

Analysis on the Role of Social Media in Jallikattu Protest

Nepul Raj

Assistant Professor, Department of Visual Communication, St. Thomas College of Arts and Science, Koyambedu, Chennai-600 107.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24321/2395.3810.201820>

Abstract

Social Media became a means for sharing ideas and emotions in a public forum and social media became a platform for common public to express their views on different socio-political issues as well as the recent protest happened in Tamil Nadu. In January 2017, we witnessed there were huge protest across Tamil Nadu supporting Jallikattu, a bull-taming traditional Tamil sport which was banned by Supreme Court of India. The messages were spread in different Social Networking Sites and Apps triggered people to participate in the Jallikattu protest. People used Social Media like Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp to organise a huge protest. With this background this paper analyses the role of social media in Jallikattu protest.

Keywords: Social Media, Tamilnadu, Jallikattu, Protest, Banned

Introduction

Mass Communication is known for its simplicity to reach people fluently irrespective of their differences. It is one of the most influential tools to reach youngsters or millennial who form the mainstream of the workers. It can build or shatter somewhat in the civilization considering its fame. A recent incident to prove this is the 'jallikattu protest' at the Marina beach, Chennai. It was called as social media generated revolution by popular English daily. The social media were used effectively and extensively in sudden revolution by youngsters to save jallikattu in which most of them don't even seen it being performed as they are from the urban background (Deccan Chronicle, 2017). If not for social media, jallikattu protest wouldn't have become this popular and successful.

Protest movements of the 21st century are influenced by the liquid lifestyles in a post-digital world and shaped by the liberated nature of thought and ideas that sprout and find expression in an ecosystem that has the potential to seamlessly translate from the virtual to the real. A perspective of this protest canvas as seen through the lens of Baudrillard's ideas of hyper reality offers scope to examine among other things, the Jallikattu protests in Tamil Nadu in 2017, that involved over 1,00,000 people, including

several thousand who congregated on the Marina beach, to protest against the ban on the rural sport of Jallikattu or bullfighting. Known in some sections as Occupy Marina, protest participants, mostly young digital natives moved between the virtual and the real with equal ease, falling back on the omnipresent medium of Tamil cinema to create and sustain protest memory and propagate protest ideology through easily recognizable images and messages that have and continue to influence politics and power in the state. The imagined community that resided both on- and offline gave the movement the impetus that it needed to garner enough support to turn the news media and conversations (including online) towards itself.

Throughout the Dravidian movement, including protests in the 1960s and earlier against the imposition of Hindi as official language of India, the mass media has influenced and in turn been influenced by ideas and imagery that represent a push-back against neoliberal, cultural and social hegemony. The current digital media landscape makes it possible to revitalize, remix, recirculate and harness the spectacle on social media through memes that bridge the gap of understanding, and reignite the passion for protest and has been used with some success in the Jallikattu protests to generate conversation and inspire action.

E-mail Id: nepu2005@gmail.com

Orcid Id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8238-4938>

How to cite this article: Raj N. Analysis on the Role of Social Media in Jallikattu Protest. *J Adv Res Jour Mass Comm* 2018; 5(4): 59-65.

Copyright (c) 2018 Journal of Advanced Research in Journalism & Mass Communication (ISSN: 2395-3810)



The presentation seeks to explore new possibilities offered by 21st century media and journalism to initiate, sustain and vitalize protest movements, particularly by young protestors with strong cultural roots and the wherewithal to use new media to further their cause. It particularly seeks to approach this possibility with caution, and to be mindful of the delusory nature of hyper reality, the ephemeral quality of online protests and the political economics driving digital and social media. If there is one thing to take away from the Jallikattu protests at the Marina beach, it is the power of social media and the ripples it can create in our daily lives.

How did Jallikattu suddenly define Tamil identity for numerous city-bred youngsters? The answer to that question is surprisingly simple: Social Media. "*We Do Jallikattu*" was one of the popular hashtags to pop up. The hashtag started getting momentum even before Pongal, becoming a conduit to aggregate supporters. Many versions of the hashtag like "*I Support Jallikattu*", "*We do Jallikattu*", "*Amend PCA*", "*Justice for Jallikattu*" started trending ferociously. These posts did not stop at being mere expressions of solidarity, it also explained why they were supporting the cause. Most of the popular posts claimed that the attack on Jallikattu was to enable vested foreign interests who wanted to eliminate competition by wiping out rural breeds. But the validity of these claims are again debatable.

