors, but a complex web of interactions in which information and trust circulate in multiple directions. This complexity helps reduce risks, spreads opportunities, and ensures that no single actor monopolises the trading system, reinforcing the collective character of the market network.

At the Alamanda cattle market, it was observed that transactions involving buffaloes extend beyond mere economic exchanges, reflecting intricate social dynamics and cultural traditions. When two buyers approach a cattle owner, the scene becomes a lively negotiation shaped by strategies, perceptions, and community ties. For instance, the trader, aiming to secure the best price, proudly highlights the buffalo's twisted horn as a rare and attractive feature, portraying it as a symbol of uniqueness and value. This act often stems from rural livestock owners' deep attachment toward their animals, which are not just economic assets but also markers of their identity, hard work, and social status. Conversely, the buyers strategically downplay these merits, framing the twisted horn as a defect to justify their lower price demand. To bolster their argument, they also point out other minor imperfections or potential risks, such as age, health, or future utility. During these negotiations, intermediaries often play a crucial role in bridging the gap between buyers and sellers. They may take the seller's side, emphasise the buffalo's strengths, and downplay its defects to help finalise the deal. With their persuasive skills and market experience, these intermediaries strive to mediate conflicts and ensure a successful transaction.

This exchange of claims and counterclaims is not merely transactional; it involves a display of wit, patience, and negotiation skills integral to the social aspects of rural markets. Buyers and sellers engage in this verbal duel with an underlying sense of mutual respect, recognising the ritualistic and social significance of the process. Additionally, these negotiations often take

place in a communal setting, surrounded by other traders, intermediaries, neighbours, and onlookers. This public nature of bargaining adds a layer of performativity as each party strives to maintain its reputation and credibility. The seller's ability to highlight the animal's merits, the buyers' skill in identifying perceived flaws, and the intermediary's role in balancing these perspectives often attract commentary or advice from bystanders, creating a shared experience that strengthens community bonds. Such transactions are also influenced by trust and social relationships, as buyers and sellers are often familiar with each other directly or through shared networks. A fair negotiation may enhance their mutual goodwill, while an overly aggressive deal could strain relationships. Ultimately, these exchanges are not just about determining the monetary value of the cattle but also about reaffirming social ties, preserving cultural practices, and navigating the delicate balance of economic interests and communal harmony.

4.12.1. Rangula Satyam: A Pillar of Integrity and Expertise in Livestock Trading

Rangula Satyam, a 65-year-old livestock trader residing in Korukunda village, Vizianagaram district, approximately 10 kilometres from Alamanda Market, belongs to a Hindu family. He is actively engaged in trading activities and is a prominent figure at Alamanda and nearby weekly markets. He is also renowned for his honesty, expertise, and unwavering commitment to his trade. With over three decades of experience, he has earned the trust and respect of traders and farmers alike in his village and across far-reaching markets. In addition to trading, he also cultivates agricultural land as an alternative source of income.

He began his career as a livestock trader at 27 and has 33 years of experience in the cattle trade. Before entering independent cattle trading, he spent nearly 10 years learning livestock trading skills from his father, relatives, and other experienced traders. During this period, he developed extensive knowledge of livestock, gained practical experience, acquired effective communication skills, and learned to assess the health and quality of cattle.

His trading activities mainly focus on cows and calves rather than oxen and buffaloes. His primary customers are farmers, and he specialises in selling milching animals. As this area is renowned for dairy farming, he also sometimes sells draught animals. After purchasing cattle, he generally sells them within a month, either in the market or directly to people from nearby villages, to maintain a continuous flow of capital. He procures cattle through self-rearing practices and through informants or intermediaries who facilitate direct purchases from farmers. He buys cattle from surrounding villages and sells them primarily through weekly markets, which are interstate transactions. He reports that Alamanda Market provides him with higher profits compared to other markets. His current annual turnover is estimated at nearly ₹3 lakhs. The money that he earned was invested in purchasing land, constructing a house, and acquiring two-wheeler vehicles. He primarily uses his own savings to finance the purchase of livestock.

In his trading activities, he receives support from both family members and hired helpers. His family, including his wife and children, plays an active role in the business by assisting with purchasing cattle, cleaning and feeding the animals, and transporting livestock between markets and their home. The major expenditures in his business include transportation, animal healthcare, and livestock feed. On average, transportation costs are around ₹500 per animal,

though they tend to increase on market days. Approximately 30 per cent of his expenditure is on livestock feed, 20 per cent on animal health and maintenance, and another 20 per cent on salaries for helpers.

In recent years, he has also adopted digital tools, such as video calls, to send videos of the cattle to potential buyers for trading, enabling them to make informed decisions without visiting the market in person. For the past two years, he has been using digital devices, which have helped reduce the need for frequent travel during cattle buying and selling. Buyers are impressed by his transparency, and they often pay an advance during the video call, with the remaining amount settled after the livestock is delivered by transport. This innovative approach reflects his adaptability and trustworthiness in the modern era. However, he says, the business is not without risks. It identifies several challenges, including differences in milk yield, livestock health and mortality, market inspections, bribery demands, and interference from local officials. He also points out that weather-related factors pose a challenge and lead to significant fluctuations in market conditions. However, he is aware of the risks in the livestock business. He recounted a challenging experience when a trader from Jeypore market purchased three buffaloes, paid only a partial amount, and disappeared without settling the remaining balance. This incident resulted in significant losses, limiting his ability to invest in new livestock that year. Such experiences have made him cautious, and he emphasises the importance of trust and transparency in trade.

He also emphasises the importance of public relations in sustaining his business in the local markets. According to him, clients and associates support him not only in trade but also in social activities such as village-level festivals. His network also includes local officials who assist in arranging transportation, and he maintains a contact list of more than 500 individuals on his mobile phone, which reflects his network in the rural markets nearby. This extensive network, cultivated through years of honest dealings and mutual respect, enables him to trade large volumes of livestock. Despite his success, Satyam remains deeply rooted in his heritage. He is known for selling lower-priced cattle to poor farmers in his village, recognising their financial struggles. Beyond trade, he actively shares information about government schemes and benefits, ensuring that fellow villagers are aware of resources available to them. This selfless attitude has earned him the respect of his peers and made him a valued member of the community.

In weekly markets, his regular interactions include wholesale merchants (15%), livestock traders (40%), intermediaries (30%), and ethnoveterinary specialists (15%). However, he notes that most of these relationships are primarily confined to economic transactions. When purchasing cattle, he carefully examines physical features such as horns, colour, and udder condition. To enhance the appearance of the cattle, he uses ornaments made of beads and bells and occasionally colours the horns.

Specific informal conditions govern livestock transactions. These include a trial period for the animal before finalising the deal and the possibility of a refund if the information provided about the livestock is found to be incorrect after the transaction. Despite these practices, He acknowledges that disputes sometimes arise due to the disregard of agreements or

misrepresentation of livestock health. Such conflicts are usually resolved through mutual discussions among market participants.

He is admired for his fair pricing practices and deep knowledge of livestock breeds and market trends, which extend beyond Alamanda to other markets. His understanding of pricing dynamics and cattle quality sets him apart, making him a go-to expert for traders from distant regions. Many of his buyers are from Hyderabad, where he has established strong relationships over several decades.

He proudly stated that he had not missed a market day in over 30 years, demonstrating his unwavering commitment to his work. He also plays a mentoring role in the market. Many young and small traders seek his guidance on pricing, negotiations, and deal-making, and he willingly helps them, fostering a spirit of collaboration. He encourages intermediaries from his village to participate in the market, supporting their efforts to build livelihoods. His actions not only sustain the market's economic vitality but also strengthen social bonds within the trading community. Rangula Satyam embodies the values of integrity, diligence, and social responsibility. His success is not measured solely by profit but by the trust he has cultivated and the positive impact he has had on his community. As a trader, mentor, and community elder, Satyam stands as a testament to the enduring value of honest work and commitment to the collective well-being of those around him.

4.12.2. Siripurapu Krishna: A Cattle Trader and Ethno-Veterinary Specialist

Siripurapu Krishna is a 70-year-old resident of Korukunda village in Vizianagaram District, Andhra Pradesh. He belongs to a Hindu family and the Velama caste. He is actively involved in cattle trading and functions as a traditional ethno-veterinary specialist in his village and the surrounding areas.

He regularly visits nearby weekly markets to buy and sell cattle, as he prefers market-based transactions to village-level sales because markets generally offer better prices. His trading activities focus more on cows than buffaloes. Recently, he purchased a cow from Alamanda Market for ₹25,000. According to him, participation in local markets not only facilitates economic transactions but also provides valuable information regarding agricultural practices and prevailing market prices.

Based on his long-term engagement with Alamanda Market, Krishna has observed a significant increase in the participation of farmers and traders, as well as improvements in market facilities compared to earlier periods. His social and economic networks within the market include service providers (10 per cent), transport personnel (25 per cent), traders (30 per cent), and intermediaries (35 per cent). These contacts play a crucial role in facilitating smooth transactions and ensuring access to services.

He and his family follow specific cultural rituals during buying or selling cattle; they perform rituals such as applying a *tilak* on the animal's head and conducting a *pooja*. These practices reflect the community's cultural and religious significance attached to livestock. During cattle

selection, he carefully examines physical characteristics such as horns, udders, legs, and tails. He also considers colour, skin shade, body spots, and the animal's walking condition, particularly with respect to suitability for transportation.

Informal conditions govern livestock transactions. These include canceling the deal or refunding the sale amount if incorrect information about the animal is discovered after the transaction has been completed. Krishna reports that disputes sometimes arise due to the misrepresentation of livestock health, bargaining disagreements, or a failure to adhere to verbal agreements. Such conflicts are generally resolved with the intervention of market participants or community elders.

In addition to his role as a cattle trader, Krishna is widely respected as a traditional ethno-veterinary specialist. He learned the skill from his forefathers and provides treatment to cattle in Korukunda village and nearby areas without demanding fixed monetary compensation. Instead, he accepts whatever people voluntarily offer. His reputation is particularly strong in treating *oonam*, a condition in which the placenta fails to detach after a buffalo gives birth. His treatment involves cleaning and repositioning the placenta, followed by continued care until the animal recovers.

Krishna is also known for assisting in complicated cattle deliveries, often stepping in when trained veterinary doctors hesitate due to perceived risks. In one notable instance, he successfully delivered a dead calf from a buffalo after professional veterinarians declined to intervene. Such interventions have significantly enhanced his standing within the community. His contributions have also received formal recognition. Tulasi Rao Dora, Chairman of Visakha Dairy, publicly appreciated Krishna during a visit to Korukunda village, acknowledging his life-saving interventions and selfless service to livestock care. As a result, villagers hold him in high regard, invite him to family functions, and support him in various aspects of social life. His presence has fostered cooperation, trust, and solidarity within the community.

However, his work is not without challenges. Some veterinary professionals' express dissatisfaction with his widespread influence, as his minimal or no-fee services reduce their income. This tension highlights the interaction and conflict between traditional knowledge systems and modern veterinary practices.

During an interview, Krishna shared a belief that reflects his worldview regarding human-animal relationships. He stated that humans have a moral responsibility to care for animals, as animals, despite their physical strength, depend on human beings for protection and well-being. This cultural and spiritual understanding guides his approach to livestock care.

Siripurapu Krishna's life and work demonstrate the continued relevance of traditional knowledge, ethical practice, and community-based service. His case illustrates how compassion, experience, and social trust can coexist with market participation, contributing significantly to rural livelihoods and livestock management.

4.13. Social Networks, Identities, Significance in Markets

Table 4.7: Identity and Social Network

S. No.	Social Identities Matter	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	147	49	88	44	19	12.7
2	No	151	50.33	112	56	131	87.3
3	Not Reported	2	0.67	0	0	0	0
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The data from the table emphasises the role of social identities in network formation within livestock markets. The data reveal that 49% of farmers, 44% of traders, and 12% of intermediaries acknowledged that social identities have a significant influence on network development. In comparison, 50.33% of farmers, 56% of traders, and 87.33% of intermediaries believed that social identities do not play a critical role in network formation. This indicates a notable divide in perceptions, with nearly half of the farmers and traders recognising the importance of social identities in shaping professional and social connections. At the same time, most intermediaries are not interested in their customers' social identities.

The relevance of social identities stems from several factors, such as cultural familiarity and trust, which often emerge among individuals from the same caste, community, or linguistic background, facilitating smoother interactions and successful transactions in the market. Shared values, traditions, and social norms foster a sense of belonging and reliability, which can be crucial in establishing lasting professional relationships, particularly in informal settings such as livestock markets. Additionally, for traders, social hierarchies and power dynamics in rural areas often impact whom they approach for business or collaboration. For instance, individuals from socially dominant groups may find it easier to form connections due to their perceived status, while those from marginalised communities may face barriers. In highly competitive markets, economic considerations such as quality of livestock, pricing, and reliability often take precedence over social factors. This trend indicates that while social identities may still influence networking, other practical factors are increasingly important in shaping market interactions. This dual perspective highlights the complexity of the relationship between traditional social structures and evolving market dynamics in rural economies.

4.16. More Contacts – Wider networks

It was observed that the contacts saved in traders' mobile phones played a significant role in reflecting their social recognition and the breadth of their network. Many traders explained that the number of contacts they had on their phones often correlated with their social standing. A larger contact list signified greater influence and provided access to better business opportunities, including information about livestock, pricing trends, and available buyers. More contacts meant traders were well-connected, elevating their community status. Similarly, traders noted that owning more cattle was another visible marker of social status, with those possessing larger herds often regarded as wealthier and more powerful within the market's social and economic structure. Traders recognised establishing and maintaining these networks as a critical skill. The capacity to cultivate relationships over time, not just for immediate trade purposes but for long-term mutual benefit, was highlighted as essential for expanding one's business opportunities. These networks enabled traders to secure cattle, share transportation, and exchange market information. The sustained nature of these interactions often led to the development of stable social groupings. Relationships that began as simple business transactions would, over time, evolve into trusted connections, reinforcing the market's social fabric and offering a sense of security in the highly competitive environment.

Table 4.8: Degree of Significance of Social Identities

S. No.	Degree of Significance	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Marginal	95	64.63	49	55.68	10	52.63
2	Considerable	47	31.97	26	29.55	9	47.37
3	Mostly	5	3.4	13	14.77	0	0
	Total	147	100	88	100	19	100

The table reveals varying opinions among the farmers, traders and intermediaries who acknowledged the importance of social identities in network formation as follows: 64.63% of farmers, 55.68% of traders, and 52.63% of intermediaries considered the influence of social identities to be marginal, indicating that social identities may have some role, but they do not perceive them as a primary factor in building networks. They might prioritise practical aspects, such as the reliability of individuals, trade as a priority, and the quality of livestock, over social categories when forming professional connections. Meanwhile, 31.97% of farmers, 29.55% of traders, and 47.37% of intermediaries recognised a considerable role for social identities, suggesting that while they acknowledge the importance of cultural, caste, or community ties, they also consider other aspects such as trade effectiveness and market demand. For them, social identity may help establish initial trust or facilitate smoother communication, but it is not the sole determinant of network formation. A smaller proportion, 3.4% of farmers and 14.77% of traders, viewed social identities as highly significant, emphasising that strong

cultural, community, or caste affiliations can significantly influence interactions and partnerships within the livestock market. For them, shared social identity could foster trust, cooperation, and loyalty, which may be vital for successful long-term market relationships, particularly in rural or traditional market settings where social ties often play a central role. This distribution reflects a spectrum of views, indicating that while social identities are essential for some, others emphasise practical, transaction-driven factors when forming networks. The varying degrees of significance attached to social identity suggest that their weight in these factors is influenced by their personal experiences, market dynamics, and the competitive nature of the livestock trade.

Table 4.9: Reasons behind the Significance of Social Identities

S. No.	Reason	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Ease in mobilising the support of other family members	34	65.38	21	53.85	3	33.33
2	Higher likelihood of attitude match	15	28.85	18	46.15	6	66.67
3	Any other/ Not reported	3	5.77	0	0	0	0.00
	Total	52	100	39	100	9	100.00

The significance of social identities in network formation among farmers, traders, and intermediaries stems from two key factors. First, 65.38% of farmers, 53.85% of traders, and 33.33% of intermediaries highlighted that social identities simplify mobilising support from family members or others within the same community or caste. This shared social background fosters trust and solidarity, making it easier for them to seek assistance, share resources, or collaborate on livestock transactions. Such group cohesion is particularly advantageous in rural or traditional markets, where familial and community ties often play a central role in market operations. Second, 28.85% of farmers, 46.15% of traders, and 66.67% of intermediaries pointed out that social identities increase the likelihood of a match in attitudes and values. They tend to have more aligned expectations, work ethics, and communication styles when they share similar cultural backgrounds or social norms. This cultural commonality facilitates smoother, more effective interactions, enabling a deeper understanding of each other's perspectives. Such alignment reduces misunderstandings and builds trust, making it easier for them to form lasting and fruitful relationships. These reasons suggest that social identities offer practical and relational advantages in network formation. They not only ease logistical support within family and community circles but also create an environment of shared understanding and trust, which are essential for successful livestock market transactions.

Table 4.10: Reasons behind the Non-significance of Social Identities

S. No.	Reason	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Such new members will be outside one's village	47	31.13	4	3.57	1	0.76
2	Relationships will be mostly restricted to economic matters	90	59.6	104	92.86	123	93.89
3	Relationships are built around similar interests	4	2.65	1	0.89	5	3.82
4	Relationships are based on the commitment to honesty and integrity	3	1.99	0	0	1	0.76
5	Relationships are based on mutual trust and help during a crisis	5	3.31	3	2.68	0	0
6	Not Reported	2	1.32	0	0	1	0.76
	Total	151	100	112	100	131	100

The data show that, as reported by farmers, traders, and intermediaries, social identities are not significant in network formation, primarily because economic and pragmatic factors drive them. The data reveal that 59.60% of farmers, 92.86% of traders, and 93.89% of intermediaries believe that market relationships are predominantly centred on economic matters, such as buying, selling, and negotiating, rather than on social identities. This suggests that financial factors precede cultural or social affiliations in the formation of connections. Additionally, 31.13% of farmers and 3.57% of traders indicated that new contacts are likely to be from outside their village, meaning that interactions in the market are more likely to involve individuals from diverse backgrounds, where social identity may play a lesser role. A small proportion, 3.31% of farmers and 2.68% of traders, noted that relationships are based on mutual trust and assistance during crises, emphasising the importance of practical, personal qualities over social identity in times of need. A minority, 2.65% of farmers, 0.89% of traders, and 3.82% of intermediaries, mentioned that relationships in the market are built around similar interests rather than social identities, and 1.99% of farmers and 0.76% of intermediaries believed that relationships in the market are based on a commitment to honesty and integrity. These reasons show a pragmatic approach to social networking, where economic factors, trust, and mutual assistance are prioritised over social identity in livestock markets. They tend to focus on shared interests and market transactions, regardless of their social backgrounds.

Table 4.11: Development of Relationships with New Contacts

S. No.	Developed Relation	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	24	8	30	15	10	6.67
2	No	276	92	169	84.5	133	88.67
3	Not Reported	0	0	1	0.5	7	4.67
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100.00

The data on developing relationships with new contacts reveals that 8% of farmers, 15% of traders, and 6.67% of intermediaries have established and nurtured relationships with new individuals they meet in the market. However, a significant majority, 92% of farmers, 84.50% of traders, and 88.67% of intermediaries, have not developed such relationships, indicating that their interactions with new contacts are likely more transactional and short-term. This suggests that farmers, traders, and intermediaries frequently meet new people at livestock markets, and that most focus on immediate market transactions rather than cultivating lasting relationships, due to the competitive, practical nature of the market environment.

Table 4.12: Likeness with the Identity of the New Contacts

S. No.	Identity Alike	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Caste	3	12.50	14	46.67	2	20.00
2	Other Caste	21	87.50	16	53.33	8	80.00
	Total	24	100.00	30	100.00	10	100.00

The data on the likeness with the identity of new contacts reveals that 12.50% of farmers, 46.67% of traders, and 20% of intermediaries cited caste as a shared identity, signifying its importance in forming connections within the livestock market, particularly in rural settings where caste plays a central role in social interactions. Additionally, 87.50% of farmers, 53.33% of traders, and 80% of intermediaries mentioned that their new contacts belong to other caste groups, suggesting that caste identities continue to influence networking. These findings indicate that caste plays a significant role in shaping relationships and networks within the market, where cultural and social affiliations often influence interactions and collaborations.

Table 4.13: Perception of the Present Status of the Relationship

S. No.	Relationship Status	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Intimate	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
2	Functional	0	0	18	56.25	5	50.00
3	Socially Courteous	13	54.17	12	43.75	0	0.00
4	Not Reported	11	45.83	0	0	5	50.00
	Total	24	100	30	100	10	100.00

The data on perceptions of the current status of relationships in livestock markets indicate that while initial connections may have been formed, they have not evolved into deeper, long-term relationships. Among traders and intermediaries, 56.25% of traders and 50% of intermediaries indicated that their relationship is functional. Instead, most respondents, 54.17% of farmers and 43.75% of traders, described their relationships as socially courteous. This implies that, while they may acknowledge or interact with their market contacts, these exchanges are limited to polite rather than meaningful ones. Additionally, 45.83% of farmers and 50% of intermediaries did not report their current relationship status, suggesting a lack of ongoing interaction or a decline in previously established connections. The absence of sustained functional relationships suggests that these interactions remain temporary, context-specific, and largely dependent on the business environment. Overall, the findings reinforce that while some social interaction occurs in livestock markets, these relationships rarely translate into long-term personal or professional bonds. Instead, most connections remain within the bounds of courtesy and formal business interactions, with little evidence of deeper engagement beyond the marketplace setting.

