Jallikattu - Beyond a Heroism Sport for SKCRF

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Case Study

On 12 January 2016, Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy, Head of Senaapathy Kangayam Cattle Research Foundation (SKCRF) in Tamil Nadu, was looking worried due to the unexpected stay imposed by the Supreme Court on organizing Jallikattu sport. *Jallikattu/Eru Thazhuvuthal* (bull baiting) is an ancient Tamil sport played in the rural regions of Tamil Nadu state in India. Considered as a sport depicting valour and strength in the youth, this sport is played during Pongal, a Tamil harvest festival celebrated in the month of January every year. According to villagers and breed saviour groups, *Jallikattu* plays a very important role in providing an incentive for saving the indigenous breeds of the country, which are on the verge of extinction. A ban on this sport imposes a huge drop in the motivation behind rearing these sought after native bulls. As the Convention on Biological Diversity states to support traditional practices, which can conserve traditional breeds, breed saviours like Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy, on one hand, take a stand to remove the unjustified blanket ban on the sport. On the other hand, animal lover groups are against *Jallikattu* as they feel that the sport harms the bulls.

In May 2014, Supreme Court of India banned Jallikattu on the grounds that bulls cannot be allowed as performing animals. In 2015, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu appealed to Indian Prime Minister to denotify bulls from the list of performing animals and lift the ban on Jallikattu stating it to be an ancient Tamil sport. However, the ban continued to stay and Jallikattu was not organized in 2015. The recent stay on 12 January 2016 was completely unexpected and shocking. It was just five days before, on 7 January 2016, the environment ministry, at the behest of the central government, issued a new notification on the grounds of tradition that the bulls can be exhibited or trained as a performing animal at events such as Jallikattu in Tamil Nadu and bullock cart races in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, Haryana, Kerala and Gujarat. Continuous effort of breed saviours like Mr. Karthikeya and other likeminded people to lift the ban on Jallikattu for past few years went for a toss when Supreme Court imposed the stay. After this stay, Mr. Karthikeya was left without any directions on how to address the decline in Tamil Nadu's indigenous cattle numbers. Due to the involvement of various stakeholders (government supreme court, animal welfare boards, and breed saviour groups) with conflicting objectives, the dynamics of decision making to settle this issue were very complicated, confusing, and time consuming for Mr. Karthikeya.

Even after a year of unexpected stay imposed on the ban, farmers and several breed saviour groups were unsuccessful in lifting the ban on Jallikattu. Even though Mr. Karthikeya along with other supporting groups have made progress in creating awareness among different stakeholders on the importance of Jallikattu, they felt helpless in achieving their objective of playing the traditional sport. On 12 January 2017 with Pongal festival approaching in next couple of days, Mr. Karthikeya was reflecting on the entire journey they have travelled to lift the ban and was questioning if they would succeed in organizing Jallikattu at least for the year 2017.

History of Jallikattu

Jallikattu/Eru Thazhuvuthal (hugging the bull) is an ancient Indian sport played in the rural regions of Tamil Nadu state in India and it roughly translates to a prize of coins the winner of the sport collects (Jalli/Salli refers to coins while kattu refers to a bag) (Hindustan Times, 2017). Firstly, a bull is released into a crowd within an enclosure and a participant tries to catch hold of the bulls hump on its back and hold on to it while the bull tries to break free. Participants are required to hang on to the bulls hump for one minute or upto a marked area, trying to bring the bull to a stop. In some variants of game, they are required to remove the flags attached to the horns or cloth pouch with coins tied to the horns of the bull (The Hindu, 2008).

Many explanations exist about the origin of Jallikattu. One such theory mentions that before the advent of technology and tractors, bulls were used to plough the land. Before the ploughing and seeding season started, bulls were allowed to mate with cows. This would make the bulls docile and thereby work better in the field. Once the ploughing is done, farming begins and there would be no need for cattle to be present in the farm. So the farmers would let them loose in graze lands away from village. This is good for farmers too, as bulls and cows won't enter the farm fields and cattle would give birth to their young ones. But once the harvest is finished, bulls would be needed to gaze the leftovers in the farms, excrete manure which serves as a natural fertilizer for the soil and also to transport the harvest. But the bulls now would be hard to control as they got used to the freedom for past few months. So all the youngsters in the village get together and go on a mission to bring back the bulls. Since these bulls have no ropes or rings tied to them, the only way to get them under control is by holding their hump. Since this is a highly risky and takes lots of guts, the owner of the bulls generally offer prize money to those who capture the bull. Hence this explanation suggests that in order to save the bulls as well as the tradition, Jallikattu was introduced (The News Minute, 2016). Another explanation states that this sport was played to win the bull owners' daughter's hand. Whenever a girl child was born in a family, the father bought a cow and a male calf. As the child grew up into a damsel the calf was nurtured to become a ferocious bull. The man who tames it in Jallikattu won the woman as bride. (The Hindu, 2015)

The seals of the Indus Valley civilisation depict this sport and thereby confirms with evidence that the sport has been in existence for more than 5,000 years (The Hindu, 2017). Ancient Tamil poetry, i.e. Sangam literature which dated back to 2 CE – 2 BC also had many detailed references of this sport (Hindustan Times, 2017). In a note, one of the British officers, J.H. Nelson, said "this is a game worthy of a bold and free people, and it is to be regretted that certain district collectors should have discouraged it under the idea that it was somewhat dangerous" (Thurston, 1909).

History of Banning Jallikattu

In 2006, Nagarajan of Madurai moved a petition for ban on Jallikattu events. This was in response to an incident where his son was killed during a Jallikattu event in 2004. His son was sketching a picture of a Jallikattu event at Alanganallur from the gallery where one of the bulls pounced on him and caused serious injuries which lead to death subsequently (The Times of India, 2017). On 27th November 2010, Supreme Court allowed the sport to be played for a period of 5 months in a year and also directed district collectors

to make sure that the bulls are registered with Animal Welfare Board of India (AWBI). The AWBI in turn had to send its representatives to monitor the event (Sify News, 2011). Then in 2011, Ministry of Environment and Forests issued a notification indicating the ban of use of bulls as performing animals, which lead to the banning Jallikattu. However, it was still being conducted in accordance to the rules mentioned in the Tamil Nadu Regulation of the Jallikattu act, 2009 **(Exhibit 1)**. Subsequently, in May 2014, Supreme Court of India banned Jallikattu on the grounds that bulls cannot be allowed as performing animals (PETA India, 2014). In 2015, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu appealed to Indian Prime Minister to denotify bulls from the list of performing animals and lift the ban on Jallikattu stating it is an ancient Indian sport. However, the ban continued to stay and there were no Jallikattu sport organized in 2015.

On 7th January 2016, the environment ministry, at the behest of the central government, issued a new notification on the grounds of tradition that the bulls can be exhibited or trained as performing animals, at events such as Jallikattu in Tamil Nadu. This decision to allow Jallikattu, days before traditional harvest festival Pongal, had come through a government notification despite strong objections by animal rights groups (The Daily Excelsior, 2016).