The music posted by actor-musician Hip Hop Tamizha. Aadhi and His song *Takkaru Takkaru*, became viral and one of the faces of the protest, resurfaced on everyone's news feeds with long statuses in the social media about the need to '*Preserve Our Identity*'. And then there was the whooper, the Marina beach protests. After the protestors at Alanganallur were forcibly removed, a few people gathered at Marina to show solidarity. With a solid social media conversation already in place, the initially small protest gathered huge traction on social media, drawing huge numbers to the beach. From then each and every development in this issue was widely shared using all forms of social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp.

Images of people sleeping at the Marina beach on the first night of the protest, and the now iconic image of youngsters flashing their phone lights, were shared and re-shared with religious reverence. In an uncanny déjà-vu moment from the floods, social media pages once again became sources of information for food, blankets and other such amenities. Pages like Chennai Memes, Chennaites, and Jallikattuveeravilayatu gathered followers overnight, becoming go-to places for information. The issue has become part of common conversation. Karthikeya Senapathy, PR, Aadi, Balaji, became household names. People were flushed with a new found energy to fight for

their identity, to an extent that the identity protest almost overshadowed the economic angle of it.

Faces of the protest also took to social media. Celebrities tweeted their support, there were videos of actors voicing their solidarity, again widely re-shared kept fuelling the energy these youth had. A video of Tamil actor Vijay, which was posted online during the agitation, attacking PETA was a massive hit on social media. Actor-radio jockey Balaji's emotional video at the beach became viral in social media next to actor Vijay's speech. More such videos and posts of the protestors on the beach, made the entire city swell with a sense of community. As the glamour increased, the event drew more and more footfall, as now people wanted to be a part of it whether they support the cause or not.

After the protests took an unpleasant turn, Aadi again took to Facebook to convey that he is distancing himself from them, because they had lost direction. With the city embroiled in violence Balaji urged the students to stop the protest and return home again through a video on his Facebook page. Actor-Director Raghava Lawrence, who was actively involved in the issue, posted a similar video on his Facebook wall. The Jallikattu agitation has strongly expressed many things. The most important one is that the politicians and government have a new opponent and this one doesn't need a microphone, only a Twitter account.

Literature Review

Memes were said to be any form of informative art or genetically transformed habit, skill or anything that a human being copies from one to another (as cited in Blackmore, 2000). But some call it as cultural characteristics, symbols or anything that can be copied or imitated (as cited in Kariko, 2016). At the very mention of the word 'meme', millennials might perceive it to be internet meme. But it is explained its presence during world wars as graffiti. Though it was illegal, it was ignored as war being the big issue then. Few examples were, Kilroy was here, Frodo lives, and Andre the giant has a posse, Alfred E. Neuman, The three hares, Abracadabra and Sator square (Quercia, 2011). But the origin of meme traces back to 1976. The term meme was invented by Richard Dawkins in his book '*The Selfish Gene*' (as cited in Blackmore, 2000). During initial days, it was mistakenly pronounced as 'me-me' or 'meh-meh'. But it is supposed to be pronounced as 'meme'. It was not widely spread or circulated as it is now. But the invention of Internet made it so popular and go viral (His key, 2012). It gave birth to the 'Internet meme'. An Internet meme can be any representation or presentation of thoughts expressed in any form on the Internet (Moreau, 2017). Mostly what we find in the Internet will come under the still image meme category. It doesn't matter what they are categorized as but where it is appearing and what message it carries. At least this is how it is observed to

work with the political genre of memes. But the question about memes existence status, efficacy, power and uses, remains unanswered in the Indian scenario. The question gets only bigger and complex if it is applied to politics of a specific region.

