

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PEOPLE ON THE REMOVAL OF STRAY DOGS FROM THE CORPORATIONS IN KERALA: A CASE STUDY

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DECLARATION

I, **SNEHA ANIL** do hereby declare that the Dissertation Titled **PERCEPTIONS OF THE PEOPLE ON THE REMOVAL OF STRAY DOGS FROM THE CORPORATIONS IN KERALA: A CASE STUDY** is based on the original work carried out by me and submitted to the Department of Sociology, Loyola College of Social Sciences(Autonomous), University of Kerala during the year 2024-2026 towards partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree Examination in Sociology. It has not been submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, fellowship or other similar title of recognition before any University or anywhere else.

Thiruvananthapuram
10/07/2026

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CERTIFICATION OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **PERCEPTIONS OF THE PEOPLE ON THE REMOVAL OF STRAY DOGS FROM THE CORPORATIONS IN KERALA: A CASE STUDY** is a record of genuine work done by **SNEHA ANIL** fourth semester Master of Sociology student of this college under my supervision and guidance and that it is hereby approved for submission.

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ABSTRACT

The rising rates of stray dog attacks and consequent judicial orders from the Supreme Court of India led to heated public debates over public security vs animal welfare. Despite the fact that recent Supreme Court rulings have brought about substantial alterations in the stray dog management, the public reaction to these judicial orders continues to be varied and often contentious. It means different groups showed different perceptions towards various elements associated with risk towards stray dogs as propagated by majority of people. The existing literature has predominantly concentrated on legal, veterinary and public health approaches with relatively scant sociological consideration of how lay citizens make sense of and of these shifts, especially in different areas of India. Against this background, the study focuses on potential public reactions towards recent Supreme Court judgments on the removal of stray dogs, in the context of Thiruvananthapuram Corporation in Kerala. The study employs a qualitative unstructured design inspired by a constructionist paradigm in order to understand the perceptions, and reasons that different groups ascribe to the directions and impact of the verdicts, especially the Nov 7th one. Nevertheless, the first three verdicts are taken into one common verdict. The results indicate that even while dominant attitude of society is anthropocentric, respondents can be interpreted into two broad groups, even if some have mixed views in the field, which result from a complex set of interrelated factors, including lived experiences, risk perceptions, utility and ethical views, media narratives, and interpretations of government accountability etc.

Keywords: Stray dogs, Supreme Court verdicts, public perception, human-dog relationship, risk perception, social constructionism, anthropocentrism, qualitative research, Thiruvananthapuram Corporation, India.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Stray dogs are one group among the free- roaming dog population. “Indian stray dog (*Canis lupus familiaris*) population is a component of India's free-roaming dog population, influencing public health, urban ecological processes, and social dynamics,” (Saha et al., 2025: 1) a common sight in urban and rural areas (Saha et al., 2025: 1). As per livestock census 2007-2019 in the website for the department of Animal husbandry in the state, the dogs in the state are over 836.27 (Department of Animal Husbandry, 2025).

Kerala has been identified as one of the states reporting a high number of dog bite incidents, despite not being among the top states in terms of stray dog population, with Trivandrum reporting the highest numbers, followed by Kollam, Ernakulam, Palakkad, Thrissur, and Wayanad (The Hindu Bureau, 2025). Same time, three verdicts were passed on 11th August, 22nd August and 7th November, 2025 regarding the management of stray dogs, reflecting differing assumptions about the risks associated with stray dogs, its presence in streets and institutional areas, and their management. While the first verdict emphasized on complete removal of stray dogs for the sake of the road users and their right to move freely and safely under Articles 19(1)(d) and 21, the second sought to balance and middle ground between public safety and the Animal Birth Control rules by releasing the stray dogs back to the streets and only removing aggressive ones (supreme court of India, 2025). On the other hand, the third verdict emphasized on regulating and removing stray dogs, but from specific institutional spaces such as “educational institutions, hospitals, sports complexes, bus stands/depots (including Inter-State Bus Terminals) and railway stations” but it was extended to other public spaces such as “religious places, children’s parks, airports, helipads, seaports, tourist sites and recreational areas” in the standard operating procedures issued by Animal Welfare Board of India (supreme court of India, 2025: 93). Thus, in a way “it envisages large-scale removal and permanent sheltering of stray dogs, thereby departing from the Capture-Sterilize-Vaccinate Release (CSVVR) model contemplated under the ABC Rules, 2023” (supreme court of India, 2026: 94). The court argued that removal would help control stray dog population and prevent dog bites incidents and humans can move around confidently on the streets without fear, since they see the existing animal birth control rules as ineffective. “It must also be noted that the present proceedings arise out of the exercise of Suo moto jurisdiction by this Court, which is

sui generis in nature and is invoked to address situations having wide-ranging consequences and adverse effects on the public at large” (Supreme Court of India, 2026 :71).

As per Article 142, “Enforcement of decrees and orders of Supreme Court and orders as to discovery, etc.”—“The Supreme Court in the exercise of its jurisdiction may pass such decree or make such order as is necessary for doing complete justice in any cause or matter pending before it, and any decree so passed or order so made shall be enforceable throughout the territory of India in such manner as may be prescribed by or under any law made by Parliament and, until provision in that behalf is so made, in such manner as the President may by order prescribe”(Indian Kanoon-Article 142).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

While the supreme court intervened for human wellbeing and betterment of society, it got mixed reactions and rationale from the public. Significant contestation continues to be visible among organized animal lovers, victims and general public in Kerala (MJ, 2025; Legal Eagle, 2026; Times Now, 2025; India Today, 2026; Mojo Story, 2025). The debate around this latest verdict is still ongoing as reflected in the order released on May 19th by the supreme court. In response to 11th August, 22nd August and November 7th verdicts, there was and continues to be visible dissatisfaction between animal lovers, victims and public safety advocates nationwide, regarding removal and non- release of stray dogs (Mitra & Mogul, 2025; Venkatesan, 2025; Supreme Court of India, 2025). There is also a spatial inconsistency as made clear in the May 19th order, in the way the judiciary classify spaces, such that stray dogs can be removed from high-footfall institutional spaces but released back onto general streets (Supreme Court of India, 2026; Johari, 2026).

Overall, Suo moto order and its justifications do not represent the public interest completely, since it had been taken due to media accounts of stray dog attacks, and general people’s views have not been examined systematically. By taking Suo-moto cognizance of the dog bite incidents and accidents from news media, it frames the issue as one that directly affects the basic fundamental rights of humans in terms of mobility and safety everywhere in India, due to the perceived risk associated with stray dogs, while asserting that it is the sentinel on the quivine, guardian of rights, and that it aims to serve justice, conscience and equity (Supreme Court of India, 2025).

Since the initial verdict it is framed in the interest of road users and those affected, however, it assumes that their perspectives have been adequately represented, claiming that their voices

were heard; not all groups were heard (Supreme Court of India,2025). In reality, the court had only supposedly taken into account victims' interest without taking account of the diversity of views or ambiguity among the public. Road users consist of a diverse category including victims, animal lovers and individuals with varying levels of interactions with stray dogs, across different socio-economic backgrounds. Therefore, public perceptions cannot be reduced to a simple binary division between animal lovers and those indifferent to animals, or between elites and the poor (Supreme Court of India,2025; Kaur, 2019; Mojo Story, 2025; Bhalla et al, 2021). Moreover, there is likely to be variations between the groups themselves, as some victims also identify as animal lovers (NDTV, 2025; Kaur, 2019), and diverse categories among the animal lovers also exist (Bhalla et al, 2021; Kaur, 2019). In addition, the verdict does not clearly define key terms such as "stray dog", and largely frames the issues faced in streets and institutional spaces based on selective perceptions of risk as highlighted by the news media across all contexts (Supreme court of India, 2025; Supreme court of India, 2025) without accounting the idea of community dogs (NDTV, 2025) or positive interactions with stray dogs altogether. Neither does it account for animal lovers as a subjective identity. Furthermore, the issues associated with stray dogs, including rabies and bites, may be interpreted across different groups and contexts. Thus, showing that reality is socially constructed and that there is no objective reality. Bites can also be caused by pet dogs most of the time and human tactics, and rabies records don't necessarily be accurate (Mojo Story, 2025). People also stress on other issues that really concern them (Mojo Story, 2025; India Today, 2026). Therefore, the claims and framings in the verdicts are represented as public interest without drawing empirical evidence of how the public actually perceive the issue (Supreme court of India, 2025; Mojo Story, 2025; India Today, 2026).

Also, even in the August 22nd verdict, although the main objective was to find a middle ground, but it is uncertain as to how the people really perceive it, as there seems to be opposition even towards Animal birth control centers in Kerala (The Hindu Bureau, 2025; Supreme Court of India, 2025; Bhalla et al, 2021; The Meghalayan Express, 2025; Legal Eagle, 2026). The views and experiences of everyday road users, including victims and animal lovers, particularly in relation to feeding and other interactions are also not clearly documented (Supreme court of India, 2025, India Today News Desk, 2026).

While the issue of stray dogs is framed as a public problem requiring intervention, emphasizing human rights over animal rights and rules, it in turn generated new forms of conflict and debate (Supreme court of India, 2025). Thus, while the court has previously justified that it had to be

objective against the popular sentiments of the time, the discussions and debates among them actually revealed more issues with the social system and different constructions of reality (Supreme court of India, 2025; Mojo Story, 2025). The conflict also reflects differences in cultural attitudes towards animal - human relations, particularly as shown between local perspectives in India and with the management strategies of western countries (Sen Sharma et al., 2024; Supreme court of India, 2025). The new verdict has been perceived by some groups as more problematic than the earlier ones (Times Now, 2025). The dissonance among the public on the presence of stray dogs, led to the inconsistencies among the verdicts - namely, removal non-release then to release on streets- and then to restrictions- removal- non-release in institutional and public roads (Supreme court of India, 2025).

While one group welcome the directions, the other group oppose it; one group support the wellbeing of humans while another groups support well-being of dogs, on the surface. Also, it remains ambiguous whether these people who support or oppose the verdict only prioritize the well-being of humans or stray dogs respectively. Public perceptions towards stray dogs are morally complex and socially constructed when reflecting on the ambiguity among the animal lovers and victims who oppose the verdict, do they not mind the presence of stray dogs on the harsh streets. With some individuals advocating their rights and feeding while simultaneously supporting sterilization, which takes away the ability to reproduce (Raj, 2026). Within this group, perceptions over how stray dog bites happens may also differ, attributing such incidents to human behavior rather than to the animals themselves (Kaur, 2019; Mojo Story, 2025), or do they appear unconcerned about the possibility of future dog-bite incidents. This creates ambiguity in determining whether such attitudes reflect care or neglect toward both stray dogs, and humans, and also whether those who support the verdict are at all indifferent to animal lives (supreme court of India, 2025). The study seeks to find out and categorize these perceptions in terms of their reactions and rationale to the verdict. The news and articles show different factors such as media framing, prior experiences, and risk perceptions, and different rights and rules that seem to have significant influences on the perceptions (Choukhani, 2025).

While the supporters celebrating the verdict upholding the wellbeing of the human beings and the society at the cost of dog's wellbeing, the opposers make protests against the verdict upholding the wellbeing of the stray dogs, forgetting the wellbeing of the human beings in the society. Both the former and the latter are humans but with the opposing concerns. what is their perception over the verdict on the removal of stray dogs from the municipality and corporation area? On what rationale do they behave so? That is, how

do the supporters perceive the verdict and why? And how do the opposers perceive the verdict and why?

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

- Academically, the study of perception is significant because the nature of the issue is that different groups interpret facts, risk, well-being and dog bite issues differently, thereby reflecting the social construction of reality.
- The study contributes to the ongoing legal discourse and debate. The study explores public perceptions in the local context of Thiruvananthapuram corporation, particularly because the verdicts were issued in the name of public interest well-being and safety.
- The views of feeders are very rich, and they possess more knowledge and views more than the general people, and even those who execute it. And people who are engaged in it have an intrinsic interest in it so they come to discuss on it. A focus group discuss could be better, if their views reach the community also. The risk perception becomes more evident with the feeders' views.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Stray dogs pose increasing risk and problem to public health and safety in India (Corfmat et al: 2), and the public also pressurize the government for more effective control of dogs, provoked by media coverage of growing dog related incidents (Bhalla et al,2021). According to the Pet Homelessness Index of India, Indian cities and towns have almost 2 million stray dogs (Choukhani,2025). While India stands as the global capital for stray dog bites and rabies fatalities, the reported number of dog bite incidents in Kerala have crossed over 2 lakh cases, which include both stray and domestic dogs (News Desk, 2025).

2.1.1 THE KERALA CONTEXT

In 2022, Kerala was in the top 10 for dog bites, even though it was not even in the top 10 for the stray population in India. The source of the stray dogs population is always the same, such as improper waste disposal, irresponsible dog ownership, abandonment, inadequate sterilization and vaccination, but the solutions have also not improved. In 2015-16, as per the BBC report, there was mass killing of free ranging dogs, which might not have eventually helped in the long run. And most importantly, it also presents the case that bites are not purely always from rabid stray dogs (Sebastian, 2022).

2.1.2 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY VS ATTITUDE TOWARD TRAY DOG IN KERALA

One study state that based on social identity theory, once people include animals in their group, symbolically their view, belief and action change (Choukhani,2025). Nevertheless, in the case of Kerala, as animal welfare advocate Sally Varma points out dogs are kept in cages and people mostly view even street dogs as rabid mechanically (Sebastian, 2022). This could be understood by the fact that beneath the modern relation between dog and Indians persists a colonial mentality, or a political construction of human-animal duality (Choukhani,2025). Moreover, even though today much more ethical interventions, such as the ABC rules are made, justified by concern for animal wellbeing, it still implies humans exercising control over animals without considering their welfare or biopower (Choukhani,2025).

2.1.3 AFFECT VS UTILITY THEORY

Human-animal bond has been noticed to evolving from low affect and high utility to one of high affect and zero utility and therefore the “dog is continuing to move further into our homes” as part of major social changes or “Second Demographic Transition”, with shifts in fertility, marriage, and family type (Volsche et al.,2019:9).

2.1.4 COMPARING WITH OTHER CULTURES

Compared to developed countries, developing countries have more stray populations, because of poor management techniques and different attitudes in the community. This could be reflected in the studies conducted on community perception toward stray dogs in developed countries. In a study conducted in the US, there was a significant difference between the attitude of Indians and Americans in how they responded to the case of street dogs (Sensharma et al, 2024). From this, we could imply that values and norms influence attitudes, and vice versa. In India, “the public and government seem to have differing views on how to handle stray dogs in cities” (Choukhani,2025). If India needs to tackle stray dogs issues, then community involvement is a must, and so it is important to understand their approach toward free roaming dogs. Various factors such a socioeconomic status, cultural belief, and personal experience tend to influence attitude toward free ranging dogs. The mistreatment of stray dogs is also a common concern within the country which is also why it is important to look into the attitude of people (Choukhani,2025).

2.1.5 CHALLENGES POSED TO DOGS AND HUMANS

Dogs in India face problem related to abandonment, inbreeding, food, malnutrition, disease, conflict, adverse weather, shelter, road accident, sexual abuse, sanitation, disease, injuries, heat stroke, poor dental hygiene and poor hygiene. People don't care about them, they are also thrown stones at by children (Mishra,2023; Corfmat et al.,2022). There are also problems posed by “free-roaming dogs” to humans such as infection, threat of rabies, bites, environmental contamination of feces, chasing vehicle and livestock (Corfmat et al.,2022). “But they also keep trash and vermin level down and provide companionship to people” (Bhalla et al,2021:1246).

2.1.6 LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

According to the Indian constitution, Article 51A states that it is the fundamental duty of a citizen “to protect have compassion for animals, aligning the nations moral responsibility with animal friendly practices” (Choukhani,2025:1). According to article 48 A, it is mandatory for the state to protect environment and wildlife, including stray animals (Choukhani,2025). Despite these laws, dogs are victims of violence in the cities due to fear-based narratives that portray them as a threat (Choukhani,2025).

2.1.7 ROLE OF MEDIA IN SHAPING PERCEPTIONS

Here comes the role of the media in shaping perception toward stray animals with its sensational and disproportionate coverage of negative interaction with free ranging dogs. The “selective reporting” gives an incomplete picture that reinforces stereotypes, especially in rural areas. (Choukhani,2025:3). The news also points out how the media and companies sometimes aggravate the issue by spreading half-baked information and trying to “cash in” using the anti-dog sentiment. e.g., a flour band (Sebastian, 2022). The most important thing is which are the groups that support free ranging dogs, and how do the local population still feel about them? Many studies have shown that children are more inclined to prioritize animals over humans (Choukhani,2025), but could it be the same in India where media coverage is mostly full of attacks on children?

2.1.8 LACK OF DATA, POLICY AND APATHY

The lack of data on stray dogs does correlate with the lack of government investment in the matter. Government and community apathy towards stray dogs seems to have aggravated the issues (Choukhani,2025). And same time there is a growing trend to adopt pedigree breeds, even though many studies have shown that free roaming dog more trainable and adaptable as domestic pets (Corfmat et al,2021).

2.1.9 STRAY DOG PROBLEMS

Stray dogs pose increasing risk and problem to public health and safety in India (Corfmat et al:2). Rabies is the major disease found among the canine population and added to this is the menace of canine distemper (Roshnath, 2014). India accounts for 36% of the total rabies related deaths in the world, according to the World Health Organization (Mollan, 2025). In 2022, Kerala was in the top 10 for dog bites, even though it was not even in the top 10 for the stray population in India, by 2024, about 3.17 lakh people sought treatment from government

hospitals in the State just for dog bite-related cases. Thiruvananthapuram district topped the list, followed by Kollam, Ernakulam, Palakkad, Thrissur, and Wayanad. (The Hindu Bureau, 2025) Even though, bites are not purely always from rabid stray dogs (Sebastian, 2022) packs of stray dogs are often shown in media to be chasing children and the elderly (Yadav, 2025). Moreover, in certain areas of Kerala, like Wayanad, stray dog poses serious threats to environment and wildlife In Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary, along with the major predator like tiger, leopard, stray dogs also compete with them in hunting down prey. And if the dog becomes the prey, in several cases, any infectious disease carried by it could be spread to the leopard and tiger community also. Disease also spread when stray dogs hybridize with other wild canid species like Jackals, therefore stray dog cause serious conservational issue (Roshnath, 2014). In urban area, the number of dog bite cases among animal are severely underestimated because of lack of proper recording. Nevertheless, the source of aggression among street dog are also rooted in the problems they face such as, negligence, abandonment, inbreeding, food, malnutrition, disease, conflict, adverse weather, shelter, road accident, sexual abuse, sanitation, disease, injuries, heat stroke, poor dental hygiene and poor hygiene (Mishra,2023; Corfmat et al.,2022). And same time there is a growing trend to adopt pedigree breeds, even though many studies have shown that stray dog more trainable and adaptable as domestic pets (Corfmat et al,2021).

2.1.10 ATTITUDE TOWARD ON STRAY DOG

Many quantitative studies on public attitude toward stray dog in India show that positive attitude toward stray dog are majority wise among young adults aged 19-25, pet owners and those feeding stray animals, villagers, Hindus and women (Choukhani,2025; Cormat et al,2021).

2.1.11 VARYING ATTITUDE AMONG SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

Among socio-economic groups, it usually depended on their housing type, and physical proximity to dogs. In lower class neighborhoods, which mainly which consisted of independent houses, residents were able to have more contact with stray dogs and were able to distinguish between specific dogs so they didn't find all stray dogs as dangerous, as compared to members of upper and middle class, but were more dependent on government intervention. Also, those with lower class neighborhood, were more accepting of FRD, partly because they were more vulnerable to burglary which made them value the dogs them as effective guard (Bhalla et al.,2021).

Upper-class respondents who were residents of gated colony with little physical contact with stray dog, but expressed more confident, active humane, responsible views in term of community intervention and ethical reflection. The upper-class respondent included groups with varying degree of animal welfare- oriented views. Among the animal welfarists some equated dog' life to human life, and felt the need to handle issue, just like handling stray human beings, then there were those who felt stray dogs should be removed from the city, and relocated elsewhere, then there were those who saw ABC method as the only scientific method for stray dog management, and finally those who felt none of these were practical who felt none of these strategies were viable given the increasing population of dog (Bhalla et al.,2021). While, stray populations were highest in lower class neighborhood, and respondents from the middle and lower classes mostly resorted to quick eradicator attitude toward free ranging dog.

2.1.12 ATTITUDE OF DOG BITE VICTIM

Challenging the victim narrative, and socio-economic stereotypes behind attitude highlighted the life of Maria Gomes, a fifty-five-year-old woman, who took the job of feeding over 300 dogs in the city of Goa. She dedicated her entire life to feeding tray dog after experiencing homelessness and abandonment as a lived experience. He reported that initially she had started feeding barking dogs to prevent attack, but later it developed into empathy and moral commitment, emerging from “her intimate knowledge of what it means to exist at society’s margins” and despite having been bitten four times. The act of feeding also has never been easy since majority of public view feeding stray dog in public as problematic and there being no space dedicated for feeding these animals (Kaur, 2025).

2.1.13 SHELTERS

Studies have found that most people suggested shelters for stray dogs (Choukhani,2025; Corfmat et al, 2021). However, it is pointed out that it is not a practical and efficient method, since shelters tend to become overcrowded with injured and abandoned dogs, due to less adoption rate, no-kill policies, as well as the lack of shelters and resources in India, which would need more expense from our government. Regarding shelters, the Court instructed that overcrowding must be avoided and vulnerable dogs housed separately. Adoption is encouraged following the Animal Birth Control (Dogs) Rules, 2023. Additionally, individuals and organizations who had petitioned against the earlier removal of stray dogs are required to contribute financially toward building the necessary infrastructure for stray dog management. (Kumar, 2025)

2.1.14 STRAY DOGS AND ANIMAL RELATIONS

Canis Familiars (Dog) the first species to be domesticated by humans (Volsche et al.,2019) are a common sight on the streets of India. These homeless stray dogs are not owned by anyone and they live and die on the street, despite being highly adaptable and intelligent (Mishra,2023). In India dogs on the street are called by various names- free roaming dog, free ranging domestic dog, community dogs, mostly because in many urban and rural areas, they roam freely even if they are owned (Choukhani,2025). The World Organization for Animal Health (OIE) (2020) defines a free-roaming dog (FRD) “to be any dog not supervised or confined at a particular time, free-roaming with no owner or feral; a domestic dog that has reverted to a wild state and is no longer directly dependent on humans” (Corfmat et al.,2022:1). In this paper the term stray dog is used synonymously with Free-ranging dog (FRD), which is defined as “any dog observed without human supervision on public property or on private property with immediate unrestrained access to public property” (Bhalla et al,2021:1246).

Among the most basic issues in the literature is how to define the 'stray dog'. While a term widely employed in public debate, the idea subsumes a variety of categories of unowned dogs. Many studies differentiate owned free-roaming dogs, abandoned dogs, feral dogs and community dogs, all of which have varying degrees of dependency on human society. These differentiation matter because they inform the ways different actors understand the problem and potential solutions. Policies intended for the stray animal may not be appropriate for the decades-old community animal, sustained by the erratic kindness of neighborhood residents (Bhalla et al.,2021).

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the World Organization for Animal Health (WOAH) state that free-roaming dogs can be found across a continuum of existence and that they do not compose a single, uniform population. Some are completely reliant on humans for feeding, while others graze on their own, or have limited or deep interaction with local communities. Therefore, to do lump all street dogs into one category is to run the risk of simplifying the complex urban ecological and social matrices of which they form part (Bhalla et al.,2021).

The concept of the “stray dog” can be very culturally loaded. In contrast to much of the West, where stray dogs are generally considered to be simply abandoned pets that require institutional care, Indian cities have long made space for free-ranging dogs in the fabric of daily life. Community dogs often become well known to local residents, are fed by some households,

guard the streets at night and have established territories. Thus, they are indicative of long-term co-habitation as opposed to complete isolation from human society (Bhalla et al.,2021).

In a study on urban residents and street dogs. Some regard them as threatening and unstable, but some know individual dogs by name and are regular feeders, and others see them as part of the community on the neighborhood block. Such findings contest administrative understandings that stray dogs are nothing but a threat to public health (Bhalla et al, 2021). Other investigators address the issue of stray dogs mainly from the perspective of public health. Free-roaming dogs are consistently reported by epidemiological studies as the main source of rabies in the canine rabies endemic countries (Choukhani,2025).

The ecological perspective highlights that free-ranging dogs have an active role within the urban eco-system. They eat organic matter and waste, form territorial hierarchies that can prevent the intrusion of stranger dogs, and are adapted to urban life. As a result, sudden eradication without considering the larger ecology may lead to unintended consequences, such as vacuums of territories being re-populated by unsterilized animals from neighboring areas. These types of arguments are behind the advocacy for continuing Animal Birth Control (ABC) programs rather than mass removal options. On the other hand, public health officials maintain that ecological services should not be prioritized over the risks of unmanaged dog populations, especially in large city concentrations. Increasing dog bite attacks and the risk to children, combined with the persistent rabies burden, warrant such intervention by city authorities. modern public health literature considers indiscriminate culling to be ethically questionable and epidemiologically ineffective (Choukhani,2025; Corfmat et al,2021).

The change mirrors similar dog population management trends in other countries around the world. Previous policies in numerous countries were based on extermination methods, with the assumption that removal of dog numbers would result in an automatic decrease in disease transmission. However, later studies showed that culling seldom leads to long-term decreases in population size, because migrants and offspring soon replace culled animals. Thus, we are witnessing a growing consensus, among international bodies, on the need for a humane approach to management incorporating sterilization, vaccination, responsible ownership and community involvement. On a national scale, this shift greatly contributed to shaping the Animal Birth Control programmed in India. Rather than seeing stray dogs purely as a menace to be removed, ABC strategies acknowledge stray dogs as established populations that need to be managed over the long term through sterilization and vaccination (Choukhani,2025).

However, the application of ABC has been vigorously debated and is causing concern among stakeholders because of perceived lack of infrastructure, unpredictable application, financial constraints and ongoing upward trends in dog bite incident reports (Choukhani,2025).

Since 2001 the national law has emphasized that stray dogs can only be controlled through the ABC control policy, which involve capturing, sterilizing, immunizing and returning them to their locality, but there has been little verification regarding the effectiveness of the program (Bhalla et al,2021).Taking account of the current presumed apathetic method, solicitor general Tushar Mehta has bluntly pointed out how "sterilization" isn't capable of guaranteeing prevention against dog bites, other than to control population (News Desk, 2025). Also, the failure in the system to control stray dogs' growth and aggression exposed the impracticability of the ABC control program. However, the news report also shared the general presumption that Kerala's ABC birth control program struggled to bring down stray numbers primarily due to strong public resistance in areas where ABC centers are set up (News Desk, 2025).

