'Jallikattu' Movement and Cultural Identity: The Mobilising Structure of Media Paradigm and its Dimensions.

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ABSTRACT

The 'Jallikattu' Movement (2017) in TamilNadu, India has been a social movement as it could be broadly classified as a movement that primarily took the form of non-institutionalised collective political action striving for political or social change. To study the 'jallikattu' movement, one requires the pre-exposure to the operation dynamic of contemporary social movements with reference to their grievance structures, organisational status, resource mobilisation position, and mobilising structures. 'Jallikattu' and the movement associated with it have been widely and regularly covered by the mass media, but the critical and creative analyses have been quite lacking. This has been articulated and addressed in the following lines of media involved and its move parallelly, key aspects of the media effect on the protestors with the protest dynamic and media paradigm and is there cause of delegitimization of the m movement. The present study deals with the social political movement and the protest event analysis PEA is adopted for methodological approach. PEA is an unobtrusive technique that could handle even the unstructured matter as data. It is context sensitive and can cope with large volumes of data. The protest Event analysis has been adopted as the best empirical and theoretical approach for testing and expanding the theory of focusing on mechanisms and processes. The protest event analysis PEA is an innovation from the political process theory allowing mapping of the occurrences and characteristics of protests across geographical areas, across issues/ movements, and over time.

Introduction

The ancient term for 'Jallikattu' as attested in classical Tamil literature (called the 'Sangam literature') has been 'kol eru tazhuvudhal' meaning the 'taming of the fierce bull' by overcoming its resistance with arm power. It is also referred to as 'Manju virattu', 'Ur maadu', Vadamaadu' and 'Erudu vidum vizha'. The 'Jallikattu' of the contemporary times, as a ritual being conducted with the bulls zealously brought up and specially fed for the purpose by peasantholds even against the backdrop of their economic constraints, has also the religio-cultural stamp. This ritual cult has had its dynamic origin from the primitive pastoral ecotypic (Mullai) life of the Tamils which necessitated the domestication of animals caught alive in hunting.

Besides the material benefits offered, The ritual has had a magical connotation too. For Thomson magic is enacting in fantasy the fulfillment of the desired reality. By overcoming the resistance of the bull, the peasants instill into their minds the confidence to overcome the odds in life. Whether one is able to negotiate or not with the bull in the actual field, one derives the magical pleasure of overcoming it; an illusory act thus aids the actual life process which they have to confront. Even when hurt the act instills into them the necessary 'repetitive compulsion' and 'vitrianic action' as described to child behaviour by Freud.

Religio-historical and Socio-cultural backdrop

Taming the bull symbol has been attested at the Indus valley seals. The bull and the cow have been the totemic deities for the peasants. Lord Siva rides over the bull along with his consort in Hindu pantheon. 'Nandhi' or the bull rests in front of the sanctum sanctorum of Lord Siva and the temple devotees have to pay their respects first to him so that Lord Siva would be pleased to bless them. One devotee has been said to have pleaded to "Son" Nandhi to slightly move aside so that Lord Siva would be visible to him standing at the roadside.

The Tamil popular cultural tradition has contextualised the phenomena intrinsic to it as rituals often with religious overtones. The spheres of festival, valour display, ceremonies and cult practices have been no exceptions.

D.P.Chattopadhyaya in Lokayata has observed that uneven economic development and tribal survival have been two crucial factors constituting the key to unravel the historical significance of events in Indian history. Unlike in other countries, Indian society did not evolve from stage to stage as a whole at one time. Hence the tribal characteristics could survive in classical and historical societies besides the actual coexistence of the tribal societies at varying levels of development. Incomplete detribalisation therefore explains the varying pattern of social intercourse. Just as the incompletely detribalised groups in historical societies got fossilised into caste grouping, the past activities also got ritualised losing the dynamism of the tribal collective. This explains as to why 'Jallikattu' has not obtained uniformity in observance. Similarly the caste groupings in 'Jallikkattu' are essentially linked with cult practices of the peasant society

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and hence any attempt to export modern socio-political concerns to them would be inevitably frustrated as the attempt borders on a history.