Table 4.14: Prime Significance of Monetary Aspects concerning Transactions

S. No.	Monetary Aspects and Livestock Transactions	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	270	90	187	93.5	131	87.33
2	No	23	7.67	9	4.5	9	6
3	Not Reported	7	2.33	4	2	10	6.67
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The data in the above table shows the prime significance of monetary aspects in transactions, revealing that a substantial majority, 90% of farmers, 93.50% of traders, and 87.33% of intermediaries, consider only monetary aspects when conducting transactions in the livestock market. This indicates that, for them, factors such as the quality of livestock, pricing, costs, and profit margins are the primary considerations in livestock transactions. In contrast, a small proportion of farmers (7.67%), traders (4.5%), and intermediaries (6%) stated that monetary aspects are not the only factor they consider, suggesting that other considerations, such as relationships, trust, or the quality of livestock, may also influence their transactions. Overall, the data indicate that economic factors outweigh social factors in driving transactions in livestock markets, where financial considerations are paramount.

Table 4.15: Importance of Similarity in Identities in Market Relations – Farmers

S. No.	Similarity in Identities and Market Relations	Matters		Does Not Matter		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Livestock trading	120	40.00	179	59.67	1	0.33	300	100.00
2	Healthcare services for livestock	81	27.00	218	72.67	1	0.33	300	100.00
3	Transportation of livestock	57	19.00	242	80.67	1	0.33	300	100.00
4	Engaging with farmers/intermediaries	129	43.00	170	56.67	1	0.33	300	100.00
5	Dispute resolution in the market	117	39.00	182	60.67	1	0.33	300	100.00

The data reveal that identity similarity plays a role in certain aspects of market relations, but its significance varies across interaction types. In areas involving direct human engagement, such as interacting with farmers/intermediaries (43.00%) and livestock trading (40.00%), a substantial number of respondents consider identity similarity necessary. This preference is likely driven by trust, long-standing relationships, and shared cultural or community backgrounds, facilitating smoother transactions and communication in traditional livestock markets. Similarly, dispute resolution (39.00%) shows a notable preference for dealing with individuals of a similar identity. This suggests that people may feel more comfortable negotiating or resolving conflicts within their social or cultural networks, where established norms of fairness and trust are in place.

On the other hand, identity similarity is far less important in technical and service-based aspects of livestock markets. For instance, only 27.00% of respondents considered identity similarity relevant when seeking healthcare services for livestock, and an even lower 19.00% prioritised it in transportation services. This suggests that economic and functional considerations often

outweigh identity-based preferences in areas that require expertise, efficiency, and logistical coordination.

Table 4.16: Importance of Similarity in Identities in Market Relations - Traders

S. No.	Similarity Identities and Relations Market	Matters		Does Not Matter		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Livestock trading	72	36.00	124	62.00	4	2.00	200	100.00
2	Healthcare services for livestock	3	1.50	143	71.50	54	27.00	200	100.00
3	Transportation of livestock	31	15.50	115	57.50	54	27.00	200	100.00
4	Engaging with farmers/intermediaries	68	34.00	78	39.00	54	27.00	200	100.00
5	Dispute resolution in the market	60	30.00	86	43.00	54	27.00	200	100.00

The data on the importance of identity similarity for various aspects of market relations among traders' reveal varied perceptions influenced by practical considerations and the nature of the market. In livestock trading, 36.00% of traders believe that identity similarity matters because shared backgrounds can build trust and facilitate smoother negotiations. In comparison, 62.00% feel it is not crucial, possibly because of the focus on trade's economic aspects. In livestock healthcare services, only 1.50% of traders' view identity similarity as necessary, while 71.50% indicate it does not matter. This may be because health care is often considered a specialised, professional service where identity is less relevant than expertise. Similarly, in livestock transportation, 15.50% of respondents consider identity similarity necessary, likely due to logistical factors such as reliability and local knowledge, while 57.50% do not, suggesting that practical concerns, such as cost and efficiency, take precedence. Among those engaging with farmers and intermediaries, 34.00% believe that identity similarity plays a role because these relationships are built on trust and mutual understanding, whereas 39.00% disagree, possibly reflecting a more trade-focused mindset in which financial terms are prioritised over social factors. Lastly, for dispute resolution in the market, 30.00% of traders feel that shared identities are significant because they foster familiarity and ease in resolving conflicts. In comparison, 43.00% do not see it as necessary, indicating that, in disputes, practical solutions and legal agreements may outweigh social identity. Overall, while economic and practical concerns dominate many market interactions, there are still areas where shared social or cultural identities help build trust and ease communication.

Table 4.17: Importance of Similarity in Identities in Market Relations – Intermediary

S. No.	Factors	Opinion							
		Yes	%	No	%	Not Reported	%	Total	
1	Livestock trading	17	11.33	133	88.67	0	0	150	100
2	Healthcare services for livestock	1	0.67	148	98.67	1	0.67	150	100
3	Transportation of livestock	10	6.67	140	93.33	0	0	150	100
4	Engaging with farmers/Traders	21	14	127	84.67	2	1.33	150	100
5	Dispute resolution during the Market	12	8	135	90	3	2	150	100

The data on the importance of identity similarity across various aspects of market relations among intermediaries reveal varied perceptions influenced by practical considerations and the nature of the market. In livestock trading, 88.67% of intermediaries say it is not crucial, as they focus on the economic aspects of the trade. In comparison, 11.33% of intermediaries acknowledged that similarity in identities matters, likely due to shared backgrounds, and can help build trust and facilitate smoother negotiations in market transactions. In livestock healthcare services, only 1 individual (0.67%) responded that identity similarity is essential, while 98.33% indicated it does not matter. Health care is often viewed as a specialised, professional service where identity is less relevant than expertise. Similarly, in livestock transportation, 6.67% of respondents consider identity similarity necessary, likely for logistical reasons such as reliability and local knowledge, while 93.33% do not, suggesting that practical concerns, such as cost and efficiency, take precedence. Among farmers and traders who engage with one another, 14% believe that identity similarity plays a role because these relationships are built on trust and mutual understanding. However, 84.67% disagree, reflecting a more trade-focused mindset where financial terms are prioritised over social factors. Lastly, 8% of intermediaries feel that shared identities are significant for dispute resolution in the market, likely because they foster familiarity and ease in resolving conflicts. In comparison, 90% do not consider it necessary, indicating that, in disputes, practical solutions and legal agreements may often outweigh social identity. Overall, while economic and practical concerns dominate

many market interactions, there are still areas where shared social or cultural identities help build trust and ease communication.

4.14. Competition, Cooperation and Conflict

Traders in the market frequently emphasised social processes like competition, conflict, and accommodation, as these dynamics played an essential role in shaping relationships within the market. Intense competition was common, especially when multiple traders sought access to the same cattle or buyers. This competition sometimes led to conflicts, which were often resolved through accommodation, where traders adjusted their strategies to maintain relationships. For instance, traders might cooperate to share transportation costs or coordinate their cattle supply to meet market demands, especially when they face intense competition for limited resources. While competition remained a key feature of market interactions, these occasional collaborations illustrated the delicate balance traders needed to maintain between rivalry and cooperation.

In the market, various interactions occurred, particularly between sellers and buyers, sellers and transporters, and sellers and intermediaries. Each relationship was crucial to the market's smooth functioning. Sellers relied on buyers to make their sales, transporters to ensure the safe delivery of cattle, and intermediaries to facilitate the brokering of deals. These interactions were complex as traders navigated their roles as businesspeople and members of a larger social community. Over time, these relationships formed the backbone of the market, with established traders often collaborating to facilitate transactions and keep the market operating efficiently. Despite competition, traders clearly recognized the necessity of cooperation. Even when fierce competition was intense, as when traders bid for the same livestock or tried to secure buyers for their cattle, they often recognised the importance of working together to stabilise the market. This cooperation enabled them to address the challenges posed by competition and ensure their collective success. It was clear that while economic rivalry was a constant market feature, the need for collaboration and shared resources often outweighed the desire to outdo one another.

Regarding economic competition, it was observed that this primarily existed among traders themselves rather than being influenced by caste or community. While caste-based distinctions were still present in certain aspects of social life, competition in the cattle market was driven more by traders' ability to navigate market dynamics, such as pricing, livestock quality, and logistics, rather than by their caste affiliations. Community ties occasionally played a role in the trust and negotiations between traders. Still, economic competition was more about traders' business skills than about social or caste-based divisions. This underscored the importance of networking, resource management, and market knowledge in achieving success in the cattle trade.

Table 4.18: Possibility of Disputes over Transactions

S. No.	Disputes Occur over Transactions	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	218	72.67	160	80	86	57.33
2	No	82	27.33	36	18	64	42.67
3	Not Reported	0	0	4	2	0	0
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The data on the likelihood of disputes in transactions reveal that 72.67% of farmers, 80% of traders, and 57.33% of intermediaries reported that disputes occur in livestock transactions. This suggests that conflicts related to pricing, terms of sale, or other business practices are common in the market. In contrast, 27.33% of farmers, 18% of traders, and 42.67% of intermediaries indicated that disputes do not occur, perhaps due to clear agreements or established trust between the seller and buyer. Overall, the data shows that while disputes are frequent, the market environment has mechanisms to resolve or minimise them.

Table 4.19: Reasons for Disputes

S. No.	Reason	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Disregard of agreements	44	14.7	12	6	7	4.66
2	Cheating on livestock health	20	6.67	10	5	2	1.33
3	Interference of the intermediary	21	7	8	4	0	0
4	Bargaining issues	4	1.33	5	2.5	1	0.66
5	Impolite conversations	3	1	4	2	0	0
6	Disregard of agreements, cheating on livestock health	76	25.3	83	41.5	76	50.66
7	Disregard of agreements and Bargaining issues	37	12.3	16	8	0	0
8	Cheating on livestock health and Bargaining issues	9	3	13	6.5	0	0

9	Undue competition from others	5	1.67	9	4.5	0	0
10	Not Reported	81	27	40	20	64	42.66
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

According to the farmers, traders, and intermediaries listed in the above table, the reasons for disputes in livestock transactions are varied and often interconnected. The most common cause is a combination of disregard for agreements and cheating regarding livestock health, which accounts for 25.33% among farmers, 41.50% among traders, and 50.66% among intermediaries. This suggests that breaches of contract terms and dishonesty regarding livestock health are significant sources of conflict in the market. Additionally, 14.67% of farmers, 6% of traders, and 4.66% of intermediaries cited disregard of agreements as the reason for disputes. In comparison, 12.33% of farmers and 8% of traders pointed to the disregard of agreements and Bargaining issues. Other reasons include interference by intermediaries, with 7% for farmers and 4% for traders, indicating that third-party involvement can complicate transactions and bargaining issues. Specifically, disputes arise over pricing and terms, resulting in 1.33% for farmers, 2.5% for traders, and 0.66% for intermediaries. Impolite conversations, 1% for farmers and 2% for traders, were also contributing factors, suggesting that poor communication or disrespectful behaviour can escalate tensions.

Furthermore, some farmers, traders, and intermediaries reported multiple issues leading to disputes, such as cheating on livestock health and Bargaining issues, with 3% of farmers and 6.5% of traders affected. Undue competition from others includes 1.67% for farmers and 4.5% for traders. Overall, the findings suggest that livestock market disputes primarily stem from issues of trust, transparency, and communication, with breaches of agreements and health-related deceptions being the leading causes. This data shows the need for clearer contracts, better communication, and stricter livestock health monitoring to reduce the frequency of such disputes.

Table 4.20: Process of Dispute Resolution

S. No.	Procedure	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Through Intermediary	16	5.33	99	49.5	15	10
2	Mutual Talks, Understanding, Agreements, Compromise	44	14.67	49	24.5	22	14.65
3	Being True	1	0.33	7	3.5	0	0
4	Prompt	7	2.33	5	2.5	0	0

5	Honest	2	0.67	0	0	0	0
6	No Solution	0	0	0	0	1	0.67
7	Not Reported	230	76.67	40	20	112	74.67
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The dispute resolution process in livestock transactions is primarily handled through different methods, with 49.50% of traders, 5.33% of farmers, and 10% of intermediaries indicating that they rely on intermediaries to resolve conflicts. Intermediaries, who act as go-betweens, play a significant role in managing disputes, likely because of their established relationships and knowledge of market dynamics. Additionally, 14.67% of farmers, 24.50% of traders, and 14.65% of intermediaries reported using mutual talks, understanding, and agreements to settle disputes, emphasising the importance of direct communication and negotiation between the parties involved. A smaller portion, 3.50% of traders, mentioned that being genuine or honest is a key factor in resolving disputes, highlighting the role of trust and integrity during transactions. A few farmers (2.33%) and traders (2.50%) reported that disputes are resolved promptly, suggesting that swift action can help prevent disputes from escalating.

Table 4.21: Help-seeking in Dispute Resolution

S. No.	Category	Farmer		Trader		Trader	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Market participants	131	43.67	99	49.5	71	47.33
2	Community elders	48	16	11	5.5	2	1.33
3	Market functionaries	65	21.67	21	10.5	0	0
4	Market participants and Market functionaries	0	0	13	6.5	4	2.67
5	Market participants and Community elders	0	0	16	8	6	4
6	Not reported	56	18.67	40	20	62	41.33
7	No one comes to help	0	0	0	0	6	4
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

According to the table above, in seeking dispute resolution, the majority of farmers (43.67%), traders (49.50%), and intermediaries (47.33%) turn to market participants for assistance. This is likely because these individuals are familiar with market dynamics and may be trusted to resolve conflicts. Additionally, 21.67% of farmers and 10.50% of traders seek help from market functionaries, such as those overseeing market operations, indicating a reliance on formal authorities to address disputes. Others, 11% of farmers, 5.50% of traders, and 1.33% of intermediaries, approach community elders, who are likely respected figures known for their wisdom and role in resolving social issues. A combination of market participants and market functionaries was mentioned by 6.50% of traders and 2.67% of intermediaries. Meanwhile, 8.00% of traders and 4% of intermediaries indicated that they turn to market participants and community elders for support, emphasising the blend of formal and informal systems in dispute resolution. The data suggests that while market participants play the primary role in resolving conflicts, community elders and market functionaries also serve essential roles in helping them navigate disputes in the market.

Table 4.22: Influence of Socio-economic Status on Decision-Making During Resolution

S. No.	Socio-economic Status Influences the Decision	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	78	26	63	31.5	28	18.67
2	No	164	54.67	115	57.5	114	76
3	Not Reported	58	19.33	22	11	8	5.33
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The table shows varied perceptions among farmers, traders, and intermediaries regarding the influence of socio-economic status on decision-making during dispute resolution in livestock markets. The data showed that 26% of farmers, 31.50% of traders, and 18.67% of intermediaries reported that socio-economic status influences decision-making, suggesting that individuals with higher status or resources may have greater leverage in resolving conflicts. On the other hand, a larger portion, 54.67% of farmers, 57.50% of traders, and 76% of intermediaries, stated that socio-economic status does not influence decisions, possibly indicating that market dynamics and personal relationships play a more significant role in conflict resolution than socio-economic status. Overall, while socio-economic status does influence dispute resolution for a portion of them, it is not seen as a dominant factor by the majority.

4.15. Disputes and Resolution in the Market: A Tale of Belief and Conflict

One such incident of deception and superstition was noted in the Alamanda cattle market, leaving a farmer from Kothavalasa town distraught. The farmer had purchased a buffalo for ₹45,000, trusting the trader's assurances. However, the buffalo bore a hidden truth—a *chukka*,

a mark on its forehead long believed to bring misfortune. The trader had cleverly disguised it, using hair dye to conceal the mark and sealing the deal without suspicion. Pleased with his purchase, the farmer took the buffalo home, unaware of the storm brewing ahead. Within two days, calamity struck—two of his other cattle fell ill, and one died unexpectedly. Profoundly unsettled, he revisited the buffalo, inspecting it closely. That is when the truth unravelled. The disguised chukka stared back at him, and anger replaced his shock.

Determined to confront the injustice, the farmer sought out the trader, sparking a heated exchange. The market became abuzz with onlookers, and soon, the matter reached the community elders. They mediated the dispute, holding the trader accountable for his deceit. Reluctantly, the trader agreed to refund the full amount and take back the buffalo. However, the resolution offered little solace to the farmer. His loss extended beyond money; he mourned the death of his cow, convinced that the ill-fated buffalo had brought misfortune upon his home. "Bad luck entered with it," he muttered, reflecting a belief deeply embedded in the cultural psyche. This incident provides insight into the intersection of faith and commerce in rural markets, where age-old superstitions continue to hold sway. The narrative is not just about dishonesty; it serves as a poignant reminder of how deeply social beliefs influence decisions, trust, and disputes, transforming everyday transactions into tales of personal and communal significance.

4.16. Lankeswar Rao: Trust and Deception: One incident from his market experience as an intermediary

It was noted that Lankeswar Rao, an intermediary from Karrichinnaiah palem, used to work as an intermediary in different markets. He used to get many deals in the various markets. He would receive an amount ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per deal in the market, mainly from sellers, as sellers depend more on intermediaries than buyers do. When problems arose with his customers, he used to settle them. In one market transaction, Sreenu from Sitanagaram, Rajahmundry, bought two buffaloes with the help of Lankeswar Rao from Shekar, who is from Vizianagaram, in the Alamanda market at the prices of Rs. 85,000 and Rs. 65,000, as Shekhar said, buffaloes will give 4 litres of milk at a time twice a day. When Sreenu bought them, they gave only 2 litres in a day and went to motion more times a day. Sreenu took the issue to Lankeswar Rao, who told Sreenu to pay the remaining amount to Shekar, as Sreenu had not paid the whole amount during the transaction and still owed Rs. 7,000 to Shekar. He also assured Sreenu that he would find a good deal at a low price, with desirable qualities, next time.

Table 4.23: Personal Experience of Dispute

S. No.	Personally Experienced	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	4	1.33	5	2.50	2	1.33
2	No	241	80.33	173	86.50	146	97.33

3	Not Reported	55	18.33	22	11.00	2	1.33
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The data on personal experiences with disputes show that only a small percentage of farmers (1.33%), traders (2.5%), and intermediaries (1.33%) have encountered disputes in the livestock market. Most farmers (80.33%), traders (86.50%), and intermediaries (97.33%) reported that they have not personally experienced any disputes, indicating that conflicts may often involve other market participants or are resolved before affecting the individual trader. This suggests that, while disputes are common in the market, most avoid direct involvement in the conflicts.

Table 4.24: Experience of Dispute by Kin or Friend

S. No.	Kin or Friend Experienced	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	1	0.33	0	0.00	2	1.33
2	No	244	81.33	178	89.00	146	97.34
	Not Reported	55	18.33	22	11.00	2	1.33
	Total	300	100	200	100	150	100

The data from the above table on whether kin or friends of farmers, traders, or intermediaries have experienced disputes in the livestock market shows that kin or friends of 81.33% of farmers, 89% of traders, and 97.34% of intermediaries have not been involved in any disputes. Only 0.33% of farmers and 1.33% of intermediaries had experienced market disputes and were involved in them. This indicates that while disputes are present in the market, they do not directly affect most of their immediate social circles.

4.17. Kantakapalli Village – Effect of Industrialisation on Livestock Market

In Kantakapalli village, it was observed that there is little to no cattle rearing, a stark contrast to many neighbouring villages where livestock farming remains a primary livelihood activity. The shift away from cattle rearing in Kantakapalli can be primarily attributed to the presence of Sarda Metals and Alloys Ltd., located in the nearby APIIC Industrial Park. The industrial development in the region has created significant employment opportunities, leading many villagers to abandon traditional agricultural practices, such as cattle farming, in favour of factory-based jobs. This shift is closely tied to social and economic changes in the village. With the growth of the industrial sector, families began to prioritise stable, regular income from factory work over the seasonal, unpredictable income from livestock farming. As a result, the younger generation has shown less interest in continuing the traditional practice of cattle rearing, as they see more promise in the steady employment offered by the company. This transition reflects broader shifts in rural economies, where industrialisation and urbanisation increasingly compete with traditional agricultural livelihoods.

From a social perspective, the presence of a large employer like Sarda Metals and Alloys Ltd. has altered the village's social fabric. The influx of factory jobs has attracted workers from nearby regions, diversifying the community and contributing to a change in social dynamics. The rise in factory employment has increased the village's dependence on wage labour rather than self-sustaining agricultural practices. With fewer people involved in cattle farming, the social relationships that once revolved around livestock management—such as shared labour, animal care, and trade—have diminished. Additionally, the *Pasuvulamma* festival, traditionally associated with the well-being of livestock, is no longer celebrated in the village as most people have stopped cattle rearing. This marks a significant cultural shift, as the festival had previously been an important social and religious event in the community. This shift has also influenced the traditional social roles within families. In the past, cattle rearing involved collective efforts, with roles in animal care often divided among family members. However, these roles have been redefined as more individuals sought employment in the factory. For many, factory work offers a more predictable source of income, altering gender roles and family dynamics, as it is viewed as a stable means of supporting the household. While industrialisation has provided economic stability for many in Kantakapalli, it has also led to a decline in the skills and knowledge associated with cattle farming, which has been passed down through generations. Moving away from traditional agriculture also means the community's connection to the land and livestock has weakened, with some social traditions tied to cattle rearing fading over time. In essence, the growth of industries like Sarda Metals and Alloys Ltd. in Kantakapalli has reshaped the village's social and economic landscape, shifting the focus from agriculture and livestock to industrial employment, reflecting broader trends in rural economic transformation in India.

4.18. Livestock Practices and Social Dynamics

One of the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) was conducted in Mangalapalem village, attended by the Sarpanch, village elders, and women, which shed light on various social and cultural aspects of livestock management, particularly the challenges related to fodder, community support systems, and gender roles. The Sarpanch highlighted the role of an influential group in the village that has formed a *sangam* (association), comprising most of the village's traders. This Sangam collects contributions from villagers to organise social gatherings and festivals, strengthening community ties. Beyond festivities, the Sangam plays a crucial role in supporting poor and dairy farmers by providing financial aid during crises, such as the sudden death of livestock. This communal initiative underscores the village's interdependence and the collective approach to overcoming hardships.

Interestingly, it was observed that every household in Mangalapalem owns only buffaloes, not cows. When asked about this unique trend, the villagers shared a deeply rooted belief linked to their gotra (lineage). According to their traditional lore, rearing a cow invites death to a family member, a fear reinforced by past incidents. This superstition has become a guiding principle, shaping livestock choices in the village. The community's adherence to this belief highlights the profound influence of cultural and spiritual perceptions on everyday decisions.