Yet another related debate focuses on the connection between urban development and the coexistence of people and animals. The Erratic Urban Sprawl is steadily replacing a landscape once occupied by people and animals. The changing patterns of roads, waste generation, open space shrinking, and residential patterns are influencing the behavior of dogs and human attitudes. Human geographers recommend cities have become increasingly focused on human movement, efficiency, and order, and have little room for non-human life. In this sense, free-roaming dogs are seen as visible markers of chaos, administrative dysfunction or environmental degradation. Just the opposite, environmental thinkers argue cities need to be seen as multispecies spaces of cohabitation in which better practices of living together, rather than expelling one another, is the central dilemma (Choukhani,2025).

2.1.15 PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF STRAY DOGS AND THEIR MANAGEMENT

The attitude of the public towards street dogs is therefore somewhat mixed, as reported in various empirical studies in India, analyzing perceptions of free-roaming dogs in the city, revealed that support for management options was significantly influenced by prior experience with dogs and level of risk perceived. Those who reported fear of dogs and those who had been bitten previously were more in favor of removal and stronger government intervention. By contrast, whom respondent usually meet with community dogs were more likely to support sterilization, vaccination and an animal welfare approach. The importance of the study should lie in the fact that respondents rarely occupied absolute stances. Several respondents held the

value of protecting both human life and animal welfare at the same time, indicating the presence of a graduated scale of opinion and not two competing extremes (Sharma et al., 2023). There are also demographic elements which shape public opinion according to the literature. Age, sex, profession, education and place of residence are known to influence the perception of the matter among respondents (Choukhani,2025).

2.1.15.1 Positive Attitude Toward Free-Roaming Dogs

From a recent study in Kolkata, it became clear that young adults aged 19-25, pet owners and those feeding stray dogs had more positive attitudes toward them. As per social identity theory, it could be deduced that pet owners and those feeders feel more empathy and love toward them because when one is psychologically attached to animals and consider them part of their ingroup it could inspire “prosocial” views, beliefs and actions. Although the quantitative study had also examined differences in attitudes toward stray dogs in terms of gender, education levels, and ages from 10 onwards, it didn’t find any significant difference in term of gender and education level, although it still highlighted studies which found illiterate, above-educated people, women and children who feel more consideration toward animals than men (Choukhani,2025).

Another quantitative study around community attitudes toward stray dogs in Goa had found similar results. Although not all dog owners accepted stray, majority dog owners along with young people of age 18-30, and older respondents above 70, expressed more positive attitude compared to non- dog owners and other age groups. Religion also influenced perception. Majority Hindus supported strays’ right to live on the street, and didn’t think that they were vulnerable, but they comprised much of the feeders as well. So, this shows how cultural and religious beliefs can play a major role in influencing attitudes. Attitudes also varied among areas. People in village had less problem with free ranging dog, and this could be accounted to the fact there were much less population density, as compared to town and municipality. Further questions among the feeders also found that their motivation varied, some fed stray out of compassion, while other believed that dog would starve without such support, which affected their feeding pattern. In terms of gender, there was no significant difference in feeding patterns, although more women than men reported to feed stray dogs (Cormat et al,2021).

At the same time, in Bangalore, it was found that community perceptions varied significantly among socio-economic groups, using a mixed methods approach. Attitude were shaped by housing type, physical proximity to dogs, all of which were linked to their socioeconomic

status. Quantitative analysis showed that, FRD populations were highest in lower class neighborhood. This area also comprised the highest average percentage of houses engaged in feeding, followed by middle- and upper-class households. This was because most upper-class respondents were residents of gated colony with little physical contact with free ranging dog, though most of them owned pet dogs. Despite this, qualitative interviews revealed that upper class member expressed more confident, active humane, responsible views towards community intervention and ethical reflection, while the lower classes were more dependent on government intervention. In lower class neighborhoods, which mainly which consisted of independent houses, residents were able to have more contact with stray dogs and were able to distinguish between specific dogs so they didn't find all stray dogs as dangerous, as compared to members of upper and middle class. Even though they acknowledged that these dogs could be a nuisance, they did not see them as a major problem. Instead, many viewed them as a natural part of the environment, unlikely to attack unless provoked (Bhalla et al, 2021).

Challenging the victim narrative, and socio-economic stereotypes behind attitude toward free-ranging dog, a news article highlighted the life of Maria Gomes, a fifty-five-year-old woman, who took the job of feeding over 300 dogs in the city of Goa. She dedicated her entire life to feeding tray dog after experiencing homelessness and abandonment as a lived experience. He reported that initially she had started feeding barking dogs to prevent attack, but later it developed into empathy and moral commitment, emerging from "her intimate knowledge of what it means to exist at society's margins" and despite having been bitten four times. The act of feeding also has never been easy since majority of public view feeding stray dog in public as problematic and there being no space dedicated for feeding these animals (Kaur, 2025).

Moreover, an article on attitudes among Indians and Americans towards stray dogs found definitive differences in cultural attitude. Overall Indians were more accepting of dogs freely roaming on the street and saw them as community animal, in contrast to Americans, even though they agreed to an extent that streets were not favorable for them. Both Indian and American showed united aversion toward euthanasia to reduce sociable FRD. Although majority Indian were concerned over anti-social or aggressive dogs, they still supported the view that these dogs had the right to be free, unlike American many Americans who supported euthanasia for unsociable dog. The study shows that due to the high number of dogs on the streets in India, Indians weren't much concerned about the problems they posed to human. Americans on the contrary showed more positive attitudes towards adoption even though studies have found that animal shelters in the US were over-populated and there was less chance

for them to adopt cats via these agencies. Still, their concerns towards wildlife, livestock and property displaying more awareness and resources that aided conservation and public safety. The divergence in both attitudes was explained with broader tradition of collectivism and individualism, with Indians expecting NGO, communities, government to take responsibility of stray dogs (Sen-Sharma et al, 2024).

2.1.15.2 Negative Attitude Toward Free- Roaming Dog

In a recent quantitative study done in Kolkata, there has shown to been significant differences in attitudes among pet owners and non-pet owners, and feeders and non-feeders. When enquired about why people don't feed free ranging dogs, it was found that many were simply afraid or uncomfortable and even disliked keeping pets. The study also points out to a theoretical study that explains how the modern attitudes toward stray animals were a part of the "socio-political construction of human animal duality" which persisted beyond the colonial legacy and it also matches with the social identity theory that those who did not own or feed dogs showed fear and detachment to animals (Choukhani,2025).

Contrary to general perception, a large-scale study in Goa found that negative attitude was not limited to non-dog owners and non-feeders, but were also evident among some dog owners and even feeders, many of them agreed with the statement that these dogs didn't have any place in modern society. Those from lower income households had more negative attitude compared to medium income household, probably due to more exposure to stray dogs issues. Variation was also seen in terms of area. In towns and municipality, stray dogs were seen as nuisance and menace, as compared to villages. Negative attitude also was found to increase with age, with respondents aged 51-70 more likely to see them as scary. Further attitudes were examined in terms of specific issues, such as barking, which is a major concern in the community, because of noise pollution, followed by chasing especially livestock and biting incidents. One in four reported having been bitten by a dog, with majority of bite cases with men. though it doesn't explicitly distinguish between pet dog and stray dogs bite (Cormat et al,2021).

Attitude among socio-economic group were examined in detail in Bangalore, and it was found that majority of respondent across upper, middle-class neighborhood felt that stray dogs were a menace and should be removed from the street, although in varying degree. Attitude did not differ significantly among both pet owner and non-pet owner, although those who had never owned pets were more likely to favor complete removal of free ranging dog. Negative perception was particularly strong among residents of gated communities, where limited

contact with stray dogs was compounded by news reports that disproportionately focused on dog bites and death, leading to a skewed view of all stray dogs as a dangerous and problematic. Compared to the upper-class respondent included groups with varying degree of animal welfare- oriented views, respondents from the middle and lower classes mostly resorted to quick eradicator attitude toward free ranging dog. Among the animal welfarists some equated dog' life to human life, and felt the need to handle issue, just like handling stray human beings, then there were those who felt stray dogs should be removed from the city, and relocated elsewhere, then there were those who saw ABC method as the only scientific method for stray dog management, and finally those who felt none of these were practical who felt none of these strategies were viable given the increasing population of dog (Bhalla et al, 2021).

2.1.15.3 Utility Based Attitude Toward Stray Dogs

While examining problems associated with stray dogs in Goa, most supported the statement that there weren't any benefits, while others supported the view that there were benefits such a guarding and security. Furthermore, a gender bias was noted in attitudes of dog owners. Majority dog owners preferred male dogs, and this pattern was seen among studies conducted in other developing countries as well. Male dogs were seen as effective guard dogs, and less nuisance, avoiding unwanted litters (Corfmat et al, 2021).

Similarly, in term of class, in Bangalore, a mixed method study found that residents of independent houses that opened on to the public street, with lower class background, were more accepting of FRD, partly because they were more vulnerable to burglary which made them value the dogs them as effective guard. Many of these dogs were also considered semi-owned as they depended on the community for food (Bhalla et al, 2021)

“They also keep trash and vermin level down and provide companionship to people” (Bhalla et al,2021:1246).

2.1.15.4 Attitude Toward Solutions and Measures for Stray dogs

Studies have found that most people suggested shelters for stray dogs (Choukhani,2025; Corfmat et al,2021). However, same time, it is pointed out that it is not a practical and efficient method, since shelters tend to become overcrowded with injured and abandoned dogs, due to less adoption rate, no-kill policies, as well as the lack of shelters and resources in India, which would need more expense from our government (Corfmat et al, 2021).

Another study interviewed a few NGOs in Lucknow and found that the dogs that came there were mostly always in poor condition and less people adopted these dogs (Mishra, 2023).

While some also suggested changing public attitudes (Choukhani,2025). Another study suggests engaging community leaders and religious representatives in campaigns, to promote the adoption and foster care of free ranging dogs. Another study stress on the adoption of especially female dogs, as well as responsible dog ownership and to change misconceptions related to sterilization in the community (Corfmat et al, 2021). When examined attitude among dog owners and feeders, it was found that majority of dog owners, possessed male dogs, and would let their dogs roam freely, which is high likely contributing to stray dogs population. Among the feeders most didn't know if the stray dogs were sterilized or not, many fed unsterilized dogs. Using dog owner and feeder to catch free roaming dog would making the sterilization and vaccination process easier. Also, by understanding community attitudes and dog-related problems, campaigns can be tailored to different communities and groups. A group went even further by examining how people would respond when approached by dog, and found that although majority would stand till or slow down their vehicle, there are other who would hit them with stick, or throw something at it. The study therefore suggests building public awareness around behavior to reduce human-dog conflict. Moreover, despite studies showing that stray dogs are more adaptable and better domestic pet, people still prefer pedigree breeds (Corfmat et al, 2021). This could also be due to a lack of awareness and social stigma. People also emphasized on improving government policies. There are also people who believe stray dogs should be eliminated (Choukhani,2025).

Similarly, in Bangalore, a study found that increasing awareness of personal responsibility, among lower-class households could help with supporting sterilization and immunization. Most of the respondent from the lower class were also attached to the dog, so the article suggests that for ABC program to workout, household needed to be made aware of the role they play in obtaining population, especially among lower class household, where even a small number of households were enough to sustain a large population of stray dog in the area. Secondary food source, such as garbage was found to be piled up mostly near middle- and upper-class neighborhood. Thus, article also suggests regulating waste management in public spaces. Among upper class respondents, where dog density was the least, but there was a difference in attitude toward intervention and ethical consideration. There were the extreme animal activists who considered stray dog a equal to dog's life, then there were another group of respondent who saw mass culling as ethical given the problems faced by both dogs and

people, then another group that believed they should be transported elsewhere, then another group that emphasized on ABC measures, and then a final group that saw no solution at present but ought for more community strategy. Except for the mass culling, most of them, didn't prefer lethal method even if they found stray dog as a menace. FRD density was higher in neighborhood of respondents from lower class, but their people mostly believed that lethal methods were the only solution, and saw tray dog a dangerous, despite living in close proximity to them. The group of people were also used to adjusting to every condition and believed they could only wait for complete removal of tray dog from street. At the same time, upper class respondents were open to taking up personal responsibility toward stray dog population management (Bhalla et al, 2021).

Regarding ABC program, scholars believed that it was mostly implemented in municipalities and towns as compared to villages, and an example of Jodhpur show how it would take years to stabilize the dog population in this way (Corformat et al, 2021).

Same time, comparing attitude between respondent from US and India, majority Indians supported to spay, vaccinate and release of both non-social and social stray animals, while Americans preferred to neuter, vaccinate and adopt only sociable dogs. USA also had mostly TNR, most common for cats (Sen-Sharma et al, 2024).

2.1.16 RISK PERCEPTIONS AND SOCIAL CONTRUCTIONS OF RISK

In a broad introductory “essay on the 'making' of risk issues from the Sage Handbook of Risk Communication” (Burgess, 2014). “Risk and risk communication is very much concerned with the perception of risk, that is independent of any objective hazard. In some shape or form, this perception is, presumably, constructed in one way or another by processes rather than being merely given” (Burgess, 2014: 1). The study contends that risk should not be considered as a physical attribute of hazards but as a thought concerning the future. Hazards become risks when people believe that harm could happen to them in certain conditions. Thus, Risk is based on anticipation but not accuracy and accounts for thinking about future events rather than what is happening now. Burgess demonstrates that hazards and risks are theoretically different. Getting back to our example, a wet floor is a hazard, but it only poses a major risk if a lot of people are likely to walk across it. In the same way that stray dogs' existence does not equal risk, risk arises when people think they might be bitten, or come into contact with rabid animals, or in some way suffer harm. This means that for the same environmental stimuli, people could interpret them very differently based on their future expectations (Burgess, 2014). A key

element of Burgess's contribution was in his critique of the science-based view of risk. He contends that modernity has created the illusion that risks can be separated from their social context and that they can be objectively quantified, for example, through the use of science and technology. Evidence from science surely supports such understanding of hazards, however, according to Burgess, perceptions of risk are always shaped by other social and cultural factors. Risk is not just found, risk is also made in talk, in institutional arrangements and in day-to-day life. This perception is very relevant for the stray dog problem because even with in a neighborhood and in individuals this disturbance is never unanimous. To one local, that mob of community dogs is no more than a group of friendly animals, to be petted and perhaps fed, to someone else, those dogs are a danger that must be driven away (Burgess, 2014).

2.1.17 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC PERCEPTION

Public attitude has frequently been conceived in policy studies as a mirror of material conditions with the public taken as rational responders to apparent realities and quantifiable hazards. But rather than being simply perceived, reality is actively interpreted by social interaction, language and power, they argue. Although the same event may be witnessed by a number of people, they may come to completely different understandings of the causes, outcomes and potential responses. What people know about the world, then, is knowledge socially produced and shared. Social constructionists argue that instead of concepts having a one-to-one mapping with physical objects in reality, these categories are constituted within social relations and historical processes (Rae, 2014).

2.1.18 ANTHROPOCENTRISM

Historically, Western philosophical traditions have been largely structured around anthropocentric conceptions of the world. Anthropocentrism is a form of speciesism that belief that human life is more important than others and human beings have a unique right to exploit other species in whatever way socially, politically and ethically just that serves human interests. In this view, animals are valuable only to the extent that they are useful, or at least not harmful, to humans. Thus, decisions about the environment, plant and animal life, and natural resources are judged in terms of their impact on human society, not on the value of non-human life, per se (Rae, 2014).

A major plurality of humanizing critique of anthropocentrism came from the idea of speciesism, advanced by Peter Singer (1975). Speciesism is the practice of giving different moral

consideration to individuals based on their species membership. In Singer's view, prioritizing human interests solely on the basis of species membership is as morally suspect as racism or sexism. Instead, moral consideration, he claims, should be dependent on the ability to feel pain and suffer. Since animals can suffer, any harm done to them, even for a relatively trivial purpose, should be considered to be an harm to be which to science ought to be justified, whatever ultimate benefits thereof for humanity there may be. (Rae, 2014).

2.1.19 SUPREME COURT VERDICTS ON STRAY DOGS

In light of the dog bite incidents as reported in the state, on 28th July the supreme court passed a Suo-moto cognizance to manage stray dog menace. The petition was primarily based on a newspaper, that of Delhi edition. The news report in it had some statistics about the number of dog bite deaths in the country and the national capital. So, on 11th August, the supreme court passed the directions to remove stray dogs from all localities in Delhi with special emphasis on the vulnerable localities in the city. The stray dogs were to be detained in the shelters. They also gave many instructions for the shelters such as to create facilities for the stray dogs which involved CCTVS, staffs to monitor them (Supreme court of India: 2025). “Following a 11-day gap after the initial August 11 order, a three-judge bench consisting of Judges Vikram Nath, Sandeep Mehta and N.V. Anjaria issued a modified judgement. They introduced several critical changes. Firstly, Authorities must still round up stray dogs and build shelters as mentioned in the first verdict – 12(i) and 12(ii). Next as 12 (iii) and 12(iv) stated (Supreme Court of India:16)., apart from the non-release part, they were to create the personnel to do sterilization, deworming and immunization of these dogs. The non-release part was put on hold and they were to be release back to the locations from where they were picked up. However, aggressive or rabid infected dogs which were to sterilized, immunized and detained separately” (Supreme court of India, 2025:17). Then, on November, new judgments on eviction of stray dogs from the premises of the institutions created the most significant differentiation in the legal control of urban animals. Schools, hospitals, transport hubs and other public institutions were singled out as spaces that needed to be made safer because they are homes away from home for children, elderly people, and other vulnerable populations. This territorial separation is significant in Indian jurisprudence as it accepts the fact that different areas within a city pose different degrees of risk and may therefore be treated differently (Supreme court of India, 2025).

2.2 RESEARCH GAP:

Many studies have analyzed on public attitudes and related factors such as fear related to stray dogs in terms of quantitative and mixed methods (Choukhani,2025; Bhalla et al,2021; Corfmat et al,2021). There exist many review papers on constitutional, legal and policy implications on stray dogs, and also numerous papers exist addressing the debate between public safety and animal welfare. But most of the papers that came across were on different European and American countries and relatively few on India and Kerala (Paul, 2025; Malhotra, 2025; Pratheesh, 2025; Raj, 2026). There have been qualitative studies had been conducted in the northern parts of Kerala in relation to stray dog attacks and some municipalities in Trivandrum such as Varkala such as to find the mismatches between program components and the community components in the implementation of rabies control program in an urban context (Neelu and Nayar, 2026) or on Kerala ABC programme (Anto, 2025). However, while recent Supreme Court rulings have sparked wide legal commentary and substantial media coverage (The Hindu, 2025; The Hindu 2026), most reviewed studies are largely around evaluating the constitutional rationale, and feasibility (Paul, 2025). There is relatively little empirical research on how such judicial decisions are viewed by members of the public in Kerala, and Trivandrum Corporation. Although media reports have chronicled protests, political reactions and challenges of implementation in the wake of the Court's orders even in Trivandrum especially by notable NGOs, such as People for Animals (NDTV, 2025; Times Now, 2025; Mitra & Mogul, 2025; The Hindu Bureau, 2025), there is still little qualitative studies on the general people's perception towards removal and the divisions amidst them.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

General Objectives: How do the public perceive the supreme court directions to remove stray dogs from corporation areas in Trivandrum and why

3.1.1 Specific Objectives:

1. To examine the perceptions of supporters regarding the verdict on the removal of stray dogs from corporation areas
2. To understand the perceptions of opposers regarding the verdict on the removal of stray dogs from corporation areas
3. To investigate the rationale underlying the supporters' position in favor of the verdict, with particular reference to human wellbeing and public safety
4. To study the rationale underlying the opposers' position against the verdict, with particular reference to the wellbeing and rights of stray dogs

3.2 TYPE OF STUDY

The study is qualitative in approach. Since ontologically, the study involves social construction of phenomena, a qualitative study seemed more appropriate, especially to understand the different meanings, attitudes and perceptions people had towards different risks associated with stray dogs and its removal from public places (NDTV, 2025; Times Now, 2025; Mitra & Mogul, 2025; The Hindu Bureau, 2025; Supreme court of India, 2025). Many factors appeared to be intertwined and which in turn influenced their perceptions, and they could be unraveled with in-depth unstructured interviews, as compared to a quantitative approach (Choukhani, 2025; Bhalla et al, 2021; Corformat et al, 2021). Different individuals constantly process reality in terms their lived experiences, beliefs and values (Bryman, 2016). The study also mainly aims to explore diversity than to quantify or generalize, as it emphasizes on the description of perception, feelings and experiences (Kumar:44). An unstructured approach will help to capture the different perspectives around an issue as experienced by the people in the corporation (Kumar:50).

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of the study was descriptive as it intends to capture the feelings and rationale in respect to the issue (Kumar:44). A qualitative descriptive design helps to emphasize on words and understand how individuals interpret their actions and the world around them. However,

the study is also explanatory study as it seeks to explain why and how in related to the phenomena (Kumar:44). The choice of design well fits the problem, research question and objectives. It encompasses an examination of the views of the participants in detail. Moreover, the kind of reasoning involved is inductive in nature. It enables the study to be iterative, and to obtain theory and explanation from the data (Bryman, 2016). A descriptive- explanatory approach enable to explain the perception, awareness, behavior in light of the research question, to find how people perceive and feel about the supreme court directions regarding stray dogs (Shinija, 2014).

3.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY AREA

The sampling of the study area was purposive in accord to the purpose of the verdict, that is institutional and public places. Since most institution and major public spaces are in the Trivandrum corporation. Furthermore, high footfall areas were selected to conduct interviews, such as in Kazhakootam-Karyavattom campus, a flat near Technopark, stadium; In East fort-Ghandhi park; in Palayam, public and university library; PMG- near veterinary hospital. To capture the views of people living and travelling within Trivandrum corporation. Public spaces rather than streets enable far better and clear interviews (Supreme Court of India, 2026).

3.5 SAMPLING

14 Cases were taken for analysis, after ensuring there is an equal amount of opposers and supporters. Opposers were mostly regular feeders so they were a unanticipated group, as compared to general animal lovers, that came into consideration over the course of data collection. The sampling was mainly hence purposive in approach, as we looked for those within the high footfall areas within corporation. The sample was selected in accord to the research objectives, that is to find opposers and supporters and their perceptions. Moreover, within purposive sampling, it involved snowball sampling as well to find animal lovers who actively worked for the welfare of stray dogs, outside any organization/independently. Overall, the 14 cases were able to achieve purposiveness and representativeness. Overall, it involved general people living and travelling inside corporation.

3.6 SOURCE OF DATA

Primary data was collected through an unstructured interviews and recordings. The secondary sources of data include government circulars, articles, news publications and websites (geeks for geeks, 2025).

3.7 TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

Semi-structured interview guide was developed. And in the field, it was conducted in an unstructured way, so there was less restriction on the kind of things that can be found out. The Data was collected using mobile phone interviews and direct recording. Some interviewees didn't prefer recording, so had to write down their responses, some didn't even want to record. But the answers were collected mainly through recording. Permission was taken before recording the interviews. It enabled to depart from the interview guide and ask new questions that followed up replies. It enabled to respond to the direction in which interviewees take the interview and so adjust the emphases in the research in the course of the interview. Rather than a standardized way which also helped to collect rich detailed answers. The interviewee was allowed to respond freely. Very similar to a conversation. Interesting themes that emerged in one interview can be incorporated into conversations in subsequent interviews (Bryman,2016).

3.8 TOOLS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The recordings were transcribed manually and a thematic analysis was conducted, in accord to the research objectives, to get an idea as to how, in this case, the public perceive the verdict to remove stray dogs from institutional/public spaces. Each line was associated with the objectives, from the transcripts of 14 respondents, and arranged by the key concepts that emerged from it. Based on these conceptualizations and explanations were developed to address the review question. (Bryman, 2016).

3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- Animal lovers and feeders were difficult to find. Also, the study initially focused only on those living inside corporation. Moreover, we didn't take much views of the children, who is assumed to affect more. A few lower socio-economic individuals were involved.
- On the road side, respondents were often busy and don't have enough time, so we settle for a few minutes, rather than be able to probe further in depth. Also, due to the sound of vehicles on the road, we may not be able to get perfect interview. Some of those who wanted to discuss, didn't want it to be recorded or noted. They just wanted to discuss. The phone interviews had more clarity and could discuss more in depth, unlike the road interviews. Some were of different language, and some calls were also less audible. Interviewing them is also hard, one person couldn't speak well. While interviewing, those interested tend to intervene in between and they engage in like a discussion. Also, people's approach seems to have changed when they see that we write down their views.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 NARRATION OF CASES

4.1.1 Supporters

1. Respondent 1:

Male, Government employee, 49 years, Trivandrum corporation, No pets, travels in bus/train, stray dog attack victim

The respondent holds a radical approach to the removal of stray dogs. But most importantly, he sees it as a form of rescue, rather than imprisonment, which benefits the public mainly. He doesn't acknowledge any other reasons other than failure of ABC rules as to why there are more stray dogs on the streets, but does say that for caution its better to vaccinate pet dogs. He personally has not been bitten but have experienced a form of rough behavior from the dogs in the bus stand. He does see the menace high in society because he doesn't even want to sent his child outside to play. Being a government officer, he trusts that government to act upon their duty and protect its citizens, which is still a top-down approach. However, he also supports the idea that if people are willing to start their own NGOs, they should be supported and they'll be able to function like or better than ABC centers. His idea of shelter is also influenced by the mayor's presentation of it, probably something he saw in the media. This shows how the media plays a crucial part of everyday lives. Most of his views on stray dogs have been influenced by the media, even the dog bite incident he knows is from news. Similar to the court, he also sees strays as a threat, even the familiar ones that lay outside in his area. He doesn't seem to give individual consideration for any of these stray dogs, despite living in a independent home. Another thing, he gives most priority to human life, and assert that earth as mainly belonging to humans. His attitude to stray dogs is also reflected in his risk perceptions, where he cites possibilities of chances where stray dogs will attack and the need for taking vaccinations immediately. His approach to supporting private NGOs, seems to have larger benefits such as employment, better stray dog management etc. He also doesn't just speak for the corporation, but all areas. Although he prioritizes human safety, he doesn't support killing of stray dogs. The interview was conducted by phone call, and there were some issues with clarity.