The 'Jallikattu' topography alone would not suffice it to be understood as part of Tamil culture, for in that case it is likely to be labelled as a sectarian cult practice arising from incomplete de- tribalisation. Should that be the case, the self-styled animal right activists and social groups might find it easier to oppose it and attempt to do away with it. The fact is that the 'Jallikattu' ritual has to be viewed within the framework of 'Mattuppongal' tamil traditional celebration; synthesis in contemporary socio-cultural life of the Tamils. To miss this totality of the Tamil interaction with the cattle, capping the sport would severe their essential links within the community as a whole masking their unified existence barring uneven socio-economic development. The 'Maadu' represents the cultural fete of the Tamils exhibiting unity in diversity. The term itself means wealth.

The 'Maattuppongal' unifies all types of human interaction with the cattle. Uniformly it marks the occasion for the peasant households to exhibit their love and affection and symbolic reverence for the cattle as a whole.

'Jalikattu' occurs in selected places in the southern part of India like Alanga Nallur, Avaniyaouram, Paalamedu and Namakkal on a grand scale causing the mobilisation of the bulls, participants and observers from many areas. In 'Jallikattu' the bulls are let free into the open ground and the participants require not only physical fitness but training and mental alertness as well. Harming the bull finds no place, for the participants are banned from holding the horns and tails. Ecstatic drugs are banned for both the bulls and participants. The risk factor lies mainly with the participants who take part at will and after medical examination. The sport commences with invocation as a religious ritual imbibing into the minds of all that it is an occasion for spirituality too thereby concretising the protection zone for the bulls.

The sociological theorists necessarily need the perception of the historical reconstructionists and anthropologists. Herein arises the lacuna which contributes to the misguided perception of certain urban intelligentia assuming the posture of torture theorists.

The Ban on 'Jallikattu' brought a rude shock to the peasants as well as the people of Tamil Nadu. Since 2014 the event could not be held officially making 'Pongal' an incomplete festival losing its charm. The life of the directly concerned people has become quite miserable driving them to poverty and indebtedness. The burst out of the problem and its resolution have raised many issues for those studying social action dynamic.

The politicians could only envy that it has become very difficult for them these days to mobilise the youth and clinch any of the issues on hand. The struggle emerging triumphantly against the backdrop of fossilised political actions has a tremendous bearing on the future course of socio-political actions in Tamil Nadu. Besides, the struggle has had a bitter side too and has ended with a tragic note negating the joy of victory itself. Many questions arise on this count, and only the media paradigm and its dimensions with reference to the mobilising structure have been presented here for the present study.

Review of Literature

Amandha Rohr lopes in " The impact of Social Media on Social Movements: The New opportunity and mobilising structure" (2014) defines the social movements as the

"Conscious concerted and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspects of their society by using extra institutional means". For the author, the grievance alone are not enough to create movements. Only when the underlying motives contend with social networks, the basis for movement recruitment and the path to popular mobilisation emerges. The social movements are the vehicles for social and political change and have the potential to transform the systems of institutionalised politics in which they occur. They explain popular voluntary cooperation and mobilisation. They are implicated in the spread of democracy and social change.

The New movements theory of Western Europe was followed by the resource mobilisation theory of the U.S.A.

According to James Coleman in "Social capital in the creation of Human capital" (1988) has stated that open and affluent societies provide more favourable conditions or contentious groups to thrive making protest more common. The existence of many non- governmental organisations and civil society groups provide the crucial variable linking dissatisfaction to political action and allowing the acquiring of social and organisational skills, raising funds, increasing membership and using communication and awareness raising strategies to promote their goals. During times of political stress, larger cycles of protest result. In closed authoritarian societies have the presence of latent networks, proto organisations and community leaders and organisers who can provide the basis for social mobilisation. The New media compensates the lack of resources in such cases.

The study of social movements during the 1980s restored politics to its central role in the origins, dynamic and outcomes of these movements with the concepts of the political opportunity structure and cycles of protest.

The political opportunity theory was given formal shape by C. Tilly in "From mobilisation to Revolution" (1978), D.MC Adams in Micro Mobilisation contexts and recruitment to activism" (1988), S.Tarrow in "Struggling to reform: Social movements and policy change during cycles of protest"(1983) and H Kitschelt in "Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti- nuclear movements in four democracies"(1986).

The attention shifted from the heavily macro structural explanation to more differentiated analyses of social movement activation. There arose increasing convergence on a set of concepts, problems, and variables connecting collective action to politics. The most important of those convergences were the idea of political opportunity structure and the conditioning of movement emergence, strategy, and dynamics of traditions of national politics; second the concept of an internally competitive 'social movement sector' and the implications for the relations between collective action and politics; third the overall notion of 'cycles of protest' and the relations within them between protest and reform. The other politically salient dimensions were the forms and repertories of contention', the theme of consensus mobilisation, the concepts of cognitive liberation, collective identity, interpretive frames and ideological packages.