Soma Dutta (2011) "Social Responsibility of Media and Indian Democracy" states that mass media have influenced human life in the present century in different forms. They have provided information and entertainment to people across countries. Print media, being the leader over a considerable period of time has now got stiff competition from Television media, which is responsible for many of the social changes. The main public interest criterions that the media need to consider include freedom of publication, plurality in media ownership, diversity in information, culture and opinion, support for the democratic political system, support for public order and security of the state, universal reach, quality of information and culture disseminated to the public, respect for human rights and avoiding harm to individuals and the society. Informing the citizens about the developments in the society and helping them to make informed choices, media assists democracy to function in its true spirit.

P Thirumoorthi, C Ramesh kumar (2015), states that the networking sites have made it possible for us to chat with friends who live in distant places as well as share with them pictures and videos of whatever we are up to instantly. Today, it is very hard to find a teenager who doesn't have a Yahoo, a Gmail, a Face book, or a Twitter account which help them to keep in touch with their friends, to express or share what they have in mind and to use for school-related purposes. No doubt, these sites are of great help in the youth's daily life. Also there are many potential benefits in social networking sites.

These sites can provide opportunities for new relationships as well as strengthening existing relationships, whether the friends are closer home or across the world. Dr. Linda Steiner (2012), states that myriad of existing platforms for social media vary in purpose, intended audience and popularity. Frequently mentioned among them in this study are Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube and Tumblr. For instance, a writing focused course included a lecture on the importance of social media platforms, like Twitter. It was accompanied by an exercise where we were expected to write tweets in a breaking news style. In another course, the professor set up a Facebook page used to share videos as well as provide updates about the class. Being in classes and listening to panels and conferences that incorporated social media or that encouraged this kind of incorporation made her wonder how other schools approached the apparatus and how it was being integrated into their programs, curricula and online presence.

Sarah Woolley (2013), states that, Sojourner is a term commonly used in study abroad literature to describe an individual who is temporarily studying and living in a foreign country, otherwise referred to as a "study abroad" (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut&Klute, 2012). Thousands of miles away from home, access to the Internet and social media remains in the sojourner's pocket due to international cellular data plans on smartphones. Within seconds, taking a tour through Vatican City can switch to an interactive online experience with friends and family back at home. This instant communication allows a transparent and comforting experience for both the senders and the receivers.

Ms. Sisira Neti (2011), in her study on "Constantly Connected: The Impact of social Media and the Advancement in Technology on the Study Abroad Experience" states that social media supports for social interaction, using highly accessible and scalable publishing techniques. Social media uses web-based technologies to turn communication into interactive dialogues. Social media is the medium to socialize. Social media quickly disseminate knowledge and information to a huge number of users. They allow creation and exchange of user-generated content. Facebook, Twitter, Hi5 and other social networking sites are collectively referred social media. Social media represents low-cost tools that are used to combine technology and social interaction with the use of words.

Tarek A. El-Badawy & Yasmin Hashem (2015), in their opinion the younger generation discussed in this research paper are school students between the ages of 12 to 19 years old. A few of the platforms they use are Facebook, YouTube, Google, and many others that will be discussed in the findings of this research. The younger generation is the individuals that will lead our world in the future, they must be well educated to be able to impact this world and make Egypt a better country on the road to success.

Methodology

The aim of this case study with qualitative approach and observation as a tool was to plan the route of social media activities that helped to organise the pro-jallikattu protests that took place in Tamil Nadu in January 2017. To do this, social media entities that were active during the jallikattu protests were identified from mainstream media news reports on the protests. By studying these entities' social media activities during December 2016 and January 2017, other social media entities were identified. The period was chosen as the protests were organised, gained strength and finally dispersed during the course of these two months.

A total of five social media entities were thus identified and studied. The entities chosen were popular social media organisations Chennai Memes, Tamizhan Memes, Chennaites and PutChutney; celebrity film industry

professionals Raghava Lawrence, Hip Hop Tamizha and RJ Balaji and Karthikeya Sivasenapathy, a managing trustee of Senapathy Kangayam Cattle Research Foundation.

Analysis and Findings

The social media plays an important role in dissemination information among the people in the study area. From the analysis, it is inferred that the sample respondents of different age categories, gender, educational qualification and occupations do not differ in their opinion on availability of information. In the case of monthly income, the respondents of different monthly income groups differ in their opinion in this regard. As far as the impact of social media on entertainment, business development and public awareness are concerned; there is no any difference in the opinion of the sample respondents regarding the impact.