2. Respondent 2:

Female, Age 27, Research scholar, student; Panchayat, regular traveler

Within corporation; except dogs, had other pets

The respondent seems to support shelters, with a positive affirmation that it will benefit stray dogs. She seems to show an empathetic side to stray dogs, and is also engaged in occasional feeding of street dogs. She thinks stray dogs are dependent beings and believes it will benefit the stray dogs if they are moved to shelters. However, another reason why she prioritizes the removal, is due to media influences and reported news, which she acknowledges herself. Also, because she questions the identification of aggressive dogs. She defines aggressive dogs as those who bite, and that it's better not to wait till that happens, and so she supports verdict 3. But she is also against killing dogs. She emphasizes that most of the news she hears isn't good news about stray dogs, its always the same, and it shows increasing number of cases, especially against children. So, she does support the verdict 3, especially for the sake of children, as compared to older adults. This is also one reason, why she supports the decision of the court to not feed stray dogs in street randomly, even though she does it and prefers to do so. The respondent shows a care and empathy towards stray dogs, especially puppies. Same way, even for the sterilization, she has seen the harsh way in which dogs are captured, but still supports it, given that it helps population control. But personally, she doesn't know of any stray dog bite cases, more often the ones she hears is from the pet dogs, even she had an experience where she was chased by a pet dog. Also, she has never seen a shelter, but she sees that its better place for stray dogs as compared to street, where they will be vulnerable as well as cause accidents. She emphasized more on the harmfulness of being on the road, and that shelters are good if it facilitates the growth of the dog. She also compares removal to shelters to that of removing snakes into forests or homeless people being rehabilitated by the government. She's not originally from the corporation, but is a regular traveler, and encounters stray dogs on a regular basis, and had seen dogs in a wild state, fighting in groups.

3. Respondent 3:

Female, Age, 28, government Teacher, 3 Pets at home- dogs(foreign), Animal lover, Trivandrum corporation

The respondent supports the removal of stray dogs, because of both negative aspects for the public as well as those experienced by stray dogs on the roads. Mostly when she emphasis on shelters, it is due to the past contribution made by the government, in terms of vaccination, putting them for adoption after cleaning them, otherwise they would have to stay and roam around on the roads in search of water and food, contributing to their aggressive nature.

Moreover, her relative was a health inspector taking part in this initiative. Other than that, one issue she highlights is the impact of stray dogs on the image of India, she mentions a dirty image, through the eyes of the foreign influencers, for which stray dogs play a secondary cause. But when asked if stray dogs don't play a positive contribution in terms of waste management, she suggests that rather it's the role of municipal authorities. Other negative experiences produced by dogs involve barking, but same time argues that attack for no reason. And that this happens mainly due to hunger, thirst or memory of any attack, citing a personal experience of her own dog's aggressive behavior towards the neighbor. She in particular recognizes herself as a dog lover, emphasizing on a incident when the dog she used to feed went back to her year after when she returned, post marriage. She sees dogs as different from cats and calls them loyal and grateful. However, she wouldn't adopt them herself, because she already has three foreign breeds, which wouldn't allow outsiders. Nevertheless, due to this exposure to dogs, she's not scared of them. She has never been bitten, but has encountered an attack while travelling in her electric vehicle, also which was partly the fault of the driver. Finally, and most importantly, in terms of media, while she does recount the fact that she doesn't know if cases as increasing as its not frequently shown in the news, she does point out that she has seen many positive news, especially in social media, such as Instagram, where stray dogs have helped abandoned babies.

4. Respondent 4:

Male, 77, Pensioner, corporation, travels in usually two-wheeler or four-wheeler, No pets

The respondent voiced support for the clearance of stray dogs from the public sphere but also doubted the practicability of the order. Even though he felt the total elimination of stray dogs would make the public safer, he said time and again that the real question was, "Do the authorities have the ability to catch, shelter, and manage all the stray dogs of the city?" In his view, "policy is the smallest problem, it is the enforcement that is a big problem. He advocated for the immediate removal of all stray dogs in institutional spaces citing disappointment in government inaction. He supported the creation of shelters instead of killing them, saying that aggressive dogs are still a life. He cited practical problems – lack of shelter homes, the difficulty of capturing all strays. The respondent did not like to have pets. He said that he'd never been drawn to dog or cat. His opinion on stray dogs were shaped from a personal incident when he was bitten by a rabid dog when walking near his home almost a decade ago. The same dog, he said, had attacked several others just hours earlier, bolstering his belief that mad dogs should be a major issue of public safety. Still, after this incident he made a distinction between the stray dogs he knew who lived in his housing colony and the ones he met on the streets. The homeless dogs in his community had lived with the inhabitants for a decade, he asserted, and he was not excessively scared by them for the most part they sat quietly under shade. But he still did not trust himself completely and watched the cattle as he walked along, brandishing a long stick whenever he took his young grandchildren out of doors. Singh said the presence of stray dogs had made parents less confident that they can let their children play on the streets without fearing for their safety, and argued their removal will boost people's right to feel safe outside, particularly in the after hours. The respondent also said she was familiar with the existing Animal Birth Control (ABC) programme, explaining how local bodies catch stray dogs, sterilise them and then release them back into the same locality. But he scoffed at the idea, as sterilization may decrease reproduction but it doesn't change aggressive behaviour. It seemed to him that the scheme was being implemented as a bureaucratic formality, rather than with any real intent to making the streets safer. His views on the stray problem were formed almost exclusively through television reports, as he now largely remains at home since retiring. Reports on dog attacks solidified his opinion that it is the government's responsibility to act decisively, because people cannot go out and do anything about the problem, as they don't have that kind of authority. Although he recognized that public figures such as Maneka Gandhi

opposed the killing of stray dogs, he said that he had no other recourse and that the government authorities and courts were in a better position to decide what policies were appropriate.

5. Respondent 5:

Female, have a pet dog, not animal lover, Trivandrum corporation, 56 years, beautician

The respondent is in favor of removing stray dogs from the streets, as she thought it would contribute to making the streets safer. Although pet dog owner, she was not an ‘animal lover’ and thought that the right thing to do was to remove stray dogs from the streets. She has said repeatedly that no one can say when a stray dog is going to be aggressive and attack. She considers the most at risk are walkers, particularly those who walk for exercise, women commuting to work, children, and the homeless, not travel by car. She was worried about dogs pursuing two-wheelers, leading to road crashes that would not only cause injury to the riders but also to the animals. She does not deny that many strays are quite at ease either.

The respondent also talked about her own fear of animals. She said she had always been scared of dogs and never pet or fed them. Even when it comes to her own home, she said she lays at a distance from dogs and admitted that her heart races anytime she gets up close to one. She said that she is the type of person who pulls her hand away when a dog comes towards her, and that she was scared even her family’s dog was allowed to have free range in the house. This deep-rooted fear had a major impact on how she viewed stray dogs in the streets. Although wanting them removed, the respondent also conveyed a degree of compassion for stray dogs. It is not that they ask us not to love them or touch them, but to relocate them to clean homes where they can be fed and cleaned, instead of leaving them out where they die slowly. In her view, an animal shelter would be better than living on where stray dogs frequently are eating and seeking for some sort of cover. The respondent held the government primarily accountable for solving the problem of stray dogs. In her opinion, it was the government’s duty to take the stray dogs off the streets and ensure their proper management. She had been made aware of sterilisation programmes according to the Animal Birth Control (ABC) Rules, and that they were the means to control the stray dog population but was unsure how well they were being implemented or whether they were successful. She didn’t consider herself much of an animal fan, but she empathized with stray dogs and was against bringing them pain. She thought they should not be made cruel and that her attitude to animals had changed since she got a pet. Yet she had not felt strongly about strays before getting her dog. But caring for her animal slowly softened her attitudes, and she now finds herself having thoughts of her dog when she sees strays on the

street. Still, she took issue with certain animal lovers whose feeding or cuddling of stray dogs in the street doesn't translate into a willingness to take on long-term responsibility for the animals in their care.

6. Respondent 6:

Male, Government Employee, Palayam, 86 years, travel by bike, no pets, animal lover, stray dog attack

Respondent supports Supreme Court's direction. while he identified as an animal lover with a soft spot for most animals, his encounters with stray dogs in streets made him feel that their removal was essential for public safety. The respondent said that he had had come across stray dogs closely before and also used to feed them. He reminisced that people used to throw food waste near the locality, which used to attract stray dogs, and they had nurtured one such dog before it was taken away by the municipal. These experiences made him emotionally attached to stray dogs, and he asserted, "I really do care for animals." Yet he conceded that the masses of dogs congregating around public spaces were now a "nuisance for the public." The respondent said the Corporation had earlier also replied to complaints from the public by catching stray dogs in the vicinity and releasing them elsewhere – he was oblivious about to where exactly. He also remembers municipal vaccination drives, which led him to believe that the authorities were doing something to handle the stray dog problem. However, he felt the responsibility for the same lies primarily with the government, and opined that the removal of stray dogs from public spaces through an institutional, shelter-based manner should continue. An issue of great concern for the respondent was the unpredictability of stray dogs, including the threat they represented in terms of rabid dogs. He thought that dogs are potential public hazards because one does not know when a dog might become rabid or aggressive. But he also said that dogs with rabies kill or bite people, so this need to be avoided by putting down rabid dogs, while non-rabid but aggressive dogs should be caught and moved, not killed. For him this dichotomy was both needed for the human public safety and animal compassion. The respondent developed his stance based on his own experiences of being attacked by a stray dog. Though he had not been bitten, he remembered when a rabid dog came into the community, it bit several people and dogs before the local residents killed it. He also narrated a scary incident of late-night train travel home alone, how a pack of stray dogs rushed at him. Using noise, he was able to run for it, but since then he is scared to walk alone at night. These events reaffirmed his belief that stray dogs, particularly those travelling in packs at night, were

a major danger to anyone on foot. The respondent expressed equal if not more view for capturing stray dogs to shelters not leaving them in streets. He said: "The public space is for the people and not for the stray dogs." However, he insisted that people with a true passion for dogs can adopt them and care for them in their own homes, rather than the public should have to accommodate them. For him, responsible dog ownership represented a better form of animal welfare than having stray dogs on the streets. Finally, the respondent thought that stray dogs do not serve much good for the people. He did say that the shop waste could be fed to them, but he didn't view them as having any real public utility.

7. Respondent 7:

Female, 23 years old, corporation, no pets, stray dog attack, college student,

The Respondent stated that she was in favor of shifting the stray dogs from the institution/public premises but also recognized that their welfare need to be taken care of. "There were times when I too was chased by strays and also saw incidents of dog bite in my locality earlier, I felt the recent Supreme Court judgement could strike a good balance between human safety and stray dogs by way of humane management. Yes, the respondent is all for animals and had pets before, but he also explained that he is allergic to pet fur and hair and thus can't have any now. He also admitted to being personally afraid of dogs, especially stray dogs that he encounters when walking in the evening. "The biggest issue, he says, is unpredictability since you have no way of knowing when a dog might turn aggressive and bite. He also expressed belief that children, students, could walk about their schools and colleges confidently, that is, if stray dogs were cleared from the entrances of such educational institutions. The respondents' fears were informed by experiences. He had never been bitten, but he remembered being chased by a stray dog in college while holding snacks in a plastic bag. He is also aware of a handful of people from his area who have been bitten and who have had to get anti-rabies jabs following hospital treatment. These events reinforced his feeling that stray dogs could be a real, not imagined, threat to public safety even if not all strays were aggressive. In regard to how the stray dog population was increasing, the respondent felt that feeding at regular intervals in public spaces attracted dogs to roam in those particular areas around people's homes. She said that the stray dogs have started living nowhere near houses but close to the houses residents of nearby flats living in that highly congested locality were regularly feeding the stray dogs and were making them stay in that very locality. In his view, few dogs really bite people, but the more food they have the more they will come together, so

feeding creates more chances for conflicts between dogs and men and women and children alike.

4.1.2 Opposers

1. Respondent 8:

Female, animal lover, 46 years, IT, 2 pets, corporation,

The respondent's narrative is pervaded with an emphasis on how perceptions of stray dogs have been shaped by the mass media. The respondent argues that the presentation of dog attacks in the media is distorted, neglecting the additional aspects that influence these occurrences such as the mismanagement of waste, provocation by humans, pet abandonment, and a lack of animal welfare. They also assert that media reports have selectively quoted Supreme Court rulings in relation to euthanasia to give the impression that indiscriminate killing of stray dogs is legally permissible. The respondent alleges that this biased coverage has led to fear, antagonism and cruelty toward stray dogs and pet dogs and has obscured the fact that the animal welfare community is guided by the ABC Rules, and the PCA Act in pursuing legally protected and humane management options. The respondent also voiced similar concerns and doubts about the effectiveness of implementation of policies on the management of stray dogs by the local governments. They contend that the instructions were only partially put into effect by focusing more on the removal of dogs and less on other duties such as setting up shelters, identifying feed points, carrying out systematic vaccination / sterilisation programs and engaging local stakeholders. The respondent said that the practical application had been hindered by insufficient funding, infrastructure, skilled workers, and cooperation. They say that the ABC Rules already contain a complete legal framework to manage the dog population humanely and that authorities must prioritise appropriate enforcement over selective interpretation of court orders. Euthanasia should be performed only on the terminally ill animal and this, too, under stringent veterinary supervision, as provided for in the existing legal provisions," the respondent adds. Another significant issue is the belief of the respondent that community participation, and more so animal feeders, is vital in managing the stray dogs. To the respondent, feeders are not only individuals who feed stray animals but also people who have insights on local dog communities and could support the authority in finding, vaccinating, neutering and tracking the stray dogs. They maintain that feeding stations, waste management and the participation of local government, resident communities and feeders can go a long way

towards mitigating human-stray conflicts. The respondent also stresses the need for education of the public – and young people in particular on responsible behavior towards stray animals, the legal framework relating to the welfare of these animals and the need for humane living-together. They feel that increased knowledge would lessen fear, curb violence against animals and foster a better-informed public.

2. Respondent 9:

Female, 26 years old, NGO supervisor in PFA, Trivandrum, Animal lover

Respondent 7 was a 26-year-old supervisor at PFA (People for Animals), Thiruvananthapuram. As a former PFA volunteer turned employee, he said that he supported the directions of the apex court only to the extent that they did not contravene the existing Animal Birth Control (ABC) Rules. Instead of baldly rejecting the ruling, he maintained that implementation would play a critical role in its success, arguing that "what the court has said works as a good protection for animals, provided that it is implemented in a humane way, with adequate infrastructure, and proper governmental participation". In the prime respondent's comments after the release of the order, he highlighted that the new directions were in essence reiterating the rules which were already provided under the ABC Rules pertaining to feeding areas and taking aggressive or rabid dogs to shelters. He favored culling genuinely aggressive and rabid dogs but was apprehensive that in reality "many people call all stray dogs dangerous". He said this results in many healthy, alert community dogs removed from the streets just because people were scared or wanted them. One of the respondent's main concerns was about whether it would be feasible to limit feeding to authorized locations. From his experience in community dog work, he explained that dogs don't recognize political or feeding borders. As community dogs get used to being fed at specific locations, changing feeding habits may come to many dogs hungry, raising foodrelated aggression and increasing conflict between people and animals. Many volunteer feeders, he added, have ignored the new instructions and continue to feed the dogs where they have been feeding them for years, because that is the only way to guarantee that the animals are fed. The respondent was a veritable goldmine of information in terms of how PFA shelters operate. The organization currently has around 200 dogs plus other rescued animals and is run primarily through donations, he said. He spoke of the shelter as a safe haven for rescued animals, yet he also spoke of the challenges, including understaffing, the lack of a permanent veterinarian, financial limitations, and inadequate space. As a consequence, rescue has been curtailed and the public are more and more being asked to take injured animals

themselves to the shelter. In his view, these realities signify that Kerala is yet not equipped with the facilities to take all stray dogs that can be permanently taken off road.

3. Respondent 10:

Male, Animal lover, Age, 31; football coach, travel by bus/bike; Karyavattom.

Respondent had a moderate attitude towards the verdict of the Supreme Court in the matter of stray dog control. Stating that he is an animal lover, he is not for the verdict and not against it either. He was of the opinion that only aggressive dogs/areas distraught with a large number of stray dogs need to be tackled, while docile community dogs that have no form of shelter or care from the local residents-be it food, water or a modicum of sympathy-are allowed to continue to exist.

The respondent repeatedly stated that the approach to stray dog management in the city should be one of population control rather than the complete removal of dogs from public spaces. In his view, the Animal Birth Control (ABC) scheme is the most practical long-term answer if carried out properly because sterilization helps in preventing population growth. He said that the problem is unregulated breeding, not the existence of stray dogs. From his own experience of looking after abandoned puppies, he talked about how quickly a single female dog can give birth to a number of litters if sterilization is not timely done. He contended that it is more practical to prevent future generations from being born through sterilization than to try and relocate every straying dog now. He agreed with shelters for truly aggressive dogs, but doubted whether removal via shelters on mass was practical. "They cannot possibly take every dog off the street and breed manage at the same time," existing shelters, in his view, "just don't have the room." For those reasons, he felt that total eradication was unrealistic, and that governments were not going to have the means or will to carry out such a massive program. He likened it to other wildlife management policies." The interviewee also related a number of personal experiences that contributed to his understanding of animal welfare. He talked about how he "found an abandoned puppy that was badly injured, its wounds filled with maggots." They had been calling animal rescue services for several days, but help came only after a few days. In the meantime, he and another volunteer had cleaned the creature's wounds and given it some rudimentary care, feeling the little puppy wouldn't have made it otherwise. This experience confirmed for him that the opportunity to call in rescue is still too limited, and that the wait for rescue can greatly worsen animal suffering. The respondent was also completely against euthanizing healthy strays but argued that born animals have the same right to live. Instead, he

thought that population management by means of sterilization is what should come first. "There are aggressive dogs and dogs that should be removed from the streets," he said, "but the total extermination of street dogs is not ethically justifiable nor practically possible."

4. Respondent 11:

Government job, Age - 63, corporation, Male, Identified that he wasn't an animal lover.

No stray dog attack

The respondent is against removal but he's the only one among the opponents that supports the culling of aggressive stray dogs. One of the core aspect here is that he sees stray dogs as two types, aggressive ones and normal ones. Similar to other opponents, he does place emphasis on the individualistic nature of stray dogs. Nevertheless same time, he also states that one problem is when they don't define what aggressive dogs are specifically. One main aspect is that he also sees the verdict 2 as more feasible, as compared to the new verdict. He doesn't criticize the media, but in turn he shows how he's influenced by it. The media seems to have influenced his views on aggressive dogs. In terms of shelters, he doesn't think it's possible and feasible especially in a place like Kerala, where it's thickly populated, where people protest at the idea of shelters. He shows the kind of perception around risk that people have. He sees stray dogs as having no specific benefits yet, but he still believes in a practical manner of coexistence. Regarding sterilization, he speaks about cutting a vein, rather than the usual way in which people think sterilization is done, and states that people don't usually conduct it the correct manner, why is a 7-day process.

5. Respondent 12:

Female, Animal lover 11, Trivandrum corporation, 22 years, student

The respondent is a student living in a Thiruvananthapuram Corporation ward and she was seeing there is no need to exterminate stray dogs from public place and urged for coexistence. An active animal care provider with a handful of cats and dogs she feeds stray dogs on the streets of her neighborhood, she considered stray dogs community animals, contrary to the notion that such animals are unwanted and that society best remove them. The interviewee thought that the rise in the stray dog numbers was due to human negligence. As pet dogs are also becoming stray dogs, as per her, many of them are abandoned post-breeding or just as their owners become unwilling to care for them. She named multiple times when sick or injured dogs in her community were ignored by the public, and it was up to her and a few others to get them to a vet. She said that people can be quite complacent, always expecting someone - the police or an animal protection

group - to take care of things while they duck responsibility. Though she admitted that shelters may “look like protection” for stray dogs, she seemed doubtful of the system in place for shelters. Once animals are brought into shelters, she said, the public rarely knows what happens to them or whether they are cared for. This opacity made her uncomfortable with the idea of relocating stray dogs. While she agreed that shelters would be able to help severely traumatized animals if run properly, she stated that it would be unfair to take all healthy strays’ dogs out the street without making sure they would be given proper long-term care. She likened the idea of permanent confinement in shelters to jailing people, and called them "jail-like" set-ups when they don't offer sufficient welfare. Rather than the large-scale shelter-based removal, the respondent suggested working to ameliorate the lives of the stray dogs in the very communities in which they exist. Build small weather shelter, place clean water bowls and feeding stations, establish resting zones like it was done in other countries, she added. In the same way that public spaces are routinely cleaned and maintained, she felt local governments could hire staff or volunteers to care for these sites. According to her, this would be an approach that would take some of the unpredictability out of the street dogs and people living together and also make sure that dogs have their most basic welfare needs taken care of.

6. Respondent 13:

Female, 35, teacher, Trivandrum, public transport, have pets- dogs and birds, Animal lover

The respondent identifies herself as a dog lover, owns dogs and birds, and feeds stray dogs from time to time, but she did not endorse the unilateral removal, and she did consider that all stray dogs are a public menace. Rather, she said, the matter needed to be handled with scientific and humane management. The respondent said that her area used to have seven to eight community dogs that were looked after by the local people. A local house hold gave him since he started come twice a day hunger full house meal with water left over from cooking and Kibble. However, gradually, a large number of these dogs vanished, and no one by the name of the residents knew where that they had taken them. She made the conscious choice to avoid the phrase “stray dog” and instead use "community dog." These dogs, they do not have owners, she insists, but they do belong to the places they are born and raised (just like humans belong to their own neighbourhoods)." So, to her, calling them "strays" inaccurately elides that these dogs have a place in society. When asked about public safety, the participant did agree that the dog bite incidents were occurring but questioned if removal was the most appropriate response. She likened the problem to road accidents, as society doesn't outlaw roads or cars just because people get hurt. Rather, officials enact preventive policies with helmets, seat belts, traffic laws. And like her, she wanted

the answer to the problem of stray dogs to be not complete removal but scientific preventive measures. She applied this belief to the management of risks, which, according to her, should be managed not eliminated. A recurring motif in the interview was coexistence. She said the earth is not for us humans to own and dominate, and public policy should not be just for human's interests. She alleged that the apex court's directions have been misconstrued on many occasions and "many people think it is allowing them to eliminate stray dogs". "Who has the right to say when a dog is really aggressive," she asked and said such labels, "need to be looked at scientifically, not through the public gaze. While she feeds strays from time to time, the respondent made it clear that she's not a regular feeder but an occasional one. She was convinced that feeding, if one goes by the right approach, makes for a calmer demeanor among community dogs. In the area she said dogs were taken to be fed regularly by people and residents but they were peaceful, they didn't bark too much and they have never aggressively attacked anyone. This led her to believe that sufficient needs-based care lessens human-dog strife. The said respondent also condemned the effect of media reports in shaping the perceptions of the people on street dogs. She contended that the conversations about the SC ruling have at times been dominated by media translations as opposed to science. Decisions concerning the control of stray dogs should be based on veterinary science, animal behavior and the existing legal safeguards and not be swayed by sensationalist reporting or public hysteria, she said. As for shelters, the respondent voiced skepticism about the viability of such in Keralam. She wondered where such sanctuaries would realistically be set up and whether they would be able to house large numbers of dogs. She also stressed that dogs are keenly territorial animals and they have a natural propensity to stay in familiar areas for life. Therefore, she thought, moving community dogs to new places may well make the animals suffer again. In that case, she said, for all governments truly good intentions to build spacious shelters with proper food, veterinary care and liberty of movement and be good to their furry citizens, she would not fight against signing up to this particular most humane of all options. Her reservations were not about shelters as such but about the infrastructure and the faith that said facilities would be adequately run.

7. Respondent 14:

Female street vendor, 55 years, Trivandrum corporation

The respondent is a dog lover and what he says is also coloured by his own experiences of stray dogs. An Incident he recollects when his younger son was Buying fish that a stray dog suddenly Come near his son. Dog Suddenly Came And Bites Kick To Son Family Chaos. They took him to the hospital, he was cleaned he was cleaned, he was changed, they took him to the hospital, they got him treated. At the end of the examination the medico also reassured them that the wound was superficial and that the dog had nailed only the clothes and not had a deep hold. Although it turned out that way, it stayed with him. He also stated that he himself had been chased by stray dogs on some of his travels around the place, as a reminder that not all dogs are innocuous. Though the respondent had knowledge of sterilization campaigns, he thought that sterilized dogs become more aggressive. This attitude made him skeptical about the potential of sterilization to serve as a means of mitigating conflict between humans and free-ranging dogs. Respondent also conceded that dogs were beneficial to the community. He thought those dogs had great value to keep and not only as companions but also as protection, especially for those who are alone. Good, since he loves dogs in general, but especially when they're looked after properly and live in human homes. The respondent said that most of the stray dogs in his own neighborhood are not problematic. As he put it, these dogs commonly rest near homes, eat provided by local inhabitants, and depart "quietly with full stomachs." While he doesn't have much close contact with them, he thought that feeding starving stray dogs was a kind act, for they rely on humans for their survival. Respondent made distinction between peaceful and extremist strays. He thought that very few stray dogs actually bit people, and that hunger was one of the reason why that made them more aggressive. Hence, he implied that dogs who habitually attack people may be driven by desperation, not innate aggression. In the question of public safety, the respondent maintained that the animals, in the main, should not be hurt. But he also said that dogs that bite people with any frequency, cause them or anyone else real problems, should be put down, because those incidents can really have serious consequences for the victims. Hence, he advocated for action only against strays when they pose a direct risk to public safety. All in all, the respondent seemed to agree with a similar line to the one of selective removal and not universal removal. He said dogs that repeatedly disturb people, especially dogs that attack children or pedestrians should be removed, while the peaceful community dogs may be permitted to stay. He believes that rounding

up every stray dog from the street is neither feasible or necessary. Although he was unclear on the particulars of the various SC orders, he thought that the Court presumably got it right.

4.2 ANALYSIS

I. PERCEPTIONS OF SUPPORTERS REGARDING THE VERDICT ON THE REMOVAL OF STRAY DOGS FROM CORPORATION AREAS

- Support for Removal of stray dogs

- Respondent 1: “In places where there are stray dogs, sterilize and move them to shelters”. “Whether it is rural or urban area, it is necessary to rescue stray dogs”. “I’m not saying to kill them, only rescue them”.
- Respondent 2: “I accept the verdict that has been mentioned now. As mentioned, moving aggressive dogs to shelters and sterilizing the remaining ones. And in institutional spaces, especially from schools, hospitals and crowded areas. If they are avoided from such public places, it is good”. But I wouldn’t say to kill them. I am totally against that. They should not be killed. Either such ones should be put in shelters. I have no problem with moving them to shelters, or sterilized and put in shelters”
- Respondent 3: “I would support that they should completely be removed. I’m not coming to the idea that they should be killed. They should be shifted to a proper shelter home”.
- Respondent 4: “Complete removal would be good. But doubt it. If all dogs are removed, it's a good thing”. “If they make shelters and move every dog there, and be able to take care of it, it’s a good thing”.
- Respondent 5: “Removing stray dogs from everywhere is the right thing. removing them would be good in my opinion”.
- Respondent 6: “It is necessary to remove all dogs, so my opinion, it’s necessary to dispose dogs from public places. I support the supreme court verdict, move them to shelters”.
- Respondent 7: Otherwise, since there is stray dog menace in the area, removal is the best from the area. I support removal from institutional places.