A social movement for hopes is the effect for opportunity structures such as the economic, institutional and the social contexts of a country conditioned by its access to social media, the intervening variable or mobilising structures. The opportunity structures take into account the grievances that drive a social movement. These grievances can be derived from a change or deterioration of social, political, and economic conditions. The mobilisation structures are the

social networks and all resources necessary for popular mobilisation. Both are necessary. The mobilising structures constituting the social networks and the media provide five key aspects to the formation of social movements which are

1.Communication
2. Organisation
3. Mobilisation
4.Validation and
5.Scope enlargement.

Anita Breuer in" The Role of Social Media in mobilising political protest" (2012) has stressed that for any social protest to materialise four theoretical levels shall be conceived especially in authoritarian contexts.

These are

1. Emotional Integration arising from deprivation and moval indignation
2. Protests rationalisation causing homogenisation of concerns
3. Effective Communication infrastructure as resource against state censors and
4. The formation of social networks to shape common goals and channelize protest.

None of these can be spared for any social movement to gallop, even in democratic countries.

Sebastian Valenzuela is "Unpacking the use of social media for protest behaviour: The roles of information, opinion expression and activism" (2013) has tested three explanations for the link between social media use and political participation:

1.Social media is a source for news (information)
2.Social Media expresses political opinions (opinion expression) and
3.Social Media enables timing causes and finding mobilising information(activism).

As part of the Arab spring, the Tunisian uprising lead to the ouster of President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011. Anita Breuer in "The Role of Social Media in Mobilising political protest: Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution" (2012) and along with Todd Landman and Dorothea Farquhar in "Social Media and Protest mobilisation: Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution" (2015) has correlated the stages of the revolution with the those of the spread of the internet and social media and identified the significant causation of the latter for the for men. The said revolution was Bourne leg a broad coalition of social forces that united an alienated intellectual elite with the rural poor and urban middle class in opposition to the extremely authoritarian regime, the contribution of the ICT had shown three dimensions:

1. It facilitated the formation of networks of digital activists who challenged the monopoly of the state control of the public sphere
2. It disseminated censored information on human rights violation by the state on the one hand and the magnitude of anti-regime protests on the other. This information enabled the mobilisation for collective action based on shared grievances and to overcome the barrier of fear associated with the protest under authoritarian is on; and
3. It enabled the formation of a National collective identity by providing elements of emotional mobilisation.

Naheed Eltantawy and Julie B. West in "Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering resource mobilisation theory" 2011 have applied the RMT to the Egyptian revolution and premised that the resources- such as time, money, organisational skills and certain social' or political opportunities- have been crucial to the success of social movements.

Naheed Eltmtawy and Julie B.West (2011) have stressed on how the social media provided additional resources for the resource poor actors led social protest movements , like the one in Egypt, and, thereby , contributed to the sustainability of the latter distinctively. Beyond the widely accepted impact of the internet and social media, the specific factor centring around the new media found attested in the Egyptian protest were:

A) The early Egyptian blogosphere which first attracted domestic audience and later paved the way for the Facebook, Flicker, Twitter and Cellular phones;
B) The space provided by the social media for the activists within and outside Egypt to interact;
C) The martyrdom of khalid said and the consequent emergence of Facebook groups like "we are all Khalid saids",
D) The inspiring role of the Nobel peace prize holder Barade's Facebook pages coupled with those of the National Association for Change offering a fear erasing polemic against the regime;
E) The Facebook movement of April6 pioneering the way for the Jan 25 protest;
F) The Cebeladi beladi "(our country, our country) call of the woman activist began;
G) The multiple Facebook pages of the young activists;
H) The social media voice of the exiled revolutionary Omav Afifi;
I) The social media guidance of the Tunisian revolutionaries and the success of the Tunisian revolution
J) The crucial messages of the social media communicated during the blackout internet days (Jan25 and Feb 27); and
K) The videos and images of the first day protest communicated through Facebook, Twitter and blogs promoting emotional integration. The Tehrir (Revolution) square protest could retain its revolutionary character owing to these specific factors.