In an unexpected turn of events, 5 days later, i.e. on 12th January 2016 the Supreme Court issued a stay order. It had directed that there shall be stay of notification dated 7th January, 2016 issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF) (Deccan Chronicle, 2016). This meant that the continuous effort of Mr. Karthikeya and other likeminded people to lift the ban on Jallikattu for past few years went for a toss.

The issue of Jallikattu had a far reaching impact on other Indian states too. Inspired by the movement, several other states upped their ante in reviving outlawed traditional animal sports. In Maharashtra, the legislators made demands to lift the ban on the traditional bullock cart racing. In Karnataka, the chief minister announced that he was in favour of holding "Kambala", the traditional cart racing sport. Further, in Assam, the call for revival of a bird fight at an annual festival also got the push following the Jallikattu protests (India Today, 2017).

Arguments Supporting the Ban of Jallikattu

Animal lover groups such as Animal Welfare Board of India (AWBI), Federation of Indian Animal Protection Organization (FIAPO) and People for Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) battle for the protection of animals and prevention of cruelty towards them. They opine that the government's note to amend a legislation which is likely to allow use of bulls for Jallikattu will make India appear "backward and archaic" in the eyes of the world (The Indian Express, 2016). Maneka Gandhi led People for Animals (PFA) had strongly condemned the lifting of ban on Jallikattu saying it was against the ideology of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led government (NDTV India, 2016). Niranjan Shanmuganathan, a volunteer of PETA, mentioned that "Jallikattu takes advantage of bulls' natural nervousness as prey animals by deliberately placing them in a terrifying situation in which they are forced to run away from those they rightly perceive as dangerous". Inspectors authorized by the statutory body – the Animal Welfare Board of India, documented that bulls become very frightened by the menacing mob. As a result, they fall, slip, run into barriers and traffic, and even jump off cliffs in desperate attempts to escape, which often leads to severe injuries and death of the animal. (Huffington Post, 2017). PETA India has also claimed that bulls run during races because people hurt them with everything from bare hands to nail-studded sticks, and their tailbones

are broken at each joint (PETA India blog, 2016). A slew of actors and cricketers including Vidya Balan and Virat Kohli have joined the bandwagon by signing a petition which seeks to uphold the ban against the bull-taming sport of Jallikattu in Tamil Nadu. (The Hindu, 2016).

Arguments against the Ban on Jallikattu

According to villagers and breed saviour groups, Jallikattu plays a very important role in saving the indigenous breeds of the country which are on the verge of extinction. The reasoning behind this statement is two-fold. First, Jallikattu becomes an incentive for the farmers to rear a native breed. Second, the offspring of the bull winning the Jallikattu will be decidedly stronger and used as breeding bull. (The Wire, 2017). They argue that ban would worsen this situation because raising the cattle would be less profitable to the farmers leading to reduction in the actual motivation. Also, raising of indigenous breeds and managing the herds by poor farmers for supporting community livelihoods helps in maintaining diversity. According to the Convention on Biological Diversity, direct human involvement in cultivating agricultural biodiversity is "inherently linked to sustainable use" (Imperial Valley News, 2017). If the ban on Jallikattu remains, livestock keepers will be demotivated and be forced to abandon the raising of native livestock. This is a bad news as the rearing of native breeds is already threatened due to onset on new agriculture technology like use of motor pumps, tractors etc. (The Wire, 2017).

Saviors of native breeds and organizations supporting Jallikattu are alarmed by the decreasing population of native breed. Pulikulam cattle, for instance, an indigenous breed with distinct characteristics and known for its valor in Jallikattu sport is on the verge of extinction (The Hindu, 2013). The population of Kangayam bull, which is said to be among the world's most beautiful in terms of form and temperament and one of the six native breeds used to take part in Jallikattu, dropped from 11.7 lakhs in 1990's to 1 lakh in 2016.

Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy invited a group of members and formed the Biodiversity Conservation Council of India to work against the ban on Jallikattu. This council has also come forward in vehement support of this sport. It mentions in its report that "during Jallikattu, the bulls are not harmed or tormented". Unlike the Spanish sport, there is no fighting the bull at all. In fact one of the main rules of Jallikattu strictly followed by the organizers is that a single drop of the bull's blood cannot be spilt on the ground (Biodiversity Conservation Council of India, 2017). Supporters also believe that Jallikattu not only provides scope for fighters to showcase their bravery but also signifies honor.

Mr. Rohatgi, the former Attorney-General of India (arguing for the central government), said that "In Jallikattu, if anyone dies, it is always the man and never the bull. Certain species of bulls are trained, fed, nourished for Jallikattu alone. Certain breeds are meant to do certain things. If they don't, they will die." (The Hindu, 2016). According to Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy, Jallikattu dates back thousands of years to the ancient Indus Valley civilization and has been till date seen as a breeding activity to support small and landless farmers who cannot afford to have breeding bulls (PRI, 2016).

Many supporters of the ban feel sorry for the animals which are subjected to alleged cruelty. But others have found this argument to be untenable and baseless. Out of tens of thousands of events in the past many years, only very few bulls have got injured and much few have died. Environmentalist and Journalist, Nityanand Jayaraman reported,

> *"I witnessed Jallikattu during the Pongal festival of 1995, when I visited the Alanganallur Jallikattu and the home of a bull-rearer. The bull was tied in the front yard, and was seemingly contented. It looked well-fed, healthy and far better cared for than many of the agricultural laborers who lived in the colony behind the village. The farmer told me that she tended to the bull with great care and love "like the eldest son in the household"."* (scroll.in, 2017)

Actor and social activist, Kamal Hassan, expressed his grief and said *that "for thousands of years it has been known as a sport where we embrace the bull. It is not to be confused with what happens in Spain"* (The Hindu, 2017). Actor Rajanikanth said *"bring in whatever rules but Jallikattu must be held to keep up the traditions of our Tamil culture"* (Hindustan Times, 2017). Another well-known Indian actor and founder of Agaram Foundation, Surya mentioned that *"several of our bulls are becoming extinct. Introduce a few regulations, but do not abolish the sport. We need to protect our native breed and the animals are part of our identity and culture. I hope the Supreme Court doesn't ban this sport"* (The Times of India, 2017). Many others have resorted to social media to support for this issue (**Exhibit 2**).