II. PERCEPTIONS OF OPPOSERS REGARDING THE VERDICT ON THE REMOVAL OF STRAY DOGS FROM CORPORATION AREAS

- Respondent 8: “Take it. And return it. “For Kerala to be like Sweden, is the first step that these stray dogs be removed? Follow the rules first, and later we won’t need shelters is what actually point”. Also, “Build shelters first”. Although, she has also had a poor opinion over the existing conditions within ABC shelters and handling of stray dogs.
- Respondent 9: “Firstly, ok regarding removal of dogs to shelters. They should be aggressive or rabid ones”.
- Respondent 10: “I’m not fully supporting the verdict, but still supporting. My opinion is that stray dogs should be removed. Not all stray dogs”.
- Respondent 11: “My opinion is not to remove them, but dangerous dogs need to be killed”.
- Respondent 12: “it’s better where they are. Let them be where they are”.
- Respondent 13: “this isn’t likely going to happen”. “I don’t think, they should be isolated or shifted somewhere else”.
- Respondent 14: “But if they are a trouble or hinderance, remove them but its also good, if they are not removed”. “But should remove the ones causing trouble”.

III. RATIONALE UNDERLYING THE SUPPORTERS’ POSITION IN FAVOR OF THE VERDICT, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO HUMAN WELLBEING AND PUBLIC SAFETY

o Perceived threat to Human well-being and public safety

➤ Perception of Stray dogs

- Respondent 1: “Since, stray dogs are a threat to society in general, let them grow in shelter”.
- Respondent 2: Stray dogs, I see them as stray dogs. They are life that sustain with the help and cooperation of other people. Dependent. Because if they want food, how will they find food? They have no other way. Don’t they take food that humans discard as waste, or food given out by humans out of kindness, Otherwise, they

don't cook or eat on their own. Whichever way it goes, a human factor comes in there. So, I think they are dependent.

- Respondent 3: "I don't think stray dogs should be viewed by any other name as community dogs".
- Respondent 6: "Dogs are of no use to the public, But for public, no use." ▪
- Respondent 7: "stray dogs are dogs that stay on the road."

➤ **Negative impact of stray dogs**

- Respondent 2: "Because now, roads are places where plenty of vehicle's speed by. If dogs come in between, it can cause accidents. The dog might die, and even for people travelling in two- wheelers, there are plenty of accidents on the road as dogs jump across".
- Respondent 3: "In public spaces, when tourists come, they see us negatively because of this. I don't know if you have seen it {???} some travelers. In their videos when they talk about India, they portray a dirty picture, in that the second position that they placed are these stray dogs". "They spread a lot of diseases. There are those that disturb others. Suppose they are eating left over food, they won't eat it properly, they will throw it here and there. They scatter wastes and make the whole place a mess. Wastes are not put there for stray dogs to consume them right. To properly dispose waste isn't there municipal authorities for that".
- Respondent 6: "There were a lot here. They were disturbance for the public".

➤ **Value for human life**

- Respondent 1: "Each human life is given value by our society. It is for this reason that we have created or established safety arrangements". "Human life has value". "An intervention needs to be implemented. The Supreme Court itself said that they need to find a solution for human wellbeing, and they need to find an immediate solution. So that's also my opinion. Usually, we need to give priority to human welfare first. That's the normal order right. Humans need always preference first".
- Respondent 6: "public places are for people; there we don't need dogs. These public places are for people; dogs are not needed here".
- Respondent 7: "Mostly, I support human welfare."

➤ **Role and duty of government for public safety**

- Respondent 1: “it is the duty of the society, or ruling part or the government that govern us to protect the people under its care”.
- Respondent 3: “About 5 to 6 years back, in the Trivandrum municipal corporation, they set to do ABC birth control, not just that, they took care of stray dogs, mostly gave them proper vaccines. And healthy stray dogs were allowed to be adopted by the public. Such a concept was introduced around 2021 or 2019; they brought such a concept. After the government change, the concept did not remerge. But at that time, even my friend had adopted two babies. If they do something like that, it will work well. I don’t know about others, when my relative was working in the municipal corporation. He was the health inspector there and had to take the initiative. They have taken the initiative and did this. Even though I haven’t seen it with my eyes, they took the initiative and were doing this. They were doing animal birth control. the worse ones were dealt with ABC control, and healthy ones among them were sent for adoption. If the municipal corporation takes measures, it will be a good thing. As mentioned in the scenario from 2021/2019. They cleaned them and a lot of people adopted them. “I don’t know about others, but this is an incident that took place in Trivandrum corporation”. “I had fully supported it”. If someone adopts it properly, then that initiative that corporation too, I support it. They cleaned them and a lot of people adopted them. But if such measures are taken by the municipal corporation, it will be a good thing. Stray dogs when they walk on the streets, they might not get food at all. I have seen them drink rain water and all. So, if someone adopts them properly, then. We don’t approach them, because they are not clean. Therefore, the decision of the corporation, I fully support that. Because that time they took a lot of these and cleaned them properly, that time, these animal lovers. After cleaning, a lot of people adopted them. So, if they take such an initiative, for them every day having to drink rainwater or for food roaming, such a concept isn’t necessary. So, it had seemed as a good thing to me. I had got a message to, I have a beagle, are u ready to adopt and so”.
- Respondent 4: “When we see stray dogs in institutional spaces, we wonder that the government authorities aren’t doing anything, we can’t do anything else, we don’t protest or anything. “Maybe they are there, because authorities don’t do anything as there is not much conflict”. When we see in the news, the media and people’s response come, so we hope the government will do something, should they do something. Only

government can do something right. General people can't kill or remove stray dogs right. There is someone who said that stray dogs shouldn't be killed right, like Maneka Gandhi. I don't see any alternative solution. At the court level, government and corporation is thinking and doing. I have nothing to say for it. The government might be doing things on the basis on what they studied, and making decisions accordingly, if it's not extended to residential areas".

- Respondent 5: "So, I wonder that the government should remove them".
- Respondent 6: "They have removed them from here". "Corporation came and collected them. They complained to the corporation". "Don't know where they took them". "in between corporation came and used to take vaccine, so we had trust, once a year."

➤ **Perception of practical implementation**

- Respondent 4: "To remove... my first thought is whether this removal is practical or possible. I doubt how far the authorities will be able to implement this. If it can be implemented, it's a good thing. Because, first of all, to catch all these dogs from the streets, the corporation people have to catch them, to build shelters for them, the difficulty they face... it's difficult to implement, that's what it is. But if it happens, it's a good thing. Right now, when the corporation looked for a place for a shelter and started some work there, the locals created a protest. Because, if you bring all these dogs and keep them in a shelter there, they will always bark and create a lot of noise. Because of that, they protested, and so the shelter plan was stopped. When such a conflict comes, they do something, otherwise back to scratch. I don't think they can understand that and catch them, nor can they take them away based on that. Sorting them out and catching them seems difficult to me". "What do they do. They do something for one day and go". "So, they if it's possible is a question. The laws that are been taken has been going on since years, but still, they haven't been able to reach a right order. The judgements have been all different. Different courts have different ways. First, they said to kill, they said to take decision based on classification. They don't have a stern decision".
- Respondent 7: "The dog catchers take these dogs and leave them to village areas. So, it's becoming a problem for those in villages. So, it's no point, even in calling them. an intervention is definitely needed". "I don't think local bodies will be able to implement this, I don't know why. "If its institutional areas, or general areas, stray dogs are of two type, those who bite and don't bite, but if both and removed and moved to village areas,

then they are released back here. So. it will be more disturbance for people in village areas.” “Stray dogs can safely rest elsewhere, even if its village areas, but it’s a problem for the people there”.

➤ **Perception of risk, safety and fear**

- Respondent 1: “if a stray dog bites, it will lead to death or worsen health conditions, if not taken proper vaccination on time”. “Stray dogs are something everyone fears. Need to take injection if they bite us, so it’s good to move them to ABC shelters for public safety”. “I Don’t send my son outside. Don’t know when they will come, in the morning, or afternoon. For precaution, we stay cautious”. “Where ever there are stray dogs, especially in areas where there are children; the small pathways to school, if they are there, there is higher chance to attack kids. Because kids get afraid fast”. “If stray dog bites and if proper vaccination isn’t taken, people can die for sure. This is in my mind, so I’m afraid”. These stray dogs will be in shelters and people can walk on the streets comfortably”.
- Respondent 2: “So, for me, I’m scared of dogs. I am someone who travels by bus every day. On the way, I see plenty of dogs. So, when we see a dog, there is no way for us to know whether it is aggressive or non-aggressive. We will only know if it bites, right? So, when I am walking on the road, opposite me, I see dogs all the time. When dogs are passing on the side, a tension arises whether it’s a biting dog or a non- biting dog, or if it will attack. Such kind of tension arises”. “I support removal from institutional areas because on the paths where children walk, they chase to bite them. If it were older people, they might still somehow run and escape, but in areas where children go, I don’t really agree with stray dogs roaming around”. “Let me ask, how do we understand whether a dog is aggressive or not? Is it after the dog bites? How do we know if a dog is aggressive or not? Okay, so normally if we want to understand if a dog is aggressive or not do we have to wait until it bites? Is that what your mean? I don’t know. It must be like that, right? After it bites one or two people, we understand that the dog is aggressive. I don’t know. It must be like that, right? After it bites one or two people, we understand that the dog is aggressive?”. “But as mentioned, when we keep giving plenty of food to dogs in crowded public areas, it might create situations where dogs gather there and bite people. That might be why, they said not to give food. If designated areas

has been set up, then that's a good thing. I also think it's not good to encourage that too much”.

- Respondent 3: “I’m not scared of stray dogs”.
- Respondent 4: “Then we see one or two cases in the news about conflict. We all want that they don’t stay in institutional spaces, for instance in railway station and bus stance. What if they jump on us. We have no protection and such. How can they understand that now? For instance, they go to a place, and about five or six dogs are lying under the shade there. Which one among them is aggressive, and which one is well-behaved and obedient? So, a general measure needs to be taken to find a solution”. “Because, for example, where I live, it's a housing colony. There isn't much traffic there. Small children play on the road in the evenings, ride bicycles, run around, or play with a ball. So, if all these dogs are removed, parents will have the confidence to let them out on the road. Now, what I do is, if I let my grandchildren out on the road to play with a bicycle or a ball, I go along with them carrying a five or six-foot-long stick to watch over them. So, if they are all removed, that difficulty will be resolved. It will give people the confidence to go out, even after it gets dark”. “Altogether this verdict came on the basis of the difficulties faced by all citizens. So, dividing the areas is not a right approach. Where they are not removed, they will still face difficulties. Do dividing is not right”.
- Respondent 5: “We don’t know when it will be aggressive and attack cannot be predicted. It’s difficult for those who go walking, as compared to those who travel in cars”. “It’s necessary, especially for those who sleep on the roads, those people, children who walk on the road, its disturbance when we go for walking. Since we always go in car, there has not been any issue for us. But I have seen people in fear moving away. In the morning when I go to temple, I see a lot of dogs there, those poor women who go working in homes go in fear of the dogs”. “Even if they need freedom, since many people walk on the road, if it bites one person. It can’t be predicted when their behavior will change”. “Not stray dogs, if it doesn’t cause disturbance to us, its ok. But it’s hard to say what’s their behavior. If they go barking behind scooters, people will get scared. Scooters will fall, accidents will happen, especially for two-wheeler. For cars, something will happen to the dog”. “If the dog bites someone out of anger or bites the person in two-wheeler, (???). If they are not there, it’s good for humans”. “If they are calm its fine, when they attack is the problem, it’s hard to predict their behavior”. “I’m

scared of animals”. “Usually, I take my hand way fast. I’m scared to touch any dog; my heart beats fast. So, everyone is surprised as to how I touch him. If I see dogs, I stand on bed. In my home there was a dog, when they unleashed it, I stay up the bed. I’m scared of dogs. I don’t go feed it”.

- Respondent 6: “don’t know when they will attack”. “When a rabid dog comes, it’s hard to predict”. “All will be like that. When one dog gets rabies, all dogs will get. So, if it bites or scratches, it will affect humans”. “but when these problems come, it’s hard to say when it will get rabies”. We don’t have any other option other than to kill a rabid dog. It can only be destroyed to prevent spreading. Those who don’t have rabies, but bite, they need to be removed, no need to kill them. It’s hard to say when they will get rabies, if they are dog. There is no solution. It’s harmful to people if put in between people, in some places, where there are lot of wastes, there will be a lot of dog menace. One cannot walk alone there. In my area, at night 1 or 2 pm, after train ride, if you come walking alone, it’s a problem. At night they form gangs and attack pedestrians that walk alone. Animals lovers will come and say they are life like us, don’t kill them or move to shelters, they will say that, but for general people, it’s a danger situation”.
- Respondent 7: I’m scared of dogs. I’m scared it will bite. It’s like that. At evening, there are a lot of stray dogs. I’m scared it will bite. “They need to be fed, but if given more food, they come and bite”. “But otherwise, if there are dogs in front of institution, we need to be caution of them”. “Aggressive dogs, either need to be taken away or need to be released after taking vaccine, and make sure they won’t bite”. “If they are removed, college or school children can walk safely. If they are in front of an institution, because they fear dog bite, people go. Other people think they might not bite. Some people are scared of dogs. Some people say they won’t bite, and love them. So, if they are removed, they can walk safely”. “Stray dogs are good, but they need to be made in a way they can’t bite, such as by taking vaccine and taking away their teeth, then it’s okay. Otherwise, that’s when we fear it will bite others. So, I do feel the verdict can bring justice.” “Removal is not needed then, but if it bites, its necessary.”

➤ **Perceived Benefits of stray dogs**

- Respondent 4: “There seems no benefit of stray dogs, if raised at home, it could help with buglers and thieves or other reptiles. But stray dogs they roam around, they don’t

have a point they stay. So, people who live won't get any benefits from there". "The dogs in compound, they attack people who get into their compound with ill intention".

- Respondent 5: "Stray dogs, if they catch rats, its good, there won't be rat problems. Snakes might bite them, rather than them killing snakes. Cats are the ones who catch snake, and rats etc."
- Respondent 6: "Now there is no problem. No other animals come here, if other dogs come, we chase it out, dogs are the nuisance. Cats do come. but for waste disposal from meat shops, for that it can be given to them as food. For them it's useful."
- Respondent 7: "When thieves are on the streets, then stray dogs bark at night, we can go out and check". "So that nuisance will end, if there are thieves, especially in residential areas, at night". "When they are there to bark, people can check what the problem is. Its good if there are stray dogs at night". "And since stray dogs are removed, at night, whoever comes there won't be any movement or sound. The food waste, if dogs eat, its good. So, there are some good things with stray dogs, so there will be consequences like that if removed".

➤ Perception of stray dogs' behavior

- Respondent 1: "When they come, they come in groups of 3 to 4. They come in aggressive nature". "They haven't attacked us so far. And don't know if they will attack us". "When we take a stick, we can see it go back". "The 3 or 4 dogs for some time in the area are familiar ones". "When we are afraid, there is higher chance of dog attacking us".
- Respondent 2: "We have been travelling on road for many years. When we are walking, dogs fight with each other and run down the road together, like five or six dogs together. So, plenty like that. Every day we travel by bus, right? I travel especially through the corporation area. So, at night, during the day, at noon, in the evening, I have seen plenty of dogs like this". "Now, it's when they roam around in the road and don't get food that they scatter waste, bite people and get aggressive; without proper food and care that they get aggressive".
- Respondent 3: "There are stray dogs in my area. Not in major groups, only 1, 2 or 3". "There are many stray dogs in the area. They gather around areas where people feed them leftovers". As stray dog population is increasing, they are barking at night at

travelers, especially when two-wheeler vehicles move, they bark. This creates some disturbance among the public”.”. “About stray dogs, aggressive stray dogs, only if we attack them, only then they attack us back, in the case of aggressive dogs. I don’t think they will attack by-passers for no reason. First of all. About do bite victims, when we If we don’t get food for a little time for one day, don’t we get aggressive, when we get extreme hungry or thirsty. It’s the same for them that’s what I feel. I had a dog it was only 2 years. We let it outside without chain. When we let it off, some vada fell of a child. Thinking the dog was going to take it. A person threw stone at it, thinking it would bite, it got injured badly. It was a memory. So, whenever it saw that person, it behaved very aggressively. But blackie died. So, when we see dogs from far, we throw stones, they will not forget it. It will be their memory. It will also be from basic factor like hunger or thirst that they behave that way”.

- Respondent 4: “Live inside a housing colony. Face to face line houses. No traffic, many stray dogs lay here and there, even beneath my house, where there is shade. There is not much conflict. It’s been here for years. Inside the colony, we know they don’t bite, they just lay there. So, without fear, we walk on the side. Not afraid. I go watching it on the way. I’m not saying they can stay there. If two-wheeler pass by, they run behind them barking”. “They become more aggressive when they are rabid. Other than if someone attacks the other dogs, they won’t attack. Heard that normal stray dogs bite when provoked or attacked by humans. At times the stray dogs bark and run behind the bikes, ones that makes a lot of noise. There have been complaints from inside the compound”.
- Respondent 5: “when we go walking, when we go to airport, there’s full of dogs. They have a particular area. They start barking when my pet dog simply stepped, many of them were barking towards my dog, then I had to take my dog and run away. I only saw them bark at my dog, otherwise they are silent”. “If a lot of dogs are put somewhere together it’s difficult, if its 1 or 2 its okay. Anywhere. If there are a lot of dogs, they will fight and make noise, if one or two, they will adjust and go”.
- Respondent 6: “When children come here and run around to play, they get attacked. Maybe they might be running with them to play with them, but parents may think it’s to bite their children, and there was always complaint. Dogs gathered here more because of the waste here”. “For waste management, eating food here was prohibited for 3

months and so when waste became prohibited and there was no waste available, then the dogs leave immediately”.

- Respondent 7: “So since they are giving food, that these dogs come and bite. Because they are given food, dogs come here daily. Only some dogs bite”.

➤ **Factors Contributing to Stray Dog Congregation**

- Respondent 1: “ABC rules should be made applicable. Now we can see a lot of stray dogs here. So, it implies that it could be a failure”.
- Respondent 2: “But as mentioned, when we keep giving plenty of food to dogs in crowded public areas, it might create situations where dogs gather there and bite people. That might be why, they said not to give food. If designated areas have been set up, then that's a good thing. I also think it's not good to encourage that too much”.
- Respondent 3: “There are stray dogs in my area. Not in major groups, only 1, 2 or 3”. “There are many stray dogs in the area. They gather around areas where people feed them leftovers”.
- Respondent 4: “When we see stray dogs in institutional spaces, we wonder that the government authorities aren’t doing anything, we can’t do anything else, we don’t protest or anything. “Maybe they are there, because authorities don’t do anything as there is not much conflict”.
- Respondent 6: “Dogs gathered here more because of the waste here”. “For waste management, eating food here was prohibited for 3 months and so when waste became prohibited and there was no waste available, then the dogs leave immediately”.
- Respondent 7: There are stray dogs near my home, it’s near the law college. Since flat people feed them, there are increase in stray dogs. They are feeding in public places.

➤ **Dog bite and attack and Known incidents of dog bite**

- Respondent 1: “I have got bitten in Kottayam bus stand. I had experience while going to the washroom. It chased me and I fell. Its nail caused me wound on my leg due to which I had to get vaccine in general hospital. It didn’t bite, its nail just scratched. I ran to the washroom when I saw the dogs chase me, that’s when I fell.it seemed that they came to attack me, that’s why I ran to the washroom, and that’s when I fell. It was at night 2am. They ran toward me, I don’t know why”. “But I’m not saying this because I

was bitten”. “Somewhere one incident happened. A child who was bitten by a stray dog, didn’t tell anyone at home due to fear of punishment or vaccination, and so later she showed symptoms and died”. “I don’t know any experiences in relation to my friends or relatives, just my experience”.

- Respondent 2: “I don’t know anyone who got bitten by stray dog, I once got chased by a pet dog”.
- Respondent 3: “When I had a child, I travelled in electric vehicle, so electric vehicle has a particular sound, because of the sound, I felt that they were very aggressive and tried to attack us at night. Since we were inside the vehicle, we didn’t feel too much issue, but the child got scared. The negative experience is that while going in an electric vehicle, a lot of dogs came barking from behind, so to escape them, we suddenly pulled the break and me and child fell forward and got injured. It was a negative experience. We could have gone without minding them. Not ever got bitten”.
- Respondent 4: “Rabid dog bit me. while I was walking to a near-by place. It ran out and bit behind my leg. It was a rabid dog. It had bitten several other people on the way, and while coming back also bit me. It also bit a woman on a scooter. It’s been 10 years”. “That dog that bit me, it bit four to five people in that one-hour gap”.
- Respondent 6: “I have never been bitten. A rabid dog came here and attacked many people and bit many dogs here. But in between that a rabid dog came in and we beat it to death. I have an experience. At night after a train ride, 12-1 pm, I was walking, as I was alone, all these dogs ran forward to attack me, then I escaped making noise and stamping, after that I never walked alone at night there”.
- Respondent 7: “It has chased me, but not bitten me. Stray dogs have bitten people near me. They went to hospital and took injection. It chased me during college time. When I was walking, it chased me and I ran. It saw I had snacks; I had brought items and also had a cover in my hand. It came by itself. They have bitten two people here”

➤ Media

- Respondent 1: “I hear about stray dogs through newspapers”. “I’m scared of not dogs as such, but I have seen scenes in movies where people die of rabies after being bitten by stray dogs”.

- Respondent 2: “Because now, especially in Trivandrum, we see a lot of news about many people, especially small children being severely bitten and mauled by dogs”. “We see in the news, things like stray dog menace, stray dogs biting. Especially in the media, we keep hearing of the same news stories, and don’t hear any good news. So, I think because of that, our perception is like that”. “A solution is needed, definitely needed. Small children died recently. I know those stories from the news. I personally know fewer victims of dog bites, but otherwise as mentioned, I only know cases where pet dogs at home bite for fun. Otherwise, I don’t personally know about aggressive stray dog bites. All I have seen is in the news. In the news, we have seen and heard stories of people being brutally injured. So, when we see that, we have fear. So, after getting such exposure from the media, when stepping onto the road and a dog comes opposite to me, naturally I feel scared. Stray dog bites are increasing, it’s my opinion. Statistically, I don’t know how it is. When I see it in the news, I understand that dog bites are increasing. When I see a dog, I get a little scared, and I also move away a bit”.
- Respondent 3: “I don’t think its increasing. Not seeing any news as such. About the start of 2026, not news as such. In summer u know, there is scarcity of water. They say that, but this time, I don’t hear as such. I hear a lot of positive news. That Stray dogs rescue babies that were abandoned. They informed another man. Heard through Instagram. In 2025, in Palakkad, a stray dog took the baby that was abandoned immediately after birth, by its cover and gave it to someone”.
- Respondent 4: “Now since I’m sitting at home, I hear most cases from news, rather than directly from people. Before when I was in service, used to go and come”.
- Respondent 7: “Trivandrum does have high menace of dogs, in news it was shown that in Sreekariyam, that a dog bite case happened. Regarding news, in news mostly native news come, such as someone got bit by dog etc.”

➤ **ABC rules**

- Respondent 7: “If after vaccination, they are returned its okay, they won’t bite then. “Bites will reduce after vaccination. Sterilization and ABC rules are effective in a way. After vaccination, dogs won’t come after to bite, because their teeth and such will be removed. So, sterilization and vaccination are effective”. “If they are taken vaccine, they won’t bite”. “If there are taken vaccine and returned, then it’s okay. Bites will

reduce, means, there were dogs beside home, I was scared, then the people nearby said, they won't bite, since they have taken vaccine and returned. So, at first there was barking and biting and now there is no such thing. There are dogs, but not biting." "If ABC rules are effective, it can be continued."

➤ **Failure of ABC rules**

- Respondent 1: "ABC rules should be made applicable. Now we can see a lot of stray dogs here. So, it implies that it could be a failure". "Since the government institutions did not seriously carry out the scheme well, isn't that why these dogs come on the roads". "I don't know ABC rules, only have heard of them".
- Respondent 4: "So they call the dog catchers, and they catch one, the rest run away and hide, and they leave. They come back after a long time. They take it and do sterilization and release them back to the area. We see it as order of the corporation. At the high court level or supreme court level, heard a new verdict came against it. Government see it as part of their calculation, to control breeding, to reduce their ability to reproduce. For general people, there is no change because of this. It won't bring a change to its aggressive behavior. They only do this procedure for the sake of it". "Stray dog bites don't seem to be decreasing. It seems to be happening in many places. If there has been any benefit due to sterilization is only known at the government level".
- Respondent 5: People do sterilization here, (???). so that more dogs will not come. But I don't know if they are doing it. Dogs will walk silently. (???) (???) . otherwise, it will bark and chase at night.
- Respondent 7: "But now they don't give vaccine or take them away. Before, I have heard them conduct it, before when there was mayor here, there were some notices given, but now there is no one to come take them, people give food, so dogs are increasing".

➤ **Support for sterilization**

- Respondent 2: I have heard of ABC rules, but I don't know about it clearly. Sterilizing is good. If its population is increasing a lot, then I have no objection to sterilizing. But the sterilization process is a bit... One day, when I was going through PMG junction, I saw them catching a dog. I think it was to sterilize it, I didn't understand clearly. They catch the dog using a net and inject it right? Isn't the process like that? I saw that. When

I saw it, the dog was making a lot of noise. So, it was a bit disturbing. when I saw the process, it felt a bit disturbing. But if it helps to reduce population, then I don't completely oppose it.