Another enlightening contribution on this has been the article on "Social Media and the decision to participate in Political protest: Observations from Tehrir square" (2012) by Zeyrup Tufeki and Christopher Wilson reinforcing the contents of the first mentioned one. How the connectivity infrastructure of the media offered a counter to the durable authoritarianism of Hosni Mubarak and resulted in his resignation on 25 Jan, 2011 has been illustrated.

In social movement research, one shall have to necessarily accommodate the findings from the review of concerned literature with a view to proceeding with it on a safer ground, being equipped with the conceptual frameworks, the relevance of particular methodologies and seemingly analogous or parallel movements.

The Research questions mainly arise from the movement per se, the mobilising structure and the dimension and paradigms of media.

RQ 1: What were the types of media involved in creating the mobilising structure?
RQ 2: Did the media move along parallel lines? If so, how long during the movement? At what stage, the deviation occurred? Why? Did the protest involve stages/phases/ cycles?
RQ 3: What were the key aspects of the media effect on the protestors with reference to the protest dynamic?

RQ 4: Was the media paradigm operative at any stage causing delegitimisation of the movement? If so, by which media and why? if not, how and why?

Methodology

The present research deals with the study of a social protest movement and dimensions and paradigms of media. Dependency relations of the nations to world economy. The social movements theory links social movements and politics and views movements as imperfectly bounded sets of processes and mechanisms capturing complex relations between movements and states. The social movements are viewed as a class of relationships between non-institutional and institutional political actors. The protest Event analysis has been the best empirical and theoretical approach for testing and expanding theory of focusing on mechanism and processes.

Swen Hutter's "Protest event analysis and its offspring" (2014) deals with the most useful of the top four methods which have engaged in social movement research, the protest event analysis, PEA, as the key methodological innovation from the field of social movement itself with wider application. It has been a type of quantitative content analysis transforming words into numbers which could then be analysed with the help of many statistical tools.

The PEA is an innovation from the political process theory allowing mapping of the occurrences and characteristics of protests across geographical areas, across issues/ movements and over time.

The present study deals with the social political movement and the protest event analysis PEA is adopted for methodological approach. PEA is an unobtrusive technique that could handle even the unstructured matter as data. It is context sensitive and can cope with large volumes of data. The protest Event analysis has been adopted as the best empirical and theoretical approach for testing and expanding the theory of focusing on mechanisms and processes. The protest event analysis PEA is an innovation from the political process theory allowing mapping of the occurrences and characteristics of protests across geographical areas, across issues/ movements, and over time.

Dimension 1

Douglas M.Mclead , in "News coverage and social protest: How the media protest paradigm exacerbates social conflict" (2007), covers how the protest paradigm of the media coverage disparages protestors and hinder their role as vital actors on the political stage. "The origins of the protest paradigm are the product of the forces that shape news production including the bias of the individual reporter, the impact of the news organisation, the cernuous of the journalistic profession, the cultural and ideological blinders of the social system and the subraints of the medium". When one engages mass media for dramatization of action, one has to face the delegitimising frames.

Dimension 2

"Protesting the paradigm: A comparative study of News coverage of protests in Brazil, China, and India" (2016) by Saif Shahim and Pei Zheing has provided sharp insight into the inner dynamic of media framing with reference to the specifics of the countries concerned refuting the universalisation of the Western approach and validating the reliance on it.

Content analysis of media coverages in Brazil, China and India with reference to protests, they have observed that the "Indian media emerge as the least likely to follow the protest paradigm, while Brazilian and Chinese media confirm to it in moderate levels". Five conclusions are crucial:
1. Informal political negotiations in a Nation reduces media paradigm;
2. Ideological affinity of the protest organisation with the government of the day enhances the possibility;
3. Protest coverage invariably necessitates reporting on violence and other matters as a rule;
4. The negative reporting is often attributed to the actions of the government; and
5. The National media systems remain meaningful ontological entities even in the era of globalisation and hence are reliable.

Dimension 3

Yet another dimension in media paradigm has been researched in "Indian Media framings of rape and sexual violence in the aftermath of the 2012 Delhi gang rape" (2015) by Pramavi Midathada and Aswin Punathambekar.