The discussion also highlighted the gendered dynamics of livestock management. When women were asked whether they visited the Alamanda cattle market, they laughed, saying that

market visits were exclusively the domain of men. Many of the women said they had never visited the cattle market. While men handle the buying and selling of livestock, women play a pivotal role in their care and management. One woman remarked, "Whatever cattle our husbands bring home, it's our responsibility to take good care of them well so that they can be sold later at a higher price." This statement highlights the vital yet often unacknowledged role of women in enhancing livestock value through their meticulous care. Moreover, the women emphasised that livestock care is a shared responsibility between husbands and wives. They acknowledged that their husbands assist equally in feeding, cleaning, and tending to the cattle, fostering a sense of partnership within households. This cooperative approach not only strengthens family bonds but also contributes to the overall well-being of the livestock, resulting in improved productivity and economic returns. The insights gathered from the FGD reveal the intricate interplay of cultural beliefs, social structures, and gender roles in livestock-rearing practices. While traditional beliefs shape livestock choices and communal initiatives foster solidarity, the division of labour between men and women ensures the smooth functioning of this agrarian society. This narrative from Mangalapalem offers a glimpse into how communities respond to their distinct social environments as they navigate the challenges of rural life.

4.19. Konda Dora Tribe – Economic and Social Change

During the fieldwork at the Alamanda cattle market on weekly market day, it was observed that members of the Konda Dora tribe from Paderu, Visakhapatnam, frequently visited the market to buy and sell livestock. Historically, the Konda Dora people relied on forest-based activities, such as gathering forest products and shifting cultivation. However, after being displaced due to rehabilitation efforts, many community members transitioned to alternative livelihoods. One of the key changes in their economic practices was the transition to pepper cultivation, which became a significant source of income for many families. Alongside this, many Konda Dora individuals entered the dairy business, rearing cattle and selling milk as part of their diversified livelihood strategy. The decision to engage in dairy farming represented a significant shift in economic and social practices for the Konda Dora community. This transition was not merely financial but also a social adjustment. For many, the market had become a central point of interaction, where they could conduct business and forge new social ties. Buying and selling livestock at markets like Alamanda enabled them to connect with traders from other regions, expand their social networks, and gain exposure to new practices and information. As they interacted with traders and farmers from various communities, including those with more established agricultural and dairy practices, the Konda Dora tribe began adopting new methods of livestock care and dairy management.

This process also involved changes in social roles within the community. Traditionally, their economic activities were centred around forest resources, and cattle raising was not a significant part of their livelihood. With the shift to dairy farming, roles within the family and community began to change, with new responsibilities emerging for both men and women involved in cattle care and milk production. The market also served as a space for socialisation, where people from different tribal communities met and exchanged goods, cultural knowledge,

and practices. The Konda Dora's involvement in the livestock trade and dairy business marked a transformation in their social identity, as they adapted to a more market-oriented economy while maintaining their traditional cultural practices. The increase in livestock trading and dairy farming brought both opportunities and challenges. On one hand, it provided a stable source of income and helped the Konda Dora tribe establish economic independence after their displacement.

On the other hand, the tribe's entry into the broader market economy also exposed them to competition and market pressures unfamiliar to their previous way of life. Despite these challenges, their regular visits to markets like Alamanda demonstrated the tribe's resilience and adaptability. It also sheds light on how their participation in the market system facilitated social and economic changes, reshaping their community's structure and identity. Through these interactions and shifts in livelihood practices, the Konda Dora tribe forged new pathways to financial security and social integration, reflecting broader trends of adaptation and transformation in response to external pressures and opportunities.

4.20. Tragic Incident in Kirla Village Highlights Risks Associated with Livestock Rearing

In the village of Kirla, with a majority Scheduled Caste population and a few Koppula Velama and Brahmin families, a heartbreaking incident occurred two years ago, underscoring the unforeseen risks tied to livestock rearing. A twelve-year-old girl, deeply attached to her family's buffaloes, tragically lost her life while tending to them. The buffaloes were bathing and resting in a muddy pond near the village on the fateful day. The girl, who often helped her family care for the animals, tried to call them out of the pond. When they refused to move, she stepped into the mud, likely in an attempt to coax them out. Unaware of the dangers beneath the surface, she became trapped in the deep, sticky mud. No one saw the incident occur, and her disappearance went unnoticed until her lifeless body was discovered a day later. The grieving family later reflected on the tragedy, with her grandfather lamenting, "My granddaughter loved those buffaloes, and she would have never entered the pond if not for them." The incident shook the entire village, underscoring the hidden risks associated with livestock management. While buffaloes are invaluable to many rural households for livelihoods, their care often requires working in potentially hazardous environments, such as muddy ponds or water bodies. This tragic event stresses the need for awareness about such risks and the importance of implementing safety measures to prevent similar incidents. It also serves as a poignant reminder of the profound emotional bonds between families and their livestock, as well as the heavy toll such tragedies can take on rural communities.

4.21. Intervention of local politics in the implementation of government schemes

During our fieldwork, we observed the significant influence of local politics on the implementation of government schemes, which has created considerable challenges for the people in this region. In one of the villages we studied, there were two Visakha Dairy units—one established by the ruling party and the other by the opposition party. This political division

has created a complex, tense social dynamic that profoundly influences the livelihoods and relationships of the villagers. A clear pattern emerged where villagers were under immense social pressure to sell their milk to the dairy associated with the political party they supported. Supporters of the ruling party were expected to supply milk to its affiliated dairy, while supporters of the opposition faced similar expectations on their side. This alignment has fostered an environment of peer pressure and social scrutiny, where political affiliations significantly influence economic decisions.

The social consequences of this divide were evident in the strained relationships within the community. A palpable fear of losing close friends or family members over political differences was evident, as political loyalty became a source of tension. Individuals who sold milk to the opposition-affiliated dairy often faced backlash from local leaders of the ruling party, who would intervene to restrict their access to government schemes and benefits. This bias in implementing government programs created a sense of insecurity among villagers, particularly those aligned with the opposition. It was noted that villagers supporting the opposition party frequently faced exclusion from subsidies, loans, and other government assistance programs, which were selectively extended to supporters of the ruling party. This favouritism deepened divisions within the community, with people feeling compelled to conform to the ruling party's expectations to avoid losing access to crucial resources.

The politicisation of economic activities, such as dairy farming, had broader social implications. Many villagers hesitated to express their political views openly, fearing retaliation or social ostracism. The fear of being targeted or isolated by the ruling party leaders often forced individuals to prioritise political compliance over their personal or economic preferences. This created an atmosphere of mistrust in which political rivalries overshadowed the sense of unity traditionally found in rural communities. Our observations highlighted how these dynamics disrupted villagers' livelihoods and the community's social cohesion. The intertwining of politics with everyday economic activities created an environment in which political affiliations dictated access to opportunities and resources, thereby eroding the social foundation of mutual support and solidarity that is vital in rural life. This phenomenon highlighted the pressing need to depoliticise government schemes and foster an inclusive environment where community members can access resources equitably, free from political bias or social pressures.

One of the informants (48 years old) reported that, from Veerabhadrapuram, he lost his cattle shelter due to government policies and development. In contrast, the government planned to extend the highway. As a result, he sold all his cattle because there was no place to keep them. He and his family presented their problem to the collector's office, but did not receive a solution. However, he received only Rs. 30,000 in compensation for the loss of his cattle shelter. He also suggested that policies should be formulated with farmers' interests in mind, that subsidies be strengthened, and that loan facilities be increased, which will help them alleviate their economic burden.

Chapter 5

CULTURAL FACETS

The relationships between humans and domesticated animals are profound, and these relationships are maintained for various purposes. Humans and animals depend on each other to meet their needs, primarily in agricultural activities and food production. In this process, some animals are prioritized economically, socially, and culturally. This significance also highlights the demand for cattle rearing in human societies. The domestication of livestock progressed from one stage to another, and human societies first hunted and gathered, then began domesticating animals over the years. They also moved along with cattle as they moved to different places during migration. These cattle have served as family members and economic assets, providing food and meat. Apart from that, while domesticating cattle, human societies consider some cattle to be culturally and symbolically placed to represent sacredness.

A study by Marvin Harris (1966) noted that integrating cattle into agricultural practices highlights their significant role in religious beliefs and sacredness. Furthermore, he also stated that cows are treated as holy, a religious belief, and a part of social life. In addition, cattle are essential for agricultural activities such as plowing fields and providing dung, which is used as a biofertilizer and helps promote long-term agricultural sustainability. Furthermore, Evans-Pritchard (1940) also noted similar lines in his seminal ethnography on the Nuer's social, economic, and cultural life. In Nuer society, cattle are used for barter, transacted as bride-wealth, considered spiritual beings, and involved in religious rituals, reflecting their cultural and symbolic value. Reddy et al. (2012) provided an in-depth analysis of the livestock sector in Andhra Pradesh, focusing on its current status, potential growth, and marketing practices among rural farmers. In that study, the farmers' cultural practices, particularly their methods of bringing cattle to markets, the challenges farmers face in marketing during livestock transactions, and influential factors related to their socioeconomic conditions are discussed. Livestock markets serve as spaces where market participants engage in economic transactions and share socio-cultural dimensions to ensure their sustainability. The weekly livestock markets often serve as meeting points for various market participants, such as farmers, traders, intermediaries, and others, and provide them with an economic source. Further, this chapter seeks to highlight the cultural facets of these livestock markets, which serve as hallmarks of human-cattle interactions across social, economic, and cultural domains.

5.1. Market Transactions and Codes

The operational framework of rural livestock markets is deeply embedded in the traditional economic and social practices of *aruvu* (credit) and *Puchi* (trust), constituting the foundational principles governing market transactions. These concepts reflect the mutual understanding, faith, and interdependence that sustain market culture within rural societies. *Aruvu* denotes a credit system in which the buyer pays a portion of the agreed transaction amount upfront, with the balance deferred to a later, mutually agreed timeframe. This practice facilitates ongoing

commercial relationships, enabling sellers to liquidate their livestock while buyers secure their purchases without immediate full payment. *Aruvu* thus functions as a mechanism of economic reciprocity, maintaining fluidity in market exchanges and reinforcing social ties anchored in trust and obligation.

Puchi, by contrast, represents the bedrock of trust underlying the marketplace. Given the scarcity of formal contracts or written documentation in such traditional settings, transactions depend heavily on verbal agreements and the individuals' integrity. Intermediaries exert considerable influence by cultivating a reputation for honesty and reliability over time, thereby assuming responsibility for mediating and resolving any disputes that may arise after the transaction. This dimension of *Puchi* transcends financial trust in assurances, encompassing the quality and health of livestock and underscoring the critical role of reliability in sustaining economic and social relationships within the market ecosystem.

The traders noted that livestock businesses needed strategies and skills to execute transactions effectively. In the livestock trading business, '*tammudu tammudey, vyaparam vyapamey*' (brother is brother and business is business) indicates that business relations are confined to economic relationships, and that business norms treat everyone equally. In addition, the farmers have opined that the markets are in the *Maya prapancham* (illusory universe), indicating that businesses employ various strategies and uncertainties, like illusions, to conduct transactions. Further, the farmers opined that different participants come to the market to transact as per their requirements and then return home. Similarly, after their death, human beings go to *bhumi* (Mother Earth); they go to *swargam* (heaven).

One of the active traders reported that '*sommula vyapramu gajula vyaparam lantidi*' means the cattle business is like the bangle business. While making bangles, the bangle seller has to handle them with care every single time. Similarly, traders manage their transactions properly by understanding clients' perceptions to avoid loss. They will be in immense economic distress if anything happens to their business.

5.1.1. Livestock Transaction, Negotiation and Codes

Livestock markets are not solely spaces for economic exchange—they are deeply embedded cultural arenas where gestures, bodily codes, and unwritten norms guide transactions. Communication in these contexts transcends verbal language, relying heavily on mannerisms and non-verbal codes rooted in tradition, trust, and local knowledge systems. The following codes are used for making livestock transactions when the buyer and seller do not agree at some point during the transaction. In that case, the intermediaries try to complete the transaction using these words to complete the deal during the negotiation.

5.1.1.1. Code Language

The code language in livestock markets is an important part of culture. They help people do business smoothly while strengthening relationships. This code language helps people keep information private and work efficiently.

Table 5.1: Existence of Code Language in the Market Transactions

S. No.	Code Language Exists	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	118	39.33	42	21.00	46	30.67
2	No	182	60.67	157	78.50	102	68.00
3	Not Reported	0	0	1	0.50	2	1.33
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100

The table reveals that approximately 39.33% of the farmers, 21.00% of the traders, and approximately 30.67% of the intermediaries reported that they use specific code language during livestock transactions to make negotiations easier. In addition, the wrinkling of the eyes, touching the fingers, and conveying and symbolizing numbers through gestures are also observed. This act highlights the deep knowledge and experience that farmers, traders, and intermediaries developed over time.

During the negotiation process, the intermediary sometimes uses words such as *Kodi*, which means two, *Mancham*, which means four, and *Pandavulu*, which means five; these are code words that the farmers or the public do not understand. However, frequent market participants may be aware of these codes. Further, using these codes is a sign of mutual pre-understanding to earn profits and helps close the deal quickly. The intermediaries use the following significant codes during livestock transactions.

Table 5.2: Linguistic Terms with their Equivalent Monetary Values

S. No.	Linguistic Term	Equivalent Amount
1	Konga (Sikara)	100
2	Kodi	200
3	Parameshwara	300
4	Mancham	400
5	Pandavulu	500

6	Ekkam	1000
7	Yadha	2000
8	Dhal	3000
9	Ravva	4000
10	Kamasa	5000
11	Theesh	6000
12	Sava	7000
13	Quarter	8000
14	Kayal/Monasha	9000
15	Kattu	10000
16	Suthi	20000
17	Metu	30000
18	Jodu	40000
19	Limit	50000
20	Giri	60000
21	Savva	70000
22	Savva Sava	77000
23	Mainash	90000

The table of linguistic terms and their equivalent monetary values reveals how rural livestock markets operate through a culturally embedded communication system.

Each word refers to a particular amount during a transaction. Terms such as *Konga*, *Kodi*, *Mancham*, *Pandavulu*, *Ekkam*, *Yadha*, *Suthi*, *Metu*, *Giri*, *Savva*, and *Mainash* are more than substitutes for a number; they are localized linguistic markers that carry social, cultural, and economic significance. These terms make counting and trading easier for communities that may not always rely on formal numeracy or standardized currency denominations in their everyday dealings. For example, using *Ekkam* for 1000 or *Kattu* for 10,000 allows quick, clear verbal exchanges, especially in fast-paced environments like livestock markets and agricultural fairs.

The use of such coded language also fosters a sense of insider knowledge and trust among traders, farmers, and community members. It creates a closed communicative circle where

outsiders may find it difficult to immediately follow, thereby protecting local economic interactions from external exploitation.

The codes follow a generally ascending order corresponding to increasing sums of money, ranging from relatively small amounts (Rs. 100) to substantial sums (Rs. 90,000). This ordinal structure allows negotiators to succinctly reference a wide range of values.

Cultural and Linguistic Roots: Many terms, such as Parameshwara and Pandavulu, appear to be culturally resonant, likely drawn from local mythology, religious references, or regional idioms. This entails that these codes do not merely function as numeric aliases but also embed cultural symbolism, strengthening intra-group identity among market intermediaries.

Functional Implications: Employing such codes likely reduces the risk of outsiders snooping, maintaining competitive advantages for intermediaries and experienced traders. The practice embodies a form of bondage that consolidates trust and cohesion among frequent participants while preserving the market’s informal, trust-based nature.

Social Differentiation: Since casual or new entrants do not widely comprehend these terms, the codes act as social markers, reinforcing the distinction between insiders (experienced traders and intermediaries) and outsiders (farmers or infrequent buyers). Thus, knowing these codes confers economic and social capital by enabling smoother negotiation.

Negotiation Efficiency: Using these codes expedites price bargaining by providing a quick, tacit way to express values and make concessions during negotiations. This is particularly beneficial in often crowded or noisy market environments where verbal precision may be compromised.

This exemplifies how cultural, linguistic, and social elements are intricately woven into economic transactions. These codes facilitate practical negotiation processes and reinforce the social structures and trust relations that are fundamental to the functioning of traditional rural markets.

5.1.1.2. Physical Codes - Mannerisms during Transactions

People use various body language and gestures to communicate, a natural phenomenon in livestock markets.

Table 5.3: Existence of Mannerism in the Market Transactions

S. No.	Mannerism Exists	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	128	42.67	41	20.5	85	56.67
2	No	172	57.33	158	79	65	43.33

3	Not Reported	0	0	1	0.5	0	0
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100

The table reveals that approximately 42.67% of farmers, 56.67% of intermediates, and 20.50% of traders reported that they communicate with specific mannerisms through postures, hand gestures, and voice modulation during negotiation in livestock transactions because it is a cultural practice. Non-literal language makes the transaction easier, given the time and effort required for negotiation.

These physical codes serve as a culturally embedded mechanism to facilitate trust, conceal strategies, and accelerate bargaining. For farmers, gestures often reflect sincerity and intent, while intermediaries, who act as cultural brokers, rely heavily on these codes to bridge communication between buyers and sellers. Traders, though more formalized, still employ subtle cues to signal acceptance, hesitation, or disinterest.

Understanding these practices can be seen as part of the "silent language of exchange," transcending verbal communication and reflecting a shared cultural repository. In many rural livestock markets, negotiations are economic transactions and social interactions embedded in trust, reputation, and reciprocity. Using gestures ensures confidentiality in crowded market spaces, where multiple buyers may compete. Moreover, such mannerisms constitute what anthropologists call "cultural codes of conduct", ritualized practices learned and reproduced across generations, making the market a place of trade and cultural performance. These embodied gestures represent tacit knowledge understood only by insiders, thereby reinforcing group identity while regulating the pace and fairness of the exchange process.

5.2. Ethics, Morals, and Social Norms

A market is a lively place where people buy and sell goods, and both sides try to reach a fair deal. Good behaviour and honesty are important for maintaining fair and transparent trading. However, even in markets that try to follow these rules, cheating and unfair practices can still occur. Some sellers may hide facts, give false details, or change prices to take advantage of buyers. The farmer generally does not prefer to sell cattle within the village because it can disrupt their relationships and reputation there. Farmers do not give old cattle to slaughter because it is considered a sin.

In the past, the agricultural usage of buffaloes was high, and their value was also high. Now the draught usage of buffaloes has decreased, and the milch usage value is high due to the developments in artificial insemination. Farmers need female cows/buffaloes for milk, and their value is increasing. Farmers believe that buffaloes or oxen used to do hard work on par with farmers in agricultural fields. Cows and Oxen are treated as family members and symbols of auspiciousness and divinity in the house. When the cows die, relatives attend their funerals because they are considered family. Farmers prefer to sell cattle to other farmers rather than to traders who will slaughter them. One of the farmers said that *matey nammakam*, which means words are trust, implying words are more valuable than paper agreements, and *mata viluva*,

manishi viluva, which means the value of what one talks is the value of that person, implying a person's words decide his or her value.

5.2.1. Deception

In livestock markets, the presentation and appearance of animals play a significant role in determining their market value. Anthropological insights reveal that cosmetic alterations and concealment practices sometimes occur to navigate cultural stigmas and maximize salability. One example involves cattle with white markings on the forehead, which are considered inauspicious in many rural communities. This belief affects their marketability, prompting some sellers to use *kajal* (a black cosmetic substance) to obscure the white markings before taking the animal to market. This practice reflects a subtle form of deception that navigates the boundary between cultural aesthetics, market logic, and ethical ambiguity.

Table 5.4: Artificial Enhancement of the Quality of the Livestock

S. No.	Artificial Measures are Right	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	1	0.33	3	1.5	3	2
2	No	298	99.33	196	98	147	98
3	Not Reported	1	0.33	1	0.5	0	0
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100

The table reveals that approximately 99.33% of the farmers and approximately 98% of the traders and intermediaries opined that they do not use medicines or special kinds of feed to increase the quality of livestock (milk production, body size) because they have side effects on the health of livestock and decrease the immunity of livestock. Improving livestock quality via artificial methods involves economic goals and ethical concerns in the study area. Farmers, traders, and intermediaries mostly avoid such methods because they trust natural ways to keep their animals healthy and strong. Their refusal to use artificial methods reflects a strong belief in natural growth and sustainability, and in traditional practices passed down through generations.

Table 5.5: Hiding or Lying about the Information Related to the Animal

S. No.	Hiding and Lying are Right	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	12	4	1	0.5	2	1.33
2	No	288	96	198	99	148	98.67

3	Not Reported	0	0	1	0.5	0	0
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100

The table reveals that 96% of the farmers, 99% of the traders, and 98.67% of the intermediaries stated that they do not hide information and that the practice of hiding information about the animal is considered a sin and creates disturbances in their personal lives. They believe that hiding such a parameter will lead to self-destruction.

Table 5.6: Experience of Hiding or Lying

S. No.	Hid or lied	Farmer		Trader	
		N	%	N	%
1	Yes	1	0.33	1	0.5
2	No	298	99.34	198	99
3	Not Reported	1	0.33	1	0.5
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00

The table shows that 99.34% of the farmers and 99% of the traders reported not having experience hiding or lying about information about the animal.

5.2.2. Rules and Norms

Beyond physical and symbolic communication, livestock markets operate within an unwritten framework of rules and social norms. While formal rules may exist, oral agreements and customary practices hold equal, if not greater, weight in rural economies. These unwritten norms play a central role in sustaining trust, fairness, and reputational integrity among market actors.

Deals are often sealed with verbal commitments rather than written contracts, a practice that underscores the value placed on honour, reliability, and social accountability. This reflects the concept of a moral economy, where economic transactions are embedded in relationships of reciprocity and shared values.

In this context, market practices are governed by profit motives and social ethics. For example, farmers often avoid exploitative or deceptive behaviours not out of fear of legal consequences, but because of the potential social fallout, such as damaged relationships or loss of community standing.