○ **Stray dog welfare**

- Respondent 2: “Is a shelter a place harmful to dogs? “I don't know. What I understand of shelters is that it will provide a place for them to stay, and they will be given enough food, right? They will be given enough food, and there are facilities for them to stay. Otherwise, I don't think it's a place that affects dogs harmfully in anyway. I haven't seen a shelter, I have only heard of them. I don't know what facilities are available there. But if they are providing enough situation where they can grow naturally, then that's fine. So, if they get food and care in a shelter, let them be put in a shelter. Fine. If the shelter provides a peaceful environment for them to stay, then we are happy and the dog is also happy. I don't know exactly what the verdict is, so I'm not commenting on that. For the time being, this is my stance. That is, a shelter is good for dogs. Putting dogs in shelters is good for humans and good for dogs. In our place, if we see a snake, we catch it and release them into the forest, right? Similarly, when stray dogs cause problems, we take them into a shelter. Whatever it is, as mentioned, what I mean is if a shelter is made in a good and convenient place, then there is no need for dogs to roam around like this on the street. So, rather than leaving dogs free on the road like this; when they go like this, they don't get proper food, water or anything. So, if they are taken to a place like this, isn't it good? Is there a need to send them back to the road? Is the road a good place for dog? If the road is a situation where a dog can live comfortably, then dogs can live there. But of a shelter is another place where they get a place to sleep, necessary vaccines, food and care, can't they go there?”. “If the government is taking as a step, then I support it. Shifting them to shelters would be good. Currently, I see it as a good option. Among humans ourselves, there are so many people without a home or hut sleeping on roadsides, walking around without food and water. So, don't we create shelter home for such humans? To rehabilitate them, the government builds homes, makes homes for them, provides food and medicines, and keeps them safe. Similarly, I see it as making the dog's life safe as well”.
- Respondent 5: “Shelters should be good ones to take care of them. They shouldn't be kept there simply. Good shelters should be built. They cannot be simply pushed there.

They sleep on the road without food, if in shelter, they will get food. That's what I think".

➤ **Empathy for stray dogs**

- Respondent 1: "I'm not saying to kill them, only rescue them".
- Respondent 2: "I don't agree with killing them because that is also a life, right". "Isn't there a rule that we shouldn't give food like that? I am someone who has given food to dogs. Meaning, personally, even though I am scared of dogs, I feel sad when I see puppy dogs sitting hungry. I have bought biscuits and milk from shops and given it to them in vessels. So, regarding the statement that food shouldn't be given, we cannot completely abide by that because they are also life, right? So, when dogs are sitting hungry and exhausted, we naturally tend to give them food".
- Respondent 3: "I'm not saying to kill". "In terms of feeding, sometimes do give them food. There are stray dogs in my dad's shop, there's a stray dog, the food I bring for myself. where I feed them. Yes, I would call myself an animal lover. I like dogs more, among animals. Any dog, if we give them care, it will give you back. they will be loyal back to u. if u give that same thing to a cat, they will show a boss mentality thinking they are something big. I have felt like that. So, I love stray dogs. After marriage when I came back after 1 and a half years. Still, it remembered me. It came near me. Dogs are a grateful species. I don't have that opinion for other species".
- Respondent 4: "Instead of killing aggressive stray dogs, they are also still a life r
- Respondent 5: "I won't call myself an animal lover. But I don't like hurting them, though don't have any particular affection for animals". "Animal lovers will love and go. They won't always be there. It's different if they take them home and love. Now, they will love when they go outside". "Only after I got my dog when it was a puppy, when I sat down, they handed him to me, I was holding him afraid he would fall. Only after I got my dog when it was a puppy, when I sat down, they handed him to me, I was holding him afraid he would fall. You know hen, dead hen, if they bring it in full form, I'm scared to touch it. I cannot touch it. If its temperature cools down, and it has no heat, only then I can handle it. But when I see it, I feel love for them after I got my dog. Before I have never felt any affection towards stray dogs, now when I see them, I remember my dog".

- Respondent 6: “I used to interact with stray dogs. Now not. People do take waste here and throw, they bring waste for the dog, and throw it here”. “It’s hard to say their issue”. “I used to feed. We used to take care of one well, they took them also. When I was feeding, it was all love and all”. “I have affection to animals in general”.
- Respondent 7: “About animal lovers, I have good opinion, because animal lovers love animals. Animals are just like humans.

➤ **Shelter and rescue**

- Respondent 1: “Trivandrum Mayor was speaking of ABC shelters and details on it recently, the other day”. “I don’t remember the exact place. A charitable society took some land on lease and is raising dogs like ABC shelters”. “If NGOs are interested, they could be given fund, for food and treatment. That way Some people will get job, they will get working fund and it will function like an ABC shelter”. “Do we need to raise stray dogs on roads; can’t they be raised in rescue shelter”. “For the rest of the stray dogs, vaccinate and sterilize them, and instead of leaving them to streets, give them to NGOs with working fund to look after them and shelters”.
- Respondent 4: “If they make shelters and move every dog there, and be able to take care of it, it’s a good thing”.
- Respondent 6: “it’s better to move them to shelters. They should take it to such specific places for dogs, if needed take it to home and raise them. If they love dogs, they can take how many they like and raise them at home. For that there is possibility legally”.
- Respondent 7: “So either don’t give food or they should be given away to dog catchers. So, they can be given away”. “Taking them to shelters is good, it’s good for humans”. It’s a good thing to have a separate place to feed them. I think the verdict does bring balance. Humans and dogs need to go equally. people can stand with animals. People will be able to live peacefully if moved to shelters”. But human and dogs need a bond, so there are people who touch stray dogs. It’s hard to have a bond with stray dog if they are removed from institutional areas.

➤ **Human-centred perspective**

- Respondent 8: “Because there it's complete personal agenda. Now several street dog removal movement associations and such exist. Just see the heads of those associations. They are hard core animal haters. From their view point, the earth is only for humans. Just one sentence they say, the earth is for humans. Whatever is harmful to humans, should be eliminated. Aren't humans the ones harmful to humans itself, shouldn't I be eliminating my neighbour?”. “Street dog movement association is handled by big business people. They are big human beings (???) compassionate only towards human being”.
- Respondent 13: “Then, since it's a human centred society, if they remove them tomorrow, they will remove them. We can't do anything”.

○ **Pet dogs**

- Respondent 1: “At home, pet dogs need to be taken proper vaccination and corporation's license”. “The corporation need to monitor this, and the pet owners too. They need to be responsible”. “It's the law here, in corporation, panchayat and municipality”. “Pet owners need to make sure of license and vaccination”. “The local institutions need to make preparation for shelters. That's been my concept since long”. “Domestic pets need proper vaccination. It could be made compulsory and strict rule”.
- Respondent 2: “A dog has never bitten me, but have chased to bite me when I was young. When I was in school, a dog chased to bite me, but has never bitten me. It was the dog of the house next to mine. I went to the neighbor's house for some purpose, and then that dog chased me to bite. There was no specific provocation”.
- Respondent 3: “Never thought of adopting stray dogs. Already have three, also these three wouldn't allow outsiders”.
- Respondent 4: “Since before I had no interest to take care of it, or about it coming inside home. Since long back don't like its hair, whether its dogs or cats, about cleaning it, whether it makes a mess. Don't like it since the past”.
- Respondent 5: “My dog won't listen to me. So, I see all of them are similar. Other dogs still listen. My dog gets very excited when it sees people”. “My pet dog has not been sterilized; it doesn't go out”. “In my family, there's no one who are very fond of animals, my husband might be an animal lover but tend to beat and control my pet”.

- Respondent 7: “I’m allergic to pet, feature, hair. But I do like pets, we had before, now not”. “So, I have seen more people love pet dogs more than stray dogs”.

IV. **RATIONALE UNDERLYING THE OPPOSERS’ POSITION AGAINST THE VERDICT, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WELLBEING AND RIGHTS OF STRAY DOGS**

○ **Personal experience with stray dogs shaping perception of stray dogs**

- Respondent 8: “There are many stray dogs here. I do interact with them. I feed them. I started feeding, not like since the last 10 years. I started feeding after raising the baby of a stray dog, only then I understood the reality. Most of the animal haters, or so call dog haters, how many of them raise them. How do you criticize a system, first you need to know it. You need to have a personal experience. You cannot criticize it without experience. I, I didn’t even have a dog, then one day I took a stray dog’s baby from the street back home, raised it for the kids’ passion. It is from that, that I understood about it and its details. I also have one more dog, that was from the street, it was injured and thrown to the streets. I took it home and raised it. What I understood is that, when we walk outside, we will recognize our neighbours, the people living in this area, we will know many faces we are familiar with, humans, same way we will also know the dogs in the locality, if we start noticing. okay. my total experience in this field is for only 4 years. I don’t have more experience than that”. “If there are 3 ½ people, 3 crore people are dog haters. None of them will be speaking from personal experience”. “From personal experience 1 crore people maybe speaking, maybe the dog has barked, not attacked, bite or tear”.
- Respondent 9: “I started working in PFA, its only becoming almost 2 months. Before that I was an active volunteer for 10 months. I wanted to get a job here always; it was my desire”. “I generally like animals, I was a cat person before, now I’m a animal person. In my mother’s house there were a lot of animals, not only cats and dogs, there are cows, goats, duck, so I grew up between them, maybe it’s that attachment”.
- Respondent 10: “Now currently, there are none. Only chickens are there. After corona, the dog I mentioned, along with this German shepherd, died around that period in 2020, after that didn’t want to bring an emotional attachment to anything else. It was

there for many days, and suddenly when it goes like this, we were not able to accept it”. “It was that much sick, that much time it too to take out all the worms, for about two hours. Even then, it didn’t do anything. Now since we have raised dogs, we can take food from front of the male dog while its eating, or even from its mouth. It won’t do anything, even if we try to take it back, but the other dog wasn’t like that. In the case of the female dog, once food is put on its plate, if tried to take it back, it cannot be retrieved. It takes food on command but after that if we say stop, it’s not possible. It was attached to that plate and area”.

➤ **Knowledge of the verdict and ABC rules**

- Respondent 8: “What I have to say is that, as per 22nd Aug order, why weren’t feeding points given? Why not? So, the medias showed the supreme court order selectively. “The order has 115 pages So here in the supreme court rule, it says to consider prevention to cruelty 1960, animal birth control 2023, for euthanasia. So have they read it. If read ABC rules, in that euthanasia is allowed for terminally ill dogs, not rabid ones. People can read English, people can read the rules. After reading and understanding it. “In the 7th November verdict, it was all this. They have all said the 108 points in detail. If we look at the previous verdict, the first verdict came on 11th august., then when the verdict came on 22nd august, they totally cut 11th august one. That was practically impossible. okay. The 11th Aug. august one was cut, there is an SOP mentioned in the ABC rules, the accounts for making a shelter. That’s why they cut the 11 august one. Now, 7th Nov order said dogs has to be removed from 5 places, to where? to shelter”. “The order has 115 pages”. “One thing mentioned in that was feeding points should be provided. Dogs shouldn’t be given food on the streets. I think there were about 35 points. Don’t know if you read it. There were 30 to 40 points in that. Feeding points should be provided”.
- Respondent 9: “In the new rules, the rules that I support were already there, they just reiterated it. Be it the ABC rules, they just reiterated it. Regarding the new rules, one is about feeding, need to feed only in designated places, then to remove dogs to shelters”.

➤ **Experience of stray dog attack**

- Respondent 8: “Now, if said I will only learn if bitten, then I have been bitten. The dog that I raise, it bites out of love, when its small. A dog that was lying on the street, it has bitten out of pain. Whatever type of bite it be, we need to go take vaccine and have done all such things as well”.
- Respondent 9: “I have got bitten from the shelter itself”.
- Respondent 12: “A stray dog has chased me, not bitten me. He was like a Shepard taking care of his flock of goats, when I made a direct contact with him, he came after me, I had a cycle, so I just ran off. When I was small, me and my sister had a race, and my sister stood when she saw the dog, I ran, and he ran after me. Then also, they would run after us for a short distance, and that’s it”. “Now, at night, when we take our vehicle and go, they would come after us, barking behind us. Maybe it’s because they are seeing us at late at night”. “But same time, in the morning, they won’t bark. Maybe for their protection, they would bark at us”. “I had a blind kitten; she was killed by a dog. I could have shown hatred towards these dogs, I was so close to my blind cat, and loved her most. I didn’t let her go anywhere. A dog came inside by jumping over the wall. I don’t think, it was only a small bite, she just died of heart attack. she died in fear. It’s because too much multiplication. In one place itself there are about 16 dogs there. so, it could have triggered me, I could have hated all the dogs but it’s not needed. It happened in an unexpected scenario. I could have taken the cat inside. I let her roam around the house. We were heart broken. My mother cried as if someone in our own house died. We were all in depression. It was like funeral house. That doesn’t mean we throw stones at dogs, or show hatred to them. I used to see the dogs, I saw the dog run but I don’t know if it’s the one, so when I see one dog, I do feel like killing it with vehicle, but I can’t just because he killed my cate, does it mean I could kill it back. Maximum try to prevent it. When they come close to the house, I try to protect my cats”.
- Respondent 13: “I don’t know if dog bites are increasing. I have been bitten. Not bitten intentionally. It happened by accident. I went and too injections. That wasn’t an aggressive bite. It happened while petting, but I took the injections properly”.
- Respondent 14: “This way near us, while buying fish, a dog came and bit the leg of our son. It came from somewhere so fast. we all got scared, and took him to hospital.

Changed his mundu and put another dress we cleaned the area and took two injections, and then doctor said no issues. He said nothing happened to the leg, just that the dog touched the cloth. You know how many times, it chased after me, those types of dogs. When I go here and there”.

➤ **Media influence on people’s perceptions**

- Respondent 8: “Okay, so among those who criticise, on what base do they criticize? Based on what they see in media. So, what media says, is it 100% true? If there are that many dog bites as media says, then you and me won’t be alive to talk. When we go out itself, a dog should bite us {???}. Okay so there is a reality here. We need to understand that reality”. “Without understanding these things, these people who call themselves animal haters need to be asked these questions. Okay law came, from tomorrow onwards there won't be stray dog menace. If the menace was really too much you walk on the streets from morning to evening. How many dogs did you cross. Should these dogs have to bite and eat you already? Dog means it is not a lion or tiger. Even lion and tiger shouldn't be looked down upon, only when they get hungry, they eat food. Okay so the one who made up the whole thing is the media. Dogs are biting, ok stray dog attack happened. But why it happened? (???). At the time of the previous government, one statement that came out was, waste disposal on road is high, because of this improper waste disposal, dogs are biting. Just one statement. But only this single statement will come. Why nothing else came, more than that?”. “Medias have created this, that is, if a dog has its tail between its legs and its tongue out, it could be rabies symptoms. while in reality it put its tail down, afraid, running around tired, afraid that someone will attack them, these dogs also go like that. If there are 3 ½ people, 3 crore people are dog haters. None of them will be speaking from personal experience. From personal experience 1 crore people maybe speaking, maybe the dog has barked, not attacked, bite or tear, rest 2 crore people are influenced by the media”. “In the recent Mathrubhumi news, a dog got on train and was sitting in ladies’ compartment, it’s a single news, the news showed that now u can get bitten inside train also tomorrow onwards. Did the news show the whole scenario. Why would they say that. How many videos in foreign countries have we seen where dogs are sitting inside metros and then getting off at the next station. Their statement, covered in newspaper

and news simply will be exposed to those who keep news on since morning. Those 2 crore people will be seeing that see dogs, and throw stones dogs the next day onwards. When it gets hurt the dog will bark back. Then it will appear as it came on to bite. That's what's happening today". "What I have to say is that, as per 22nd Aug order, why weren't feeding points given? Why not? So, the medias showed the supreme court order selectively. Selectively people chose. If the media have enforced it clearly, that LSGD, and all authorities had to arrange feeding points, one food bowl and water bowl according to do population". "The order has 115 pages, same time in news it's was shows that is allowed, this is allowed. Which news reporter read the order properly. Only in Hindu paper, it finished in 10/20 pages in one column. It didn't celebrate like our media. Because they get money for that depending on what they say". "They are big human beings (???) compassionate only towards human being. So, their 1st page. They run their media. They pay for this media. So here in the supreme court rule, it says to consider prevention to cruelty 1960, animal birth control 2023, for euthanasia. So have they read it. Because for euthanasia, supreme court cannot make a new law by itself immediately, the supreme court don't make laws, they can only check if it goes different or in line with the existing laws, in terms of that they can prosecute. So, what did the media say, it said the supreme court made a new rule to kill stray dogs, which is wrong. If read ABC rules, in that euthanasia is allowed for terminally ill dogs, not rabid ones. They are completely different". "So here the main problem, is what media said. Some we cannot call these same medias and correct them, they have their own, political strategy, economical strategy. So, one asked me, if you can publicize it between people, tell people, what the court said, what are the rules. People can read English, people can read the rules. After reading and understanding it. We always use, the media such a Desha Bhimani will be one political party, another political party paper will be another, then its already clear newspapers are not telling the truth. They speak based on what the parties said or decided. So why only in the case of dogs, are humans are believing the media. Will the media speak the truth in the case of dogs? no. it is also there, those who pay and those who read because they paid". "The media all says, this, and then there are those highly influential human beings, those who have money and those who live in foreign countries comfortably, and then they in a very stylish way, because they are influencers already, will say, it's a good thing

supreme court allowed euthanasia, will say a lot like this, there are a lot of videos. Then at the end will say, because of that don't go and kill the dogs, but they allowed euthanasia. So, we have something we want to listen to. Dog haters have something they want to hear. Ahh yea, they have allowed to kill dogs. They only listen to that, when you emphasise what you want to show, then others will capture that. Without falling into that trap, you have enough time to read, it's written in pure English, once you read, discuss". "Okay so, look, there are two sides. First, what media has done". "Why is the dog not biting back, because for its food and water is available. For a starving dogs, if I, I won't throw stones at dogs, suppose I'm not here for a year, it will be running around for food, panicked, somehow. If at that point someone throws a stone at them, it has not gone to a yoga class, it will go and bite them. If they bite, people will say that a rabid dog bit them, that's how people will say. Because that's what media have taught them, okay". "In the 7th November verdict, it was all this. In this campus, they wouldn't give, because supreme court said so, because actually media said so. media told them that". "No court said to starve the dogs that were calm and getting food. But our media said exactly that. Or they desired to say that. And desired to believe that, and the social media influencers also contributed. So, the mass killings and all that happened here, is based on how the supreme court order was interpreted and the media who brought the order to the general people and the social media influencers, 2 crore people ill blame. 1 crore people, what are the remaining, will be silent". "It is in social media that we get positive news because I don't own Mathrubhumi, or even if I say they won't publish it. There is a reason I'm specifying Mathrubhumi. Because one person who funds is a hard-core animal cruelty promoter. So, I will specify Mathrubhumi. In other news also there will be something like this, but it's just that it was easily found out about Mathrubhumi. There are people to fund it, then people will say anything, do anything. Where this is not there, is social media. I can say in my social media, but I might have only 100 might see. There are people like animal lovers such as Sreejesh panthavoor, Pradeep payoor, palakadan changayi, and such other people in malayalees. They are running about in the case of shelters each time because they are being torched by the rules. The same society and people who have to make the rule applicable are making them on the run. They have all said the 108 points in detail, based on the information they got. They have legal people

working on the team, they draft and give everything, but people only see selectively. The mainstream medias, does not value compassion, the time to publish it has passed, they are the ones teaching animal cruelty and same way making them bite humans, it's them as well as wildlife conflicts. Why do wild elephants come out, is it because it wants to eat food from outside and has lot of food there”.

- Respondent 10: “If asked if I feel that dog bites are increasing, that is when this news comes in a wave, right. But all these things are things that have been happening since olden days, right. They just highlight it and say, otherwise I don’t feel it as such; how many people die in daily accidents? It matters so much because the news hype it up in that way. If it is seen as normalized, it is a matter that will finish. Like this, all can be normalized and done. To get a hike in views, the news channels make it an issue. I had seen a case where a boy feeding a dog became a big issue. There was a news in between right. I don’t agree with things like that”.
- Respondent 11: “I have only read about dog bites in newspapers. I have never experienced it directly. I only see negative news in newspapers. When I see that I feel that dangerous dogs need to be removed. Human rights need to be protected. Culling is the only option for these dangerous dogs”.
- Respondent 13: “Do things in the ways it is scientifically proven, other than that, based on what is shown in different media, saying that street dogs can be killed, such interpretations had come”.

➤ **Perception of stray dogs**

- Respondent 8: “There are many dogs born here, barking is there natural thing, there are innumerable dogs who died without biting. Why, there are a few animal lovers who were feeding it. The area was safe for it and it was able to happily live and die, finally”. “According to them dog means to bite people, dog means rabid dog, it will bite people”. “Okay give food, water, and a place to sleep, everyone will live. They want only these three”.
- Respondent 9: “but the problem is since in our place there are a lot of dog haters, all stray dogs are considered aggressive and rabid, and to be removed”. “Realistically, there are stray dogs, there are also community dogs. There are dogs being taken care

of in the community as well. and there are also stray dogs in areas where animal lovers cannot reach. so realistically speak there are stray dogs”. “I like adopting stray dogs, because dogs have personalities, boundaries, just like humans some dogs may not like some things, humans are like that right, us expecting that all dogs should be the same, all dogs should like it when we pet them, all dogs should like it when we rub their belly, all dogs should be happy, we can’t be adamant like that.

- Respondent 10: ““But one they become a group, it’s dangerous. Means, if it becomes more in an area beyond a limit and forms a group, it automatically becomes aggressive. If there is one dog within two kilometres, there won’t be scene. But within these two kilometres itself, if there are five dogs as a three- team, that is automatically not a good thing. One they won’t get food”. “That’s their thing. If you go to the market, the ones they raise can be seen. But these dogs won’t be aggressive. But, same time, it will be a dog from outside that will be the one to attack that dog. I have seen such an instance. I have seen a dog in a market place. It was a good size. Since everyone were looking after it, it will definitely have health issues. Because it won’t be so active. Even if it’s a local dog, its looks like the one type of Labrador dog, which grows in size, especially when sick without moving its body. It looks like that. because it doesn’t need to do much work. It has been habituated like that. If it stays there it will get food. This is a community dog. This won’t be aggressive. But in an area, if the numbers increase beyond a limit, it is said that they will be aggressive”.
- Respondent 13: There were plenty of stray dogs in the area, many are missing now. Before this issue came up, there were about seven or eight of them. Regularly, In the house further away from us, they feed the, twice a day, providing good food. They give them good food, rice and chicken, in the evening they give kibbles and keep them well fed, with plenty of water. We know how many dogs there were and which ones they are, but now we don’t see many of them. We don’t see them much now. We don’t know where they went. I call them community dogs. I don’t think there is a concept called stray dogs. Everyone is a community dog. Just like we live in a house, the place where they live is a community. It is their community, so they are community dogs. There is no concept of stray dogs, right. Just like we have a home, they have a home where they are born and raised or where they are put by someone. There is no such word as “stray”.

➤ **Animal welfare networks**

- Respondent 8: “We have a sir; we are maximum extracting his knowledge. After sir passes away, there is no one. Such people are very rare”. “There are people like animal lovers such as Sreejesh panthavoor, Pradeep payoor, palakadan changayi, and such other people in malayalees on facebook.
- Respondent 9: We have groups, that of PFA, we have feeders, PFA also goes for feeding in some areas. And small communities are there. Big communities are not there.

➤ **Perceived benefits of stray dogs and co-existence**

- Respondent 8: “It would have saved people. One dog always does protection. Among my pets, one is native dog, and the other German Shepard, which was a former stray dog. But the native dog is more active than the German Shepard. So, these species, no species is born on earth to be a waste”. “Also, in an ecosystem, if u completely eliminate a species, will the system balance itself? No. the people who say this, among them, as said, among the 3-crore people, these 2 crores listen to media, change and do according to what it said, and give priority to them, since they are majority, if we eliminate dogs from the ecosystem, what will happen next, aren’t there rats here? Why do rats be here. There are many rats in the ground. When the rat come out, my dog gives it a beating, it doesn’t kill or eat it. So, there is a fear, not to come out. In the pathways, there are many drainages, and near all these drainages, there are dogs. When these rats come out, a new disease will spread. In some country, there was a study regarding this. After mass elimination of dogs, there came rats, and then people got from it a new virus, and then released new dogs out from shelter homes again. Because when we face a situation only, then we learn, because the majority wants it. Then, in a way we are killing the eco-system; by letting it lose its balance”. “And so. Indian pariah dog has a specialty; it will be the one to find snakes and chase it. wherever it goes and hides, it will find it, it also catches rats. Ok. Both my dogs are female. The German Shepard has not that much caliber as the native dog. The German Shepard will simply keep on barking, the native dog will go check, and if she knows it’s someone familiar, it will go back in.no barking. So, you understand its intelligence. How many situations are shown, via social media. In news they don’t show. That dogs

alerted, before airlines came, why all that is not published. If they were all published, many people want to eliminate dogs, that won't happen". "Take it. And return it. Because I need some care. Here's no rat, snake, at the back pig come. There is a pond there, from there pig comes. They bark when it comes. So is it better that I fall from getting hit by the pig in my vehicle, or that they chase it away barking. They help to balance the system. They shouldn't be eliminated".

- Respondent 9: "And second thing, when dogs' population decrease, main issue is that, since after the supreme court verdict came, since the last one year, during this time, really the stray dog population decreased. When their population decreased, did you notice, the number of snakes increased, snake bite numbers are increasing, if there are dogs, the snake menace will reduce. That's a main problem, when the dog population reduces the snake population increased. The eco-system goes in a balance, right? If one species reduced, it will balance in other ways or affect us. People don't think of this and they don't know about this. People think, these snakes increased, or snake bite news increase, some may take it as a coincidence. but actually, one main reason is that the dogs in our place decreased".
- Respondent 10: "If asked if there will be consequence, automatically, the food waste that goes outside will just lie there and rot, that's all. If asked if there will be consequence, automatically the food waste that goes outside will just lie there and rot, that's all. This food waste and bones, normally these bones will be consumed by dogs right. Wastes like that, crows will take it and put in different places. Food waste, especially degradable food waste will become an issue as such".
- Respondent 11: "Stray dogs don't have any specific role".
- Respondent 13: "I don't know about institutional areas, but in our area, they are very vigilant at night. If a vehicle comes from outside, or a two-wheeler, or a car, they are highly alert. That a safety feature. That's our case. Then, about schools, I don't know. In schools or areas like that, how it is, I don't know".
- Respondent 14: "They could be beneficial to society; dogs are useful to society. There are good things too. If we raise dogs at home, aren't they going to be a help for us. For those living alone, its good". "We need dogs also. We cannot live here without dogs. I have two opinions. There are those that are sterilized, it won't have a lot of children. It's a crime. Before and all, verdicts came to not remove them. I don't know".

➤ **Perception of Rabies**

- Respondent 8: “A rabid dog will have a natural death within 10 days. If it is captured, it will be locked in a room, it cannot drink water. Rabies isn’t something that originates in a dog, it might come from rats or somewhere else. Now that Nipah in bat, it will stay there. Similarly, many dogs carry rabies virus without symptoms, they won’t die from rabies. We have a lot of viruses within us. Just like it adjusts with us, same way. After that it might exceed and this dog will have similar rabies. If it has rabies like that it will naturally die in 10 days”. “A rabid dog, will run around and bite anything it gets. Like a man mental in head. It will bite anything. So, catch dogs like that”. “As I said before, that dog will die in 10 days. Okay, I did not find this, the veterinary doctors themselves said this, the dog will not survive and the disease will increase and it will die automatically. But in the rest of the dogs, think it bit 10 dogs. Those 10 dogs, capture them, and monitor them, there is a rule for this. Are they following it?”