Although there is alleged incitement of the bulls by biting and twisting the tails, poking with sticks and using irritants, supporters argue that it happens in very few cases and it doesn't cause much harm. As far as the deaths of bulls are considered, only two cases have been reported to have had injuries and that too not through the sport but by falling into the agricultural well. Further there is only one documented incident of death of bull, which they claim is not integral to the event itself (Sportskeeda, 2017)

Senaapathy Kangayam Cattle Research Foundation

Senaapathy Kangayam Cattle Research Foundation (SKCRF) is situated in Kuttapalayam village, Tirupur District, Tamil Nadu, India. The foundation's vision is to act as an "in-situ" conservation and breeding centre for the Kangayam Breed. The foundation is pro-active in raising awareness about the Kangayam breed and the social, cultural and heritage value of Korangadu, a unique silvi pasture grazing system found in western Tamil Nadu (Ganesan, Nambi & Sivasenapathy, 2012). The Foundation aimed to raise awareness about native breeds, explore ways to protect Kangayam breed, contribute to debate on animal genetic resources and influence state policies. Currently it is headed by its chairman Mr. K. Saminathan Sivasenapathy and managed by its managing Trustee Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy who belongs to the eighth generation breeders of Kangayam cattle in his family. Due to the emergence of Jallikattu issue, this organization and its managing trustee, Karthikeya Sivasenapathy was actively involved in protesting against the ban on Jallikattu.

The Foundation has worked immensely to popularize the importance of native breeds. Recognizing his efforts, during a recent meeting in Kenya, Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy was nominated to the newly-constituted World Pastoral Parliament (WPP) (The Hindu, 2016)**.**

Stand of Different Stakeholders

Animal welfare organizations – Organizations like PETA and AWBI are in favor of banning this event. Their primary objective is to protect animal rights. As they believe that Jallikattu is a menace that is violent in nature, they are making continuous efforts in ensuring that the bulls are not tortured.

Farmers & cattle breeders- These are people who will be the most affected by implementation of the ban. They are heavily dependent on cattle which will result in short-term and long-term implications. Both their personal as well as farming lives are interwoven to the bulls in question. They don't see ban as a favorable outcome.

Other villagers - For all these people, Jallikattu is a matter of pride as it represents ancient tradition, culture and the way of life in rural India. They are also major participants against the ban and are likely to be affected in long term due to this ban.

Saviors of native breeds and affiliated organizations – People who are concerned about the dwindling population of the native cattle population. They believe that age old practices like Jallikattu, Kambala, Rekala, etc are indeed social institutions established to safeguard the bulls. They extend their support against the ban. By belonging to this group of stakeholders, Karthikeya Sivasenapathy played a crucial role with other like-minded people to spread the awareness on the importance of Jallikattu for saving native breeds.

Urban youth and celebrities – Even though they have very little firsthand experience of participating or witnessing this sport, they played a crucial role in attracting the attention of media (both domestic and foreign) and government towards this sport and the imposed ban. Several of them clearly expressed their support for Jallikattu in different media platforms.

Government – Central government has been caught up in Jallikattu turmoil. It's in a fix as it has to satisfy the concerns of state government and also of the people of Tamil Nadu. In this regard, it has passed notifications allowing the continuance of this event but it's at continuous loggerheads with the judicial system. On the other hand the state government of Tamil Nadu is determined to echo the sentiments of the general public, i.e. opposing the ban. It is trying to persuade central government to resolve this issue once and for all.

Judiciary – Judicial system, independent of government is responsible in taking decisions considering the moral, legal and ethical norms. Most of the times, it has been opposed to the idea of Jallikattu and it has given rulings in line with the same. It had initially tried to regulate the sport by prescribing elaborate safeguards. It became apparent in later years that those safeguards were not being followed. The court struck down the law passed by the state, i.e. the Tamil Nadu Regulation of Jallikattu Act, as unconstitutional and also opined that tradition cannot be used as a means to justify every act happening in the society. (Hindustan Times, 2016)

Media – Media has played a key role in bringing this issue to the light. They have comprehensively brought into open the various arguments revolving Jallikattu. They have taken this movement to the masses and one cannot discount the role it played in propagating this event from state to international level.

Way forward

Due to the Supreme Court stay issued on 12th January 2016, Mr. Karthikeya was left without any directions on how to address the decline in Tamil Nadu's indigenous cattle numbers. Villagers of many rural regions

in Tamil Nadu and breed saviour groups including SKCRF were against the stay issued by the Supreme Court on lifting the ban on "Jallikattu". On 12 January 2017, even after a year from the imposition of unexpected stay on the ban, nothing has changed and several breed saviour groups were unsuccessful in lifting the ban on Jallikattu. Mr. Karthikeya actively participated to create awareness on the importance of Jallikattu in Tamil Nadu by joining hands with other supporting groups (Deccan Chronicle, 2017). As the parties involved were government, judiciary and animal lover groups, the contribution of a single entity (i.e. the foundation) was not sufficient to solve the issue. The Foundation was making attempts to reach the significance of this issue to the ultimate powerful stakeholder group in a democracy – the common people. The foundation was also reluctant as their bargaining power in the whole Jallikattu effort has been very minimal. On 12 January 2017 with Pongal festival approaching in next couple of days, Mr. Karthikeya was thinking on what he with his team should do for achieving a solution to save the sport and thereby save the indigenous breeds of the region.

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Exhibit 1 - Rules mentioned under the 2009 Tamil Nadu Regulation of the Jallikattu act

"No permission under sub-section shall be granted to any person, to conduct the event, unless the Collector satisfies himself that -
- The event is conducted during the months from January to May of a year;
- The place selected is suitable for orderly conduct of the event;
- The event should have been conducted during the past five years continuously;
- The event shall be held at a place notified by the Collector in the District Gazette"

Source: Tamil Nadu Government Gazette Extraordinary, "Section 3(2) of Tamil Nadu Regulation of Jallikattu Act, 2009", August 5th, 2009, accessed 18th February, 2019, http://www.lawsofindia.org/pdf/tamil_nadu/2009/2009TN27.pdf

Exhibit 2 - Twitter Posts of Few Celebrities on Jallikattu

S. No.	Tweeted by	Tweet	Date
1	Viswanathan Anand	Jallikattu is a cultural symbol. Respect it. I'm all for animal rights but here that is not the point. Tradition and livelihood are.	19 Jan 2017
	Source: Tweet available at https://twitter.com/vishy64theking/status/8219308105090333472?lang=en (last accessed on 1 October 2019)		
2	Ashwin Ramachandran	Scenes of peaceful protest all around TN. Unity, peace and resolve will show our plea in the right light.	18 Jan 2017
	Source: Tweet available at https://twitter.com/ashwinravi99/status/821638717764960258?lang=en (last accessed on 1 October 2019)		
3	A. R. Rahman	I'm fasting tomorrow to support the spirit of Tamilnadu!	19 Jan 2017
	Source: Tweet available at https://twitter.com/arrahman/status/822044036823326720?lang=en (last accessed on 1 October 2019)		
4	G. V. Prakash Kumar	Please give our rights back. We want Jallikattu every Tamil citizen wants it. You cannot ignore for sure @narendramodi ji	18 Jan 2017
	Source: Tweet available at https://twitter.com/gvprakash/status/821628605226749953 (last accessed on 1 October 2019)		