Table 5.7: Unwritten Rules

S. No.	Unwritten Rules Exist	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	18	6.00	2	1.00	2	1.33
2	No	263	87.67	197	98.50	146	97.33
3	Not Reported	19	6.33	1	0.50	2	1.33
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00

The table reveals that approximately 87.67% of the farmers, 98.50% of the traders, and 97.33% of the intermediaries reported that unwritten rules exist. The information reveals that traditional norms are mostly oral and are not written as rules; rather, they are committed to memory without fail. It is very clear that in rural cultures, unwritten rules are intertwined with oral promises, trust, reputation, and mutual understanding between the buyer and seller.

Table 5.8: Necessity of Conditions - Farmers

S. No.	Necessary Condition	Yes		No		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	A trial period for the livestock before final deal is sealed	93	31.00	166	55.33	41	13.67	300	100.00
2	Refund of sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the deal	184	61.33	75	25.00	41	13.67	300	100.00
3	Provision for payment in instalments, depending on the buyer's economic condition	95	31.67	164	54.67	41	13.67	300	100.00
4	Cancellation of deal even after advance payment	53	17.67	206	68.67	41	13.67	300	100.00

The table presents insights into attitudes and opinions about the conditions of livestock transactions. The majority of the respondents, i.e., 61.33% of the farmers, reported that there should be a refund of the sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the deal, and 31.67% of the farmers reported that the provision for payment in instalments,

depending on the buyer’s economic condition, should be available. They also reported that the trial period for livestock before the final deal is sealed helps provide high-quality livestock and improves trustworthiness in market transactions. Further, cancellation of the deal even after an advance payment (17.67%) helps build trust in the transaction, which strongly indicates its transparency.

Table 5.9: Necessity of Conditions - Traders

S. No.	Necessary Condition	Yes		No		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	A trial period for the livestock before final deal is sealed	100	50.00	98	49.00	2	1.00	200	100.00
2	Refund of sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the deal	98	49.00	100	50.00	2	1.00	200	100.00
3	Provision for payment in instalments, depending on the buyer’s economic condition	69	34.50	129	64.50	2	1.00	200	100.00
4	Cancellation of deal even after advance payment	22	11.00	176	88.00	2	1.00	200	100.00

The table presents insights into attitudes and opinions about the conditions of livestock transactions. Nearly half of the respondents, i.e., 50% of the traders, reported that there should be a trial period for livestock before the final deal is sealed; 49% of the traders reported that the sale amount should be refunded if the information provided proves to be wrong after the completion of the deal. They reported that refund conditions help ensures the quality of livestock and improve trustworthiness in market transactions. Furthermore, the provision for payment in instalments, depending on the buyer’s economic condition (34.50%), and the option to cancel the deal even after the advance payment (11%) help build trust in transactions; they strongly indicate transparency.

Table 5.10: Necessity of Conditions - Intermediary

S. No.	Necessary Condition	Yes		No		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	A trial period for the livestock before final deal is sealed.	18	12.00	132	88.00	150	100.00
2	Refund of sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the completion of the deal.	55	36.67	95	63.33	150	100.00
3	Provision for payment in instalments, depending on the economic condition of the buyer.	8	5.33	142	94.67	150	100.00
4	Cancellation of deal even after advance payment.	1	0.67	149	99.33	150	100.00

The table presents insights into attitudes and opinions about the conditions of livestock transactions. Nearly half of the respondents, i.e., 45.33% of the intermediaries, reported that there should be no conditions regarding livestock transactions, and 36.67% reported that the sale amount should be refunded if the information provided proves to be incorrect after the deal is completed. They reported that refund conditions help ensure the quality of livestock and improve trustworthiness in market transactions. Furthermore, the trial period for livestock before the final deal is sealed helps build trust in the transaction, which strongly indicates its transparency. Furthermore, conditions such as instalment payments (5.33%), decreased financial burdens, and cancellation of deals even after an advance payment help (0.67%) give them another chance to obtain better livestock.

Table 5.11: Engaging with Multiple Sellers or Buyers

S. No.	Parallel Deals are Right	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	61	20.30	10	5.00	9	6.00
2	No	239	79.70	189	95.00	141	94.00
3	Not Reported	0	0	1	0.50	0	0
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00

The table reveals that approximately 20.30% of the farmers, 6% of the intermediators, and 5% of the traders opined that engaging with multiple sellers/buyers at a time is good because it

enables them to obtain higher profits. However, it is considered a violation of market rules. This situation highlights the conflict between practically making money and the traditional values of fairness.

Table 5.12: Verification of the Information Provided

S. No.	Cross Checking is Right	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	189	63.00	119	59.50	44	29.33
2	No	111	37.00	80	40.00	102	68.00
3	Not Reported	0	0	1	0.50	4	2.67
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00

The table reveals that approximately 63.00% of the farmers, 29.33% of the intermediaries, and 59.50% of the traders reported that during livestock transactions, the transaction will be finalized upon verification of the seller/buyer's information. Cross-checking information in the livestock trade shows how trust and mutual support connect people in the market. This practice is part of a larger culture that values honesty, reputation, and social responsibility in business.

Table 5.13: Verbal Assurance and Token System

S. No.	Verbal Assurance is Enough	Farmer		Intermediary		Trader	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	199	66.33	81	54.00	74	37.00
2	No	100	33.33	49	32.67	124	62.00
3	Not Reported	1	0.33	20	13.33	2	1.00
Total		300	100.00	150	100.00	200	100.00

The table reveals that for approximately 66.33% of the farmers, 54% of the intermediators, and 37% of the traders, livestock transactions are finalized based on verbal assurances from the seller or buyer/buyer with a token amount. Using a token amount is the initiation step in the cattle sale, and this act carries cultural symbolism. These acts illustrate the role of trust in human relationships, bonds, etc.

5.3. Cultural and Religious Significance of Cattle

In rural agrarian contexts, farmers keep their cattle in designated shelters known as *shalalu*, which provide essential protection and care. These sheds are typically located near agricultural fields (*kallalu*) or farmers' residences, facilitating convenient management and minimizing the spread of contagious diseases among livestock. Once the cattle reach maturity, farmers bring them to weekly markets or village trading centers to buy and sell. Market participants exhibit distinct socio-cultural dress codes and behavioural patterns that signify their roles within the livestock economy. Farmers commonly attend markets in casual attire such as T-shirts, dhotis, or *lungis*, reflecting their status as primary producers. In contrast, traders and intermediaries adopt more recognizable clothing styles - classic shirts paired with *lungis* or trousers - that distinguish them as professional agents within the market network. Intermediaries play a critical role by actively engaging with both buyers and sellers, exhibiting a high degree of sociability and attentiveness to market dynamics. The intermediary's expertise centers on rapidly identifying potential buyers and sellers to facilitate optimal transaction outcomes. Their negotiation strategy involves a detailed physical inspection of the livestock to assess health, detect defects or illnesses, and evaluate overall quality. Such thorough evaluations are instrumental in informing price negotiations, enabling buyers to justify their offers while sellers simultaneously highlight the animal's strengths.

The buyer and seller pay the intermediary a fee of Rs. 200 - Rs. 500 (depending on the total amount of livestock transacted) for rendering services to conclude the livestock transaction. Once a deal is done, the intermediary finds another party and makes some deals until the market time ends. Getting many deals with intermediaries is based on their reputation for expertise and knowledge of cattle assessment, as well as quick deals with expected prices for the seller's and the buyer's desired livestock. It is also believed that faith and trust enhance the reputation of the intermediary and trader through effective communication and economic strategies that lead to the successful conclusion of the transaction.

Once the buyer's consent is obtained, the intermediary or the buyer keeps ten rupees with the seller to reserve the cattle until the transaction is completed. It is believed that the amount they are keeping in the seller's hands indicates that the goddess Laxmi was given to them so they would not allow others to intervene in the transaction. This practice indicates that participants stick to a single transaction, treat it as sacred, and uphold ethical and moral values. Further, the intermediaries noted that keeping a token amount in the seller's hands also helps avoid economic conflicts in livestock transactions and reduces the need for multiple intermediaries. Livestock transactions typically unfold as negotiated exchanges between two parties: sellers and buyers. Seller employs persuasive communication strategies by highlighting the cattle's positive attributes, such as robust health, breed quality, fertility history, and milk production potential. The buyer identifies defects in the cattle, thereby reducing the purchase price. The seller praises the cattle, saying they are *andagatte* and popular in this area for their beauty. Meanwhile, the buyers identify the defects in the cattle to justify a price reduction, which is a counter-persuasion.

5.3.1. Nukambika Temple and Divinity at Alamanda Livestock Market

In the market, Sri Sri Nukambika Ammavari Temple is locally called *Sri Nukalamma Ammavari Gudi*, the deity manifests divine feminine energy or Shakti. The informants revealed that the temple's origin dates back approximately 150 years and was built by Kakarlapudi Bangarraju, a member of the Rajulu (Kshatriya) caste, with the support of the villagers of Alamanda. They consider her the family goddess (*Ilavelupu*), initially known as Kakatambika, later known as Nukambika or Nukalamma. Villagers celebrate a festival during the holy period between Palguna Bahula Amavasya (the new moon day) and the new moon of April before Ugadi. The festival announcement is made at least 10 days before this period. During the festival, the organizers visit each household and collect donations in any form, such as rice or money, to celebrate the festival called *Jogi Dandukonuta*. During the festival, the *ghatalu* (the idols of the gods) are worshipped, and rituals are performed to honour ancestral spirits. The first day is celebrated as *Tholiroju Sambaram*. The idols are brought to the temple (*Ammavari ghatalu dinchuta*). The devotees stay awake all night and perform *jagaram*, watching and taking blessings from the deepam (sacred lamp), which remains lit throughout the night and day. They also organize programmes like *burrakatha* (traditional storytelling performance). The market owner sacrifices the sheep at the temple, followed by other offerings. During this time, villagers also perform pujas (rituals) and sacred ceremonies. The villagers also fulfil their vows (*mokkulu*) during the festival and perform rituals in the name of the goddess Nukalammathalli. The temple plays a significant role as a cultural and spiritual place for villagers, and it is believed that the goddess protects humans and cattle from evil spirits and gives them well-being (*sommulu*).

During the festival, the community members also pay homage to the local goddesses, Perantallu. In Telugu, *Perantalu* refers to the ancestral mother goddess. Village deities are related to regional folk traditions. The *perantallu* are females who lived once in that particular area. These deities are believed to be protectors of villages and are associated with the fertility, health, and well-being of human beings and cattle. Each village pays homage to these *perantallu*, which take the form of stone icons or terracotta figures, placed under sacred trees or in small shrines. The rituals and festivals dedicated to these deities are marked by community participation, with offerings such as animal sacrifices, turmeric, vermilion, and flowers being made to seek blessings from the village deities. The worship of *perantallu* marks respect for women and embodies profound acquaintances with nature, land, and spirituality.

5.3.2. Narratives and Significance of Cow

One of the elderly informants revealed that in Hindu mythology, *Kamadhenu* is considered the mother of cattle beings, and *that Kamadhenu* emerged from where the gods and demons churned the milky ocean to obtain 'Amrita' (nectar of immortality), which was gifted to Sage Vashista. At this juncture, the cow is given to humans as a gift to promote well-being. Furthermore, the cow is considered a bridge between the human and the supernatural, and is generally used in ritual ceremonies and during auspicious times. Lord Krishna is known as Gopala (Protector of Cows), symbolizing the divine bond among humans, nature, and cows.

Lord Krishna lifted Govardhana Hill to save cows from evil spirits, highlighting its spiritual significance. It is also observed that some villagers have photo frames depicting cows alongside other gods and goddesses, which are believed to protect them from evil eyes and bring prosperity to their households. Some informants also reported that they used to see the god and goddess with the cow in the photo frame in their houses when they woke up early in the morning. They believe this practice brings fortune and avoids unfortunate events on that day. After waking up, they visit their cow, touch its hump, and offer *namaskaram* (a respectful salutation), indicating that they are offering *namaskaram* to goddess Lakshmi. It is believed that the goddess Lakshmi resides in the cow, and that homage to the cow directly indicates homage and *namaskaram* to the goddess Lakshmi through it.

One of the older men (70) revealed that one could identify the truth or falsehood based on the Cow's movement of tail and head. If the Cow moves its tail, it indicates that it is true, and if it moves its head, it is false. The older man elaborately narrated that in the Ramayana, Lord Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana, when they were in exile in the forest, learned of the death of King Dasaratha. After that, they needed to perform death rituals for him. It was impossible to attend the death ritual, so they made offerings to him in the forest on auspicious days. Rama and Lakshmana brought ritual items from the forest to perform the ritual. Sita was worried about the auspicious date and time and decided to perform the death ritual at their residence. Therefore, to fulfil her duty as a devoted daughter-in-law, Sita decided to perform the ritual on her husband's behalf. Sita gathered the available items, began the ritual, and offered their ancestors pindadanam (offering rice balls). Four members (Falgu River, Ketakibush, Agni, and Cow) also presented along with others and completed the death rituals at an auspicious time. However, Rama and Lakshmana could not join the ritual and came later to their residence. After reaching the residence, Rama asked Sita whether death rituals were performed or not. Then Sita said, Yes, it was done, and he could confirm with the four members. While taking confirmation from the four members, except Cow, all three said no. However, Cow said no with its head and yes with its tail, where Rama identified the movement of Cow's tail, indicating that the ritual was done successfully at their residing place.

5.3.3. Aranalu (Gift Given to Married Daughters from Parents) and its Cultural Significance

Aranalu is a traditional way of giving gifts, including livestock, by parents to their daughters after the completion of marriage. It is a cultural practice that symbolizes care, blessings, and financial support to ensure well-being and prosperity in married life. These cattle serve as a source of milk, income, and living property for the daughter in her new home. This custom reflects the importance of livestock in rural life and the strong bond between parents and their daughters. The following case study shows how *Aranalu* plays a significant role in their socio-cultural and economic perspective.

Rammurthy, a farmer from one of the villages, received a cow as an arnam in 2000 and named it Lakshmi, which he received from his mother-in-law. After a year, the cow gave birth to a female calf named Parvathi. The cow Parvathi plays a significant role in the lives of the farmer's family; Parvathi has given birth to 11 cattle, i.e., seven females and four males. Rammurthy narrated that all the cattle greatly supported him in his household, providing economic support and enhancing the household economy. The Rammurthy does not have

children, and he adopted a son from his elder brother. Rammurthy also gave a cow to his elder brother on account of his adopted son. This narrative context strongly emphasizes and reflects the role of the cow, which is considered one of the family members who can support the entire family like a son.

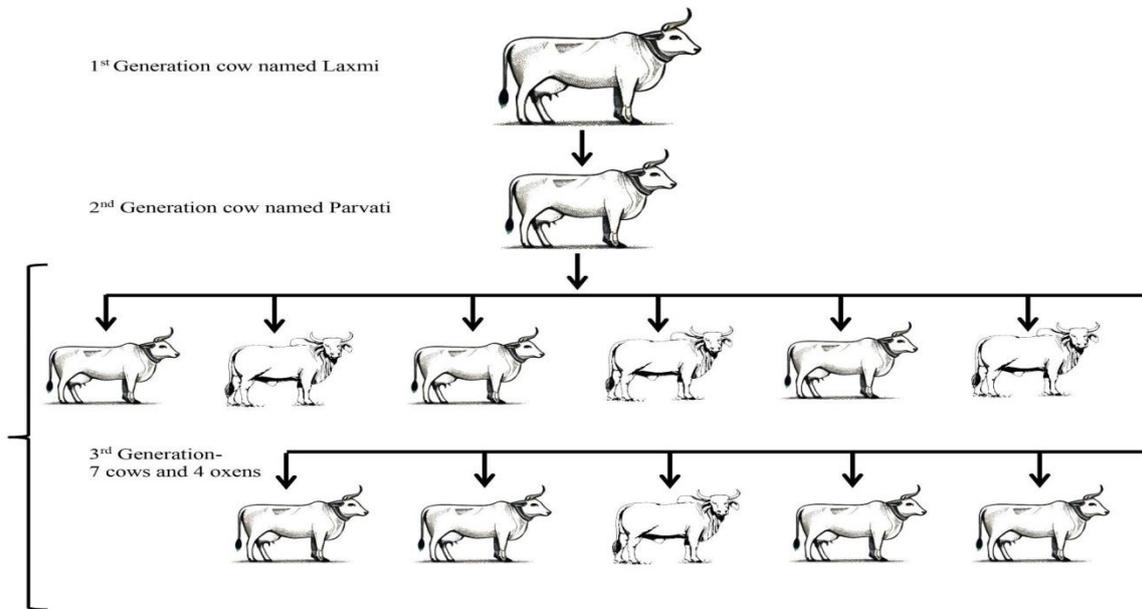


Figure 5.1: Multiplication of Cows that Women’s Parents Gift

5.3.4. Cultural and Social Significance of Cow

5.3.4.1. Kasi Govulu

Kasi Govulu (Cows) represents a sacred and culturally significant group of livestock species deeply connected to traditional beliefs and practices. These livestock breeds include Natu, Giri, Red Sindhura, and Ongole. Kasi Govulu is believed to possess extraordinary physical features, such as extra limbs. It is believed that the divine blessing causes this abnormality. The name “Kasi Govulu” signifies a connection to Kasi (Varanasi), a prominent spiritual center in India, and, in the field, such abnormal cattle are more often seen in Kasi or put in the city of Kasi (Varanasi). The Kasi Gouvulu are more than cattle; they are considered living embodiments of cultural heritage and spiritual belief. Kasi Govu is often carried in open vehicles to bless people wherever they travel; in return, people offer.

5.3.4.2. Thamudu peddu (Sacred Bull)

Thamudupeddu is a sacred ox with a hump, which is born on the festival days of Sankranti and Bhogi. During delivery, the cow initially produces blood instead of milk; later, white milk is gradually produced. As the *tamudu peddu* grows, its hump also increases enormously. *Tamudupeddu* is dedicated to the lord “*Simhadri Appana*”, the principal deity in Simhachalam. Culturally, associating the ox with Simhadri Appana underscores its vital role in agricultural

life. Sri Varaha Lakshmi Narasimha temple in Simhachalam is a sacred complex near the study area. The temple has a goshala where people donate cows or calves.

Thamudu Peddu is given a permanent stamp on its back using burning iron rods in the shape of religious symbols. These symbols differentiate the cattle from others. During festivals, the Yadava community members engage as *Dasulu*, oral folk singers. *Dasulu* highlights the rich cultural heritage of this region. The group led by *Dasulu* and others organizes to perform the act known as *Garidilu*. The majestic bull is taken near temples or streets. He performs an act called '*Garidi Seva*' at festivals such as Sankranti and Maha Sivaratri, where folk artists sing along to the music, and a few people handle the ox during the act. Two or three people carry sticks with burning tips and dance systematically to appease the gods and goddesses. *Donors near the temple location in the villages give Thamudupeddu food. Thamudupeddu* is tied and fed during festivals and is considered sacred. Later, it is free to move around the villages without restrictions, unlike the other cattle. Traditionally, *Thamudupeddu* is a practice that facilitates cow reproduction.

5.3.5. *Pasualamma/Pasaramma* as cattle festival

The etymological meaning of *Pasara* is *greenery*, as the goddess provides green plants and grass. Hence, it is called *Pasaramma*. The festival is also called *Pasuvulamma Pandaga / Pasaramma Pandaga / Sommula Panduga*. The village elders decide the festival date, generally between the seventh and tenth months before harvesting, by looking into the Telugu calendar, which is celebrated yearly. Initially, an announcement is made in the village by a member of the Scheduled Caste (Barika) using a drum (*dappu*). The festival is generally celebrated in Uttara Karthi, on the first Sunday. A proverb in Telugu says, "*uttarachusi, ettaragampa*," which means that after the arrival of Uttara Karthi, you should start the agricultural activity. The villagers contribute Rs. 10 per cattle (locally, they call it per the tail), and the village elders determine the price. The Barika collects rice from each house in *Ujjidibandi*. On the actual day of celebration, an announcement is made again to bring the cattle near the shrine (a neem tree). This place has been maintained for many generations.

The shrine and houses were decorated with flowers and rangoli that day. The idols are prepared with wood by Sharabulu (carpenters). The villagers go to the shrine and offer puja with vermilion and turmeric. The deity is given a pooja called *Ammathalliki Pasupu Kommu* in the morning. *Ghatalu* are brought. Caste communities such as Chakali and Mangali also play a key role in celebrations. A small piglet of about 15 kg is taken around the village boundaries (one round) and sacrificed to the goddess. The person who belongs to the Scheduled Caste cuts the neck, collects the blood in a bowl, and then mixes it with rice. The rice with piglet blood is sprinkled over the cattle and brought near the shrine by the villagers. Within the house, they prepare food items and clean the house premises. Everyone takes a bath and goes to the temple. On that day, they keep the cattle clean, especially cows, buffalo, and oxen, because they help in agricultural activities. The farmers decorate their cattle with vermilion and turmeric, symbolizing them as gods and offering special food such as sweet dishes. The goddess is believed to protect the cattle from the evil eye in the villages. During the festival, the villagers move around the temple with sticks, making it look vibrant.

One of the farmers (34), who belongs to the Telaga caste, narrated that his cow died after giving birth to a calf due to a respiratory problem. After the cow's death, he cried for more than ten minutes, and he went through trauma that his cow was no more. The cow's dead body was buried near the burial ground of the human graveyard. The cattle owner and neighbours with available manpower dug a deep hole. The dead body was carried on the pandal by them, and at least 10 members were required to carry on both sides of the pandal. The dead body was kept in such a way that the head was towards the south, and the legs were towards the east in the deep hole. Initially, the deep hole was filled with coarse salt weighing about 5–6 kg, and the cattle's dead body and paddy grains were placed inside, then covered with coarse salt weighing about 5–8 kg. He said that his family members got a livelihood from the cow, across generations, and it helped them improve their household economy. The cow's death was considered the death of their family member, and they also honoured the cow and distributed food to their street members. Later, after the cow's cremation, they planted Tulasi and Hibiscus, and now they see her growth in these plants.