➤ **Co-existence**

- Respondent 9: “The world is not just for humans, it’s for all”.
- Respondent 10: “Everyone who is born on earth has the right to live here. Since this earth belongs to everyone, right. We can just control it”.
- Respondent 11: “Human rights need to be given priority. When we give priority to human right, it should be mixed. We should think practically. people can’t just say to kill all stray dogs because they bark, there animal rights need to be given preference. It is case to case”.
- Respondent 12: “Better where they are, give them proper food, given them proper shelter, where they are”. “According to me they should live along with us”. “We don’t have to separate them”. “They are community dogs and animals. They have given them a name as stray. they are not wild. They are domestic, they are living with us. They may survive catching all these rats, and everything because God kept it so. So, we won’t have much hinderance. They are not wild. They are not carnivorous. They are not eating us. There are rats and other, I don’t think they are wild. Let them stay inside, they shouldn’t go near the road. If we don’t harm it, they won’t attack us, let them sleep somewhere here. There is not much problem. When it’s raining, it goes to a shed and lay there, so what is to happen. Then if there is sterilization, so many dogs won’t

come and lay in front of the institution”. “Every living organism is, everything has its own role”.

- Respondent 13: ““Similarly, there is a thing called co-existence, right? It’s not just for us that this world and earth exist. It’s meant to be used equally by all living beings. I mean this earth belongs to everyone. When we think everything from a human-oriented perspective, it’s all about...these rules, or this supreme court actually hasn’t said anywhere to kill stray dogs. That’s all just interpretations. So, we bend it accordingly. That’s all. Who decides that dogs are aggressive”. “Stray dogs are a part of everything, that’s what I believe”. “In my perspective, the concept I believe in is co-existence. We all have equal rights to this earth, that’s my concept”.

- **Role and Importance of feeders/Animal Lovers**

- Respondent 8: “It means, the dogs sitting here, when I call its name, or why is it laying here. I have the ability to recognize it because I’m a feeder. I have started to see it”. “So, to give a feeding point, if you talk to someone else in the area, they will say, it’s not possible in this area, take it there. So, what will happen, have you seen dogs fight? When do they fight? When one dog goes into another dog’s locality”. “Okay, so what each feeder does is protect both people and dogs who have all equal right to live there. But for no reason, feeders aren't included into any discussions”. “Out of the 3 crore people, maybe a few lakhs of us are doing the feeding. We are still struggling. We are struggling to feed, we have to cover our head in the night and go, have to go calmly. Making sure there is no noise. If the dogs in between this bark or fight, then it’s over. The people will come out and throw stones. Why did this situation come like this?”. “ABC rules say that if in an area there is a rabid dog attack, then. One dog has rabies then, it has bit many dogs, it has bit many people. Okay, I did not find this, the veterinary doctors themselves said this, the dog will not survive and the disease will increase and it will die automatically. But in the rest of the dogs, think it bit 10 dogs. Those 10 dogs, capture them, and monitor them, there is a rule for this. Are they following it? That’s the question. Those who made the rule are not dumb. In the rule it has mentioned, why. Why do, when they dog catchers come, they fail to catch these dogs, because they will already get alert and they will run here and there. They will move there and here. So, they cannot catch the dog who might have got rabies after a

rabid dog bit it. it has started running. So, do u know whose help they need? They need the feeder's help. as I sit here, if I open my gate, the 6 dogs that I feed, they will come inside. Then I can call the LSGD and tell them that there are dogs here, you can come and vaccinate them. Need to vaccinate them every 6 months. I can capture and show you. I'm helping the system to be corrected". "ABC rules, give time, for the next 5 years, call the feeders, communicate with these feeders from all areas the LSGD government. Need to follow the ABC rules strictly, help us. And call the feeders, and see the difference. It will reduce a lot. The dog here gave birth, why, because they couldn't capture. It runs, but I could catch it for them, I don't want it to increase to 1012. These 5 dogs need to be able to live here peacefully. I will keep it in my home and help them capture". "We have a team across Kerala, we are working for this and struggling and yet not much happens but we try to make it happen. We give punishment, FIR registration, we report unlawful activity. One thing we know is that there is no awareness. Most awareness should be given to age between 15-30. Because they are the next generation. They will look after the land. So, they need to know this is how things should be done. There is in fact supreme court live telecast, why not notice it, we simply, I read newspaper. It said to kill so will kill. Such a youth making a decision like that is bad. If we make a club for this, is good. We have a sir; we are maximum extracting his knowledge. After sir passes away, there is no one. Such people are very rare". "There are people like animal lovers such as Sreejesh panthavoor, Pradeep payoor, palakadan changayi, and such other people in malayalees. They are running about in the case of shelters each time because they are being torchured by the rules. The same society and people who have to make the rule applicable are making them on the run".

- Respondent 9: "Now, people feed otherwise, not in designated areas. I know a few feeders who feed community dogs. They feed in the same spaces they used to feed, which helps reduce aggression. But people sometimes make it a problem".
- Respondent 10: "That's why I said, even when this stray dog was lying on the other side, until that last stage, we were afraid to do anything because of this. If we go to the back of its shoulder and say that we are taking a worm, how it will react, we don't know. We first poured medicine". In the house that he went for painting, there were eight puppies, that its mother had given birth to. We have gone there to feed the

puppies for up to two months. Because that one mother dogs was a small dog. It cannot look after those eight puppies. So, at night, we for two months fed them, until that dog was ready to go from there to another place. Then we gradually decreased it. Now we made it one in two days, then one in three days, and closed it. For us, it's about four kilometres from here. Now we, looking after that eight dogs for one or two months, one day, one kilo of rice and one kilo of food mean we had to buy rice and give. We were giving only for one time. So, for that also, its stomach won't be full. But still, we gave what we could".

- Respondent 11: "When one or two dogs come near where we stand, I buy them biscuits. In my office area, when I go out for tea, I buy biscuit for them. Since there are no such designated areas right now; since there is no such system in place, there's no choice. When one or two dogs come affectionately, we just give them something. I don't oppose". "Inside the campus I studied, there were dogs that we looked after. Even during corona time, to feed it, only for that, there were people from the campus. Because when the corona lockdown happened, you know right, there was no way to get food for this. They are doing it. I told you, but it is not beyond a limit".
- Respondent 12: "I have 22 cats at home, I'm scared of dogs, but I like them as well. now I told you, some dogs that died recently, other than that one dog was diseased, so we called a veterinary consultant, put medicine on it, gave medicine. Now few puppies we are taking care of them". "There are dogs in front of my house, so I feed that".
- Respondent 13: ""There is no regular feeding. If there are situations, then I do it". "Whenever possible, we buy them biscuits or something and give them".

➤ **Practical challenges to implementation of verdict**

- Respondent 8: "So, this issue became this big, because it came to the supreme court. Okay. The supreme court took a Suo moto case. Maybe there was such importance as to take a Suo moto case. "Now about euthanasia. The final order has 115 points were there. It's important to ask people if they read the earlier orders. Because it's the continuation of that. They wouldn't have read it. The last time, it was said that dogs should be removed from 5 places, hospital compound, campus etc. it means, they should be removed after building shelters. The medical college, can it be protected in this way. I don't think medical college compound can be protected in this way. When

releasing an order, it should be practical. I don't think a medical college campus, can be protected in this way, making sure even one stray dog doesn't enter. There are already dogs and puppies inside living and growing there. It's their territory. To those who say they follow the supreme court order, yes, you definitely follow it. You go through it and follow it. This is all I have to say." "Now shelters are made and these dogs are moved. A panchayat started a shelter, spending lakhs of money, now it's not working, where did the money go".

- Respondent 11: "Shelters are not practical. In terms of protecting dogs in shelters in a place like Kerala, Kerala is a thickly populated place. It is not possible to protect them in areas with people living around. So, shelters should be ideally in forest areas, but forest laws do not permit that. Therefore, the concept of a shelter is a total failure; it's not possible". "If you remove them, where will you take them? That's the question. In Kerala, there are very few vacant places without human habitation. If you put 100 or 1000 dogs in a shelter, people cannot live in that area. So, the kind of shelter being suggested is practically impossible. They say they are going to build shelters, but there will be resistance. When there is resistance, it becomes impossible to build them. Recently, Trivandrum corporation tried to build a shelter, but due to strong resistance, they had to drop the plan. People in that area will naturally object and resist, in Karakulam. People will not accept it due to threat". "What is the definition need to be cleared. What area is an institutional area and a domestic area need to be clear first. Its not clear right now. Such a distinction cannot be made in Kerala, because we don't have a separate institutional and domestic area. If they say they would give money to animal welfare, there is chance it would lead to scam". "Even though the verdict mentions culling dangerous dogs, "dangerous dogs" haven't been defined yet. There are two problems in this. One, even if a dog is dangerous, the concerned authorities are hesitant to kill them due to legal issues, due to lack of clarity. Two, under the guide of this, harmless dogs can also be killed. And when such dogs get mixed with dangerous dogs getting a doctor to certify is not practical".
- Respondent 13: "So how can we manage them. Okay, now we say that we need to shift them to shelters. Is there a place for shelter here? We saw all of that. So, what is it? If they can be shifted to a good place, but the situation to shift them to a good place doesn't exist in Kerala. So, this isn't likely going to happen". "Then, since it's a human

centred society, if they remove them tomorrow, they will remove them. We can't do anything. But when we see them, we do what we can. If we see an injured dog, we call rescue numbers and inform them. They come and take them, treat them and release them back, that's what I know. Because in our area, there's no place to accommodate dogs. Let's see how they are going to remove them or implement it. Let's see the extent to which it is possible. If they are shifting them to shelters, they need space accordingly. I don't know if you know about dogs being territorial. They have a territory. Whatever happens, they will not move from their territory to another, by themselves. We know if we visit a place regularly, the same dog will occupy the same place, even after days, months and years. Because dogs are highly territorial. So, they are beings who wander that way. So, if the government provides them with a place to move freely, food and necessary medical care, it is good. If they can relocate them nicely from the street, that's a very good thing. But in our area, it's impossible. So, if they can relocate them in a way that they can take care of them well, then it's okay". This is not something that will happen. I told you. If it can be done well. I don't have an issue with that. But it should be done well; it should be possible. That's what I'm saying from the start. Since such a rule has come, what can be done is to remove dogs as they say. It states that they should be removed right. When they are removed, they should be provided with good care, that's what I'm saying.

➤ **Support for verdict 2**

- Respondent 8: "22nd Aug one, was more feasible. There were so many things to be done, 8 more-week time was provided to the corporation." "It had said a few things, have they implemented anything, this is what needs to be asked to the corporation. The one in 22nd Aug, has they implemented the order, weren't they neglecting the court. Isn't it against the court, if they didn't follow the order. Why didn't the people complain. They say they'll follow supreme court orders, supreme court said to kill. Did supreme court say to kill? The supreme court has also passed a verdict on 22nd Aug, why didn't they listen to that. They hear selectively. In 22nd Aug, for feeding, there should be given feeding points". "So, they didn't follow 22nd Aug, order".

- Respondent 9: “In the new rules, the rules that I support were already there, they just reiterated it. Be it the ABC rules, they just reiterated it. Regarding the new rules, one is about feeding, need to feed only in designated places, then to remove dogs to shelters”.
- Respondent 8: “I’m not fully supporting the verdict, but still supporting. My opinion is that stray dogs should be removed. Not all stray dogs.” “If it is aggressive or the dog population is more in that area, then doing that is enough, right”. “If it is not aggressive there is no need to take it to a shelter”
- Respondent 11: “The 22nd verdict is the practical and good order, to remove only aggressive or sick dogs and release the others. It’s not that I don’t support the 7th November order, it’s just not practical”.
- Respondent 14: “But if they are a trouble or hinderance, remove them but its also good, if they are not removed. But should remove the ones causing trouble. That all. Those that bite children and all when we walk, those are hinderance. Can we remove all of the dogs like that. We cannot remove all of them like that. Maybe the supreme court did justice in their own reason”.

➤ **Inaction**

- Respondent 10: “It is not possible to remove all dogs like that. It’s a form of precaution right. It said that they will do it only. All this, I don’t think it’s so significant. Just take it that way, it’s not going to happen so. In between it was said to kill wild animals that attacked humans, those wild boars, then what did they do? Are they being killed? It’s not something that will happen. Its not only impractical, there is no government like that to take the effort. An effort should be taken right? We can say anything in words, but it should be done in action also, right.” “Every space is public right. Is it private only inside home. Rest all road and all are public space right. Then how is it possible to take only from public spaces and not general areas”.

➤ **Lack of shelters**

- Respondent 8: “If we look at the previous verdict, the first verdict came on 11th august., then when the verdict came on 22nd august, they totally cut 11th august one. That was practically impossible. okay. The 11th Aug. august one was cut, because even in Kerala if accounts say there are approximately 6 lakh dogs, then, how many will there be all over India? So, putting each dog in shelter is not easy, the shelter is not like a chicken

coop. to move them into shelter means, they must be able to walk around. There is an SOP mentioned in the ABC rules, the accounts for making a shelter. There are many people walking on earth, we have captured many areas, even forest areas, as human climb like that, how do we build shelters for all these dogs in India? It's practically impossible. That's why they cut the 11 august one. 22nd Aug one, was more feasible. There were so many things to be done, 8 more-week time was provided to the corporation". "Now 7th Nov order said dogs has to be removed from 5 places, to where? to shelter. Panchayat and municipality need to create shelters. Where are the shelters? Does the panchayat have land, money for constructing 1 shelter or manpower for shelter, including veterinary doctors, CCTV surveillance? How many lakhs needed. Maybe 1 crore, ok no need 1 crore, 50 lakhs. So, keeping this in account, Kerala has 6 lakh dogs, since they are being killed it must have reduced. For 6 lakhs dogs, how to accommodate all in shelters, where will they establish? As per AWBI SOP, each shelter has a defined size for each cage. Have they that much fund for that? Why not is this practically possible". "The campus security or superintend, their 1st decision is to not feed dogs. Need to think, in a campus, a 100-acre college campus. Take IIST, Vali Yamala, inside the campus, 100-acre campus, maximum 20 dogs. They said not to feed them, since they are following supreme court rule according to them. Ok then, u follow it properly. Follow it. Authorities need to come, capture and move to shelter. So first build a shelter. Is that there, it's not there. So, till when u build a shelter, 6 months to 1 year. Find a place and rapidly build a shelter, until then did supreme court say that these dogs are not allowed to be fed? Till shelter is made, dogs have ability to starve, did supreme court say that, till dogs are moved. So why didn't the nodal officers be there to check if dog is coming or going, complete compound, walls should be protected, they did none of that, because it involves a lot of money. That means outside dogs shouldn't enter, and they should make sure of that and that place has to be protected". "Let the LSGD come and take those dogs, and remove them. But make shelters first. Only after shelters are build, only then this all is possible. No one asked to starve these dogs until then". Dogs have to be removed to shelters, then build shelters first".

- Respondent 9: "No actually, there aren't enough shelters in our place to accommodate them in our place. Proper infrastructure is not there much. And also, even if we remove them, we need proper staffs. Or government aided staffs to care for them and to feed them, also place and shelter is needed. In my knowledge we don't have a proper system

as such. Even the dogs in the corporation are brought to an NGO as PFA, now if there had been a government aided- organization, they could have just moved them there. Means to bring them here means that they don't have proper facilities, so without proper facilities, they cannot be moved elsewhere.

- Respondent 10: "If it is aggressive or the dog population is more in that area, then doing that is enough, right". "But if someone looks after them, it is not a problem. I told you right?"

➤ **Problems and limitations with shelters**

- Respondent 9: "Usually we had a doctor, but since some time, we don't have a doctor. In Trivandrum, we are having some difficulties right now. Because a few people among the staff did cause some problems, saying animal welfare, they caused issues related to money. Last, we had to send them away. Now there are only a few staffs. In terms of rescue, since last one month, we are taking very less. And if someone wants to bring, we ask them to bring, now this is what we tell the informers, if they can take it to us, it will be really helpful. overall, in PFA, Trivandrum chapter, we are doing what we can but little, not much great things. We are not able to do anything as we expect". "Here, if we are bringing dogs based on an informer, then, once it becomes okay, then we ask, especially if they are able to care for them, that it's okay, can we release it, can you feed it, can you give us frequent updates. If they are willing, we do release it. Firstly, in shelters, well get more space, and then, if outsiders can take care of them, then it'll be a better option than shelters".
- Respondent 10: "Now for example, the ones that corporation catches, sterilizes and takes back, those are fine right? "Shelter is not practical, without controlling breeding. Taking these eight puppies to a shelter, raising and making them big, and leaving them just like that is not something possible". "It is not possible to remove all dogs like that".

○ **Shelters in Kerala**

- Respondent 8: It is India's first and oldest animal rescue centre, PFA. Now, in Trivandrum, we have almost 200 dogs, about 20 cats, 1 buffalo, 1 bull, these many animals we have there. All our expenses are met by donations. We have two shelters, hospitals, in PFA. We have a paravet, what I can I go and take, what he can he go and

take. In Kerala, I don't know how many shelters. In Trivandrum, under thing there is a shelter called TLC. One of our trustees are doing it on their own expense. It's not any big shelter but sometimes, in terms of shelter when we need help, to foster, we give to them. It's a small shelter. We have many fosterers. They are not who adopt, but care for them. In their home, they take care of the dogs, in their own care. That usually we, now if any ill or those that need extreme care, we give it to fosterers. After they are better, either we give for adoption or bring back to shelter. How many dogs a shelter can accommodate depends on the shelter's it depends on its size. We can accommodate about 200- 250. Others, it depends on the area". "A shelter is one here, and then in Kochi, animal rescue Kochi- one shelter is there, and small communities. And local communities have their feeders; they have their solid groups". "Rabies affected dogs and these dogs need to be isolated. But the way they are isolated need to be in a humane way. That is, they need to have a proper place and they need to be properly fed. Isolating them would be a good thing, because then other dogs can be cared for and human will be safe and prevent more such dogs being born like that".

➤ **Lack of proper Access to rescue and risk for stray dogs on streets**

- Respondent 10: "We called the dog rescue and told them, but they said that since we are feeding it, they won't collect them. Call for the dog rescuers started since morning, but the rescuers came the next day, at 6:30 in the evening. In my personal opinion, the rescuers I called had not come. I called for two days. I had been calling since the morning, then it came. Even then, it was at 6 o' clock. It was 6:30. It was from under the chicken coop of my house that we caught it. At that time, there were three puppies, in that, one puppy died. Only the other two puppies survived". "As it climbed on that sheet, on top of its shoulder, there came a big wound. That wound became a pus, in a way that worms were crawling. When it was about to die, me and that brother went there, tied it. We went to the medical store, brought medicine and poured on its body and we removed that many worms. Then the next day, the dog rescuers came for it. Even after calling for two days, they came on the third day. If we hadn't done that one that day, the dog wouldn't be alive the next day. It was that much sick, that much time it too to take out all the worms, for about two hours. Even then, it didn't do anything. Then another thing is that it was alive till the next day".

➤ **Lack of trust in shelter**

- Respondent 14: “If they take them, and put them to shelter, if they could care for it, its fine. When we take them there, if we have a proper survey that they’ll care for them, then its fine. But that’s also not proper, the one we took there, we don’t what is and which is, to know this, no choice. We don’t know what happened to it we can’t even go and check on them, we would be heartbroken about their conditions, what happened we don’t know, if they can properly care for them its fine, but I don’t think for all dogs, they could move them to a place and take care of them”. “In that one puppy got hit by a car, so most of them, since they are getting hit by a car and all, for us, we might think they are better off in a shelter. Okay now in a shelter, if they’ll properly care for the, its good, its fine, it’s the best idea for them. If the shelters can’t care for them properly, it’s better where they are. That’s my perspective”. “Humans are definitely so selfish for themselves, so I don’t think that take all dogs from the public places and take them to a shelter”. “Why should we take them to a jail-like structure”.

➤ **Wellbeing, behaviour and influence of environment**

- Respondent 8: when we take dogs there, there is a specific place for each dog after checking its health. I saw that a dog with terminal disease and a healthy dog lying together. So those who made the system and these dogs this problematic is those who are sitting at the top of it. I’m not playing blame; I have gone and checked. I have the video. The dog with CDS was have too much diarrhoea and along with that very healthy dogs are lying there with it. Puppies below 6 months and feeding mothers shouldn’t be caught, but they also were lying there in it. So, what will they do next time they will restrict me”. “Now if we go and look, we can see that the chicken waste is dumped on the side of the road, national highway etc, and it will be smelly when we pass by. Or people, without giving waste to Haritha Karma Sena must be tying and throwing their waste outside. Dogs that don't get any food will go and eat there. The dogs near my home that I feed will not go there and eat. They are calm. For the past 1 year, I have collected their videos and photos to prove that.
- Respondent 9: “If you tour our place, near the hospital sections, there are sad areas. It’s not fully a happy place. The ones we rescue and come, those that get a safe place to

stay and play they are happy. But same time, those abandoned by families or those who are returned after adoption, and those sick, for them it's not a happy place at PFA. Now if we rescue dogs from bad places, pfa will be a safe place, a place they get food. For them it will be a happy place. But there are some, who people raised and bring when they are sick, or because they don't want. Or abandon them just like that. Or those ill dogs they'll be inside cages. Those dogs in painful situations such as those who met with accidents, all those are there in PFA. There are dogs with skin issues. There are dogs with wounds., there are dogs with broken legs. For them, it's not a happy place. Especially those abandoned from home. Some people come and adopt the dogs and go, for a few weeks they will be happy and life will be ok. They might have been ok in shelters earlier, before adoption, but after adoption, after they settle there, they might experience a place safer than the shelter, after that they will bring them back saying they can't look after them, or not as expected. I have always seen such dogs as depressed, they sit in one corner, don't eat food, it takes a long time to be ok. There are a few dogs like that. I have contact with one dog like that. I call him Kunjan. He's about 4-5 months old. He was returned because the people who took him couldn't look after him. When brought back, he wouldn't eat food, he sits in a corner, and the other dogs even attack him. Among others he's also small. His throat was injured as a result. Now he is ok, and healed and we shifted him to a different place that a safe area, with okay dogs. So, there are also stories like that there. There are things that are happy but also sad. We don't have trainers. No. but maybe they understand me. It depends, some dogs when they are brought, the existing dogs will be aggressive towards them. They will come to bite them. Sometimes, in different areas, we isolate them. Some dogs, those who don't have much disease, we don't take them there, but till they are vaccinated, we isolate them in different place and we open them to places where they can still play. Some dogs when they see new dogs, they will be ok, others won't like it. So, finding an area for them itself is very difficult. Being a shelter, it will be noisy, getting a space where they don't get over whelmed, and where they are safe, is very difficult. There are still some dogs that we need to examine where they will be fine. Maybe they will be ok in front section. Or the kitchen areas in the back, or in the enclosers or dog houses, but to find it it's a task for them. Once it finds it, and finds friendly dogs, some issues will reduce. Now which environment they come from is a factor. If they came from an even better environment, it will be hard for them to adapt to shelters. It will take some

time, especially when there is no one to look after them. If the staffs are working, so to play or to talk, there won't be time to talk, so they will take some time. If it's not that, there are dogs that also easily adapt.

- Respondent 10: "The ones in my college, we haven't heard it being aggressive till now. The dog there. It is friendly, otherwise, it won't mind anyone and will just lie there. There is nothing aggressive there. I told you, once there, when we were studying, a person there, died. The body lay inside that forest. Usually if it comes like that, dog and cat should bite and scratch it, but at that time, nothing happened to it. Usually, if it is rotting, whatever it is, they should bite right? It was after 15 days that they found the body. Inside it there were worms and all. Even then, it hadn't done that. So, the dogs there is not like that, but I don't know how it is it like in other campuses. The one we saw there, that's what I said".

➤ **Perception of Behaviour of stray dogs**

- Respondent 8: "Because they have territory. When someone else comes into the area that they get food, they will get scared. What if it doesn't get food tomorrow? That their territorial fight. In my area there are 6 dogs. Those 6 dogs if I hear they shout or bark, then I go out and check. Then I see another dog, who might be kicked out by someone somewhere. The 6 dogs will bark and chase it away. In this situation, people think all dogs are barking and biting, it's not like that. It's chasing away dogs that crossed the territory. After that they come back and lay down here. Maybe they will have kids and all, so the other dogs will attack these kids. They have to protect their family. The other dog may come and attack their kids. And to make sure that other dogs don't come into the area they get food". "Now if we go and look, we can see that the chicken waste is dumped on the side of the road, national highway etc, and it will be smelly when we pass by. Or people, without giving waste to Haritha Karma Sena must be tying and throwing their waste outside. Dogs that don't get any food will go and eat there. The dogs near my home that I feed will not go there and eat. They are calm. For the past 1 year, I have collected their videos and photos to prove that. They will come near my home, when its night. They won't bark or make any sound, they'll be silent, because they know they will get food". "Ok now people are throwing away their dogs, after that dog reaches there, then for it, it will fight with other territorial dogs and survive and,

needs to find a location to stay, to live. They don't know how to suicide. If someone gives a biscuit, they will feel they can live there for a while, thinking they have found a way to live. After that when someone beats them, they run again. How long will they run, how long will they be bond with humans? Without water, they don't get water. If a stray dog runs with its tongue out, it will be called rabid". "They get food, then they are calm, and they also only attack if they are attacked or anything invade their territory. Other than these two cases they never attack. all dogs are almost like this. Now if they say there are other dogs, I can only say show me". "They are not cunning. Straightforward, get food, drink water, and sleep, that's their cycle". "If I ask my dog to the junction across, will they go? Every area they cross is a territory, they cannot go. I give at night 11pm, can give at 10 pm, but we give at 11 pm, because people are out to throw stones at them. So, they stay back with hunger. They know I will come at 11 pm, and will eat and will go back, and sleep at the large vacant land behind. These people go there and throw stones, why? They will bite. I have been feeding since the last 2 years. Since the last 4 years, these dogs have been living here, and haven't bit anyone till now. It will bark, then bite, I get rabies, and die, that's not the situation, but that what media shows, which is not true". "Why is the dog not biting back, because for its food and water is available. For a starving dogs, if I, I won't throw stones at dogs, suppose I'm not here for a year, it will be running around for food, panicked, somehow. If at that point someone throws a stone at them, it has not gone to a yoga class, it will go and bite them. If they bite, people will say that a rabid dog bit them, that's how people will say". "It was based on this 7th Nov onwards, the fight that dogs faced. The problems they faced. Because inside medical college, IIST, there were people who feed the dogs. Immediately beating the dogs, chasing them, the dogs became panicked, the dogs didn't read supreme court order right. They became panicked and they are running around. While running around, there will be a bite right. So, who created this bite, humans". ". Inside a big vehicle comes here, the dogs are among those that have sense and consciousness, they will run fast. Only those who cannot run can be caught, they will put a net on it, vaccinate and go". "So, rules like this, when we go to other countries why are we following. Don't dump waste, these chicken wastes, from markets. When we go there, dogs are eating this fighting each other, because there is blood stain. Okay. Whether its chicken or beef, there is blood stain. This dog that has tasted blood stain will want to catch a chicken when it sees one. In front of my dogs I can raise chicken,

I can throw a raw meat, they cannot eat because they are not habituated eating that. They will chew and spit it out. Other the other hand, for the other dogs, it is only that waste that they will get. For that those all dogs in the territory will fight. Male dogs will fight with each other to protect their territory. Second day if they don't get that waste, they'll be starving. If a human starves for a week, without food and water, how will they behave". "There are reasons as to why dog bite happens. One dog plan with another dog to bite a guy for leisure. There are, veterinary doctors say, some dogs have biting tendency. But how many dogs are there like that. If such many dogs existed, then we won't be alive today". "Have stray dogs bitten children who simply walk on the road, no. but it is said like that". "Stray dogs will move, if there's no waste on the road it won't sit there. It will be where it gets food, otherwise won't be there. They will also keep on moving as people will occupy the place in the next five years". "Dogs when they are small, they have a tendency to bite".