Teaching Note / Instructor's Manual

Synopsis

Case is centered on Senaapathy Kangayam Cattle Research Foundation (SKCRF) whose primary aim is conservation and breeding of native breeds of cattle. The protagonist of the case, Karthikeya Sivasenapathy, managing trustee of this foundation has invested significant efforts to create awareness on the importance of Jallikattu. Jallikattu is an ancient Indian sport played in the rural regions of Tamil Nadu state in India and has been in existence for over 5000 years. This issue has come into limelight due to its initial ban by the Supreme Court of India in 2014 and its subsequent stay on the ban in 2016. While there are several arguments surrounding this controversy, the arguments can be broadly classified under those who support the ban (i.e. oppose Jallikattu) and those who oppose the ban (i.e. support Jallikattu). Due to the involvement of various stakeholders (government supreme court, animal welfare boards, and breed saviour groups) with conflicting objectives, the dynamics of decision making to settle this issue became very complicated, confusing, and time consuming for Mr. Karthikeya. By using the lens of institution and stakeholder theory, we explain the issue around Jallikattu in this teaching note. Teaching note also documents the unfolding of events that happened after 12 January 2017 which succeeded in lifting the ban on Jallikattu.

Learning objectives

The learning objectives have been prepared in accordance to the Blooms Taxonomy (Bloom, Engelhart, Furst, Hill, & Krathwohl, 1984). After completion of this case, participants would be able to:

1. Examine and expand the concept of institutions (i.e. a sport as an institution in this case) and understand how important it is to incorporate them in the policy level decision making *(Knowledge)*
2. Understand a different form of social institution (i.e. Jallikattu) and capture its relevance for all the involved stakeholders by taking into consideration the challenges that could stem from their interplay *(Application)*
3. Analyze the interests of various stakeholders and their concerns that adds to the complexity of a socially relevant issue *(Analysis)*
4. Integrate the developments of an event (i.e. Jallikattu) over its timeline and develop an action plan for being prepared or for resolving such exigencies, especially for public policy decision making *(Synthesis)*

Position in course

The case is written for undergraduate and graduate-level students pursuing business programs and for senior management professionals participating in the executive education programs. The case is suitable for those

who are expected to work in an environment where there is a multitude of complex, formal as well as informal institutions. This case can be used to teach the concepts of institutions, the dynamics involved and to give the flavor of the interactions between these different institutions in solving a social issue. It will fit well into courses on strategic management, social responsibility and institutional theory.

Relevant Readings

1. Björck, A. (2016). Crisis typologies revisited: An interdisciplinary approach. *Central European Business Review*, *5*(3), 25-37.
2. Crane, A., & Ruebottom, T. (2011). Stakeholder theory and social identity: Rethinking stakeholder identification. *Journal of business ethics*, *102*(1), 77-87.
3. Kalaiyarasan, A. "Politics of Jallikattu." *Economic & Political Weekly* 52, no. 6 (2017): 10-13.
4. Mitchell, R. K., Agle, B. R., & Wood, D. J. (1997). Toward a theory of stakeholder identification and salience: Defining the principle of who and what really counts. Academy of management review, 22(4), 853-886.
5. Reed, M. S., Graves, A., Dandy, N., Posthumus, H., Hubacek, K., Morris, J. & Stringer, L. C. (2009). Who's in and why? A typology of stakeholder analysis methods for natural resource management. Journal of environmental management, 90(5), 1933-1949.
6. Zhou, R., & Kaplanidou, K. (2018). Building social capital from sport event participation: An exploration of the social impacts of participatory sport events on the community. Sport Management Review, 21(5), 491-503.
    In addition to reading the above-listed research articles, participants are also encouraged to read *Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (1960)* and *Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in Animals (Regulation of Livestock markets) Rules (2017).*

Assignment questions

1. Is *Jallikattu* a social institution and/or cultural right'? How did it form and how has it evolved over time *(Knowledge)*?

2. Should *Jallikattu* be banned *(Comprehension)*? Given the political, social and cultural background of the sport, what are the potential ways in which different stakeholders (both external and internal) can come together to holistically solve the problem *(Synthesis)?* Answer this question by taking views of different stakeholders.

3. What are the key aspects of institutions that a decision maker has to consider to ensure that the interests of different stakeholders are not affected *(Evaluation)?*

4. If the ban on the sport is not lifted, what strategy could the involved stakeholders including Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy deploy to conserve the native breeds *(Synthesis)?*

Teaching plan

The instructor is suggested to ensure that participants are well informed about the theoretical concepts of social institutions and stakeholders. In line with the same, participants should be informed about areas like collective action problems, the dynamics of complex problems involving multiple stakeholders, peculiarities of informal institutions and related decision making (see the materials listed under Relevant Readings).

Following this, the instructor can distribute the case and provide brief background on the case along with its decision-making points. After three to four days of preparation time, the case can be taken up for classroom discussion. When concluding the discussion, instructors can summarize the case analysis and connect the case to the concepts learned in the course. This case offers an excellent scope for roleplay and same has been added in question 2. We have devised a broad outline and participants are expected to form teams representing various stakeholders and bring out the nuances of the phenomenon.

Suggested time plan for case discussion in a 90-minute class session:

Discussion Point	Time (in Minutes)
Brief introduction of the concepts by the instructor	5
Introducing the case facts (presentation by two groups for 5 minutes each)	10
Four assignment question	
• Question 1: Discussion about evolution of Jallikattu	10
• Question 2: Roleplay about ban on Jallikattu by different stakeholders and discussion	30
• Question 3: Discussion about various institutional aspects the decision maker needs to consider	10
• Question 4: Thought exercise regarding the way forward for the protagonist.	10
Recommendations (presentation by two groups for 5 minutes each)	10
Conclusion by the instructor	5
Total	90 Minutes

Analysis

1. **Is *Jallikattu* a social institution and/or cultural right'? How did it form and how has it evolved over time?**

Society is made up of individuals. In the course of their daily life, all of them have several wants and needs to be satisfied. In doing so, the individuals act in certain customary ways. These customary ways when repeated for a long period becomes a norm. In order to bind various individuals of the society to follow the norms in order to achieve the needs/objectives of individuals collectively, institutions are established which

have several interrelated norms. Few examples of institutions are schools, colleges, places of worship, etc. When we take a step further and consider the societal needs as the primary objective, shared expectations are given a priority in comparison to individual needs. When such norms are formalized to define the behavior and conduct of several individuals, then it gives rise to a social institution. "Institutions are humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic, and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions and codes of conduct), and formal constraints (constitutions, laws, property rights)" (North, 1991). Social institutions are those created by people from social relationships in society to meet basic needs such as stability, law, governance, etc. They organize the behavior of an individual by the means of norms. Throughout the literature, there are multitude of characteristics associated with the social institutions. We consider the ones stated by Chapin (1927) that are capable of objective treatment:

- First, it arises in response to elemental needs or desires
- Second, common reciprocating attitudes and conventional behavioral patterns arise due to process of interaction
- Third, cultural objects that embody symbolic values in material substances are invented and become cue stimuli to behavior conditioned to them
- Finally there is a description or specification of patterns of relationship which is preserved orally or in a written form

Upon closer examination of Jallikattu, one can understand that Jallikattu is more than a sport. It is seen as a means to protect native breeds and develop stronger off-springs. Jallikattu was an essential need in ancient days where agriculture was heavily dependent on animals and stronger bulls indicated effective agriculture. Jallikattu might have been instituted initially to passively take care of the elementary agricultural needs. This might have led to a unique but commonly identifiable behavioural patterns exhibited by bull owners to address the aforementioned objectives. This then matures to become an integral part of the culture, thereby giving rise to a set of practices and rules (more informally a "game"), which become cue to the behaviour conditioned in them. And of course, added to this are the specifications of the game that have been passing on in the oral form from generations to generations. This evolution clearly shows how Jallikattu is necessarily a social institution and how it evolved in response to the needs of the society.