Table 5.14: Existence of Local Deity for Livestock

S. No.	Local Deity for Livestock Exists	Farmer		Trader	
		N	%	N	%
1	Yes	182	60.67	156	78.00
2	No	118	39.33	44	22.00
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00

The farmers and traders believe that human societies have belief systems that are responsible for good and evil, causing fortunes and misfortunes in the living world. Notably, the existence of local deities promotes the proper functioning of societies. They noted that local deities are also worshipped for the well-being of cattle. More than 50% of the farmers (60.67%) and traders (78.00%) reported that a local deity exists for the well-being of cattle. Community members believe that *Pasuvamma* is a local deity who protects cattle from evil spirits. Community members celebrate the *Pasuvamma pandaga* every year between September and October.

5.3.6. Auspiciousness and Livestock Transactions

The auspiciousness of months and days affects livestock transactions among market participants. Based on the months and days, participants have opinions on the cattle's sustenance and well-being. However, some do not strictly follow these rules for livestock transactions and believe they are restricted to economic purposes.

Table 5.15: Auspiciousness of Certain Months

S. No.	Certain Months are Auspicious	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	49	16.33	15	7.50	20	13.33

2	No	251	83.67	185	92.50	130	86.67
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00	150	100.00

The data shows that less than 20% reported transacting livestock during auspicious months. However, they also noted that livestock transactions are made mainly on a particular day rather than a particular month. However, specific months, particularly January-March, have cultural and practical significance for farmers, traders, and intermediaries in the buying and selling of livestock. Demand for cattle, particularly in the first three months of the year, is high, especially during festivals such as Makara Sankranti, a harvest festival. Buying livestock during these months helps the cattle to adjust to fields with available grass and produce milk during summer (May-July). It is also reported that farmers (16.33%), intermediaries (13.33%), and traders (7.50%) consider this period auspicious due to their cultural beliefs. This belief system is expressed through rituals and festivals such as *Pasuvulamma pandaga*.

Table 5.16: Auspiciousness of Certain Days

S. No.	Certain Days are Auspicious	Farmer		Trader		Intermediary	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Yes	253	84.33	12	6.00	25	16.67
2	No	40	13.33	188	94.00	125	83.33
3	Not Reported	7	2.33	0	0	0	0
Total		300	100	200	100	150	100

The data reflect the cultural significance of specific days, such as Monday, Thursday, Friday, and full moon days, as auspicious for buying livestock. Farmers (84.33%) strongly believe these days bring prosperity and ensure the good health of livestock. Traders (6%) and intermediaries (16.67%) also acknowledge these beliefs, although to a lesser extent. The other days, such as Tuesday, Saturday, and new moon days, are considered inauspicious and are believed to cause health problems or loss of cattle. This cultural belief highlights respect for livestock and its health.

5.3.7. Observance of Rituals and Livestock Transaction

In the study area, cattle are considered a part of their family. They believe that caring for livestock's well-being is a custom passed through their forefathers. It is observed that performing puja to livestock is considered auspicious.

Table 5.17: Observance of Rituals when the Purchased Livestock is Brought Home

S. No.	Certain Days are Auspicious	Farmer		Trader	
		N	%	N	%
1	Yes	166	55.33	22	11.00
2	No	134	44.67	178	89.00
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00

The data reveal that 55.33% of farmers and 11% of traders observe rituals when purchasing and bringing livestock home. They perform puja on the first day after the cattle arrive. Furthermore, they cook a sweet dish at home on this occasion. They celebrate by offering the cattle jaggery and other sweet dishes, which symbolize and ensure their well-being. However, traders follow these rituals less because they focus more on business.

In the Alamanda market, buying, selling, or exchanging livestock involves cultural beliefs and practices.

Table 5.18: Observance of Rituals during Economic Transactions of Livestock

S. No.	Rituals are Observed while Selling or Exchanging Cattle	Farmer		Trader	
		N	%	N	%
1	Yes	7	2.33	2	1.00
2	No	293	97.67	198	99.00
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00

About 2.33% of the farmers and 1.00% of the traders reported performing rituals while selling or exchanging livestock. There is a concept of *thurupu tirigi dandam pettadam* (turning towards east and doing *namaskaram*). The east direction is considered sacred and auspicious. When they are about to hand over the ownership of the cattle to the buyer, they take the rope of the earlier owner after performing *namaskaram* in the east direction. The buyer walks towards the east after taking the new cattle into hand. These metaphorically suggest that everything that happens is good for cattle and others connected to it. Although these cultural practices are less common, there is a strong link between culture and farming.

5.3.8. Beliefs and Perceptions on Rearing Practices

Grazing is a cultural and economic activity formed by human-animal relationships and local traditions. Agrarian communities base their grazing practices on traditional knowledge, beliefs, and social customs, closely linking people, livestock, and land.

Table 5.19: Beliefs about Grazing Timing - Farmers

S. No.	Belief about Grazing Timing	N	%
1	Yes	172	57.33
2	No	128	42.67
Total		300	100.00

The data shows farmers' beliefs about the timing of grazing. Out of 300 respondents, 57.33% believe that managing grazing times is important to ensure livestock health and improve pasture management, and beliefs exist regarding grazing timing, while 42.67% do not follow this belief.

Table 5.20: Beliefs about Grazing - Traders

S. No.	Suitable Time for Grazing	Yes		No		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
		1	Cool temperature	0	0	199	99.5	1	0.5
2	Morning	53	26.5	146	73	1	0.5	200	100
3	Afternoon	11	5.5	188	94	1	0.5	200	100
4	Evening	49	24.5	150	75	1	0.5	200	100
5	Not very specific	5	2.5	194	97	1	0.5	200	100

Most traders (99.5%) avoid grazing during cool temperatures because it may affect animal health or grazing efficiency. Thereafter, grazing in the morning is preferred by 26.50% of traders, and that in the evening is preferred by 24.50%. Furthermore, 5.50% of the traders preferred grazing in the afternoon, but others may not have preferred the same to avoid heat stress. These belief systems concerning grazing suggest that traders follow cultural practices to care for their livestock. In the study area, grazing is deeply rooted in customary practices; it is directly related to cattle health, well-being, and productivity, and reflects the relationships among humans, animals, and nature.

Table 5.21: Beliefs about Massage and Bath - Farmers

S. No.	Follow Beliefs about Massage and Bath	N	%
1	Yes	109	36.33
2	No	191	63.67
Total		300	100.00

The data on beliefs about massages and baths reveal that 36.33% of the farmers believe that massaging and bathing livestock maintain their health and prepare them for work. As a

tradition, Farmers give their cattle baths, especially before festivals. This act aims to keep the livestock clean and bring blessings for a successful harvest.

It is believed that livestock massage and bathing are components of indigenous healing systems, and that massage improves blood circulation and enhances livestock's overall health. It was reported that farmers who wish to sell cattle on market day massage the livestock with coconut oil to attract buyers, and at home they use mustard oil for massage and bathing to improve the cattle's health.

Table 5.22: Perception of Beliefs Related to Preventing Diseases to the Cattle

S. No.	Beliefs and Practices to Prevent Diseases Exist	Farmer		Trader	
		N	%	N	%
1	Yes	96	32.00	32	16.00
2	No	203	67.67	167	83.5
3	Not Reported	1	0.33	1	0.50
Total		300	100.00	200	100.00

The table reveals farmers' beliefs and practices for preventing livestock diseases, with 32.00% of farmers and 16.00% of traders employing preventive measures by adhering to best healthcare practices, using traditional knowledge systems, and providing veterinary resources when needed.

The farmers perform certain practices to ward off the evil eye, sometimes before or after an attack.

Table 5.23: Rituals Performed to Prevent Diseases and Ward-off Evil Eye

S. No.	Beliefs and Practices to Prevent Diseases	N	%
1	Yes	126	42.00
2	No	174	58.00
Total		300	100.00

Kanuraipa, *Chillangi*, and *Chedupulu* are local terms used to denote the Evil eye. To avoid the evil eyes of other people, the cattle owners tie a lemon on the right nose of the cattle. In another process, they also tie sacred threads, which are tied on Sunday and Tuesday nights. Before tying, the lemon is moved around the cattle without anyone else seeing. Later, the lemon travels through the roads, preferably at junctions. Red cloth and a lemon are tied to the cattle (together known as *Pomu*) to increase milk production. In the sheds, the farmers tie *Jibbi* (a handwoven filter), *Cheta* (a winnowing basket), and *Cheepuru katta* (a broomstick) as a precaution against the Evil eye.

The informants also shared their experiences of the effect of the evil eye and evil spirits on the cattle and their well-being. During the third pregnancy, the cow was inactive, did not produce milk properly, and did not eat grass or drink water. When they noticed these characteristics, they approached the local temple priest, who told them that the livestock's dullness was due to the evil eye and gave them a sacred thread. Then, after the thread was used, the cow was cured.

5.3.9. Physical Characteristics and Their Cultural Significance

Physical characteristics carry profound cultural importance in the rural areas of the field. The farmers, intermediaries, and traders associated with Alamanda market hold various beliefs about luck, beauty, health, and market value, as well as about the physical characteristics and their cultural significance. In addition, livestock are not judged by appearance alone; they are evaluated through cultural knowledge informed by economic priorities and daily experience.

5.3.9.1. The Look of the Animal - Aesthetics and Beliefs

The way farmers, intermediaries, and traders look at the appearance of livestock is shaped by culture, the economy, and daily needs. Features such as the udder, horns, legs, and colour hold specific symbolic meanings and values in the market. The perspectives of farmers, intermediaries, and traders differ in transactions. Farmers mainly look for traits in livestock that increase milk production and make farm work easier, whereas traders focus on how attractive and lucky the animal appears, which makes it easier to sell. The intermediaries take a broader view, with a mix of features. One of the signs of pregnancy in cattle, according to traditional knowledge, is a change in its physical features. After conceiving, the back organs of cattle become slightly black compared to the usual colour, the eyelids become black, the udders become soft, and the cattle move very slowly, taking care of themselves. Such cues are read to decide the status and value of the cattle.

Table 5.24: Beliefs and Perceptions of the Look of the Animal - Farmers

S. No.	Feature of Significance	Yes		No		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Hump	44	14.67	256	85.33	300	100
2	Dewlap	36	12.00	264	88.00	300	100
3	Horns	210	70.00	90	30.00	300	100
4	Udder	239	79.67	61	20.33	300	100
5	Legs	119	39.67	181	60.33	300	100
6	Tail	151	50.33	149	49.67	300	100
7	Colour	172	57.33	128	42.67	300	100
8	Skin Shades	90	30.00	210	70.00	300	100

9	Spots on the Body	139	46.33	161	53.67	300	100
10	Grace of Walking	213	71.00	87	29.00	300	100
11	Ease of Taming	47	15.67	253	84.33	300	100
12	Style of Feeding	175	58.33	125	41.67	300	100

Udder

In the studied rural community, the size of the udder is not merely a biological trait but also a culturally embedded indicator of productivity. Farmers believe a larger udder signifies higher milk yield, while a smaller one implies reduced lactation capacity. This local epistemology - rooted in generations of empirical observation - demonstrates how phenotypic traits are used as proxies for economic utility. The high salience of this feature, reported by 79.67% of farmers, underscores the embodied knowledge farmers draw upon when making livestock-related decisions.

Horns

In the study area, livestock with small horns are considered auspicious and beautiful, and demand for them is also high. Livestock with large horns are often considered problematic; these horns often twist irregularly and help them fight, supporting their aggressive attitudes toward other livestock. During this process, they break the horns (half remain on the forehead), making them look ugly and causing pain to cattle. 70% of the farmers believe that horns are a significant feature.

Legs

Leg movement and structural soundness are particularly significant in an agrarian economy where livestock often serve as labour animals. Efficient leg movement is interpreted as a sign of physical strength and overall vitality. However, 39.67% of farmers reported legs as a primary selection factor, suggesting that functionality may be taken for granted unless defects are clearly visible.

Feeding Behaviour

Feeding style is not solely an indicator of appetite or dietary habits but is interpreted by farmers as a reflection of the animal's temperament and internal constitution. This cultural reading of behaviour aligns with the holistic way rural communities assess animal health, through visible, everyday practices rather than analytical tools. With 58.33% of farmers highlighting this feature, it underscores how behaviour is internalized as a marker of overall suitability, often standing in for more precise assessments.

Tail

The tail serves as both a practical and diagnostic feature in livestock evaluation. Local practices include biting the tail to test the animal's strength and responsiveness - methods grounded in tacit knowledge systems rather than scientific principles. This tactile approach to assessment reflects the expertise that farmers acquire through regular interaction with animals. With 50.33% of farmers recognizing the tail as significant, the practice shows how knowledge is situated in both observation and physical engagement.

Grace of Walking

Locomotion is infused with symbolic meaning in the study area. A smooth, graceful walk is associated with health, efficiency, and even moral worth, while any irregularity, such as dragging or asymmetry, is deemed inauspicious and indicative of defect. The belief that walking reflects the inner vitality of the animal shows how symbolic and functional evaluations are co-constituted in rural knowledge systems. The data show that 71% of farmers valued this trait, indicating its dual role as both a diagnostic and a symbolic measure of livestock quality.

Body Spots

Spots, especially those on the forehead, are considered auspicious markers. Their significance goes beyond appearance; they are infused with meanings related to luck and fortune. The preference for markings reflects a broader anthropological pattern in which animal morphology is linked to cosmological beliefs. With 46.33% of farmers emphasizing the importance of spots, the evaluation of livestock becomes a deeply cultural act, not limited to the economic dimension.

Colour

Colour plays a profound symbolic role in livestock evaluation. White cattle are believed to bring happiness and clarity - symbolically "removing darkness" from life - while brown cattle are similarly seen as auspicious. These associations reflect broader cultural frameworks in which colour carries metaphysical and emotional significance. The valuation of colour by 57.33% of farmers shows that livestock selection is not simply utilitarian but also governed by cultural aesthetics and beliefs about well-being, purity, and prosperity.

Skin Shades

Skin shades are viewed as a secondary but culturally meaningful trait in rural livestock markets. Approximately 30% of farmers consider skin shades significant when evaluating cattle. From an anthropological perspective, this reflects how visual appearance, especially subtle differences in shade, can be tied to deeper cultural ideas about health, breed identity, and aesthetic value. Farmers associate shades with luck, purity, or good lineage, showing how even minor physical traits carry social meaning in traditional animal selection systems.

Dewlap

The dewlap is the loose fold of skin hanging below the neck of cattle, especially visible in certain breeds. In some cultural settings, physical features such as the dewlap may carry symbolic meanings related to health, fertility, or strength. However, in the context of the

studied rural livestock market, about 12% of farmers consider the dewlap to have cultural or symbolic importance. From an anthropological perspective, this suggests that the dewlap is not a key feature in the local value system related to cattle. Farmers instead prioritize functional or economically relevant traits, such as size, milk production, or fertility history, over mere symbolic ones.

Hump

The hump, usually found on the back of certain cattle breeds (especially zebu cattle), has traditionally been seen as a sign of strength, endurance, or breed purity in some agrarian cultures. However, in this study, about 14.67% of farmers see the hump as symbolically important. From an anthropological view, this decline in symbolic significance indicates changing cultural values in the rural livestock economy. The hump may no longer be viewed as a marker of status or utility. Instead, farmers may be more focused on traits that directly contribute to productivity and market value, such as health, milk yield, or reproductive ability. This shift reflects how economic priorities can influence and reshape traditional cultural meanings attached to animal features.

Ease of Taming

The ability to tame an animal is regarded less as an intrinsic trait and more as a product of human-animal interaction. 15.67% of farmers consider ease of taming a significant selection criterion, which may reflect a cultural belief that relationships between people and animals evolve through mutual adjustment and care. This view emphasizes the relational ontology of human-animal interactions in rural life, where animals are not just commodities but co-inhabitants of a shared social world.

Table 5.25: Beliefs and Perceptions of the Look of the Animal – Traders

S. No.	Feature of Significance	Yes		No		Not Reported		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Hump	24	12.00	175	87.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
2	Dewlap	39	19.50	160	80.00	1	0.50	200	100.00
3	Horns	158	79.00	41	20.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
4	Udder	186	93.00	13	6.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
5	Legs	122	61.00	77	38.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
6	Tail	80	40.00	119	59.50	1	0.50	200	100.00

7	Colour	58	29.00	141	70.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
8	Skin Shades	52	26.00	147	73.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
9	Spots on the Body	68	34.00	131	65.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
10	Grace of Walking	70	35.00	129	64.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
11	Ease of Taming	22	11.00	177	88.50	1	0.50	200	100.00
12	Style of Feeding	98	49.00	101	50.50	1	0.50	200	100.00

Udder

Culturally, traders believe that if the udder is small, the cow's milk-giving capacity is lower, and if the udder is large, it will yield more milk. To substantiate the statement, 93% of traders reported that udders are a significant feature.

Horns

Traders have a view similar to that of farmers regarding the horns of cattle. This is reflected in the fact that 79% of traders believe horns are a significant feature.

Legs

61% of the traders opined that efficient leg movement and the absence of defects are crucial for labour capacity and livestock mobility, thereby indicating their importance.

Style of Feeding

49% of traders reported that feeding behaviour is an indicator of livestock health and temperament.

Tail

Approximately 40% of traders reported that the tail is a significant feature, similar to farmers.

Grace of Walking

It is a significant feature where fast-walking livestock are considered active livestock. Approximately 35% of traders reported that the grace period is significant. If the animal is dragging or pulling its leg, it is considered a defect and is considered unsuccessful due to its inefficiency.

Spots on the Body, Skin Shades and Colour

They are considered significant. Spots on the forehead are considered auspicious, and approximately 34% of traders reported that body spots are significant. The colour of livestock is significant, and approximately 29% of traders reported that it is a significant feature. Approximately 26% of traders reported that skin tone is a significant feature.

Ease of Taming

Taming reflects the relationship between livestock and humans, and it is a matter of kindness between them. About 11% of the traders reported that ease of taming is a significant feature.

Traders and farmers often differ in how they assess livestock, as their roles and priorities differ. For traders, the top three features udder (93%), horns (79%), and legs (61%) are directly linked to market value, productivity, and resale potential. Traders prefer animals that can produce more milk, look attractive, and move efficiently, as these traits appeal to buyers and influence price. In contrast, farmers may value traits such as ease of taming, which reflect a long-term relationship with the animal based on daily care and emotional bonding. Taming is less important for traders, whose focus is short-term and transactional, not relational.

Table 5.26: Beliefs and Perceptions of the Look of the Animal - Intermediaries

S. No.	Feature of Significance	Yes		No		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Hump, Dewlap, Horns and Udder	16	10.67	134	89.33	150	100.00
2	Udder (only)	50	33.33	100	66.67	150	100.00
3	Horns and Udder	28	18.67	122	81.33	150	100.00
4	Legs	1	0.67	149	99.33	150	100.00
5	Tail	1	0.67	149	99.33	150	100.00
6	Colour	47	31.33	103	68.67	150	100.00
7	Spots on the Body	2	1.33	148	98.67	150	100.00
8	Grace of Walking	36	24.00	114	76.00	150	100.00
9	Ease of Taming	4	2.67	146	97.33	150	100.00

Hump, Dewlap, Horns, and Udder

Hump and dewlap are relatively less important, while horns and udder are checked for look and size. Over a third of the intermediaries believe that the udder is an important feature that attaches a practical value to the animal.

Colour

According to the intermediaries, colour is also a significant factor in determining the animal's worth. Different colours carry different economic and cultural values.

The Grace of Walking

24% of the intermediaries reported that the ability to walk and the grace of walking are significant features of an animal.

Intermediaries generally do not focus on a single feature, such as the hump, dewlap, horns, legs, or skin shades; instead, they consider the animal as a whole.

5.3.10. Milk of Cow and Milk of Buffalo

The health beliefs and dietary practices of the agricultural communities distinguished between cow milk and buffalo milk in terms of cultural values. Cow milk is considered a symbol of purity and sacredness. However, it is believed that cow milk raises human body temperature and provides strength, thereby increasing human immune capacity. It is easily digestible for children and older adults who do not engage in laborious physical activity. It has low cholesterol, which is beneficial for health and wellness.

Buffalo's milk is considered cool for human health because of its healthy nature. It is meant for physically hardworking people because of its high fat content, which provides nutrition and strength, and because it is more complex for digestion. Culturally, buffalo milk is considered less sacred than cow milk but still holds high economic and social value.

The functioning of livestock markets involves a mix of practical assessments and the implementation of traditional knowledge systems. The trial-and-error approach helps identify high-quality livestock through sensory observations and relies on physical markers that represent indigenous knowledge passed down through generations. The method is a common approach rooted in agrarian communities. The milk test is the most common practice in which the buyer checks milking capacity, udder softness, milk flow, and milk quality. The buyers also ask the seller to have the cattle walk to assess their health, as a smooth, confident walk indicates good health. Indigenous breeds are preferred for their ability to adapt to local environments and resist diseases. Rural communities are strong because they learn from their mistakes. Using these methods, they ensure they can earn a living while preserving their cultural traditions.

5.4. Ethnoveterinary Practices and Beliefs

The health of the cattle is measured by observing their chewing; active chewing is a good sign of digestion and overall well-being. Farmers give liquid soda to livestock to make it normal if there are digestive issues. This home remedy helps improve the free movement of the consumed food and supports the digestive process. If the digestion problem is severe, they prepare a mixture of betel leaves and dry ginger to relieve discomfort. When livestock suffer stomach pain, farmers feed them brinjal mixed with salt to ease discomfort and help digestion. To prevent insects from being attracted to wounds, they apply a paste of turmeric and camphor, a natural antiseptic that promotes healing. However, a few apply nail polish to the wound to kill the insects and get rid of them. Furthermore, if cattle sweat on their noses and are uninterested in eating, it is believed they are ill and possessed by spirits.

Pasupu (turmeric), which is applied to pregnant cows or buffaloes, particularly on their backs, has antiseptic and anti-inflammatory properties and is believed to provide comfort and help prevent infections in these animals. It is often mixed with water or oil and applied to the back or other body parts, especially during ceremonial or health-related rituals. It also signifies

protection and promotes well-being of the mother and the unborn calf. These customs reflect a blend of practical veterinary care and cultural beliefs.