The following points were found in supporting to these views

- The information necessary to the respondents are readily available or if there is no the required information, they can be easily accessible.
- Entertainment to a particular extent of time is must for everyone to relax form the current works. Sometimes many useful ideas are found from the entertainment news.
- The social media is much helpful to the business development is a matter of great concern. Exchanging of ideas, transactions are now become very easy.
- Public awareness is a notable impact of social media. The social media is an effective weapon in spreading awareness on the topical issues among the people. For example, mobilizing youths in large scale in the Marina beach in Chennai was due to usage of social media.

While factors contributing to virality are difficult to pinpoint, celebrity presence on social media as well as on the ground definitely contribute to it. "The culture of celebrity is marked by power, influence, and consumer interest and judgement, thus making a celebrity, voice above others, a voice that is channelled into the media as being legitimately significant". Any culture puts celebrity on a pedestal where they looked upon as influencers created and offered up for public consumption. In South India, celebrities are looked upon more as demi-gods. With the advent of social media, celebrities are today able to connect with people more extensively than before. It is believed celebrities have been able to pull crowd utilizing their celebrated status, which is good news for social movements. Celebrities may be influential for multiple reasons. They have millions of followers on their social networks when they post a social issue. They can garner media presence and raise public awareness. They can create fan relationships through their social media networks. This will further help to shape public opinion amongst their fans.

The jallikattu movement saw its first breakthrough when a video, "TakkaruTakkaru," based on the sport, was released by musician Hip Hop Tamizha in June 2016. Despite the song's far-reaching success, no significant reaction was visible. The movement began to pick up pace in the month of December 2016, though the initiator were the public. Actor Silambarasan held a press conference and issued a statement supporting jallikattu on December 30, 2016, ahead of the curve as far as celebrity involvement goes. Later, the protests saw mega-stars like Kamal Hassan, Rajnikanth and Dhanush utilizing social media to be vocal about their thoughts and also celebrated people rooting for a cause. For the most part, their social media posts expressed appreciation for the youngsters behind the Marina movement.

The jallikattu movement, which was seen as a victory to the masses, definitely had a celebrity hand in it. Some celebrities connected with the film industry did engage in day-long protests, but many refused to give long speeches or audio bytes to mainstream media as they wanted the focus to be on the young protestors at the Marina. When they wanted to communicate with audiences, they did so directly through videos or other posts on their Twitter, Facebook or YouTube accounts, which were heavily shared by their followers. For instance, dance choreographer and actor Raghava Lawrence, with 3 lakh Twitter followers as of Sept. 2017, tweeted a link to his Facebook post on January 17, in which he makes an emotional appeal for the government to permit jallikattu to take place. The tweet garnered 707 retweets, 61 replies and 6,900 likes, numbers that would be impossible to achieve for most other social media entities. At a time when national TV anchors had difficulty understanding the intricacies of jallikattu, it was these social media heroes whose voices reached greater audiences.

Radio presenter Balaji, popularly known as RJ Balaji, with 2.24 million followers on Twitter and 7.5 lakh on Facebook as of Sept. 2017, was active both on social media and on the ground. He used video appeals effectively. Several of his videos, posted on his Twitter and Facebook pages, garnered likes, retweets and shares in the thousands. A January 20 video of his speech on Marina beach during the protest, which he shared on Twitter with the comment, "The best day of my life," garnered 15,000 shares. Actor Vijay who is considered as a conservative celebrity, released a video in support of Jallikattu, which won his audience's attention and brought them on Marina. While celebrities may have been genuinely moved by the cause, it should also be noted that it was a safe cause to get behind, as it supported Tamil culture, and resonated with their target market. Besides, as it was apolitical, the celebrities did not have to be cautious about expressing support.

Many issues become trending topics each day on social

media. Some last for days or even months. Many of them are protests against injustices perceived by a small or large section of society. However, not all of these make the leap from social media to the physical world, and not at the scale witnessed in Chennai and other parts of Tamil Nadu in January 2017. Various long-term and short-term factors combined to create the perfect storm conditions for the pro-jallikattu protests in January 2017.