There is no standard framework that addresses how institutions evolve and interact. Due to the multiple perspectives and tools, understanding evolution of institutions becomes an even more complicated process. To address the same, we have considered a simple framework proposed by Woodhill (2008) which deliberately takes a broader perspective. The framework is based on four institutional domains - meaning,

association, control and action (**Exhibit TN-1**). The first component that contributes to creation of an institution is the meaning. Meaning arises from the beliefs, norms and values people in certain sections of society hold. In our case, Jallikattu evolved as a response to the strong concern about the native breeds when the question arose about how to make them relevant and save them from extinction (*Meaning* domain). In order to sustain this institution, the framework suggests that well defined functions, products or services would be established. In the case of Jallikattu, this could be achieved by creating incentives to the farmers to rear native breeds (*Action* domain). Further, to strengthen the institution, we create mandates, policies and strategies in order to set the boundaries and formalise. Accordingly in the case of Jallikattu, a social institution in the name of Jallikattu is created in the form of a game (with its own set of rules and mandates), which invokes pride and local culture (*Control* domain). And finally, organisations and networks are built which overlook the conduct and upkeep of such institution. In case of Jallikattu, to monitor the game, rules are created to reinforce and support the whole structure (*Association* domain). This is one of the ways to understand the evolution of Jallikattu as a social institution.

2. **Should *Jallikattu* be banned *(Comprehension)*? Given the political, social and cultural background of the sport, what are the potential ways in which different stakeholders (both external and internal) can come together to holistically solve the problem *(Synthesis)?* Answer this question by taking views of different stakeholders.**

Summary of arguments FOR and AGAINST Jallikattu are listed below:

FOR

1. Preserving the Breed: Traditional sport sees native male bulls being raised for the sole purpose of breeding, it works as an effective way to conserve the native breeds of the region. The banning of Jallikattu must then mean that it is only be a matter of time before these native breeds go extinct

2. Way to handpick the strongest bulls: as studs for their cows so that, in turn, they may sire high-quality calves.

3. Jallikattu wasn't designed to be cruel: It is festival to celebrate the contributions of the breed towards farming. As competing bulls, are decorated and garlanded, and for their owners, who would stand in line with them. They are well-fed, healthy and far better cared for than many of the agricultural laborers who lived in the colony behind the village. They are more like one of their family.

4. Jallikattu is played by rules: Inflicting pain on the animal, even if it is only to good the animal is not part of the equation and certainly not the tradition, say farmers and other observers.

5. Jallikattu bulls are treated better than animals used other sports, farming and religious activities: Horse racing which happens all throughout the year, the plight of a hybrid Jersey (milk cow) is a life of pain, exploitation and poisoning, elephants used in temples, castrating bulls and neutering dogs.

6. It is a double standard stance: Events like Bull run and Bull fighting(Which is a much cruel sport compared to Jallikattu) happening in developed countries like USA and SPAIN are not banned, In that case why is PETA a US based trying to ban a rural sport.

7. Ancient tradition that goes back thousands of years, Jallikattu should be preserved rather banning.

AGAINST

1. Jallikattu takes advantage of bulls' natural nervousness: as prey animals by deliberately placing them in a terrifying situation in which they are forced to run away from those they rightly perceive as dangerous

2. Represents exploitation of bulls for entertainment

3. Danger to human life as some runners get gored. Nearly 200 people have died in the past two decades.

4. Animal torture being documented: There are few instances of lemons being squeezed into the bulls' eyes, chili powder rubbed on to their genitals, the force-feeding of liquor and even cases of the animal having its tail twisted and bitten – have been brought to light.

5. Cruelty in the name of traditions can't be accepted.

Instructor can adopt role play to effectively answer this question in class. The class can be split into different stakeholders listed in the case study and can be grouped broadly into two groups, one that argues FOR Jallikattu and another that argues AGAINST Jallikattu. The case is deliberately left unresolved and the participants are expected to engage in a simulated stakeholder dialogue process to find a common ground. The instructor can allow different stakeholders to negotiate and interact to arrive at a solution for the issue in discussion. Instructor can moderate the discussion by ensuring all the below listed points are included.

Roleplay

Stakeholders: (1) Breed saviour groups (includes farmers and cattle breeders), (2) Animal rights activists, (3) Political group, and (4) Common people.

Title: The ban on Jallikattu – Perspectives of Different Stakeholders

Duration: 30 minutes

Learning outcomes: Understand, discuss and introspect the intentions of all the stakeholder and arrive at a set of solutions aimed at addressing the Jallikattu ban issue.

Participant's requirements:

Before the roleplay: The participants must be able to describe and understand the complex problem clearly. They are expected to gather relevant information taking into account the larger context. In addition, all the stakeholders and their stakes involved have to be identified.

During the roleplay: The participants should be able to initiate the discussion with relevant stakeholders, communicate respective goals properly, listen to others with open mind, make assumptions explicit, communicate respectfully about any disagreements, work together to achieve a common ground and collaboratively come up with innovative and convincing solutions.

*Teaching plan (*Refer **Exhibit TN-2***)*

After the case is discussed and before the roleplay commences, the instructor is required to divide the participants into four stakeholder groups as mentioned above. The group needs to explain their roles and is required to convene a meeting of each team to prepare for the upcoming presentation.

In the course of the debate, the following arguments may be covered in the support and opposition of the ban. The instructor is required to moderate the discussion in such a way that all the listed points are covered. Any other new innovative solutions should also be encouraged.

Indicative list of stakeholder wise arguments for and against the ban

Stakeholder Group 1: Breed saviour groups (Includes farmers and cattle breeders) - Arguments in opposition of the ban

- Jallikattu might be one of the most viable means of saving native breeds from extinction. Because of increased use of tractors and other latest technology in farming, bulls can turn redundant and farmers might not have any incentive to rear them. This sport provides them an incentive to raise these animals, thereby maintaining diversity and support community livelihood.

- Ban on this sport will adversely impact all those involved in it for livelihood and other sources of income. Also, this sport has such a long history and social connect, that the ban may deeply affect the sentiments of people.