5.4.1. Cattle Illnesses and Remedies

1. *Jadupulu* (Fears)

Jadupulu is categorized into three types: *kalu jadupulu*, *noru jadupulu*, and *mukku jadupulu*.

Kalu (leg) *Jadupulu*

The cattle walk by lifting their legs frequently and cannot walk properly. They also do not eat grass or drink water during *kalu jadupulu*. For recovery, the paste of neem or turmeric is mixed together, applied to the cattle's lips, and fed. Additionally, in the early morning, the *vennu* (spinal cord) is massaged with turmeric water to obtain relief from it. The animal is allowed to walk 2-3 times in mud or stream water, which helps them eliminate any worms in its legs. After that, prayers are done to the Mutyalamma, a village deity, to help the animal recover from *kalu jadupulu*. The offerings and care have to be made by the person taking care of the cattle daily. Notably, they tie *tati nara tadapa* (rope made from palm tree branches) around the neck to prevent it from spreading to other cattle.

Noru (mouth) *Jadupulu*

The cattle do not drink water or eat, and there are also no movements in the cattle's lips, which indicates that they are suffering from *noru jadupulu*. Sambrani (benzoin resin) smoke helps cattle recover from the *noru jadupulu*. The household members pray to the goddess Tepalamma to save the cattle from this illness.

Mukku (nose) *Jadupulu*

The cattle have skin lesions (cuts, ulcers, and rashes) under/near the nostrils and sweat glands, which indicate *mukku jadupulu*. For recovery, household members offer prayers, fulfill vows to the goddess Mutyalamma, and provide good food for the cattle.

2. *Sirala Jabbu* (Nipple Disease)

When cattle have small skin swellings on the nipples, the affected area becomes soft and reddish in colour. It becomes difficult to milk cows or buffalo because the animals experience pain. Household members wear gloves while milking to avoid discomforting the cattle. This illness is believed to be contagious to other cattle. To aid recovery, household members clean the cattle's nipples with lukewarm water and apply turmeric paste until the swelling subsides. Household members also pray to the deity Bandaru Potanna for a speedy recovery.

3. *Burra Jabbu* (Head Disease)

The cattle turn their heads in all directions and behave like mad individuals, roaring, ignoring everyone, and moving at random without consciousness. If any *gaddalu* (tumors) form on the cattle's body, they cause pain, which is one reason for such erratic behaviour. The traditional cattle-rearers practice cauterization, making small burns with a heated sickle near the tumors,

abscesses, or swellings on the cattle's body to eliminate them. They believe this helps drain pus, reduce infections, and promote healing. A powder of burnt *batti gaddi* (a local variety of grass), turmeric paste, and one or two drops of edible oil are mixed and applied to the burnt areas.

4. Pandi Rogam (Pig Disease)

The cattle develop swelling around the head or stomach, indicating they are suffering from *pandi rogam*. Once the cattle-rearers confirm it is *pandi rogam*, they burn the affected area with a heated sickle. Like *burra jabbu*, a mixture consisting of powdered and burned *batti gaddi*, turmeric paste, and one or two drops of edible oil is prepared, which is then applied to the burnt area. It is believed that illness spreads from pigs when their sheds are located near the cattle sheds, and transmission may also occur when cattle consume leftover food from pigs, increasing the chances of the illness spreading from pigs to cattle.

5. Potta Pongu (Swelling of Stomach)

In cattle, indigestion can occur due to overeating during feeding. As a result, the cattle may become inactive and unable to walk much, which can lead to other illnesses. Indigestion can also cause additional problems, such as urinary infections and the accumulation of undigested food in the stomach. Cattle-rearers recognize the need to adjust feeding practices according to cattle health. Household members prepare a mixture by grinding beetle leaf, *dumpa pasupu* (turmeric tuber), *nalleru* (a creeper), *bellam* (jaggery), and *sonthi* (dry ginger). This mixture is shaped into round balls and fed to the cattle until they recover from indigestion.

6. Kalla Pusulu (Eye Infection)

If small red spots or skin swelling appear around the cattle's eyelids, it may indicate an eye infection. Cattle-rearers prepare a turmeric paste and apply it to the affected areas until the animal recovers.

7. Pokkulu (Skin Lesions)

If cattle develop dermatitis, particularly skin lesions, cattle rearers prepare a paste from holy basil leaves and pepper and apply it to the affected areas. The paste is applied regularly until the cattle recover from skin infections and lesions.

8. Uridi Potu (Infection of the Tail)

If any cattle experience tail infections and itching, they often rub their tails against the ground, gradually leading to hair loss on the tail. In some cases, if the infection persists, it may eventually require tail removal. To prevent this, cattle rearers apply fresh fish flesh (*pacchi parigi*) to the affected area, which helps reduce the severity of the infection.

9. Kodiselu (Parasitic Ticks)

Cattle commonly have parasitic ticks on their bodies, particularly under the ears, tail, stomach, and anus. The presence of parasitic ticks causes itching, and cattle often use their tails to try to

remove them. Cattle-rearers give the animals regular baths and massage them with neem oil. Proper cleaning and good hygiene practices help eliminate skin infections and parasitic ticks.

10. Podumu Vapu (Swelling of Nipples)

Swelling of the nipples is often reported before the cattle give birth. During this swelling, the milk in the nipples may form clots, known locally as *palu gadda kattuta* or *palu maadulu*. To clear these clots, cattle rearers apply ice water to the nipples for a while. Afterward, they wash the nipples with turmeric water, believing it helps reduce clotting. If clots remain in the nipples, it can result in reduced milk production after the calf is born.

5.4.2. Cattle Behaviour and Rearing Perceptions

The cattle rearers know the perceptions and attitudes of the livestock, particularly their momentary state of body organs, which determine their behaviour. These behavioural moments help them understand cattle healthcare management and help them avoid future healthcare risks for livestock. In the context of market transactions, the physical traits of the cattle play both cultural and economic significance in determining the price value of the livestock. The buyers used to assess cattle behaviour and preferred to buy livestock by understanding their physical traits.

Table 5.27: Cattle related local terms and their meaning

S. No.	Term (Local Name)	Description
1	<i>Chinnamathigundu</i>	Cattle that do not cooperate with the owner and are not easy to access while milking.
2	<i>Naluka Potu</i>	Cattle twist their tongue and eat soil, causing digestive issues. If not identified in time, it can lead to death. Rearers prevent access to soil and provide clean grass.
3	<i>Kalu Jadupu</i>	Cattle walk raising legs unusually; goosebumps appear on their hair.
4	<i>Mittagudlu Peyya</i>	Calves do not obey rearers until 6–8 months old but follow commands afterward.
5	<i>Dumpakommu</i>	Cattle with thick, strong horns; they are generally disobedient to the rearer.
6	<i>Mandamati</i>	Slow-walking and lazy cattle.
7	<i>Mandakodi</i>	Cattle that do not obey the cattle-rearers; considered stubborn.
8	<i>Gandu Goddu</i>	Cattle with large foreheads; believed to be disobedient and temperamental.
9	<i>Dongabuddi Pasuvu</i>	The cow's nipples become thick when the calf is near and thin when the calf moves away.
10	<i>Tingara Goddu</i>	Restless cattle that roam constantly and don't stay in one place.
11	<i>Donga Goddu</i>	Cattle with black or white eyelashes; believed to be aggressive towards other cattle and humans.
12	<i>Rasa Reppalu</i>	Cattle with red eyelashes; believed to be violent towards animals and humans.
13	<i>Katuka Kallu</i>	Cattle with black eyelashes, considered aggressive. An ox with a white body and black head is also called <i>katuka kallu eddu</i> and considered a <i>donga goddu</i> .

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The Alamanda Livestock Market emerges not merely as a periodic site of cattle exchange but as a dense socio-cultural formation in which economy, morality, caste, ritual, and knowledge intersect. Rather than functioning as a disembedded market governed exclusively by price rationality, the institution reveals a form of rural exchange deeply structured by relational ethics, symbolic codes, and historically sedimented hierarchies. The analytical significance of this study lies in demonstrating that livestock trade in agrarian Andhra Pradesh operates within what may be termed a culturally embedded moral economy, where economic transactions are inseparable from social obligations, cosmological beliefs, and embodied expertise.

One of the central analytical insights of this study concerns the operation of trust as an organising principle. The predominance of verbal assurances, token advances, refund expectations, and the concepts of *aruvu* (credit) and *puchi* (trust) indicates that the market operates within a relational economy rather than a contract-based system. Trust here is not an abstract moral ideal but a tangible economic resource. Reputation, memory of past dealings, caste networks, and repeated weekly interaction constitute forms of social capital that regulate behaviour more effectively than written agreements.

This configuration resonates with anthropological understandings of the “moral economy,” in which economic transactions are evaluated not solely on profitability but also on reciprocity and social legitimacy. Participants’ rejection of artificial enhancement, deliberate deception, and concealment of defects, despite competitive pressures, reveals that economic survival is mediated through moral accountability. Even where minor deviations occur, the normative framework privileges integrity. In this sense, the Alamanda market challenges models that interpret rural exchange as inherently exploitative or purely opportunistic. Instead, it demonstrates how moral norms discipline economic practice, sustaining long-term relational stability.

The demographic dominance of specific Backward Class communities illustrates that livestock trade remains historically entangled with caste-based occupational formations. However, the market does not operate as a rigidly segregated space. Rather, caste here functions as a structuring background shaping access, specialisation, and networks, while transactional interactions frequently cut across caste lines.

The dominance of agrarian castes among farmers and pastoral communities among traders suggests that historical modes of subsistence continue to inform contemporary economic roles. At the same time, the coexistence of diverse communities within the market suggests that everyday economic necessity often softens the rigidity of ritual boundaries. In practice, the demands of livelihood and exchange create spaces of interaction where pragmatic considerations take precedence over strictly maintained notions of ritual separation. Thus, the market becomes a space where caste hierarchy is neither dissolved nor strictly enforced but

negotiated within the demands of exchange. It exemplifies how caste in rural economies operates as a flexible but persistent framework, influencing trust networks and occupational competence without entirely foreclosing inter-caste interaction.

Similarly, the figure of the intermediary is analytically central. Intermediaries do not merely facilitate transactions; they embody a distinct form of authority rooted in communicative competence, reputational capital, and cultural fluency. Their use of coded language and embodied gestures constructs an insider sphere of economic knowledge. These codes create boundaries between experienced participants and novices, transforming knowledge into economic leverage.

Such practices highlight how markets generate their own symbolic capital. Mastery of codes, linguistic and physical, constitutes a form of expertise that secures influence. Intermediaries occupy a liminal position that is neither purely buyer nor seller, but a broker of trust, translator of intention, and manager of conflict. Their role underscores that rural markets are arenas of performance, where credibility, negotiation speed, and cultural literacy determine success. Economically, they reduce transaction uncertainty; socially, they reinforce the market's internal cohesion.

Another analytical paradox at the heart of this study lies in the dual status of cattle. They are simultaneously commodities subject to bargaining and sacred beings embedded in cosmological meaning. This duality does not produce contradiction but coexistence. The sacralization of cattle through ritual observance, funeral rites, gifting practices such as *aranalu*, and festival celebrations, infuses transactions with moral gravity. Selling cattle is not simply transferring property; it is reconfiguring relationships within a symbolic universe.

The belief that Goddess Lakshmi resides in the cow, the invocation of auspicious days for purchase, and the ritual orientation toward the east during handover illustrate that economic exchange is ritually framed. Even when ritual observance is minimal, its symbolic presence legitimises transactions. Thus, the market operates within a sacred-secular continuum, rather than a strict separation. This challenges modernist assumptions that commercialisation necessarily desacralizes objects of trade. Instead, cattle retain spiritual value even as they circulate through market networks.

Moreover, the study's documentation of ethnoveterinary practices and morphological evaluation reveals that indigenous knowledge constitutes a sophisticated epistemology rather than superstition. Farmers interpret udder softness, eyelid pigmentation, gait, feeding style, and behavioural cues as indicators of health and productivity. These assessments are rooted in empirical observation accumulated across generations. Such embodied expertise functions as a form of rationality adapted to agrarian conditions. It minimises reliance on external veterinary infrastructure while enabling effective herd management. The blending of herbal remedies, ritual intervention, and practical care demonstrates a holistic health paradigm in which physiology and cosmology are interwoven. Importantly, this knowledge system is not static; it coexists with modern breeding practices and artificial insemination technologies, reflecting adaptive integration rather than cultural stagnation.

The overwhelming male dominance in livestock transactions also indicates that market participation is shaped by gendered norms surrounding mobility, negotiation, and physical labour. Women's limited presence highlights structural constraints rather than the absence of competence. The market thus reproduces broader patriarchal patterns in rural economic life, where ownership and public bargaining remain masculinised domains.

However, women's involvement in service activities and ritual observances suggests that their participation operates within culturally sanctioned spaces. This pattern reveals how economic arenas can simultaneously exclude and depend upon gendered labour. Analytically, it underscores that market institutions are not neutral spaces but are structured by social hierarchies that shape access and authority.

The shift from draught-based valuation to dairy-centric profitability, the rise of crossbreeds, and declining emphasis on certain physical features also reflect transformations in agrarian technology and commercialisation. Yet these changes do not signal the erosion of cultural embeddedness. Instead, they demonstrate selective adaptation. Economic modernisation reshapes priorities such as milk yield over hump size, but does not dissolve moral frameworks or ritual practices.

This coexistence of change and continuity illustrates that rural markets are dynamic systems capable of integrating new technologies while retaining relational ethics. Modernisation here is layered rather than disruptive. The market adapts to dairy economics, transportation expansion, and regional connectivity while sustaining its core reliance on trust and reputation.

Beyond facilitating exchange, the livestock market also contributes to the reproduction of rural social order. It provides livelihood, reinforces caste networks, validates indigenous knowledge, and sustains ritual calendars. Weekly gatherings renew social bonds, circulate information, and reaffirm collective identity. The market thus functions as a mechanism of social cohesion, not merely economic redistribution.

The cyclical rhythm of intense activity followed by disappearance into silence mirrors agrarian temporality. Each week, relationships are renegotiated, reputations recalibrated, and moral commitments reaffirmed. This periodicity embeds economic life within a rhythm that resists abstraction into impersonal capitalism.

The Alamanda Livestock Market, therefore, exemplifies a culturally embedded exchange system where the economy cannot be analytically isolated from morality, caste, ritual, and indigenous knowledge. It demonstrates that rural markets operate through relational rationalities rather than pure price mechanisms. Trust is currency; reputation is regulation; symbolism coexists with profitability.

By situating livestock trade within its social and cosmological context, this study underscores the inadequacy of viewing rural markets through purely economistic frameworks. Instead, the market must be understood as a lived institution, simultaneously pragmatic and sacred, competitive and cooperative, hierarchical yet interdependent.

GLOSSARY

- *Aaseelu*- Entry Tax
- *Addi Cooli*-Fixed Lump Sum Payment
- *Empikulu*- Selective Qualities
- *Gatti Pallu*- Strong Teeth
- *Doddi Bakka*- Home Breed
- *Maya Prapancham*- Illusive Universe
- *Mepukooli*- Balanced Reciprocity
- *Palapallu* -Milk Teeth
- *Sahayam*- Helping One Another
- *Santa Bakka*- Purchased
- *Pasuvula Santha* - Cattle Market
- *Sari Bagam*- Equal Profit-Sharing System
- *Thokalu*- Tails

REFERENCES

- Adekunmi, A. O., Ajiboye, A., Awoyemi, A. O., Osundare, F. O., Oluwatusin, F. M., Toluwase, S. O. W., & Abdu-Raheem, K. A. (2020). Assessment of ethno-veterinary management practices among sheep and goat farmers in Southwest Nigeria. *Annual Research & Review in Biology*, 35, 42–51.
- Adeyeye, O. A., Osuntade, E. O., Irekhore, O. T., & Akande, F. A. (2021). Ethnoveterinary practices among small-holder goat farmers in Ogun State, Nigeria. *Matrix Science Pharma*, 5(1), 1–6.
- Akouegnonhou, O., & Demirbaş, N. (2023). Factors influencing participation in self-managed livestock markets in rural communities in the Republic of Benin. *Tekirdağ Ziraat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 20(1), 186–196.
- Antwi, M. A., Mazibuko, N. V. E., & Chagwiza, C. (2017). Determinants of smallholder cattle farmers' access to high-value cattle markets in the Ngaka Modiri Molema District, South Africa. *Indian Journal of Animal Research*, 51(4), 764–770.
- Atser, E. A., Ashiko, T. G., Atagher, D. M. M., & Hanmaikyur, D. T. J. (2023). Economic analysis of cattle marketing and risks among traders in North Central Nigeria. *Journal of Advance Research in Food, Agriculture and Environmental Science*, 9(4), 7–16.
- Balaji, N. S., & Chakravarthi, P. V. (2010). Ethnoveterinary practices in India—a review. *Veterinary World*, 3(12):549-551
- Barth, Fredrik (1967). “Economic Spheres in Darfur”, in Raymond Firth (Ed.). *Themes in Economic Anthropology*. (ASA Monograph 6). London: Tavistock Publications. Pp. 149-174
- Bayan, B. (2020). Crossbred cattle adoption and its implications on raising employment in the smallholder dairying of rural Assam. *Indian Journal of Economics and Development*, 16(1), 81–88.
- Bharti, S. K., Pathak, V., Anita, & Singh, V. P. (2015). An overview of Indian meat marketing: Challenges and scope. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Business*, 1, 51–54.
- Bhattacharjya, R., Saharia, J., Roychoudhury, R., Haque, A., Borah, M. C., Ray, M. N., & Hazarika, M. (2017). Livestock marketing in Assam—purpose and effect of seasonal variation. *Journal of Entomology and Zoology Studies*, 5, 1304–1307.

- BIRTHAL, P. S. (2014). Livestock marketing and supply chain management of livestock products. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 69(3), 432–437.
- BLECH, R. (2001). *You can't go home again: Pastoralism in the new millennium*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- BONIS-PROFUMO, G., DO ROSARIO PEREIRA, D., BRIMBLECOMBE, J., & STACEY, N. (2022). Gender relations in livestock production and animal-source food acquisition and consumption among smallholders in rural Timor-Leste: A mixed-methods exploration. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 89, 222–234.
- BOYAL, V. K., & MEHRA, J. (2017). Livestock sector in Rajasthan: An appraisal and performance. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 72(1), 117–126.
- DAS, A., RAJU, R., & PATNAIK, N. M. (2020). Present scenario and role of livestock sector in rural economy of India: A review. *International Journal of Livestock Research*, 10(11), 22–30.
- DAS, S. K., & TRIPATHI, H. (2013). Marketing of livestock and livestock products in Sundarban Islands of India: A participatory rural appraisal. *International Journal of Bio-resource and Stress Management*, 4(3), 444–448.
- DESHINGKAR PRIYA, JOHN FARRINGTON, LAXMAN RAO, SHAHEEN AKTER PRAMOD SHARMA, ADE FREEMAN and JAYACHANDRA REDDY. 2008. Livestock and poverty reduction in India: Findings from the ODI Livelihood Options Project. Discussion Paper No. 8. Targeting and Innovation. ILRI (International Livestock Research Institute), Nairobi, Kenya.
- DIAMOND, J. (1999). *Guns, germs, and steel: The fates of human societies*. W. W. Norton & Company, New York.
- DORJI, T., WANGDI, J., SHAOLIANG, Y., CHETTRI, N., & WANGCHUK, K. (2021). Mithun (*Bos frontalis*): The neglected cattle species and their significance to ethnic communities in the Eastern Himalaya—A review. *Animal Bioscience*, 34(11), 1727.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. (1940). *The Nuer: A description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. Oxford University Press.
- FRANCIS, W. (1908). *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series: Madras*. Clarendon Press.
- FERGUSON, J. (1988). Cultural exchange: New developments in the anthropology of commodities [Review of *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, by A. Appadurai]. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(4), 488–513.

- Ganesan, S., Chandhirasekaran, M., & Selvaraj, A. (2008). Ethnoveterinary healthcare practices in southern districts of Tamil Nadu. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge*, 7(2), 347–354.
- Ganguli, K. K. (1966). The concept of vahana in Indian iconography. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 28, 107–112.
- Gell, A. (1982). The market wheel: Symbolic aspects of an Indian tribal market. *Man*, 470–491.
- Girei, A. A., Dire, B., & Bello, B. H. (2013). Assessment of cost and returns of cattle marketing in central zone of Adamawa state, Nigeria. *British Journal of Marketing Studies*, 1(1), 1–10.
- Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture. (2012). *Working of livestock exchange markets in Rajasthan* (Working Paper). eSocialSciences.
- Government of India, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, National Statistical Office. (2022). *First revised estimates of national income, consumption expenditure and capital formation for 2021-22*.
- Hannfors, A. (2016). *Animal health and productivity among dairy cattle in Bihar, India* (Master's thesis, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Clinical Sciences). Uppsala.
- Harris, M. (1966). *The cultural ecology of India's sacred cattle*. *Current Anthropology*, 7(1), 51–66.
- Harris, D.R. (Ed.). (1996). *The Origins And Spread Of Agriculture And Pastoralism In Eurasia: Crops, Fields, Flocks And Herds* (1st ed.).
- Herrero, M., Grace, D., Njuki, J., Johnson, N., Enahoro, D., Silvestri, S., & Rufino, M. C. (2013). The roles of livestock in developing countries. *Animal*, 7(s1), 3–18.
- Herskovits, M. J. (1926). The cattle complex in East Africa. *American Anthropologist*, 28(4), 633–664.
- Horlings, L., & Marsden, T. (2011). Towards the real green revolution? Exploring the conceptual dimensions of a new ecological modernisation of agriculture that could 'feed the world'. *Global Environmental Change*, 21(2), 441–452.
- Jadoun, Y. S., Jha, S. K., Bhadauria, P., & Kale, R. (2014). Marketing pattern of Murrah buffaloes among dairy farmers affected by Integrated Murrah Development Scheme of Haryana. *Indian Journal of Dairy Science*, 67(6), 541–546.