Several observers have pointed out that the jallikattu protests were a culmination of long-simmering resentment against the Central government for what was perceived as high-handed treatment that failed to consider that the emotions of the people of Tamil Nadu. In several well-reported cases in the years prior – the protests against the Kudankulam nuclear plant and the Oil and Natural Gas pipeline projects (ONGC), and the call for the Centre to intervene to support Tamil Nadu fishermen in their struggle with Sri Lankan authorities over fishing rights in the seas between the two countries – the Central government did not yield to the expressed desire of the Tamil people, many felt.

Further, when neighbouring state Karnataka did not abide by the Supreme Court order of 2016 to release the waters of River Cauvery to Tamil Nadu, the Centre did not do enough to enforce the ruling. This was compounded by the news of 17 farmer suicides in Tamil Nadu in the two months leading up to the protests. On January 10, 2017, Chief Minister O. Panneerselvam declared all districts in the state as drought-hit districts. “While the individual movements for each of these issues had failed to invoke a united Tamil conscience, the Jallikattu protests became the point at which they converged,” an article in Caravan magazine points out. By some accounts, the intensity of anger against the Centre was insufficiently covered by mainstream media, which instead framed the protests as mainly anti-PETA. Many social media entities helping organise the protests took an apolitical stand and issued repeated advisories asking protestors to tone down their rhetoric against the Centre so as keep the protest focused on getting the jallikattu ban revoked.

Though the jallikattu protests invoked injury to the culture of the Tamils, the protests were only a symbol of deeper malaise, some analysts say. “Culture isn’t an isolated, narrow entity confined to linguistic and artistic expressions. It is rather a composite construct encompassing the material conditions that produce it. Any damage to that ecosystem would affect material well-being, which in turn endangers identity, inherent values and cultural heritage,” writes a liberal arts professor in a commentary in the Wire news portal. Although Tamil Nadu is touted as a model state in terms of successfully pursuing foreign investments following globalisation and liberalization, global recession has hit it hard, data suggests. The growth rate of the industrial

Gross State Domestic Product fell from 28.66% in 2009-10 to negative 1.17% in 2012-13. Further, during the 11th Five-Year Plan period of 2007-12, Tamil Nadu’s annual average rate of agricultural production fell by 2.37%. These economic conditions primed the state for an explosion of anger, which arrived in the form of the jallikattu protests.

Some political observers, taking the long view, cite the deprivation of opportunity for young people to express their political views. In an article in the Times of India, they remember student protests being crushed by both the prominent Dravidian parties when they were in power in Tamil Nadu. As a result of this suppression, young people have found a different avenue for political expression in the jallikattu protests, they say.

In the near-term, however, a few factors contributed to set off the jallikattu protests

The jallikattu uprising took place in the wake of the death of Chief Minister J. Jayalalithaa, when the tussle for succession was beginning. As a commentator on Huffington Post India noted, if Jayalalithaa had been alive, the protests would likely not have snowballed to the scale seen in January 2017. “Probably, the youth and others wouldn’t have been this fearless and she would have aborted the swell in its infancy itself. What obviously empowered them this time is the lack of political will in Chief Minister O Panneerselvam and AIADMK chief V K Sasikala. Both are new and uncertain, and hence are risk-averse or clueless”. The writer notes the authority with which Jayalalithaa quelled the government employees’ protest in 2003, having thousands arrested and dismissing many more.

To add fuel to the simmering resentment, it suddenly hit the news cycle on January 9, 2017 that the harvest festival of Pongal was not on the Central government list of compulsory holidays for the year. After several Tamil Nadu political parties expressed their outrage at this, the Centre made it a compulsory holiday. This further contributed to public perception that the Centre’s policies were adversely affecting the people of Tamil Nadu, and, particularly, farmers.

The police permitted the protests to take place, as it would have been a politically incorrect move for the nascent post-Jayalalithaa government to use police force to quell the popular agitation. Tweeting about the recent protests in Tamil Nadu against the National Eligibility-cum-Entrance Test (NEET) being made mandatory for medical college admissions, R.K. Radhakrishnan, associate editor, Frontline news magazine, posted, “No #jallikattu type agitations will happen now. #jallikattu happened because of #Tamilnadu #police laxity, believe officials”. It was only after the State government passed the ordinance on January 21 to permit jallikattu to proceed, that the police, on January 23, took

action to disperse crowds from Marina beach, some say, to clear the area for the upcoming Republic Day parade.