- Bulls are not merely seen as agricultural implements. In rural regions, they are considered equivalent to family members and the entire household is emotionally attached to them. Ban might affect the sentiment and pride people associate with the bulls.

Stakeholder Group 2: Common people – Arguments mostly in opposition of the ban, very few also support the ban

- *Argument against the ban:* This sport represents tradition of Tamil Nadu culture and also is a matter of great pride. Any adverse action might incite restlessness, result in utter chaos and can entail unpleasant consequences. Hence it might not be wise on the part of the government to ban Jallikattu.

- Also there is a concern from the general public as to how can PETA, an international body, understand the value of this sport and question its relevance. The more directly affected stakeholder, the local public, should have say in the upkeep of local traditions.
- *Argument for the ban:* There have also been sporadic instances of humans being hurt or killed in the course of this sport. Hence banning might be necessary to curb these negative externalities.

Stakeholder Group 3: Animal rights activists - Arguments in support of the ban
- This sport seemingly harms the bulls involved in it and also the participating humans. Even though in most of the instances, animals are unhurt, as PETA argued, this sport is based on taking advantage of the bulls' natural nervousness by deliberately placing them in a terrifying situation in which they are forced to run. This can be potentially dangerous for the bulls as well as the humans involved in the sport.
- Reports surfacing have been arguing that bulls are ill-treated before the sport begins. They are hit with everything from bare hands to nail studded sticks and their tailbones are broken at each joint.
- Over the history, many species have disappeared, not merely because of human cruelty, but also due to their non-relevance or lack of survival skills in the current generation. For instance, in a world of ever growing temperatures, many species in tundra regions are going extinct. The Jallikattu bulls might be facing similar fate. As the world changes, some species are bound to become extinct due to their non-relevance. With the emergence of latest technology, bulls are easily replaceable. The bulls in question might indeed be naturally getting extinct and hence there is no need of any special effort to continue a tradition to save them from extinction.

Stakeholder Group 4: Political group – Mostly in the opposition of the ban
- The hidden intent of this stakeholder is to be taken note of. India being a democratic nation, the political parties are subject to elections every five years. This keeps all the political leaders on toes to gain political mileage and hence would support the larger public opinion that's being voiced.
- The ban on the sport has already caused heavy unrest across the state and the public at large wants to conduct it peacefully. Hence the judiciary must accommodate the social sentiments and lift the ban.

Mapping of stakeholders

For the four stakeholders mentioned above, **Exhibit TN-3** depicts the degree of importance, influence and size. Majority of the political groups would mostly oppose the ban and they have the highest degree of influence, moderate importance and but less size. Breed saviours group have lower influence, higher importance and are moderate in size (farmers and cattle breeders also belong to this category). Animal

rights activists have higher influence, low importance, and are low in size. Finally, large proportion of the common public are against the ban. Nevertheless their individual influence is not very high and have moderate importance. Common public draw strength from their large size as they can collectively come together to gain influence over many other stakeholders. Situation analysis and action plans of different stakeholders FOR and AGAINST Jallikattu is presented in **Exhibit TN-4**.

Instructors can encourage participants to lay out the strategic concepts for supporting and opposing the ban and effective crisis management and communication in each scenario, similar to what we have demonstrated below for different stakeholders.

A) Breed saviors group

Objective: To conduct Jallikattu in order to conserve the native breeds.

Accessible resource: Knowledge about the breed and connectedness to village ecosystem.

Assessment of actions and outcomes (on probability, predictability, payoff, influential and affordable)**: Exhibit TN-5**.

B) Animal rights activists

Objective: To ban Jallikattu in order to stop the ill-treatment of bulls.

Accessible resource: Strong global network and sufficient funds compared to breed saviour's

Assessment of actions and outcomes (on probability, predictability, payoff, influential and affordable)**: Exhibit TN-6**

C) Political groups

Objective: Political mileage through the sentiments of local masses

Accessible resource: Power and authority over political system, and public image.

Assessment of actions and outcomes (on probability, predictability, payoff, influential and affordable)**: Exhibit TN-7**.

Discussion on how to amicably solve the issue

The main stakeholders directly involved in this sport are animal welfare organizations, farmers & cattle breeders, other villagers, saviors of native breeds and affiliated organizations. Indirectly, urban youth and celebrities, government, judiciary, and media are also the stakeholders. As the bargaining power of each group in isolation in very limited, it is necessary for all of them to come together and solve this issue amicably. As is understood by the history of the ban on Jallikattu, no one side is emerging victorious and

has resulted in lot of tensions and frictions. Therefore it is in the best interests of all the parties involved to come together and settle the issue.

One way would be to consider an out of court settlement, where multiple parties come on to same floor and take a unilateral decision. This needs to be initiated by organizations like SKCRF which spearheaded the Jallikattu movement. Although this mode will take up lot of time and other resources, it can ensure satisfaction of all the stakeholders involved and more importantly is conducted peacefully. This involves collecting everyone's viewpoints, inviting experts, conducting debates etc.

Another way is to leave the result to the nation's judiciary system. On adopting this approach, it will be important for the law makers at the apex level to be able to sympathise with the sentiments of the locals, which is a key determinant of this issue. And the history shows that this is highly time consuming. An advantage, however, of this approach is that the government ensures enforceability of the decision taken by the judiciary system. Hence it will successfully be able to strengthen or change the existing tradition.

Third option would be for the government to setup a *Jallikattu Committee* that takes the viewpoints of different stakeholders into consideration. Based on the brainstorming, the committee can submit a report for organizing Jallikattu in a peaceful manner, which will be implemented by the government. The suggestions could include strict monitoring (not banning) of the sport, penalties for those harming animals, accessible medical facilities for immediately treating animals and humans that are harmed in the sport, etc.

Protests are another way of tackling this issue. All the stakeholders who oppose the ban, could form major participants of this protest, and keep it apolitical. It will gradually catch the attention of media and also the government. The fact that the whole state of Tamil Nadu was undivided on Jallikattu (irrespective of political leanings), indicates how attached were the people here to this sport. One fuelling factor of the protests is the immense pride Tamilians (residents of Tamil Nadu state) take in their rich cultural heritage. Adding to the same, several institutions and organisations could come forward in support of this sport because of the positive externalities associated. Cattle saviour groups like, Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy, could play a leading role in heading the protest. As the managing trustee of SKCRF, it would be natural for him to fight for the cause tooth and nail as Jallikattu would directly contribute in saving the native breeds which is the primary objective of the organisation. Further the role state government would play in supporting the protests could give this issue a national stage and prominence. It could also actively negotiate with the central government to solve this issue at the earliest. A summary of stakeholder wise responses for each proposed solutions in presented in **Exhibit TN-8**.