- Jagwe, J. N., Machethe, C. L., & Ouma, E. (2010). Transaction costs and smallholder farmers' participation in banana markets in the Great Lakes Region of Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. *African Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 5(2), 1-16.
- Jolly, H., Satterfield, T., Kandlikar, M., & Suma, T. R. (2022). Indigenous insights on human-wildlife coexistence in Southern India. *Conservation Biology*, 36(6).
- Karnaraja, D., & Natarajan, M. (2022). Assessing the knowledge level of ethno veterinary practices in sheep and goat among Tribals of Kalrayan Hills. *International Journal of Zoology and Applied Biosciences*, 7(3), 25–28.
- Kayastha, R. B., Zaman, G., Goswami, R. N., & Haque, A. (2011). Physical and morphometric characterization of indigenous cattle of Assam. *Open Veterinary Journal*, 1(1), 7–9.
- Khadda, B. S., Singh, B., Singh, D. V., Singh, J. L., Singh, S. K., & Singh, C. B. (2018). Ethno-veterinary practices of goat farmers in Tarai region of Uttarakhand. *Indian Journal of Small Ruminants*, 24(1), 146–149.
- Khan, N., & Parashari, A. K. (2019). Livestock production, marketing, and future prospects in India. In *International Seminar on Tropical Animal Production (ISTAP)* (pp. 32–44).
- Lodrick, D. O. (2005). Symbol and sustenance: Cattle in South Asian culture. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 29(1), 61-84.
- Manoj, P. K. (2015). Cattle feed industry in India: a macro perspective. *Int. J. Business, Manage. Soc. Sci*, 4, 96-101.
- Meena M. L., Aishwarya D., & Singh D. (2019). Ethnoveterinary Practices for Goats followed by Raikas in the Marwar Region of Rajasthan. *Indian Journal of Small Ruminants*, 25(1), 131-133.
- Mishra, D. (2013). Cattle wounds and ethnoveterinary medicine: A study in Polasara block, Ganjam district, Orissa, India. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge*, 12(1), 62-65.
- Mishra, D., & Patro, L. (2010). Ethno veterinary practices among the rural people of Ganjam district Orissa (India): a case study on some common veterinary ailments. *The Bioscan*, 3, 739-746.

- Nair, B., Punniamurthy, N., & Kumar, S. K. (2017). Ethno-veterinary practices for animal health and the associated Medicinal Plants from 24 Locations in 10 States of India. *Res. J. Vet. Sci*, 3(2), 16-25.
- Pethick, D. W., Hocquette, J. F., Scollan, N. D., & Dunshea, F. R. (2021). Improving the nutritional, sensory and market value of meat products from sheep and cattle. *Animal*, 15, 100356.
- Pundir, R. K., Singh, P. K., Dangi, P. S., & Zeliang, H. (2018). Characterisation and evaluation of Tho-Tho cattle of Nagaland. *Indian Journal of Animal Sciences*, 88(4), 434-437.
- Pundir, R. K., Singh, P. K., Dangi, P. S., Kumar, A., Singh, N. B., Singh, P. K., & Sadana, D. K. (2015). Indigenous cattle of Manipur—Characterization and performance evaluation. *Indian Journal of Animal Sciences*, 85(4), 382-385.
- Reddy, R. M., Rao, R. N., & Reddy, M. G. (2012). *Livestock development in Andhra Pradesh: Status and potential* (RULNR Working Paper No. 16). Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Research Unit for Livelihoods and Natural Resources.
- Robinson, C., & Cush, D. (1997). The sacred cow: Hinduism and ecology. *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 18(1), 25-37.
- Rowkith, S., & Bhagwan, R. (2020). Honoring tribal spirituality in India: An exploratory study of their beliefs, rituals and healing practices. *Religions*, 11(11), 549.
- Saha, M. R., Sarker, D. D., & Sen, A. (2014). Ethnoveterinary Practices among the Tribal Community of Malda District of West Bengal, India. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge*, 13(2), 359-367.
- Savanur, M., Satyanarayan, K. & Jagadeeswary V. (2019). An Empirical Study on Structure and Performance of Cattle Markets in Eastern Dry Zone of Karnataka. *Ind. J. Pure App. Biosci*, 7(6), 160-170.
- Savanur, M., Satyanarayan, K., Jagadeeswary, V., & Shilpashree, J. (2017). Study on Growth and Composition of Cattle Markets in Eastern Dry Zone of Karnataka. *The Indian Journal of Veterinary Sciences & Biotechnology*, 13(2), 54-57.
- Selvakumar, K. N. & Kathiravan, G. (2019). Survey of Cattle Markets in Tamil Nadu: An Assessment of Functionaries' Constraints. *International Journal of Agriculture Science and Research*, 9(6), 143-150.
- Singh, R. K. (2013). Livestock Research and Development Priorities for Bihar and Odisha. SSRN. International Food Policy Research Institute IFPRI New Delhi

- Singh, R., Nath, T., Singh P. K., & Kumar K. (2014). Livestock Markets and Buyers' Perspectives on Voluntary versus Mandatory Disclosure of Information: Evidence from Cattle Markets in Uttar Pradesh. *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 69, 271-279.
- Singh, S. K., Meena, H. R., Kolekar, D. V., & Singh, Y. P. (2012). Climate change impacts on livestock and adaptation strategies to sustain livestock production. *J Vet Adv*, 2(7), 407-412.
- Singh, V., & Sonwani S. (2023). Entrepreneurship and Self-employment through Livestock among Scheduled Tribes. *Journal of Livestock Science*, 14, 233-245.
- Swallow, B. M. (1994). The Role of Mobility within the Risk Management Strategies of Pastoralists and Agro-pastoralists. Gatekeeper Series No. 47, *International Institute for Environment and Development*.
- Teltumbde, A. (2015). The Holy Cow. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(14), 10- 11.
- The Zamindari system is an integral part of the social milieu in Andhra. *The Hindu*. Jan 23, 2016.
<https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Vijayawada/%E2%80%98Zamindari-system-integral-part-of-social-milieu-in-Andhra%E2%80%99/article14017320.ece>
- Timon, V. M., & Hanrahan, J. P. (1986). Small ruminant production in the developing countries. *FAO animal production and health paper*, 58, 234.
- Tolengkomba, T. C., Anal, W., Singh, N. S., Chaudhury, J. K., & Mayengbam, P. (2021). Principal component analysis of body measurements of Zobawng bulls: A local hill cattle of Mizoram, India. *Heart*, 112(1.03), 6-47.
- Ubale, P. P., & Lokhande, T. N. (2011). Spatial distribution of cattle market centres in Solapur district of Maharashtra. *Rev. Res*, 1, 39-43.
- Usha, S., Rajasekaran, C., & Siva, R. (2016). Ethnoveterinary medicine of the Shervaroy Hills of Eastern Ghats, India as alternative medicine for animals. *Journal of traditional and complementary medicine*, 6(1), 118-125.
- Vizianagaram Estate. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vizianagaram_Estate.
- Yadav, M. L., Rajput, D. S., Chand, S., and Sharma, N. K. (2014). Constraints in Livestock Management Practices Perceived by Tribal Livestock Owners of Banswara District of Rajasthan. *Indian Research Journal of Extension Education*, 14(4), 37-41.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photo 01: Farmers at the Weekly Market



Photo 02: Cattle Being Loaded onto Vans by Buyers



Photo 03: Service Provider Selling Decorative Products for Cattle



Photo 04: Researchers Interacting with Farmers



Photo 05: Researchers Interacting with Farmers



ANNEXURES

Annexure 01: Entry and Exit Schedule

National Research Project on

Rural Livestock Markets in India: An Anthropological Exploration of Economic, Social and Cultural Facets
By Anthropological Survey of India, Ministry of Culture, Government of India

Details of Livestock Market

State	District	Village/Town	Frequency(Daily/Wk/Fr)	Name of the market

SCHEDULE FOR ENTRY INTERVIEW

A. Respondents Personal Information

1. Name							9. Native Village and current Address	
2. Age Group (in years)	0-14	15-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	55<		
3. Sex							Dist:	State:
4. Primary Occupation							Landmark:	
5. Secondary Occupation							II. Contact No:	
6. Community							Date and Time for Exit Interview:	
8. Constitutional Status	ST	SC	7. Religion:					
			OBC	Others				

B. Nature of Participation, Transport used and association with the market.

1. Distance travelled to market:			2. Expenditure incurred on Transport:			
3. Mode of Transport:	Pvt. Pass. Veh.	Pvt. Goods. Veh.	Pub. Trans.	Own Vehicle	By Foot	Others:
4. Category of Participant:	Farmer	Dairy Farmer	Trader	Intermediary	Service Provider	Other
5. Purpose of Visit:	Sale	Purchase	Exchange	Market Assessment	Other:	
6. Since how long you have been visiting the market (In Years)?						
7. Frequency of Visits to the market	Weekly	Bimonthly	Once a month	Once in 2-3 Months	Once in 3-6 Months	Once in 6-12 Months

C. Details of proposed sales (Only for those whose purpose of visit to market is sale of cattle -Farmers & Traders)

1. Which Livestock(animals) you brought to sell?

Cattle Species	N	Cattle Species	N	Cattle Species	N	Cattle Species	N
a. Cows		b. Cow and calf		c. Calf/Calves		d. Bullocks	
e. Buffalo (M)		f. Buffalo (F)		d. Goats/Sheep		f. Other	

2. Details of Cattle and sale expectations:

Type of Cattle	Whether Purchased of Home Bred?	Approx age	Self-assessment of Health	Mode of transport for cattle	Amount spent on transport	Price Quoted	Reason for Sale	Previous attempts for sale(number)	Any specific reason for sale not concluding

Space for Notes/Special Remarks

D. Only in case of Exchange

1. Which livestock (animals) are proposed to be exchanged?

Cattle Species	N	Cattle Species	N	Cattle Species	N	Cattle Species	N
a. Cows		b. Cow and calf		c. Calf/Calves		d. Bullocks	
e. Buffalo (M)		f. Buffalo (F)		d. Goats/Sheep		f. Any other	

2. Details of Cattle and exchange expectations

Type of Cattle	Whether Purchased of Home Bred?	Approx age	Self-assessment of Health	Mode of transport for cattle	Amount spent on transport	Price Quoted	Reason for Sale	Previous attempts for sale(number)	Any specific reason for sale not concluding

E. Support sought for sale/exchange transactions.

1. Who accompanied you for assistance?	Family Members	Close Kin	Friends	Intermediary Or Agent	Others
2. Number of members					
3. What support is being rendered by them?	care of cattle	price negotiations	Transporting of cattle	Advice on cattle health	Any other specify

F. Opinions on facilities in the Market:

Facility	Rating					Facility	Rating				
1. Space/beds	1	2	3	4	5	3. Food	1	2	3	4	5
2. Parking	1	2	3	4	5	6. Price of Food	1	2	3	4	5
3. Parking Charges	1	2	3	4	5	7. Toilet facilities	1	2	3	4	5
4. Drinking Water	1	2	3	4	5	8. Drinking Water for cattle	1	2	3	4	5
						9. General cleanliness and hygiene	1	2	3	4	5
						10. Facility for cattle feed	1	2	3	4	5
						11. Opinion of taxes collected	1	2	3	4	5
						12. Opinion on power supply	1	2	3	4	5

Rating Values: 1: No Facility 2: Highly Unsatisfactory 3: Unsatisfactory 4: Satisfactory 5: Highly Satisfactory

SCHEDULE FOR EXIT INTERVIEW

E. Successful conclusion of sale (Note: Section G is for those who concluded a sale)

E.1. Sale transactions and sale proceedings

(Please refer to C.1 and obtain the following details with reference to the details of cattle provided there)

Type of cattle	Sale price	Diff. between expected & actual sale price	Waiting period of sale	Perception of sale*	Any conditions made for the sale/**	Any agreements on sale proceedings#	Details of payments @

*Good/Satisfactory/ Unsatisfactory/Diverse **Bk, return of sale proceedings in case of unsatisfactory performance: # Bk, payment in instalments, etc.: @ Cash/Digital payments/agreement bonds, etc.

F. Sale unsuccessful (Note: Section H is for those who could not conclude a sale)

F.1. Reasons for unsuccessful sale proposals

(Please refer to C.1 and obtain the following details with reference to the details of cattle provided there)

Type of cattle	Any specific remarks in case of an unsuccessful attempt at sale? (Less demand due to off-season/Syndication of traders/Any other specify)

G. Successful exchange transactions (Note: Section I is for those who concluded an exchange deal successfully)

(Please refer to section D and obtain the following details with reference to the details of cattle provided there)

Type of cattle	Whether purchased or home-reared?	Estimated age	Self-assessment of the health of the animal	Mode of transport for cattle	Amount spent on transport	Price quoted	Reasons for exchange	Previous attempts for exchange (number)

H. Unsuccessful exchange proposal (Note: Section J is for those who failed in exchange deal)

(Please refer to section D and obtain the following details with reference to the details of cattle provided there)

Type of cattle	Any specific remarks in case of an unsuccessful attempt of exchange? (Less demand due to off-season/Syndication of traders/Any other/specify)

Space for notes

D. What changes do you think have occurred regarding the livestock markets?

Participation of farmers	
Participation of traders	
Volume of livestock transacted	
Facilities in the markets	
Tax collections	
Unofficial payments	
Transportation of livestock	
Digital transactions	
Price negotiations	
Fairness of deals	
Any other (s)	

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS FOR FARMERS

E. On creating, widening and sustaining social networks:

E.1. Do you think regular participation in livestock markets help meet people who were not in your social circle earlier? Yes/No

E.1.1. If **Yes to Q.E.1**, do you think the regular participants of livestock markets also turn those new contacts as part of their social network? Yes/No

E.2 Which of the following categories are most likely to be added to one’s social network through regular participation in livestock markets (*also indicate the % chances for the different categories*)?

Category	Opinion	If yes, % chance
Staff of the tax collection & space management agency	Y/N	
Government officials	Y/N	
Political leaders	Y/N	
Insurance agents/officials	Y/N	
Transportation personnel	Y/N	
Private financiers & money lenders	Y/N	
People running petty businesses, like selling food, jewellery, clothes, etc.	Y/N	
Wholesale merchants	Y/N	
Service providers	Y/N	
Livestock traders	Y/N	
Intermediaries	Y/N	
Ethno-vet specialists	Y/N	
Members of your profession group (Fellow farmers)	Y/N	

F.1. Do you think that while adding new contacts found in livestock markets into one’s social circle, the social identities (similar religion/caste/language/region etc.) matter? (Yes/No)

F.2.1. If **Yes to Q.F.1**, to what extent? (Marginal/Considerable extent/Mostly)

F.2.2. If it is **Considerable or Mostly (Q.F.2.1)**, why do you think social identities are important?

- a) Easy to mobilise the support of other family members for such relationships
- b) More likelihood of “attitude match”
- c) Any other (specify)

F.3. If **No to Q.F.1**, why do you think social identities do not matter?

- a) such new members will be outside my village
- b) relationships will be mostly restricted to economic matters;
- c) relationships are built around similar interests
- d) relationships are based on foundations of commitment to human values of honesty and integrity
- e) relationships are based on mutual trust and help in crisis
- f) any other (specify)

G. Have you developed an intimate/functional relationship with anyone you met at the livestock market in the past?

Name	Years since first contact	Similar social identity (religion/caste)?	If not similar social identity, details of religion/caste/region	Occupation	Perception of present status of relationship*	Context of first contact

* Intimate/Functional/Social courtesies

G.1. Do you consider only monetary aspects with regard to sale and purchase of livestock in livestock markets? Yes/No

G.2 Does the social identity like belongingness to same caste/religion/region/language etc. matter in the following market related transactions?

Factors	Opinion	Reason
Livestock trading	Y/N	
Health care services for livestock	Y/N	
Transportation of livestock	Y/N	
Engaging with intermediaries/traders	Y/N	
Dispute resolution during the market	Y/N	
Any other factor, specify.		

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE ON CULTURAL FACETS

H. Beliefs and rituals relating to sale and purchase of cattle

H.1. Is there any local deity for livestock? Yes/No

H.1.1. If yes, please name and provide description of any rituals associated with the deity.

H.2. Do you consider that certain months are auspicious for sale/purchase of livestock? Yes/No

H.2.1. If yes, can you give the details of the same?

Month	Any specific reason for considering it to be auspicious?	In what sense the fortune is expected if the cattle are purchased/sold in that month?

H.3. Do you consider that certain days of week are auspicious for sale/purchase of livestock? Yes/No

H.3.1. If yes, can you give the details of the same?

Day	Any specific reason for considering it to be auspicious?	In what sense the fortune is expected if the cattle are purchased/sold on that day of the week?

H.4. Do you observe any rituals at the time when new cattle purchased in a market are brought to your home? Yes/No

H.4.1. If yes, can you give the details of the of the same? (Who performs it and what is its significance?)

H.5. Do you observe any rituals when you take cattle for sale or exchange? Yes/No

H.5.1. If yes, can you give details of the same? (Who performs it and what is its significance?)

I. Beliefs and perceptions of 'Look' of the animal

I.1. Is there any preferences/beliefs regarding size and shape of the animal (or body part like hump, dewlap, horns, udder, legs, tail etc.). **Yes/No.** (If yes, please elaborate).

I.2. Is there any preference/beliefs regarding the colour of the animal and/or skin shades/spots on the coat of the body. **Yes/No.** (If yes, please elaborate).

I.3. Is there any preferences/beliefs regarding grace of walking/taming/ease of feeding etc. **Yes/No.** (If yes, please elaborate).

J. Beliefs/Perceptions of care and body decoration

J.1. Is there any belief about grazing: right timings and type of grass/leaves/fodder? **Yes/No.** (If yes, please elaborate).

J.2. Is there any belief about massages and bath: frequency and care required? **Yes/No.** (If yes, please elaborate).

J.3. Are there any beliefs and practices relating to prevention of diseases in the animal? **Yes/No.** (If yes, please elaborate).

J.3.1 Is there any specific ritual performed to prevent diseases or ward off evil eye? **Yes/No**

7 | Page

(If yes, please elaborate)

J.4. Do you take any measures to enhance the looks of your animal? (Like colouring the horns; decorating with special and colourful ropes to tie nose/neck etc.; use of ornaments made of beads, bells etc.) **Yes/No** (If yes, please elaborate).

K. Morals/ethics expected and followed in weekly market for sale-purchase of animals

K.1. Do you think it is right to artificially enhance the qualities of the livestock (milk production, body size, etc.) by using medicines and special kind of feed? **Yes/No** and reasons

K.2. Do you think it is right to hide or lie about information like age, health, animal behaviour, genuineness of ownership etc., relating to an animal while trading? **Yes/No** and reasons

K.2.1. Have you ever done so in any of your transaction? **Yes/No**

K.3. During livestock transaction, is it right to engage with multiple sellers/buyers at a time even after accepting advance payment from some other party? **Yes/No** and reasons.

K.4. Are there any specific mannerisms followed while negotiating for livestock transaction in the market? (Like posture, hand gestures, voice modulation, etc.) **Yes/No** (If yes, please elaborate)

K.4.2. Is there any specific lingua-franca or local language for trading in this market? Any trading jargons? **Yes/No** (If yes, please elaborate)

8 | Page

K.5. Do you think it is correct to verify the information given by the seller regarding their livestock from a third party before finalising the transaction without the knowledge of the former? **Yes/No** and reasons.

K.6. Can a livestock transaction be finalised based only on the verbal assurance of the seller/buyer with some token amount? **Yes/No** and reasons.

K.6.1. Do you think there should be some conditions regarding livestock transaction with regard to the following?

- a. A trial period for the livestock before final deal is sealed
- b. Refund of sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the completion of the deal
- c. Provision for payment in instalments, depending on the economic condition of the buyer.
- d. Cancellation of deal even after advance payment
- e. Any other, please specify.

K.7. Are there any unwritten rules with regard to the sale and purchase of animals of certain ages/sex/genetic defects (like cow should not be sold for meat or hide)? **Yes/No. If yes, please elaborate.**

L. Disputes and dispute resolution

L.1. Do you think disputes are possible over sale transactions in cattle markets? **Yes/No**

L.2. If yes, what are the possible reasons for such disputes?

(Disregard of agreements/Cheating on livestock health/Interference of intermediary/Bargaining issues/ Impolite conversations/
Undue competition from fellow farmers/traders/ Others, Specify _____)

L.3. How are such disputes over livestock sale/purchase prevented?

L.4. If disputes arise, whose help is sought in its resolution?

(Market participants/Community elders/Market functionaries/Political leaders/Police/Others)

L.5. In case of any dispute, does the socioeconomic status of the people involved influence the decision regarding resolution? **Yes/No**

9 | Page

L.6. Do you have any personal experience of dispute over sale/purchase of any animal in the last five years or so? **Yes/No**

L.7. If yes, please narrate the nature of the dispute and how it was resolved?

L.8. Has any of your close kin or friends experienced any dispute over livestock transactions in the weekly market? **Yes /No**

L.9. If yes, please narrate the nature of the dispute and how it was resolved?

10 | Page

E. Care of livestock during the intermittent periods

E.1. How do you ensure the care of the livestock that are traded by you with regard to the following?

Type of care	Action taken
E.1.1. Health care	Support of vet. specialists/Indigenous health care measures/Immunization
E.1.2. Livestock feed	
E.1.3. Special diet	
E.1.4. Body care like bath, messages etc.	
E.1.5. Control of effects of changes of climate	

F. What infrastructural arrangements are made for successful conduct of trade?

F.1. Sheds (provide the details of sheds constructed/rented, if any):

F.2. Transport vehicles for livestock:

F.3. Stores:

F.4. Others:

G. Use of social media and digital platforms

G.1. Do you use digital equipment for dissemination of information to potential buyers? Yes/No

G.2. If yes, since how long have you been practicing this?

G.3. What advantages do you see with the use of digital equipment?

G.4. Do you resort to digital payments in connection with your business? Yes/No

G.5. If yes, how frequently? (Specify in terms of % of all payments and receipts)

H. Risks involved and risk management:

H.1. What are the risks involved in this business?