The study has highlighted how the media coverage is general 'neglects rural India' with regard to reporting on the rapes. 'Intensive rape reporting' by the national media has contributed to 'distorting the very identity of the country as rape torn'. The 'high profile rape frames provide a 'danger signal' for the aggravation of such crimes. The crux of the argument has been that where sensationalising becomes the main criterion of media reporting, the media paradigm contributes. Otherwise to aggravate the situation and inimical trends. Both the Print and Visual media presented the events of the 'Jallikattu' protest almost along parallel lines during Jan.2017.

Social media and youth mobilization

The youth pioneered the 'Jallikattu' Movement 2017, caused and motivated its spread everywhere throughout Tamil Nadu, across the country and transnational space carried it to its climax and finally clinched the issue. All these they effected apolitically and without projecting anybody as the leader. For the first time in Tamil history, a mass movement was generated within a very short time and without seeking the cooperation of a political party or trade union or socio – political organization, but forcing them all to react in order to avoid marginalization. This was a puzzle which the orthodox political punditsand social theorists suddenly had to confront in January 2017. There were many other related puzzles too which confronted them from many angles cumulatively.

The Students did not conduct the formal strikes and campus raids but simply sought the identity as youth, freely merged with all their counterparts cutting across age, literacy status, caste, community and the religion and mobilized at common points. Secondly they did not schedule the mobilization as a leisure-time activity but were well turned for the sustained protracted struggle braving all odds. Thirdly they were well received by the people at the large and the usual apathy towards student struggle was gone. Finally the politicians were rudely puzzled and shocked to know that the youth were well within the social interaction with a clear social awareness and disciplined praxis as against the farmer's cherished prejudices of indifference and ideological bankruptcy. When the struggle galloped, all of them could realise that the social media had stepped into fill in the vacuum created by the apathetic politics and the sectarian interests and democratize the communication network.

The first phase was obviously the social media generated phase. Following the pattern, youth mobilization occurred in

many towns, cities and urban centres of Tamil Nadu saturating the cultural superstructure with the 'Jallikattu' ethos. Demanding 'Jallikattu' and the ban on PETA, the student - youth mobilization across the State began to haunt the powers that be like a spectre. The social media mobilization delinked from politics could secure the broad support of the people at large and the defence of eminent publicmen.

Inspite of all the inimical developments, the initial spark had lit many and it was for the 'Pongal' season to raise the mantle and create the prairie five from Alanganallur. No doubt from this phase onwards, the social media had become a major search operation area for the Police which, in turn, contributed to the backdrop demanding eversomany new strategies and changed mode of communication. Evidently the government machinery could not cope up with the youth potential in this regard.

They could not imagine that the social media could pay such as a crucial role within a very short span of time to precipitate a determined counter action as well as State wide chain reaction.

The Social Media Revolution has overtaken the past in a significant way as to cause an unprecedented mobilization of the youth, enable the latter to seize the reigns of Social vanguardship and the utilisation of their creative energies for the conscientisation of their fellow citizens.

1. First and foremost, the social Media has filled in the vacuum created by fossilized formal politics which has only frozen the issues instead of energizing them to get resolved;

2. Secondly it has revolutionized the social communication system with its low cost facility.

3. Thirdly it has democratized social participation by facilitating inter-personal communication access transcending all the social barriers which are physical and act as stumbling blocs against social mingling.

4. Fourthly it has made instant social reaction possible where formal organizational action would normally demand time or may even miss it too.

5. Fifth, the Social Media operates through the popular communication codes intelligible to all there by offering an alternative to the dominance of the elitist mode.

6. Sixth, it forms the real basis for thousand flowers to bloom. No formal movement, organization or political party has such operation space for democratic interactions.

7. Seventh, because of this, the youth attain better enlightment of the social dynamic which is often hushed up, distorted or obfuscated by the formal movements of all categories.

8. Eighth, the romanticizing effect of social media has a positive dimension. It has the ability to portray the often ignored and scorned as trivia in their real seriousness which, otherwise, confront the formal organisations later in their cumulative form as hurdles or even as catastrophes.

9. Ninth, the youth have acquired the crucial capability to counter the vested interests and enlighten the people and clear their doubts on burning issues thereby preventing unnecessary head on collisions among people. In this aspect usually before the formal organizations reach the people, the clash erupts. The pace of the Social Media Reach is incomparably greater.

10. Finally through the opinion moulding through interactions, the youth are able to create an atmosphere of values and reveal themselves as truth loving. Since the youth are the full – time users of the Social Media, their social status and role have attained unprecedentedly greater heights.

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