3. **What are the key aspects of institutions that a decision maker has to consider to ensure that the interests of different stakeholders are not affected** *(Evaluation)?*

Although there are several ways in which stakeholders interactions can be viewed, we use the Four R's (Dubois, 1998), a tool which can be used to clarify the roles played by different stakeholders and to assess the nature of relationship between them. Many a times, we assume that multiple stakeholders can come together and agree to on a common ground, but we ignore the ingrained differences they possess. These differences are poorly dealt with government, local institutions and other agencies. To improve this, one needs to examine the complex links between policies, markets, institutions and capacities. This framework (**Exhibit TN-9**) is a useful step in this direction. The aspects are only illustrative, participants and instructor can further come up with innovative suggestions for the same. In this way, when 4Rs are analyzed for all the relevant stakeholders, the decision maker has a broader understanding of the issue and is in a better position in making decisions by minimally affecting the interests of different stakeholders.

4. **If the ban on the sport is not lifted, what strategy could the involved stakeholders including Mr. Karthikeya Sivasenapathy deploy to conserve the native breeds** *(Synthesis)?*

A ban on Jallikattu would prove to be very big blow to breed saviour organisations like SKCRF. However, if ban materialises, new strategies have to be adopted. Following would be an illustrative list:

- Although Jallikattu provides incentive for the farmers to rear native breeds due to the presence of good market price for the bulls, there are other issues which threaten the conservation of native breeds like denial of access to water and forests for grazing needs to be taken care of. Hence focus has to also be diverted in providing the same.

- Organic farming is heavily cattle dependent. If organic farming is promoted among the farmers, the cattle would be used for its manure and other uses. This will provide incentive for the farmers to rear the native breeds. Hence promoting organic farming is another way of protecting the native breeds.

- Also by progeny testing of superior bulls of indigenous native breeds and selection of superior offspring and rearing them in government cattle farms, native breeds can be saved. This will lead to formation of superior native breeds and would encourage farmers to use them for agricultural purposes.

- The organisation can tie up with government in implementing and promoting various breed conserving programmes that they undertake.

Epilogue

Even after 11 months, the ban on Jallikattu continued to exist in midst of protests from farmers and several breed saviour groups. In January 2017, the protest to lift the ban grew much bigger with huge population

of youngsters and general public gathering at several locations across the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, with some sporadic smaller protests taking place across India, as well as overseas.

Protest for Jallikattu - One of the main reasons for the widespread popularity of this issue is the level of protests Tamil Nadu witnessed. What began as a small group of around 50 protesters at the Marina Beach in Chennai on 17th January 2017 swelled by evening to around 5,000 people. The call for action spread rapidly through social media. Students whose numbers rose to over a lakh in the week made sure that the protests were largely peaceful. They helped regulate traffic, picked up garbage from the beach and slept overnight on the beach's shores (Hindustan Times, 2017). In rural Tamil Nadu, road blockades with bulls, demonstrations and fasts were organized. Commercial establishments remained closed for quite a few days throughout the state (The Hindu, 2016). The mass movement, although leaderless and largely peaceful, spread across Tamil Nadu on subsequent days with an estimated four lakh people gathering in at least 100 locations including Coimbatore, Trichy, Salem and Madurai (The Indian Express, 2017). Student unions across India displayed their solidarity with the cause and Tamilians across the world responded by peacefully displaying solidarity and protests in front of the Indian embassies in different countries. All these factors combined made this protest a one of its kind in the post-independence history of Tamil Nadu. This made Jallikattu to snowball into a major issue of national interest.

Research Method

We firstly relied on various secondary sources (refer to the three page bibliography in the case study for details) on the issue of Jallikattu and the following protests. We analysed several items in the newspapers, published reports on biodiversity and the literature on institutional theories of organisation and stakeholder theory. Further, we visited SKCRF and interacted with the founder and other employees of the case organisation to design and develop this case. This visit to the case organization gave us further insights about how the protest took a shape, how it evolved and managed to move masses, and what role SKCRF played in that journey.

Exhibits

Exhibit TN-1: A framework for exploring the complexity of institutions
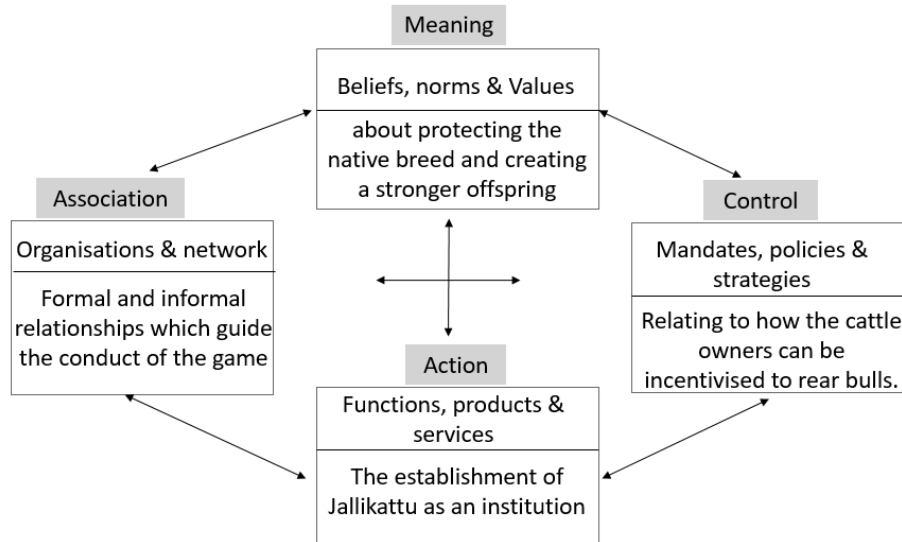
Source: Created by the authors based on Woodhill (2008).

Exhibit TN-2: Teaching Plan for Roleplay

Time allotted	Class activity	Prerequisites
8 Minutes (2 minutes * 4 stakeholder groups)	Stakeholder groups should make a short pitch about their stake and their stand on the ban of Jallikattu	
2 minutes	Transition: All the team mates should be prepared for debate with all other stakeholders	Attend the case discussion and selectively glance the relevant readings.
10 Minutes	Conduct a dialogue session to identify areas of agreement and disagreement.	
10 Minutes	Finding solutions: Conduct a discussion aimed at finding solutions to address the Jallikattu ban issue.	