- Respondent 9: "Next, the problem regarding feeding is that. Like us humans, in one place or designated areas, if they are asked to come and eat food, stray dogs won't understand. Normally other than the place we feed them, it's not exactly possible to feed them successfully, I don't think so. If we always feed in one particular place, and then if said that you can only feed in these/ specific places, then the dogs would expect us and stay in the places where we usually fed them. The idea we move to other places and feed them and that they will get food, this they will not understand. So, when dogs don't get food, they get aggressive usually, when they get hungry. So, if we are not able to feed successfully, then dogs' aggressiveness will only increase. It will become a bigger issue". "Biting dogs can be aggressive, but also need to look at the reason for their biting, personally I would label as aggressive or not. Some dogs become aggressive without food, they will be okay only if they get food, if their tummy is full. They will be ok. Now look even if it's us humans, one day if we stay hungry, how angry do we get. So, think of the dogs who starve for days, they will get aggressive. Their teeth are sharp, if they feel irritated, they will be a little aggressive. Second, there are those who get aggressive because of pain. That if got into a vehicle accident or broke a leg, or if they have pain somewhere and we touch that place, they will get aggressive, as they are afraid. I wouldn't consider them aggressive. What they show is aggressiveness, but I wouldn't call it an aggressive dog. Because once the pain vanishes, it might be fine. "one reason they become aggressive is because, if they get scared that

we will do something to them, and if once we did something to them, and that stay in their memory and they get angry, then it will bite everyone they see, or they feel someone is going to attack them, they'll bite. This is not just a guess, dogs have a psychology, psychiatry, mental health issues, they have medicine, there are those which eat anxiety medicine. Dogs have a psychology, dogs' brain just like us is fragile. They don't know how to communicate like us. If a human comes and attacks them, they'll be angry and afraid of all humans. They will try to defend, thinking humans shouldn't attack them. The humans that dogs bite, can be dog haters, those who don't like dogs or even neutral people".

- Respondent 10: "Their mother, was a very small one. I think it is about one year, only up to that range. So, at that time itself, it is breeding". "Then the next day, when followed up, they put them together and said that one puppy was eaten by the dog itself". "I will tell you an instance of mine. There was a dog at my home. We brought it up. So, there is this bike of mine, old Chetak model, the one with sound. When it sees this bike, my dog gets aggressive. Only for this single vehicle. There is no problem with any other vehicle. Until that vehicle passes the compound of my wall, that dog will follow it even if its inside. If it's outside, it will run behind that vehicle. So, what we understood is that, when it was young, someone who came in this vehicle must have done something to it. Or else, it doesn't need to show this much aggressiveness only for that particular vehicle, or for that sound. So it must be that. When a dog gets a negative image when its young, it will become aggressive". "The ones in my college, we haven't heard it being aggressive till now. The dog there. It is friendly, otherwise, it won't mind anyone and will just lie there. There is nothing aggressive there. I told you, once there, when we were studying, a person there, died. The body lay inside that forest. Usually if it comes like that, dog and cat should bite and scratch it, but at that time, nothing happened to it. Usually, if it is rotting, whatever it is, they should bite right? It was after 15 days that they found the body. Inside it there were worms and all. Even then, it hadn't done that. So, the dogs there is not like that, but I don't know how it is it like in other campuses. The one we saw there, that's what I said".
- Respondent 11: "There are stray dogs in my area. There are many in my area. They don't seem to be causing any problems. There are stray dogs in many institutional areas that I know of. They don't cause problems everywhere; they might in some places. It has never come to my attention as such. I have seen stray dogs behave affectionately. I

have also seen that”. “I have no knowledge as to why stray dogs bite; it could be because humans provoke them as well as that they could bite without reason, there is no clear understanding”. “Even if food is provided, some dogs might still bite. Depends on their character”. “Their numbers are high mostly in places where waste is dumped. Because in such places where food is available, their numbers will increase in those areas. If there is no system to get food, they will not consolidate in such areas. They will move in search of another place where they get food.”

- Respondent 12: “Only if we do something to them, they do something back. Unless we harm them, they won’t raise their voice. They will have experienced it some time. If someone had thrown stone at them once, then when they see another person, then they would also do it. So, to be protective, they’ll bark at them. When it barks, they’ll go against it. We were so afraid of the dogs, but once we started giving it food, they are the most loving creatures. They’ll come only when we provoke them, otherwise it will go on its way, it will not attack us”. “Aggressive dog is the one which is mistreated by the people. Otherwise, no dogs could be aggressive, from the little age they are so loving, so caring. All we have to do is give a little bit of love. Whether we chase it away or push it to go, it will still come back to us. If such dogs are aggressive, it must have gone through something”. “And as I said, a dog simply walking on the road won’t come and bite us, it will go on its way. Only if we provoke them, they’ll come at us. I would say each and every stray must have a house on their own. Like I said, every house before, had a dog, there would be a dog there will be life to take the leftover food that we consume.” “And then there is a saying that dog will chase if you run”. “We should just disregard it, let them bark. We talk daily at home, when a dog barks in the house, why is this dog barking simply, we are speaking non-stop 24 hours, so let them bark, they have the right to bark”.
- Respondent 13: “They are fed in places which are said to be designated areas. One more thing, the stray dogs in my area, since they get good food twice a day, water, and everything else, none of the dogs here are aggressive. They don’t bark at anyone. They eat; they go to their places and lie down. We see some dogs, and from their behaviour today, no dog has aggressively attacked us or anything”.
- Respondent 14: “In my area, there are dogs, but don’t do anything to us. They come and lay in front of the house and we give food. I’m not close to them, it will eat and go

somewhere else and lay down. It a good thing to feed. Its hungry and relies on us for food, so it's good we give them food”.

➤ **Role and duty of local Government**

- Respondent 8: “The final order has 115 points were there. It’s important to ask people if they read the earlier orders. Because it’s the continuation of that. They wouldn’t have read it. It had said a few things, have they implemented anything, this is what needs to be asked to the corporation. The one in 22nd Aug, has they implemented the order, weren’t they neglecting the court. Isn’t it against the court, if they didn’t follow the order. Why didn’t the people complain”. “If the media have enforced it clearly, that LSGD, and all authorities had to arrange feeding points, one food bowl and water bowl according to do population”.
- Respondent 9: “actually, all this our corporation must be doing it. These are their job. If they do it properly, ABC rules will be successful. Its good, its effective. But the problem is they won’t do it. Now the dogs in the corporation itself are also taken to PFA. They won’t look after them”. “Aggressive dogs are risk. Now we can’t just speak about dogs’ welfare. Everyone need to be able to live harmoniously. Aggressive dogs are risk. But in one way these aggressive dogs might be created by us. otherwise, it’s actually the government responsibility, to balance human welfare and animal welfare harmoniously, because they don’t do it, it becomes difficult for both animals and humans”. “I take from all areas. If it’s the corporation, they will bring them here, but if they say 1 dog, they’ll bring 5 dogs. ABC rules is focused on stray dogs”. “I sympathize with the victims, but to all I have to say, if we do collectively, we can get a solution. If we hate everybody, if we give poison, when there are a lot of animal haters like this, then many dogs are abandoned from streets, will breed, more aggressive, will get bites, follow the rules properly and try collectively and compel the government. Don’t hate dog lovers, but say to the government, to bring a human proper solution”.

➤ **Accountability**

- Respondent 8: “Now the main issue, is that stray dogs can be killed. The supreme court allowed. In the 19th may order, point 108 H, I think (reading the new verdict instructions). So, dog population has increased, why? dog bite increased apparently. So,

when someone comes to euthanize my dogs, my question is if these dogs bite, where are the details. One person if bitten, they have it. It needs an account. Anything needs an account, to do anything. For instance, to show that it is a threat to public safety, 10 people were bitten and is hospitalized in medical college”. “How do you provide feeding points, taking the dogs’ population should be calculated in the area”.

- **ABC Rules**

- Respondent 8: “Calculating dog population means, where do I go to, need to go back to ABC rule. ABC rules are the main rules for dogs. When reading that. there are 22 points in that. It has been said in it correctly that when providing feeding, u need to talk to the feeder there, who is feeding”. “The one who made the ABC rule, if they made it without study, then okay, you can talk against it. Each law is made after complete analysis, after many studies, that’s how each system works. The one like prevention of cruelty 1960 came like that. We cannot ignore it like that”. “In the ABC rules, at the end, it says, point 22 says that ABC rules are the law of the land for the dogs, without what is said in that, if there is anything like by-laws in the local self-government, that will never over rule the ABC rules, ABC rule is the ultimate”. “Those who defined the ABC rules are not dumb”.
- Respondent 9: “ABC rules if followed properly, if stray dogs are properly controlled, properly sterilized, vaccinate, rabies suspected dogs be taken to proper shelters, watch them, regularly feed them”. “ABC rules if followed properly will reduce aggression, because aggression is higher. it will reduce not fully diminish, because as long as there are dog haters, if dogs are attacked, they will be aggressive for the purpose of defending themselves. That will not reduce, but one food aggression will reduce, second, even in terms of rabies, aggression will reduce. So, in these three ways, we can reduce aggression. Even if aggression happens, it will be significantly lesser. It will be manageable”.

- **Failure of ABC rules:**

- Respondent 8: “Many dogs have died due to panicking, while taken to ABC centres for vaccines and sterilization. Have you visited the sterilization centres here. Theres one in

pettah. Go there and see, when taking dogs to sterilization, there are some rules to be followed, are they following it, “ABC rules 2023, started about 5 years ago since then if it were properly implemented, would the population of these dogs have increased so much”. “Vaccinated dogs will have a green paint on them. After corporation takes vaccination to identify, it’s their method. Always compare with foreign countries, what paint do they put on the dog’s body. Our system is so low, we have no other choice. That’s why. That marking is the evidence that they are vaccinated. This is a paint that will stay on for 6 months. They wouldn’t be vaccinated if they have green paint on. They shouldn’t be vaccinated twice in the same time. None of my dogs have green paint on, so I know vaccination is not being done properly”.

- Respondent 11: “People say ABC rules are a failure because they aren’t being implemented correctly in the way it needs to be done. If you just cut a vein, it can rejoin, and reproduction can still happen. To do it properly under the ABC, the uterus needs to be removed. That requires a 7-day process. They are not doing that 7-day process properly now. The 7-day process must be done strictly, recorded, marked, monitored, and enquired on its productivity”.
- Respondent 13: “Personally, I don’t think, they should be isolated or shifted somewhere else. I don’t think ABC rules are implemented effectively anywhere in our place. ABC rules are not effective being done anywhere. It’s not happening”. “Surely, like you said there are rabid dogs in our place, they bite and people die. I am not saying that it is not a reality. It is there. We need to tackle all of that. Like you said, vaccination, sterilization are all things that government must do. Because the government is failing, this problem is happening”.

➤ **Sterilization**

- Respondent 8: “Sterilization is not ethical. But similar to this, in an area, in a forest if deer increase so much, then we release some tigers. It’s not complete eradication. It’s a natural sterilization and reducing count. Need to do that adjustment. So that’s why don’t sterilize all dogs in an area. Because they have to survive. After 15 years, dogs shouldn’t be extinct. Maximum a normal lifespan of a dog is 15 years. You can’t completely deplete a species, especially the Indian pariah dog. The native dogs shouldn’t be eradicated at any cost. It’s not ethical. But what’s the situation now. When we go

outside, we have kids. We have to consider everyone”. “Sterilization is needed and it’s mentioned in the ABC rules, how. In my area there are 6 dogs, now if it becomes 20 dogs, then definitely need to sterilize, otherwise one dog will get starvation. Just because I give food, it won’t be enough. So, it cannot be allowed for the dogs to reproduce again. So that is why sterilization is done based on dog population, that is also already defined in the rule”.

- Respondent 9: “In terms of sterilization, people have a believe that sterilization is done, especially in female dogs, so that they don’t reproduce, but it’s not like that. Firstly, those dogs that are unsterilized, if procedure is not done, they will be chance that they get more diseases. Now if they are constantly getting pregnant. Now a female dog, unsterilized will have a chance to be pregnant constantly. If she is to become that, in term of health, not just 1 or 2 times, then it will affect health a lot. Their health will decline. Also, uterus related they will get a lot of issues, if not sterilized. Regarding male dogs, if not sterilized, they will keep on searching for mates. They will have a tendency to go outside more. They will run away from home, it could jump outside, also they will have higher chances of getting these diseases. That’s why, it is said to do sterilization. But people usually have a misconception that it is a procedure done for female dogs and cats to not reproduce. when sterilized, male dogs, can’t say extra playful, more active or playful. They will be aggressive in that way, that will reduce after sterilization”.
- Respondent 10: “With sterilization, this breeding will decrease right? So, what we can do is just control right? But we can prevent the next generation, right? What I said earlier is the same. I told you right when we went for painting, a brother had to look after eight dogs. So, in that eight, what he said was there were only two male dogs, remaining six were female dogs. An average of a dog, before we could say 10 or 13. For now say 10, within its lifespan, a minimum of four breeding will happen. Understood? When it’s that four breeding, if that survival rate is calculated by 2, it becomes eight dogs, right. Sterilization programme not done properly. But this has not been done properly. Still many stray dogs are breeding. So, I wish if such cases are prevented. If it hadn’t bred there would there be a need for these eight puppies?”. “Even if it is in an institution, there should be a limit for it.” “In that now when we are leaving that much, even if it’s one dog, if another dog that is not sterilized come from outside, wont all that we said change?”. “. In institutional spaces, if there is one or two in an institution it is not a

problem, but if it starts breeding continuously, two becomes four, four becomes six, if it breeds big, it will be hard”.

- Respondent 12: “Sterilization is the best way, no one knows this. Now my cats itself, they are 22 in number. This is because we didn’t know about sterilization we don’t know about spaying, neutering, later we came to know about all these things, so yesterday we went to the veterinary, we showed two of them to the doctor, now need to get a date, they are going to surgery”. “The best thing is sterilization. It’s a very small procedure. It’s not a big thing like we think. It’s a small surgery. It will reduce reproduction. It will reduce the increase in number of dogs; it will stop that. Sterilization is so good, no one knows that”. “But let them, in our house, just after a cat is born, we don’t sterilize it, let them go through a phase of motherhood, after that, after 2 or three, well do it. Let them experience the power of the mother. How they take care of them. We ourself won’t feel like doing it. But if it multiplies like this, where will we go and throw. Now we have a lot of problem, be it family, relatives. All are problems, so that’s why we go for sterilization. If we have a property, we would not sterilize any one of them, we would have taken care of them, then infant number wouldn’t be a problem for us”. “It is because we don’t know about sterilization, that it multiply, people throw, and need to become stray, other than that, every dog was a home- owned one ”.
- Respondent 14: “It will be angrier after sterilization”.

➤ **Perception of vaccination**

- Respondent 8: “And has anyone checked the validity of the vaccine. The ones they give to these dogs. Do they check who these people are. Can’t I take my vehicle for a vaccination drive. Do you know what I’m giving. They come, capture these dogs and give them vaccine. Okay the vaccine, it might fail. Because the vaccine usually works for a healthy dog. It won’t be effective on a dog with rabies. As I said before, that dog will die in 10 days”.
- Respondent 9: “In terms of vaccine, there are two types, one ARV and MCV. ARV is for preventing rabies, MCV means for parvo distemper, and such illness, Parvo is a virus. It’s called canine distemper. One they get these diseases, it’s hard to survive, almost all will not survive, even if they survive, they might get paralyzed permanently or have any internal damage. If it comes then there’s no medicine, they will die

painfully. That's why we take MCV for preventive purposes. But once it's taken immediately, now we have taken the rabies vaccine, it's okay to release outside if said, it's not possible, because for anti-bodies to be developed in body, it will take at least 10 days. those 10 days, if we isolate and take care of them, only then vaccination can be implemented successfully. It's the same case for both vaccines. Now immediately after taking vaccine, they shouldn't touch water, cannot bath for 7 days. such rules like that but after these 10 days, if there are no other problems, they will be okay".

➤ **Perception of euthanasia**

- Respondent 8: "So, euthanasia can only be considered for these dogs, if they get such accounts. Euthanasia is a diff procedure (Continue to read the sentence in the new verdict.) Concerned authorities may be subject to de assessment by qualified veterinary officers and strictly in accordance to the provisions of the prevention of cruelty act 1960 and animal birth control rules 2023, Where is euthanasia mentioned here in these two? These are people who can't read court order". "In the ABC rule it says like that, euthanasia is said for severely ill. I don't know what is the extreme conditions as to what is severely ill, maybe they cannot drink water, or got kidney failure. As per it says, 3 or 4; 2 above veterinary surgeons need to sign it, regarding the criticality of the situation. Whether it cannot service. In such cases, do euthanasia, that's what it says in animal birth control. In the recent order that came on 19th may, it says the same (continues to read). By qualified veterinary experts and strictly in accordance to the provisions of prevention to cruelty to animals 1960 and animal birth control 2023". "So, does it mean to euthanize dogs walking on the streets when it says to do based on them? Like look, there are here 6 dogs, take, euthanize all of the. So no, it doesn't say that. So, when it does in accord to that, whether it is the corporation or my neighbour, I can file a complaint. I have given private fees and sent them to court. What they did is go against the court. It never said to kill dogs on the road". "Now if in the ABC rule, that all dogs can be euthanized, and this is submitted and presented at the constitution assembly, and the Rajya Sabha passes it, laws are formed after being passed by Rajya Sabha etc, so in the similar way, if it passed, then what are we breaking, article 51 A (g), compassion". "I mainly focused on euthanasia, because the new verdict is based on that. In Aluva for instance, there is a psycho, who run around killing dogs publicly

in the morning publicly, with dragging dogs with cables on their neck, hanging them etc. in another place, in an area in Thiruvalla, the dogs in a compound were all poisoned, this was a mother dog who died. It had kids. When the feeder went and checked, the puppies were so panicked, they saw the mother dog die after poisoned. The puppies were panicked, and took time to recover. So, there is some psychology and theories here, but humans don't give value to it. But there is another side, then it was hard, the puppies went under a stage, and calmed them and gave food, and only later, they came out. They had more fear than their hunger for food".

- Respondent 10: "We don't have the mentality to kill those who are already born right".
- Respondent 11: "I feel that dangerous dogs need to be removed. Human rights need to be protected. Culling is the only option for these dangerous dogs". "If there's no other way to protect them, culling dangerous dogs is the only option. There is not alternative".
- Respondent 12: "It is God who created them and he has the right to take it back".

○ **Perception of risk, fear safety**

- Respondent 8: "It will bite both children and women, and might also others. but it is usually said it will bite children and women, emotionally it's a best way to torcher everyone".
- Respondent 10: "I'm not afraid of stray dogs". "In an area, how many dogs, whether they are territorial we don't know. So here and there gangs will gather and attack, sometimes it can form a gang. That can happen". Now if this number becomes more than the count, that is the problem I said. Public space means like this, where children go, there are a lot of dogs in packs. Even if these dogs don't attack at daytime, when they become a group at night, automatically, there is a mentality to attack. The mentality of these dogs in the morning will not be same when we see these dogs in the evening. We ourselves have a lot of such instances. In public, when we see them in the morning, there won't be any other problem, but when it becomes evening, it becomes a gang. When it becomes a gang, we can see a slight violent tendency." "When they don't get food, they might get aggressive. Now if in one institution, there is one dog, everyone will give food and raise it. But, that one, I told you right? When the number increases, then the next batch that comes or the people who come next, they might not be interested in it. Sometimes, when we come for food, they come to us, and if we beat it they

automatically become aggressive. But, the people of suffer its consequence might be the people of the area. When we go to the area, we are afraid if they will say something, because feeding street dogs is not liked by everyone. On the road, if we give food everywhere we go, the problem is, look, one person won't be giving, right? Now, some dogs will have a big attachment to the space where the food is given. So, if we go there, it will create a problem. There, whatever they get, or whatever comes, since that area is covered and protected, if among people who go there if someone doesn't know about it, what will they do?" .“Regarding adoption, basically in my view, for me, a dog that has grown up this much, suddenly cannot be tamed. Because it will have small weak points. These dogs, without our knowledge if we go and catch it like that, it won't be right. Now I told you, my German shepherd was friendly, but if we catch its hand, it will bite. Only I know that. Now, if I give it for adoption, when they go to bathe it, perhaps when they lift its hand, it might bite them. We know that when we bring it up from childhood. At the same time, my other male dog, whatever we do the dog wont bark or bite. But if it is the other one, if we take a stick, it will come tearing in front of us, that female dog. This male dog was just the opposite. Even if we beat it to death, it won't do anything, it was that kind of mentality. But it won't let outsiders get close to it. That, we can know only if we take it from childhood. For someone who doesn't know about it, they don't need to believe it. Now, the dog we raise at home, when we go and enter, even if the owner of that house says that it won't bite, still there are people who are afraid of it. Even if the family members are sure, we can't predict. It depends on each person's mentality". “While helping a dog, “one day, just looked at this, after that, after half an hour, again came and poured medicine. Because we are not that sure about it, right? It is at the back of the shoulder, right? So, it will definitely cause pain. So, if it turns and bites, we have to suffer, right? By God's grace, it didn't do anything”.

- Respondent 11: “They say they are going to build shelters, but there will be resistance. When there is resistance, it becomes impossible to build them. Recently, Trivandrum corporation tried to build a shelter, but due to strong resistance, they had to drop the plan. People in that area will naturally object and resist, in Karakulam. People will not accept it due to threat”
- Respondent 12: “Stray dog bites, I don't know much. Maybe it has increased. There are injections. If people don't take proper medication, it will lead to a worse situation. If they get bitten and then they feel that they don't need injections then.”

- Respondent 13: “Then, if you ask if there are issues, for example, if we take road accidents as an example, the number of people who die in the road accidents is much higher than all of this. That doesn’t mean we can decide from tomorrow onwards that we won’t drive or we won’t get into a car, right? Instead, we add safety measures there, don’t we? For instance, a few years ago, not even one person used to wear a helmet here. So, when Rishiraj Singh, an IPS officer, came as head of traffic, he made helmets and seat belts compulsory. After that, we all started following it. Now it has become a part of our life. If we go out on the road, it has changed into the things we do. In the past, there was no such concept. So, accidents can happen, but that doesn’t mean we stop using roads or cars. Instead, we take prevention measures accordingly. Still, what needs to happen will happen”. “We saw that when a few dogs were shifted, people there made a fuss, saying that they cannot be made to stay there”.
- Respondent 14: “We shouldn’t do anything to the dogs, usually we should do anything to the animals. If it bites, it will lead to loss or failure in their life. Need to remove, if it bites, it will be difficult”.

➤ **Aggressive vs normal**

- Respondent 9: “Other than that, there are dogs that are aggressive. In my house there were three, one died, the youngest is aggressive. She was taken care of by us since we properly, since birth. But she somehow, she’s aggressive, but I trained her, she’s ok now. She will look after herself only if we irritate her too much, then she’ll warn us. Other than that, she’s fine. I’ll call her aggressive. When people come home, I keep a boundary with her. I say not to pet her. Then there are dogs with rabies, they are aggressive. That’s due to their disease; those dogs should be isolated. Now if there are dogs who are aggressive like my dog, then the government can isolate them, but there are dogs who are more aggressive than that without reason, even without rabies, simply aggressive, going and bite people, those dogs are there. Such dogs should be isolated as per the supreme court”.
- Respondent 10: “In terms of removal, aggressive dogs need to be changed automatically. After that, now there will be some normal, friendly dogs, right, those that even though are not raised at home, but whom people of a house will be giving food to. Those types of dogs that particularly do not attack anyone. It’s not a problem, if such

dogs like that stay there, as in one or two”. In terms of removal, aggressive dogs need to be changed automatically. If it is not aggressive there is no need to take it to a shelter”. “There will be some normal, friendly dogs, right, those that even though are not raised at home, but whom people of a house will be giving food to. Those types of dogs that particularly do not attack anyone. When it sees us, it used to wag its tail and come”.

- Respondent 11: “Not all dogs are dangerous. They should be marked. Silent dogs should be marked, put on a belt, and the local body should separate them, so then the other ones can be excluded”. “If they are not dangerous, they won’t cause any nuisance. Only dangerous dogs cause problems. There is no need to eliminate harmless ones”. “Normal ones who do not cause trouble to others have the right to live in these spaces”.
- Respondent 13: “What is an aggressive dog? Dogs that bite, or aggressive at such an extreme level, those dogs unable to be treated and cured back to life then, okay”.
- Respondent 14: “Only a few dogs’ bite. It must be aggressive because it doesn’t get food and is hungry”.