Conclusion

In the present century the globe is shrinking due to science and development. The emerging world is witnessing information revolution. The social media is now blended with every walk of our life. Cell phone is said to be sixth finger of every man. The social media in Tamil Nadu creates many impacts on various dimensions. The impact of social media on availing information, entertainment, business development and public awareness are the matters of great concern. At the same time, these social media should be used for constructive purposes not destructive purposes.

A number of factors converged to help jallikattu become the successful movement that it was. The fact that the Tamil Nadu government managed to get the ordinance passed to end the protest begs the question why it was not done in the past. After all, late Chief Minister J. Jayalalithaa had written to the Centre several times to consider passing an ordinance permitting the conduct of jallikattu. The answer likely lies in political expediency. With a political vacuum in Tamil Nadu after Jayalalithaa's death in December 2016, the time was likely right for the Centre to support the State's bid to resolve the jallikattu issue by passing an ordinance. Further, the ordinance was framed so that would jallikattu would be moved out of the purview of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, so that there would be no conflict between the Central and State laws, which was the case in 2014, when the State law permitting and regulating jallikattu was struck down as it ran counter to the PCAA.

Therefore, was the successful outcome of the protest entirely due to the intensity of the movement? Probably not. Without the political will of the Centre and State, it likely would not have materialised. However, there is no doubt that the show of strength heavily mobilised by social media forced the hand of the legislators. This study confirms findings by many researchers showing that, while social media as a stand-alone mechanism may not help achieve the goals of a movement, it is a vital tool that speeds up organisation and message propagation, making it possible for movements to gain traction in a matter of days or even just hours, unimaginable in the pre-digital era.

References

Journals

1. Abdul Aziz Turhan Kariko (2013). Analysis on Internet Memes using Semiotics, English Department of Binus University.
2. Blanchard O. Social media ROI: managing and measuring social media efforts in your organization. New Delhi: Pearson Education; 2012.
3. Chrisafis A. Tunisia: Gang violence taints celebration of popular uprising [Internet]. The Guardian; 2011 Jan 15 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/15/tunisia-protests-zine-al-abidine-ben-ali>.
4. Kaplan AM, Haenlein M. (2010). Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of social media. Business Horizons. 2010;53(1):59-68.
5. Rutledge P. Four ways social media is redefining activism [Internet]. Psychology Today; c2010 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/positively-media/201010/four-ways-social-media-is-redefining-activism>.
6. Varghese T, Niveditha D. Social media in family communication of teenagers – a focus group discussion. Media Watch. 2012; 3 (2):3-10.

Articles

1. Aronowitz NW. Does change.org really change anything? [Internet]. Dame; 2013 Nov 18 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://www.damemagazine.com/2013/11/18/does-changeorg-really-change-anything>.
2. Drennan VS. Jallikattu and the art of legal dodging [Internet]. The Hindu Centre for Politics and Public Policy; 2017 Jan 27 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.thehinducentre.com/the-arena/current-issues/article9502154.ece>.
3. Ever signed an online petition? How effective are they? [Internet]. The News Minute; 2015 Apr 23 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.thenewsminute.com/article/ever-signed-online-petition-how-effective-are-they>.
4. Gladwell M. Small Change [Internet]. The New Yorker; 2010 Oct 4 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-malcolm-gladwell>.
5. Gnanagurunathan AD. The jallikattu protests are a sign that new politics is possible in Tamil Nadu [Internet]. The Wire; 2017 Jan 29 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://thewire.in/103783/jalikattu-protests-tamil-nadu-politics/>.
6. Iyer A. Jallikattu protestors stand firm: 'We'll go home only after SC lifts ban' [Internet]. Hindustan Times; 2017 Jan 20 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/jallikattu-protesters-stand-firm-at-marina-beach-on-day-4-we-ll-go-home-only-after-sc-ban-is-lifted/story-PbSoQQV9de8P1bPTOGnbUP.html>.
7. Jain S. 101 Latest social media facts and stats from India – 2016 [Internet]. 2016 Dec 16 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.soravjain.com/social-media-facts-and-stats-india-2016>.
8. Jain S. Growing Facebook Users in Tamil Nadu [Internet]. 2015 June 18 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.soravjain.com/facebook-users-in-tamil-nadu>.