H.2. What are the measures taken to mitigate the risks?

H.3. Market fluctuations:(Can you explain the factors that affect market fluctuations?)

Social (eg. belief system):

Weather-related:

Government Policy:

3

I. Management of public relationships and social networks

I.1. Do you think public relationships are important for this occupation? Yes/No

I.2. If yes, with whom do you ensure good public relations? (Clients/Local officials/Transporters/Police/Members of statutory bodies)

I.3. How do you ensure good public relationships with different members?

Category of members	Strategy of public relationships (P.R.)
Clients	Social visits/Gift giving/Hand loans/Commissions/Discounts/Funds for village level festivals/courtesy messages and telephone calls/Others
Local officials	Social visits/gift giving/Bribes/Arranging facilities of transport etc./Others
Police officials	Social visits/gift giving/Bribes/Arranging facilities of transport etc./Others
Political leaders	Social visits/gift giving/Bribes/Arranging facilities of transport etc./ party funds/donations/helping during campaigning etc./Others
Transporters	Social visits/gift giving/extending loans/Offering of commissions/Discounts/Others (specify)/Advance payments
Others (Specify)	Social visits/gift giving/extending loans/Offering of commissions/Discounts/Others (specify)/Advance payments

I.4. How many contacts are saved in your phone?

I.5. What is the approximate expenditure you have incurred for P.R last year?

J. Livestock markets accessed and the opinion on facilities:

J.1. What are the markets that you usually access and what is your opinion on facilities in those markets? (Can you give a rating between 1 to 10)

Market location	Dist. From current address	Speciality of market, if any	General assessment of facilities															
			Space/ Sheds	Vehicle Parking	Parking charges	Toilets	Dri. Water	Power	Food	Price of food	Transport	Livestock feed	Fairness	Disputes	Competition	Taxes	Others	

4

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS FOR TRADERS

K. On creating, widening, and sustaining social networks:

K.1. Do you think regular participation in livestock markets help meet people who were not in your social circle earlier? **Yes/No**

K.1.1. If **Yes** to Q.E.1, do you think the regular participants of livestock markets also turn those new contacts as part of their social network? **Yes/No**

K.2 Which of the following categories are most likely to be added to one's social network through regular participation in livestock markets (also indicate the % chances for the different categories)?

Category	Opinion	If yes, % chance
Staff of the tax collection & space management agency	Y/N	
Government officials	Y/N	
Political leaders	Y/N	
Insurance agents/officials	Y/N	
Transportation personnel	Y/N	
Private financiers & money lenders	Y/N	
People running petty businesses, like selling food, jewellery, clothes, etc.	Y/N	
Wholesale merchants	Y/N	
Service providers	Y/N	
Livestock traders	Y/N	
Intermediaries	Y/N	
Ethno-vet specialists	Y/N	
Members of your profession group (Fellow farmers)	Y/N	

L.1. Do you think social identities matter (similar religion/caste/language/region etc.) while adding new contacts found in livestock markets into one's social circle? **(Yes/No)**

L.2.1. If **Yes** to Q.L.1, to what extent? (Marginal/Considerable extent/Mostly)

L.2.2. If it is **Considerable or Mostly** (Q.L.2.1), why do you think social identities are important?

- a) Easy to mobilise the support of other family members for such relationships b) More likelihood of "attitude match" c) Any other (specify)

5

L.3. If **No** to Q.L.1, why do you think social identities do not matter?

- a) such new members will be outside my village b) relationships will be mostly restricted to economic matters; c) relationships are built around similar interests; d) relationships are based on foundations of commitment to human values of honesty and integrity e) relationships are based on mutual trust and help in crisis; f) any other (specify)

M. Have you developed an intimate/functional relationship with anyone you met at the livestock market in the past?

Name	Years since first contact	Similar social identity (religion/caste)?	If not similar social identity, details of religion/caste/region	Occupation	Perception of present status of relationship*	Context of first contact

* Intimate/Functional/Social courtesies

M.1. Do you consider only monetary aspects regarding sale and purchase of livestock in livestock markets? **Yes/No**

M.2. Does the social identity like belongingness to same caste/religion/region/language etc. matter in the following market related transactions?

Factors	Opinion	Reason
Livestock trading	Y/N	
Health care services for livestock	Y/N	
Transportation of livestock	Y/N	
Engaging with intermediaries/traders	Y/N	
Dispute resolution during the market	Y/N	
Any other factor, specify.		

6

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE ON CULTURAL FACETS

N. Beliefs and rituals relating to sale and purchase of cattle

N.1. Is there any local deity for livestock? **Yes/No**

N.1.1. **If yes**, please provide description and any rituals associated with the deity.

N.2. Do you consider that certain months are auspicious for sale/purchase of livestock? **Yes/No**

N.2.1. **If yes**, can you give the details of the same?

Month	Any specific reason for considering it to be auspicious?	In what sense the fortune is expected if the cattle are purchased/sold in that month?

N.3. Do you consider that certain days of week are auspicious for sale/purchase of livestock? **Yes/No**

N.3.1. **If yes**, can you give the details of the same?

Day	Any specific reason for considering it to be auspicious?	In what sense the fortune is expected if the cattle are purchased/sold on that day of the week?

N.4. Do you observe any rituals at the time when new cattle purchased in a market are brought to your home? **Yes/No**

N.4.1. **If yes**, can you give the details of the ritual and its significance? Also mention who performs such ritual.

N.5. Do you observe any rituals when you take cattle for sale or exchange? **Yes/No**

N.5.1. **If yes**, can you give details of the same? (Who performs it and what is its significance?)

7

O. Beliefs and perceptions of 'Look' of the animal

O.1. Are there any preferences for/beliefs regarding size and shape of the animal while trading? (or body parts like hump, dewlap, horns, udder, legs, tail etc.)

O.2. Do you have any preference for/beliefs regarding the colour of the animal and/or skin shades/spots on the coat of the body? **Yes/No. (If yes, please elaborate)**

O.3. Do you have any preferences for/beliefs regarding grace of walking/taming/ease of feeding etc? **Yes/No. (If yes, please elaborate)**

P. Beliefs/Perceptions of care and body decoration

P.1. Are there any right times for grazing? And any specific type of grass/leaves/fodder that you feed the animal?

P.2. Is there any specific ritual performed to prevent diseases or ward off evil eye? **Yes/No (If yes, please elaborate)**

P.3. Do you take any measures to enhance the looks of your animal? (Like colouring the horns; decorating with special and colourful ropes to tie nose/neck etc.; use of ornaments made of beads, bells etc.)

Q. Morals/ethics expected and followed in the weekly market for sale-purchase of animals

Q.1. Do you think it is right to artificially enhance the qualities of the livestock (milk production, body size, etc.) by using medicines and special kind of feed? **Yes/No and reasons**

Q.2. Do you think it is right to hide or lie about information like age, health, animal behaviour, genuineness of ownership etc., relating to an animal while trading? **Yes/No and reasons**

Q.2.1. Have you ever done so in any of your transaction? **Yes/No**

8

- Q.3. During livestock transaction, is it right to engage with multiple sellers/buyers at a time even after accepting advance payment from some other party? **Yes/No and reasons**
- Q.4. Are there any specific mannerisms followed while negotiating for livestock transaction in the market? (Like posture, hand gestures, voice modulation, etc.) **Yes/No (If yes, please elaborate)**
- Q.4.2. Is there any specific *lingua-franca* or local language for trading in this market? Any trading jargons? **Yes/No (If yes, please elaborate)**
- Q.5. Do you think it is correct to verify the information given by the seller regarding their livestock from a third party before finalising the transaction without the knowledge of the former? **Yes/No and reasons**
- Q.6. Can a livestock transaction be finalised based only on the verbal assurance of the seller/buyer with some token amount? **Yes/No and reasons**
- Q.6.1. Should there be some conditions regarding livestock transactions?
- A trial period for the livestock before final deal is sealed
 - Refund of sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the completion of the deal
 - Provision for payment in instalments, depending on the economic condition of the buyer.
 - Cancellation of deal even after advance payment
- Q.7. Are there any unwritten rules with regard to the sale and purchase of animals of certain ages/sex/genetic defects (like cow should not be sold for meat or hide)? **Yes/No (If yes, please elaborate)**

R. Disputes and dispute resolution

- R.1. Do you think disputes are possible over sale transactions in cattle markets? **Yes/No**
- R.1.1. **If yes**, what are the possible reasons for such disputes?
(Disregard of agreements/Cheating on livestock health/Interference of intermediary/Bargaining issues/ Impolite conversations/ Undue competition from fellow farmers/traders/ Others, Specify _____)
- R.2. How are such disputes over livestock sale/purchase prevented?

9

- R.3. If disputes arise, whose help is sought in its resolution?
(Market participants/Community elders/Market functionaries/Political leaders/Police/Others)
- R.4. In case of any dispute, does the socioeconomic status of the people involved influence the decision regarding resolution? **Yes/No**
- R.5. Do you have any personal experience of dispute over sale/purchase of any animal in the last five years or so? **Yes/No**
- R.6. **If yes**, please narrate the nature of the dispute and how it was resolved?
- R.7. Has any of your close kin or friends experienced any dispute over livestock transactions in the weekly market? **Yes /No**
- R.8. If yes, please narrate, the nature of the dispute and how it was resolved?

Space for notes:

10

Market location	Dist. from current address	Speciality of market, if any	General assessment of facilities														
			Space/ Sheds	Vehicle Parking	Parking charges	Toilets	Dri. water	Power	Food	Price of food	Transport	Cattle feed	Fairness	Disputes	Competition	Taxes	Others

E. What changes you think have occurred regarding the cattle markets?

Participation of farmers	
Participation of traders	
Volume of cattle transacted	
Facilities in the markets	
Tax collections	
Unofficial payments	

Transportation of cattle	
Digital transactions	
Price negotiations	
Fairness of deals	
Any other (s)	

Space for notes

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS

F. On creating, widening, and sustaining social networks:

F.1. Do you think regular participation in livestock markets help meet people who were not in your social circle earlier? **Yes/No**

F.1.1. If **Yes to Q.E.1**, do you think the regular participants of livestock markets also turn those new contacts as part of their social network? **Yes/No**

F.2 Which of the following categories are most likely to be added to one's social network through regular participation in livestock markets (also indicate the % chances for the different categories)?

Category	Opinion	If yes, % chance
Staff of the tax collection & space management agency	Y/N	
Government officials	Y/N	
Political leaders	Y/N	
Insurance agents/officials	Y/N	
Transportation personnel	Y/N	
Private financiers & money lenders	Y/N	
People running petty businesses, like selling food, jewellery, clothes, etc.	Y/N	
Wholesale merchants	Y/N	
Service providers	Y/N	
Livestock traders	Y/N	
Farmers	Y/N	
Ethno-vet specialists	Y/N	
Members of your profession group (Intermediaries)	Y/N	

G.1. Do you think that while adding new contacts found in livestock markets into one's social circle, the social identities (similar religion/caste/language/region etc.) matter? (Yes/No)

G.2.1. If **Yes to Q.F.1**, to what extent? (Marginal/Considerable extent/Mostly)

5

G.2.2. If it is **Considerable or Mostly (Q.F.2.1)**, why do you think social identities are important?

- a) Easy to mobilise the support of other family members for such relationships b) More likelihood of "attitude match" c) Any other (specify)

G.3. If **No to Q.F.1**, why do you think social identities do not matter?

- a) such new members will be outside my village b) relationships will be mostly restricted to economic matters; c) relationships are built around similar interests d) relationships are based on foundations of commitment to human values of honesty and integrity e) relationships are based on mutual trust and help in crisis f) any other (specify)

H. Have you developed an intimate/functional relationship with anyone you met at the livestock market in the past?

Name	Years since first contact	Similar social identity (religion/caste)?	If not similar social identity, details of religion/caste/region	Occupation	Perception of present status of relationship*	Context of first contact

* Intimate/Functional/Social courtesies

I.1. Do you consider only monetary aspects regarding sale and purchase of livestock in livestock markets? **Yes/No**

I.2 Does the social identity like belongingness to same caste/religion/region/language etc. matter in the following market related transactions?

Factors	Opinion	Reason
Livestock trading	Y/N	
Health care services for livestock	Y/N	
Transportation of livestock	Y/N	
Engaging with farmers/traders	Y/N	
Dispute resolution during the market	Y/N	
Any other factor, specify.		

6

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHEDULE ON CULTURAL FACETS

J. Beliefs and rituals relating to sale and purchase of livestock

J.1. Do you consider that certain months are auspicious for sale/purchase of livestock? **Yes/No**

J.1.1. If yes, can you give the details of the same?

Month	Any specific reason for considering it to be auspicious?	In what sense is the fortune expected if the livestock are purchased/sold in that month?

J.2. Do you consider that certain days of week are auspicious for sale/purchase of livestock? **Yes/No**

J.2.1. If yes, can you give the details of the same?

Day	Any specific reason for considering it to be auspicious?	In what sense is the fortune expected if the livestock are purchased/sold on that day of the week?

K. Beliefs and perceptions of the 'Look' of the animal

K.1. Is there any preferences/beliefs regarding size and shape of the animal (or body parts like hump, dewlap, horns, udder, legs, tail etc.) **Yes/No. (If yes, please elaborate).**

K.2. Is there any preference/beliefs regarding the colour of the animal and/or skin shades/spots on the coat of the body. **Yes/No. (If yes, please elaborate).**

K.3. Is there any preferences/beliefs regarding grace of walking/taming/ease of feeding, etc. **Yes/No. (If yes, please elaborate).**

L. Morals/ethics expected and followed in weekly market for sale-purchase of animals

L.1. Do you think it is right to artificially enhance the qualities of the livestock (milk production, body size, etc.) by using medicines and special kind of feed? **Yes/No and reasons**

L.2. Do you think it is right to hide or lie about information like age, health, animal behaviour, genuineness of ownership etc., relating to an animal while trading? **Yes/No and reasons**

L.2.2. Have you ever done so in any of your transaction? **Yes/No**

L.3. During livestock transaction, is it right to engage with multiple sellers/buyers at a time even after accepting advance payment from some other party? **Yes/No and reasons**

L.4. Are there any specific mannerisms followed while negotiating for livestock transaction in the market? (Like posture, hand gestures, voice modulation, etc.) **Yes/No (If yes, please elaborate).**

L.4.1. Is there any specific lingua-franca or local language for trading in this market? Any trading jargons? **Yes/No (If yes, please elaborate).**

L.5. Do you think it is correct to verify the information given by the seller regarding their livestock from a third party before finalising the transaction without the knowledge of the former? **Yes/No and reasons**

L.6. Can a livestock transaction be finalised based only on the verbal assurance of the seller/buyer with some token amount?

L.6.1. Do you think there should be some conditions regarding livestock transaction with regard to the following?

- a. A trial period for the livestock before final deal is sealed.
- b. Refund of sale amount if the information provided proves to be wrong after the completion of the deal.
- c. Provision for payment in instalments, depending on the economic condition of the buyer.
- d. Cancellation of deal even after advance payment.
- e. Any other, please specify.

L.7. Are there any unwritten rules with regard to the sale and purchase of animals of certain ages/sex/genetic defects (like cow should not be sold for meat or hide)? **Yes/No (If yes, please specify).**

9

M. Disputes and dispute resolution

M.1. Do you think disputes are possible over sale transactions in cattle markets? **Yes/No**

M.2. **If yes**, what are the possible reasons for such disputes?

(Disregard of agreements/Cheating on livestock health/Interference of intermediary/Bargaining issues/ Impolite conversations/ Undue competition from fellow farmers/traders/ Others, Specify _____)

N.3. How are such disputes over livestock sale/purchase prevented?

N.4. If disputes arise, whose help is sought in its resolution?

(Market participants/Community elders/Market functionaries/Political leaders/Police/Others)

N.5. In case of any dispute, does the socioeconomic status of the people involved influence the decision regarding resolution? **Yes/No**

N.6. Do you have any personal experience of dispute over sale/purchase of any animal in the last five years or so? **Yes/No**

N.7. If yes, please narrate the nature of the dispute and how it was resolved?

10

Annexure 05: Schedule for Transporters

Schedule for Transporters (Drivers)

Name: _____ Age: _____
 Contact number: _____ Gender: _____
 Education: Cannot Sign / 1- 5 Std / 5-10 Std / 11-12 Std / Graduate / Post Graduate
 Address: _____

 Primary Occupation: _____
 Secondary Occupation: _____
 Ownership of Vehicle: Own / Rented / Own with Loan or Finance
 Size and Model of Vehicle: LMV / HMV / Two Wheeler / Three Wheeler (Goods Auto / Auto)
 Size _____ x _____ Company and Model _____
 Type of Vehicle: Yellow Board / White Board /Green Board / Others _____

1. Business Details:

- What is the name of your transportation service?

- How long have you been transporting livestock in this region?

- Are you transporting specific types of livestock? No / Yes, If yes, which type _____

2. Transportation Capacity:

- How many livestock have you brought today? Trips made today : _____

Type	No's brought today	Max Capacity	Cattle Brought from (Village & Kms)
Bullocks			
Buffalo			
Sheep			
Cow			
Goats			

Poultry Birds			
Others			

- Number of Trips made today: One / Two / Three / Four / _____
- Do you have any special equipment or facilities for loading- unloading livestock with you?

3. Routes and Schedule:

- What routes do you commonly prefer for transporting livestock?
 Road with Tolls / Without tolls / Highways / Connecting Roads / _____
- In which route do you face many problems?
- How frequently do you visit the rural cattle livestock market? (Table Below)

Days	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
Name of Market							
Km from village							
Km from market							

4. Booking and Communication:

- How do customers typically book your transportation services? Phone / Verbally
- Who are your customers? Farmers / Middlemen / Traders / Farmer-Traders / Fellow Drivers
- What information do you need from customers when they make a booking?
- Do you ask for any advance payment, No / Yes
- Mode of Transaction- Digital / Cash / Credit
- Advance _____ % Rest of Payment _____ %

5. Livestock Handling:

- What measures do you take to ensure the safety and well-being of the livestock during transportation?

Floor- Green Leaves / Dry Leaves / Mat / Others _____

Fodder- Yes / No

Water- Yes / No

- No' of Breaks during the journey (in Kms): 10-40 / 40-60 / 60-80 / 80-100 / 100+

- Where Breaks are taken? _____

6. Cost and Payment:

- How do you determine the cost of transporting livestock?

Based on Kms / Fixed Price / No' of Cattle / Others _____

- Are there any additional charges or considerations that customers should know?
 (Circle the below if Customer pays, and Tick them if Driver pays)

Toll Charges / Parking charges / Driver Food / Others _____

7. Insurance and Liability:

- Do you provide insurance coverage for the livestock during transportation?
- What is your policy in case of any accidents or unforeseen events during transit?
 Who supports you during such instances? (Buyers/ Cattle Owners/ Traders/ Others
 _____)

Accidents :

Death :

Any Hindrance :

8. Regulatory Compliance:

- Are you licensed and authorized to operate as a livestock transporter for the Current Year? YES / NO

9. Economic Aspects:

- How many Trips do you cover in a month?
- What is your estimated income in a month?

	Live Stock Only	Total (Livestock + Others)
How many Trips do you cover in a month?		
What is your estimated income in a month? In Rupees		

- Socio-Economic Relation with Traders _____
 / Seller _____ / Buyer _____

10. Emergency Procedures:

- Do you have a First Aid kit in your vehicle for livestock?
- What procedures do you have in place in case of emergencies or unexpected delays?

Illness of Cattle	
Cattle Birth	
Death of Cattle	
Others (Specify)	

11. Any important event that took place: (Police Case / Political / Vehicle seized / Others)

12. Difficulties in accessing the Markets:

C.6. Do you keep any records and how they are maintained?

C.7. How do you review the sales considering aspects like income, expenditure, value, etc.?

C.8. What are the methods you apply to assess the market?

C.9. What changes you have observed in relation to the market?

C.10. What is the role of technology?

C.11. How can the government help in development of the market?

C.12. What are the challenges pertaining to cattle markets?

D. Additional Remarks:

- C.9. Time and frequency of the local body meeting:
- C.10. Outcome of last meeting:
- C.11.a. Being a local body member, are you engaged in policy making (block level/district level/state level)?
- C.11.b. If yes, give details:
- C.12. How do you manage any dispute? Is there any dispute redressal mechanism?
- C.13. Detail of disputes in last 5 years: What? When? How solved? By whom? Own or outside? Procedure:
- C.14. What is the role of government in management of markets:
- C.15.a. Do you have any remuneration from the body?
- C.15.b. If yes, details:
- C.16. How various stakeholders depend on you?

3

D. General Components of the Market:

D.1. Structure and function of the local body:

Sl. No.	Post	Name	Age	Contact Number	Role / Duty of the Personnel

D.2. Type of the land, on which the market is conducted: (Government/Private/Community/Others):

D.3. Any kind of Lease / Tax:

D.4. Nature and number of employment generated through cattle market:

E. Additional Remarks:

4

Annexure 08: Interview Schedule for Service Providers

National Research Project on
Rural Livestock Markets in India: An Anthropological Exploration of Economic, Social and Cultural facets

By Anthropological Survey of India, Ministry of Culture, Government of India

Interview Schedule for Service Providers

Respondent's Personal Information

1. Name							5. Native Village and Current Address	
2. Age Group	0-14	14-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	55<	Distance from Market	
3. Sex								
4. Community								
Types of Service Provided								

1. How did you learn this work?
2. Does anyone else in your family also do this work? Yes or No.
3. How long have you been involved in this work?.....
4. Do you do the same work/provide services in other places too? If yes, please share details.....
5. How long have you been doing this work/providing your service in this market?.....
6. Do you provide the same service in other markets too? Yes/No. If yes, please name them.

7. How often do you visit livestock markets?
(a) Weekly (b) Bi-monthly (c) once in a month (d) once in three months (e) others (specify)

8. How much can you earn on a market day?.....

9. Do you need to pay some fees to work/provide service in this market? If yes, what are those and the amount?.....

10. Please share your thoughts on this market.