➤ **Human behaviour towards stray dogs**

- Respondent 8: “People are out to throw stones at them”. “Since they are being killed it must have reduced. “Ok now people are throwing away their dogs. After that when someone beats them, they run again”. “Here looked at some people walk, some people have stones and sticks in their hand. When they go to the temple etc. it has turned into a habit”. “These are the thing, I. It was based on this 7th Nov onwards, the fight that dogs faced. The problems they faced. Because inside medical college, IIST, there were people who feed the dogs. Immediately beating the dogs, chasing them, the dogs became panicked”. “We are struggling to feed, we have to cover our head in the night and go, have to go calmly. Making sure there is no noise. If the dogs in between this bark or fight, then it’s over. The people will come out and throw stones”. “The government has released some rules as in what to do when you see stray dogs. Okay. When you see one dog, don’t look into its eyes, because it will think we are provoking it. If you see a pack of dogs move to the other side and go. All these things are rules”. “In my area, a house hold exists, where all the family throw stones at the dog. Even when one of them comes out, they know it’s to throw stones at them. So, they have already got panicked”. “Don’t break their bone while sleeping”. “Somewhere in Kozhikode, dogs were taken captured, they captured a mating dog, when they capture

a mating dog. It's very hard to get them removed from it. It will struggle and blood was flowing from it. Didn't those people who saw it see this, isn't it against the law. So, inside that dog, it has a pain, but it won't show anyone. Does that mean it will be ferocious, no".

- Respondent 9: "In terms of stray dog bites, in Kerala, there is bites, but more than that are the crimes we do to them. When a stray dog bite someone, we must have done something to 10 other stray dogs. If we don't attack them, they won't be so aggressive to an extent. But if you think about it, it's a cruelty we do to nature, they are not cruel to nature. Whatever we do we suffer together. One mistake one person did, we suffer collectively".
- Respondent 10: "Likewise, there were other incidents. Near my house, just on the other side of my house, a dog had given birth. A dog that was abandoned by someone. A female dog was thrown away after raising at home. There were a lot of pets. A female dog was thrown away after raising at home.
- Respondent 11: "Mostly, it's because human beings abandon them that the number of stray dogs' increases". "Mostly, it's because human beings abandon them that the number of stray dogs' increases".
- Respondent 12: "In the past, in homes, there would be one dog only, it is because we throw them that they multiply like this, then here in our area, everyone will only say like this that they'll put them somewhere, because almost 2 or 3 dogs were hit by a car, in front of the house, no one minded it, one dog got disease, no one minded it as well, we had to drop them off by ourselves as well. They only say it; they won't take the full initiative to do it". "Because we didn't know about it, then after they breed so much, then we leave them on the streets, or society. That's why it increased so much". "Simply throwing stones at them will provoke them." "We were afraid of them. It doesn't bite or bark, dogs have chased us, but that's their nature". "There was no concept as stray, before. Throwing like this made them stray".
- Respondent 13: "Also, how many dogs are people abandoning? They raise them at home, and when they grow, they abandon them."

○ **Alternative approach to stray dog management**

- Respondent 8: "We need an alternative. We have 3 and a half people, remove children and old people, 1 crore people will be left who can feed a dog. One roll of rice left over

in one person's house why not be given to a dog? Fish bones? why is it not possible for human to give a dog? Why is it that in front of my house 6-7 dogs wait. Because in this area other people, will throw the food outside, even to crow, but not to dog. What's my expense, I buy food for dog, cook it in cooker, in the evening and feed it. Now do I become their enemy? No. these 6 dogs, there are 200 houses in this association, if people from these 200 homes fed, these dogs wouldn't have accumulated and stayed in one place". "Arrange feeding points, one food bowl and water bowl according to do population". So, discuss with these people, along with feeders or residential association and it is mentioned in ABC rules where to keep, it means shouldn't keep in place where children get on school bus. When feeding, do not feed in centre of the road, when there are people there. There is all this. Feeder follow all this as they go to feed. "Where they see more dogs, keep there. Or every 1 km, each". "One handful of rice will be left, and fish bones, most people eat fish and meat. Restaurants will give. We had a plan, in hotel we will take what's left after having food in hotels, setting aside things dogs cannot eat, everything else, fish and meat bones, I take all left over, along with rice. I just tell them to pack it in cover, then one the way back, will take a palm leave or banana leaf and give food in it there, I take the cover back, I'm not throwing waste there. That is enough for that dog. So, our suggestion was this. In every table in the hotel, keep something to collect wastes for dogs. Some people might be interested, others not. Then collect the left-over bones in that and in the evening collect it. None of them need to be done, dog feeders are ready to do it. Just keep one bowl, in your area, where that dog sits, make sure children are not playing there, it's not inside the park, not where children wait for their bus, then in that area, keep it. No need to go at 11. Keep it there at 8 or 9 o'clock and leave. Because if u keep it in the morning, then crow will eat it. Don't throw food on the road. All this is rule. We are following it. Dogs don't eat three times a day, we feed pets that way, but just they need one time food to survive. So now, you don't need to feed in front of every house. Let's follow supreme court order. In my area, there are 6 dogs, after 700meters there are 2 dogs, then we if go down, there are 6 dogs. I know all these dogs. I can keep two bowls here; there is some vacant space here for now. These dogs are only here for 10-12 years. Until then, let them eat. So, in my area, if I keep three bowls in three areas. To feed, we don't have to make for them sperate food. May people who travel in bike, on the way they just throw an open parle g packet and go. All dogs may eat parle g. at least they got that in very house". "If a dog attack

happens in an area, consider those people who are panicked, but they have to be educated. They need to be taught to move away. One person or society to be taught is extremely imp. If we don't teach them, what way will they go. It's just like teaching kids, they will go the wrong way, to unlawful activities". "When I keep food on banana leaves, there are people who come to eat my head, what should I tell them? They are not knowing any of them, they should be given awareness. That this works like this, or this is how it should be done. College or school students should be given most awareness. They should not go out in attacking mode. And take maximum students into it. Students should get into this, and understand the ABC rule properly and the supreme court rules, there are people who know better than me. Take their points, and feed these dogs. Only one thing if you starve a man for a month and they don't do anything to u, then the same rule is applicable to any other animal". "When stray dogs are moved to shelters, it should be like foreign countries, why do we only compare dogs when relating to foreign countries? two days ago, Paul Mathews, while walking on the streets of Sweden, he was saying see here are no stray dogs. I commented, did u see only this in Sweden? There are no stray dogs, is that what you saw first? For Kerala to be like Sweden, is the first step that these stray dogs be removed? Isn't it to correct the system? how many people wear helmet? how many people throw waste on the roads, Harida karma Sena, even though they come to take waste, there are people who don't want to give even 100 Rs and instead through even diapers and even sanitary pads outside. So will it be Sweden. Start from the basic. Human need to do the thing humans have to do. Follow the rules first, and later we won't need shelters is what actually point". "So, make it like foreign countries, as they say. I'm also welcoming that. Let Kerala be like foreign countries first, then we can think about dogs. Recently corporation said in 31 days it will reduce stray dogs, then what happened. Why stray dogs, why they people didn't make it a problem. Why didn't they say in 31 days will prevent humans from throwing waste. Because its humans, it cannot be done. If you go there then it will be fight etc. but since its dog, it won't talk, won't respond. So, tie it in cage somehow or kill it, who's going to ask. Need a strong mentality to correct the system, knowing rules properly. Not to get on the head of dogs". "I have seen city beautification in Bangalore streets, there are no dogs but in Bangalore, it's a high five street. But in another area, there is slum. There is slum in the sense that they are working for 5000- 6000 rupees, there are people working under sheds. They are the ones who go to work in most homes.

How to eliminate them completely. Give them homes and eliminate. Still then, will they keep proper feeding points for dogs. Don't keep all feeding points in one area. There will come millions of dogs and there will be increase in fights. Keep feeding points and there are still spaces in Kerala, like the vacant space near my house. Until people occupy that place, let these dogs stay there after vaccination and sterilization. Beautification is good but it should start from stray dog removal. Okay. Why do people still throw waste on the road at night. At Aakulam bridge, while going on bike, you can see wastes on the side, full of covers. It was a man in bike, who put those covers there. Who's monitoring that. Man needs to be good first. They need to be responsible.

- Respondent 10: "the one in that institution, the institution should look after it, or else, they should have given awareness to the students inside it and looked after it. The people in an area could recommend this. Means they should be able to recognize. If there is a new dog in an area, which was not there till now. That there is no way sterilization has been done. If that idea comes, if it is covered in the beginning itself, only then it can be done. Now, if one person thinks, it won't happen. If everyone thinks together, it will happen. If there are 100 houses, and if those 100 family members also have the mentality, the stray dogs in that area will decrease. If a new one comes, we know right? We haven't seen it till now. When we know it's a new dog, what should we do? Automatically, then what is its next plan, we should do. More than intervention, awareness should be given, to bring control, that is enough".
- Respondent 11: "Practically, what can be done is to use company CSR fund, individuals who are willing to protect these animals, the government should cover the expenditure. If someone takes two, three or four dogs in one home, they can raise them. When they get an income for it, they will take care of them and raise them with love. Not only that, the remaining dogs need to be identified, given a collar, assigned a QR code, and vaccinated properly. If a dog bites someone, we should be able to know from it where the dog can be vaccinated. To be able to identify as such, an integrated system should be built by the local bodies". "In remote areas, people love dogs, such people are interested to raise dogs like this should be given three or four dogs, and the expenses can be met through CSR funds via local bodies. No one have brought clarity yet". "A consensus needs to be reached through discussion. A discussion needs to be conducted among the public, local people and officials to reach a conclusion".

- Respondent 12: “Better where they are, give them proper food, given them proper shelter, where they are. Like in foreign places dogs and cats have been given their own spaces in the streets. Now taking them all and locking them in shelters is like taking us and locking us in jail. Rather than that what is better is, where ever they are, build a small shelter, to not get drenched by the rain, or for them to drink water or eat food in bowl”. “Haven’t you seen in Japan, dogs and cats being given food, it’s not open, if you keep it open, it would be they would get infected. So, in a clean spot, give water and food I don’t know from where all dogs drink water. If we give a bowl of water, it would be so good for them, and also there needs to be someone to change it frequently. That’s all. For example, along these roads, when the grass grows, aren’t there people to cut it., aren’t there people to take leaves off from the ground. Instead of that, keep people to change water. Take initiative to hire multiple people and keep volunteers. With it, how can we survive. If we remove them completely”. “Provide them a very good shelter, water and everything, let them be where they are.”. “I would say get them a nice shelter, good water wherever they are and provide a best place for them.” “Aggressive dog, if he is taken care of, there is dog counselling. For foreigners, they have dog counsellors, such aggressive dogs can be calmed that way and be made normal”. “We can remove stray, by giving proper food and accommodation. They can be self- owned by our society”.
- Respondent 13: “There are things the government needs to do. They should tie up with private rescue teams or animal lovers and find a solution.; tying up with animal rescuers, giving them a place to stay, giving them care, especially by people like them, in the corporation, who just do it as their job. They wont approach them with any compassion. But there are many people who do this. If the government takes a tie-up with them and does something, with people who are compassionate to do something, maybe there’s could be solution”.
- **Responsible pet ownership and awareness**
- Respondent 8: “I have two dogs here; one is Indian pariah and German Shepard which was thrown out by someone when it got sick. We got it from the road, after breeding. Indian pariah has no hair, but for the other, if I switch on the fan, its hair will fall from it. It must be able to live with the climate. How do we buy something, it must be able to go with the climate. Do I buy a husky and take it to a room put ac and make it sleep.

If people are able to understand this, because husky needs that climate. Rather, any dog is fine, for any dog I'll give beans and rice porridge only, and then bring husky? It will die later. Who's going to ask? After buying from breeder, then after that husky dies, will anyone ask? "Many dogs like this, there a Pomeranian on the road, completely starved Pomeranian, it has no stomach". "When you buy a Pomeranian, how to raise it, do the breeder give them awareness or is there any rule. If they don't follow the rule, is there any punishment? Nothing like that system is very free, there are many loops holed". "We lack some knowledge that's why we have confusion in raising dog sat home. When they are small, it will bite and tear, need to bring a control to it. After that, my dogs are inside my home, so in the morning they will call me by knocking on the door, so that I open for them, because they want to go out, they will poop and come back, they have a system, it will help us if we correct or accommodate their system. That's why people take dogs on walks, but need to collect their poop as well. that's what works in foreign countries. Humans are the one who not responsible".

- Respondent 9: "When a baby is about to come to our house, our environment, we should be able to adjust our environment for that, especially its family, to welcome it, its mom and data. When the child grows up, based on the changes that happen to it, we adjust too. So, a pet a responsibility just like that. Also, a pet means they'll be babies forever. Forever if you are willing to take on that responsibility, we respect its personality, boundaries, we need that much patience and love, it's possible to raise stray dogs. If we don't have patience for that, it's not wrong to not be able to love, it's not wrong. Can't be adamant that you must like stray dogs. Can force any one to like stray dogs, but we have a choice not to attack it, not hurt them, if you can't look after them, then simply don't bring them to the house and not look after them".

4.3 DISCUSSION:

The supporters were mostly considering human wellbeing and safety when welcoming the verdict, and more than that they were submitting to the dominant views of the society. In terms of human safety, what follows is a narrow view of stray dogs, as something on the streets and dependent on humans, with no individuality of their own. They are verbally considered as "stray" only as cited by R3, and like R4 emphasizes that it has "no specific role" to play in society, R2 also sees that stray dogs are more dependent on humans, than humans are on them. They either see stray with eyes of pity or a menace. One of the core

facets they emphasized on is the value for human life. Human life above all species, as emphasized here, “Each human life is given value by our society. It is for this reason that we have created or established safety arrangements”. “Usually, we need to give priority to human welfare first. That’s the normal order right. Humans always need preference first”. This shows not only anthropocentrism, but also a form of symbolic violence as emphasized by Pierre Bourdieu. One of Bourdieu’s most compelling contributions is his theory of symbolic violence, which illustrates the subtle ways dominant groups impose their power, domination and values on marginalized communities, legitimizing inequality without resorting to overt force (Kumar,2022), in this case through the use of language and normalization. In this context, partly It refers to the subtle and invisible ways through which inequalities are legitimized, naturalized and misrecognized between species. One aspect is that the “the ideas, meanings, hierarchy and symbols are accepted as legitimate by both the oppressors and the oppressed (Kumar,2022). This process reproduces the dominant ideology and maintains the social order. For e.g., legitimizing the linguistics hierarchies within a language itself as natural or self-evident reflects symbolic violence (Ajvazi,2022). Furthermore, since it's invisible in form, even people aren't usually aware that they are subjected to symbolic violence, as it is deeply ingrained and normalized. When people accept the world view of the dominant groups, they also perpetuate their dominance through the mechanism of consent. Another related concept is the idea of doxa, and involves the taken for granted assumptions, that are unquestioned and accepted as self-evident (Social Theory.2020). One of them even stresses on the idea that “public places are for people; we don’t need dogs” there. Instead R6 pointed out, they give more emphasis on the negative impact of a stray dog, they appear to be thought are only capable of producing chaos, such as “accidents”, “scattering waste”, and most importantly, “the dirty image” they help create about the country. They believe the government can take effective action, especially, something like cleaning and “adoption” of stray dog for the mass public, or collaborating with interested individuals or NGOs, to run a pirate shelter.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 FINDINGS

❖ SUPPORTERS' STANCE ON REMOVAL

- The supporters agree to the idea of complete removal of stray dogs from public places.
- Supporters give more priority to human welfare, and acknowledge stray dog welfare as second priority.
- The supporters don't wish to kill stray dogs.

❖ SUPPORTERS' RATIONALE

- They give more priority to human life. And most see humans as superior and they think they have more negative impact on society, in terms of accidents, menace, dirty picture, disease, mess etc.
- Most people see themselves as helpless and trust the government can other take action, with their appropriate expertise. And it was also shown at one point that government can indeed put effort to balance stray dog and human welfare, however, it is also clear that there is lack of trust, and they are inactive and that problems worsened because of poor implementation of ABC rules. The verdicts seemed to always be ongoing rather than reach a conclusion.
- One major issue in terms of implementation is the risk perception regarding a large number of stray dogs in their areas, even if within shelters, which lead to collective fear and protests. Some perceive that these dogs are thrown to the village sides.
- Fear is one major issue in terms of stray dog conflict. Supporters are shown to think that they all unpredictable by nature. Children and two wheelers are often cited as most vulnerable, and that their removal is good for humans in general. though they also recognize it to some benefits, and protection from theft burglary etc., as R7 mentioned. None of them spoke of any ecological consequences with the removal of stray dogs.
- Some supporters have empathy for stray dogs, and are not dog haters always as in the case of R5, as opposers claim, they also engage in occasional feeding. But they submit to the authorities and dominant narratives even if some of them are animal lovers. They just want them separated from public places, in a more controlled environment

- Regarding ABC rules and verdicts, most people show lack of awareness and believe in assumption, such as sterilization involves removal of teeth, as mentioned by R7. There is also dissonance in responses whether bites will increase, reduce, or have no effect post sterilization. Most supporters acknowledge the fact that ABC isn't being implemented properly.
- Most people give preference to pets, especially foreign dogs, even if its for utility purposes, such as protection, waste management etc. Some animals' lovers seem to love their own pets more than other animals, including stray dogs. And just because of the fact that they fed the dogs, see it more loyal, or own dogs doesn't change their views on stray dogs.
- Factors for increase in stray dog population were mostly, cited to be failure of ABC rules, improper waste disposal, feeding and government apathy.
- In terms of bites most respondents simply where chased by dogs rather than actually bitten, while travelling in electric vehicles, at night or for food or due to rabies, but most of them also rarely know people who are actually bitten. They get the idea of stray dog bites through the media, such as newspapers, movies etc. where they repeat the same negative stories. At the same time some have also heard, positive news through the media. Most of the dog bite incidents arise from pet dogs.
- Social media also seems to have emerged as the alternative media in terms of positive news about stray dogs.

❖ OPPOSERS' STANCE ON REMOVAL

- Most had mixed opinion
- The opposers mainly are against the verdict 3, Nov 7th instructions to remove all stray dogs from public/ institutional spaces
- Most opposers do not completely deny removal or shelters, they think aggressive dogs should be removed.
- There is therefore a creation of two types of dogs, aggressive and normal. The labelling is not defined well, but it exists in the categorization of dog behavior.
- The opposers show multiple stances and more diversity. For instance, while R11 suggests to kill aggressive dogs, R12 and R8 completely deny the existence of aggressive dogs by nature, despite chased frequently, R14 oppose, as they provide

safety. The study also reveals that not all people who come from poor socio-economic background, or just because they got stray dog bites, should they support the verdict.

❖ OPPOSERS' RATIONALE

- Those animal lovers who work towards the welfare of stray dogs have a more radical approach, and reject removal almost entirely. They have networks and also first-hand knowledge about the verdicts, and ABC rules. Feeders also understand the behavior of stray dogs much better, which is why they protest. They in a way are helping both humans and dogs and so play a vital role in society.
- The Animal lovers also view stray dogs in terms of the benefits they could provide, especially to the eco-system, but see native dogs as more active. They see removing them as equal to creating major imbalance. Even rabies is originally not produced by the stray dogs themselves by the environment, rats etc. They believe in co-existence and equal rights.
- Practical implementation of the verdict is also difficult because feeders were not included in the discussions. Among, the majority crores of people, only a few lakhs are feeding. Also, the corporation is not following the rules properly. They question as to why they didn't follow the 22nd Aug order which was more feasible. There is also no proper definition of a aggressive dog. Also, the verdict are so inconsistent that people lost trust in them. Almost all the opposers supported the instructions in verdict 2.
- People with experience of stray dogs as their pet dogs were able to develop more awareness about it. So personal experiences and connection can influence embodied values even if all dog owners won't like stray dogs. Most of the opposers seemed to have a history of attachment and interaction with stray animals. Socialization also plays a huge role.
- Most animal lovers also have perception of risk and fear; however, they prefer sterilization and ABC rules. And even for sterilization they insist it's not to eradicate dog population completely. They have also been chased or bitten by dogs, but they normalize it as accidents. They see stray dogs as individual rather than as a whole. Because of this they say it cannot be expected from all stray dogs to be the same. Expecting so is also a form of invisible cruelty.

- Majority of people are dog haters, and this is also contributed by the media. It creates a form of hyperreality. It conveys the idea that all dogs are rabid and aggressive. Newspapers like Mathrubhumi are run by animal cruelty promoters. And people are also selective in the content they see. Local newspaper seems to be more biased than national ones. Social media influencers also contribute to maintaining the status quo.
- There is shown to be two groups- animal lovers, and dog haters. The dog haters are perceived to be compassionate only to humans, and think that the earth is only for humans.
- It is also seen that similar to supporters, the opposers also support ABC rules because they see it created by experts.
- Most opposers see strays inters of nurture rather than nature. They see their behavior as a product of how they were habituated. Those starving will be accustomed to raw meat from meat waste as compared to those who are well- fed. It is said by the NGO supervisor and veterinary doctors that some dogs have a natural tendency to bite, but that many opposers don't support this claim. Dogs are not seen as individuals with mental issues, depression, and brain and consciousness.
- Most animal lovers portray stray dogs as not carnivorous, but domestic or community dogs, or dogs taken care by the community. Some even reject the idea of stray.
- In terms of shelters, because they do not believe that the state could build shelters, or whether it would be practical. As emphasized by R8, shelters do not entirely portray a safe place for dogs, especially government shelters. Dogs breed early, without planned sterilization it's hard to shelter. The shelters constructed are also non-working. Kerala is considered a human-centered society and that such policies have never been implemented properly. Moreover, nodal officers and protection of institutional premises are not done because it will cost money, instead the dogs are made to starve. PFA was the first and oldest rescue center but it is also not functioned well due to less staff, which the government is also not providing, yet over-burdening them with more dogs from the corporation which they are supposed to take care of.
- People do not seem to accept the natural behavior of dogs. Therefore, animals' lover who work towards the welfare of stray dogs see stray dogs as individuals, and that not all are aggressive, and if possible that none are aggressive by nature, and that it is socially produced.

- The first step for urbanization and development isn't stray dog removal, but to follow the rules.

5.2 SUGGESTIONS

- Government enforced mass adoption: The Trivandrum corporation can enforce ABC rules and adoption. Mass adoption is better than removal. That will help to balance animal welfare and human wellbeing. Pet dogs also need license and vaccination.
- Awareness: Awareness on ABC rules should be given, and people also need accurate knowledge of the rules and verdicts. Government needs to be more accountable to the public in terms of sterilization numbers, and population of stray dogs. People should also be more aware of how media works. Also people should be aware enough to read the rules than assume based on media interpretations. People at the age of 15-30 need the most awareness, because they are the next generation who need to know how to do things right.
- Collaboration: If ABC shelters are not able to function well, then it should collaborate with those interested to start NGOs, this way they can ensure proper shelters, fund and some people can get job. The feeders should be incorporated in the government -level meetings and discussions in an area. Every house if can be able to contribute their leftover rice and bones, it will help to coexist smoothly. Need to hold discussions with the residential association. Restaurants can help to feed their left overs. People can pack left overs and feed dogs. CSR funds can be given to people to take care of dogs in remote areas where more people are interested.
- Development: To be like foreign countries, need to start with the basics like proper urban planning and waste management and promoting of no littering. Beautification should include feeding spots. Instead of moving them, shelter, food and water could be given to the very place where they are staying, and then it will be possible to remove the concept of "stray".
- Control: for aggressive dogs need to bring dog counselling, which could help them calm down and be normal
- Responsible dog ownership: Need to prevent people from abandoning and harming dogs. Also, the breeders need to educate the people. Foreign breeds that cannot adapt to the climate can result in other consequences, even their death. people need awareness about native breeds, and that they need to act in accord to the climate

- Animal lovers and feeders: need to form one big community to connect with each feeder, and conduct a focus group discussion

5.3 CONCLUSION

The paper aimed to explore the public opinions on the recent Supreme Court rulings on the removal of stray dogs in Thiruvananthapuram Corporation, from a sociological perspective. Stray dogs in India, once a matter of animal population control, is now in many ways a matter of dissonance in terms of many ethical and social aspects. The recent Supreme Court interventions to remove and manage those stray dogs have revived the significance of larger matter underlying stray dog management and public health. Applying a qualitative study design, the research investigated how people make sense of the Supreme Court's directives and the underlying reasons for their support or opposition to the rulings. These results indicate that public opinion is not monolithic and not based solely on objective information. Instead, respondents make up their minds through a “complex” mix of lived experiences, perceived risks, moral values, media-driven narratives, social interactions and perceptions of government responsibility. While participants appeared to have firm views, these were reflective of a range of local realities rather than simplistic ideological oppositions.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE: -

- **SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

1. age
2. gender
3. Occupation
4. Educational background
5. Area/locality within corporation?
6. Frequency of public space use (optional)
7. Do you own pets? Any experience with pets?
8. Would you describe yourself as someone who engages in the welfare of stray animals or care of stray dogs, like an animal lover?

- **RATIONALE**

- **EXPERIENCE AND PERCEPTION OF STRAY DOGS**

- Any stray dogs in your area?
- How do you see/define stray dogs? (Community dogs?)
- How do you see the presence of stray dogs in your area, institutional spaces-educational, sports complex, hospitals, bus stands/railways and other public spaces, and general spaces? And why?

- **POSITIVE INTERACTION**

- Any positive interactions with stray dogs?
- do you feed stray dogs? How do you see feeding in public spaces vs the restriction to feed only in designated areas?

- **CONFLICT AND INTERACTION**

- Any negative experience? Ever got bitten or attacked personally, or anyone else got such experience?
- Why do stray dogs bites happen?
- Do you see all stray dogs as aggressive?
- Do you think stray dogs bites are increasing? And need intervention? Why?

- Where do you usually hear or learn of stray dog issues?-how they show?
- Have ABC rules been effective or scientific? (Optional)
- **KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF VERDICT DIRECTIONS**
 - Do you know about the Supreme Court verdicts passed to manage stray dogs since August 2025?
 - Explaining the scenario—On 11th August, the Supreme court ruled that you have to pick up all stray dogs in Delhi and move them to shelters.
 - on 22nd August, instead to sterilize and immunize the stray dogs and to release them in the same area, except suspected aggressive or rabies dogs.
 - Same time, on 7th Nov, to secure and fence select public premises, remove all stray dogs from there – mainly educational, hospitals, transport-railway/bus stands and sports and other public spaces and put them to shelters, and not released back to the same place.
- **REACTION TO THE DIRECTION**
 - How do you see the removal of all stray dogs from public and institutional spaces? why?
- **IMPACT OF REMOVAL**
 - What do you think are the wider consequences of removing stray dogs- positive or negative.? E. g vacuum effect
 - How do you see the impact of the removal on stray dogs themselves? how do you see shelters and feasibility?
 - How do you think aggressive stray dogs should be managed?
 - Do you think the local body can effectively implement these directions?
- **SPACE AND ITS AMBIGUITY**
 - How do you see the distinction between release in general spaces and removal from institutional- such as all hospitals, educational, sports and bus/railway stations and public spaces?
 - Is it okay to remove them to less populated areas?

- **ALTERNATE SOLUTION**

- What do u think we should do with these stray dogs? How do you think animals, especially stray dogs and human can coexist?
- Why do you think of people who support/oppose the verdict?