- //www.soravjain.com/growing-facebook-users-tamil-nadu-chennai.
9. Jallikattu issue sub judice, but we will back TN, says Modi [Internet]. The Hindu; 2017 Jan 19 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/Jallikattu-issue-sub-judice-but-we-will-back-TN-says-Modi/article17059806>. Ece.
 10. Kannan K. Despite SC ban, jallikattu bulls released at Alanganallur [Internet]. The New Indian Express; 2017 Jan 16 [cited Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2017/jan/16/despite-sc-ban-jallikattu-bulls-released-at-alanganallur-1560115--1>. Html.
 11. Kumar GP. Has The Jallikattu Uprising Created A New Political Space In Tamil Nadu? [Internet]. HuffPost India; 2017 Jan 21 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from http://www.huffingtonpost.in/2017/01/21/does-the-jallikattu-uprising-hint-at-the-rise-of-a-new-kind-of-p_a_21659794/.
 12. Mariappan J. Tamil Nadu will be declared drought-hit state, CM says [Internet]. The Times of India; 2017 Jan 10 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/tamil-nadu-will-be-declared-drought-hit-state-cm-says/articleshow/56442169>. Cms.
 13. Morozov E. Why social movements should ignore social media [Internet]. New Republic; 2013 Feb 13 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://newrepublic.com/article/112189/social-media-doesnt-always-help-social-movements>.
 14. Pongal now a compulsory holiday as Centre gives in to Tamil Nadu's demand [Internet]. Firstpost; 2017 Jan 10 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.firstpost.com/politics/pong-al-now-a-compulsory-holiday-as-centre-gives-in-to-tamil-nadus-demand-3197396>. html.
 15. Press Trust of India. 46 arrested for violating jallikattu ban [Internet]. The Hindu. 2015 Jan 18 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/46-arrested-for-violating-jallikattu-ban-in-salem-district-of-tamil-nadu/article6799135>. Ece.
 16. Radhakrishnan RK. No #jallikattu type agitations will happen now. #jallikattu happened because of #Tamilnadu #police laxity, believe officials [Internet]. 2017 Sep 1 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <https://twitter.com/RKRadhakrishn/status/903873487437053952>.
 17. Ram A. Behind the bull story: Depoliticisation of campuses [Internet]. The Times of India; 2017 Jan 20 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/behind-the-bull-story-depoliticisation-of-campus/articleshow/56673942.cms>.
 18. Ramasubramanian R. (2017, January 23). Jallikattu protestors battle Tamil Nadu police, but for many, Modi, Centre are main target [Internet]. The Wire; 2017 Jan 23 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Retrieved from <https://thewire.in/101989/suppression-of-anti-modi-sentiments-at-marina-beach-undermines-media-credibility/>.
 19. Sebastian S. How the jallikattu protests became an expression of Tamil anger against Modi and the Centre [Internet]. The Caravan; 2017 Jan 25 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/vantage/jallikattu-tamil-anger-modi-centre>.
 20. Subramanian TS. Brutal crackdown [Internet]. Frontline; 2017 Feb 17 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.frontline.in/cover-story/brutal-crackdown/article9511296>. Ece.
 21. Sundaram RM. Chennai's Marina beach turns into Tahrir Square for jallikattu democracy [Internet]. The New Indian Express; 2017 Jan 18 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/cities/chennai/2017/jan/18/chennais-marina-beach-turns-into-tahrir-square-for-jallikattu-democracy-1560841.html>.
 22. Times News Network. 'AIADMK should take responsibility for continuous ban on jallikattu' [Internet]. The Times of India; 2017 Jan 4 [cited 2017 Oct 15]. Available from <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/aiadmk-should-take-responsibility-for-continuous-ban-on-jallikattu/articleshow/56322037>. Cms.

Date of Submission: 2018-09-17

Date of Acceptance: 2018-09-30