Source: Created by the authors
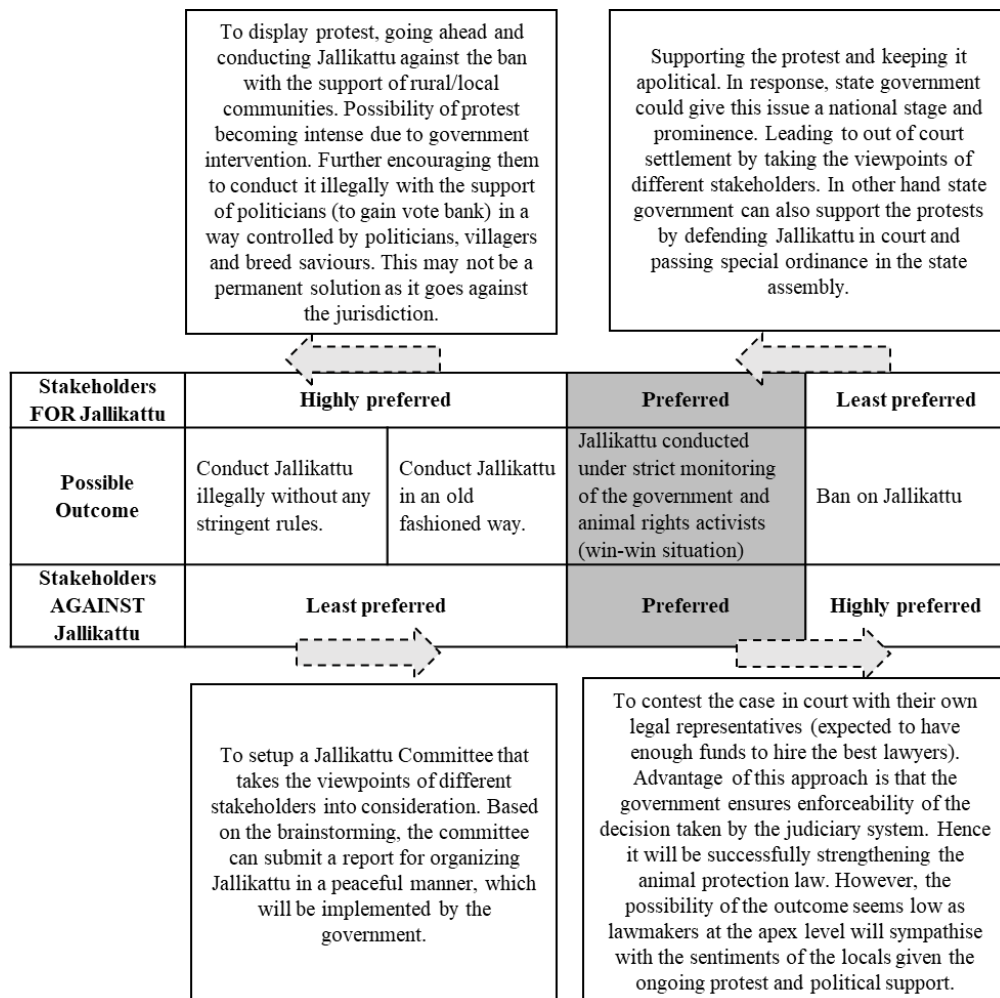
Exhibit TN-3: Mapping of Stakeholders

Mapping of Stakeholders

Stakeholder	Importance	Influence	Size
Political groups	Low	High	Low
Breed Saviours	High	Low	Moderate
Animal Rights activists	Low	High	Low
Common people	Moderate	Low	High

Importance, Influence & Volume can vary between - Low/Moderate/High

Source: Created by the authors

Exhibit TN-4: Situation analysis and action plans of stakeholders FOR and AGAINST Jallikattu

	To display protest, going ahead and conducting Jallikattu against the ban with the support of rural/local communities. Possibility of protest becoming intense due to government intervention. Further encouraging them to conduct it illegally with the support of politicians (to gain vote bank) in a way controlled by politicians, villagers and breed saviours. This may not be a permanent solution as it goes against the jurisdiction.		Supporting the protest and keeping it apolitical. In response, state government could give this issue a national stage and prominence. Leading to out of court settlement by taking the viewpoints of different stakeholders. In other hand state government can also support the protests by defending Jallikattu in court and passing special ordinance in the state assembly.	
Stakeholders FOR Jallikattu	**Highly preferred**		**Preferred**	**Least preferred**
Possible Outcome	Conduct Jallikattu illegally without any stringent rules.	Conduct Jallikattu in an old fashioned way.	Jallikattu conducted under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists (win-win situation)	Ban on Jallikattu
Stakeholders AGAINST Jallikattu	**Least preferred**		**Preferred**	**Highly preferred**
	To setup a Jallikattu Committee that takes the viewpoints of different stakeholders into consideration. Based on the brainstorming, the committee can submit a report for organizing Jallikattu in a peaceful manner, which will be implemented by the government.		To contest the case in court with their own legal representatives (expected to have enough funds to hire the best lawyers). Advantage of this approach is that the government ensures enforceability of the decision taken by the judiciary system. Hence it will be successfully strengthening the animal protection law. However, the possibility of the outcome seems low as lawmakers at the apex level will sympathise with the sentiments of the locals given the ongoing protest and political support.	

Source: Created by the authors

Exhibit TN-5: Strategic output of breed savior's action and common people opposing the ban

PROBABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME	STRATEGIC OUTPUT OF BREED SAVIOURS GROUP AND COMMON PEOPLE'S ACTION OPPOSING THE BAN		PAY OFF FROM FAVORABLE OUTCOME
LOW	**Action:** To display protest, going ahead and conducting Jallikattu against the ban with the support of rural/local communities. **Favorable Outcome:** Possibility of protest becoming intense due to government intervention. Further encouraging them to conduct it illegally with the support of politicians (to gain vote bank) in a way controlled by politicians, villagers and breed saviors (similar to cockfights conducted in Andhra Pradesh, India) (India Today, 2017; The News Mint, 2019). **Payoff:** Conduct Jallikattu without any stringent rules. **Contented Stakeholders:** Villagers, breed saviors and political groups.	**Action:** Leave the result to the nation's judiciary system through legal proceedings (requires huge amount of money for hiring the best lawyers) **Favourable Outcome:** An advantage of this approach is that the government ensures enforceability of the decision taken by the judiciary system. Hence it will successfully be able to strengthen the existing tradition. **Payoff:** Conduct Jallikattu in an old fashioned way **Contented Stakeholders:** Villagers, breed saviors and Political groups.	HIGH
HIGH	**Action:** To support protest and keep it apolitical. It will gradually catch the attention of media and also the government. Further the responsiveness of state government would play in supporting the protests could give this issue a national stage and prominence. **Favourable Outcome:** May lead to out of court settlement or state government would play in supporting the protests by defending Jallikattu in court and passing special ordinance in the state assembly. **Payoff:** Jallikattu conducted under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists. **Contented Stake holders:** All of them	**Action:** To convince the political groups directly. **Favorable Outcome:** May lead to out of court settlement or state government would play in supporting the protests by defending Jallikattu in court and passing special ordinance in the state assembly. **Payoff:** Jallikattu conducted under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists. **Contented Stakeholders:** All of them	LOW
	EASY	**HARD**	INFLUENTIAL AND AFFORDABLE

Source: Created by the authors based on Gundel (2005), Taleb (2004, 2007) & Björck (2016)

Exhibit TN-6: Strategic output of animal rights activists action supporting the ban

PROBABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME	STRATEGIC OUTPUT OF ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVIST'S ACTION SUPPORTING THE BAN		PAY OFF FROM FAVORABLE OUTCOME
LOW	**Action:** To contest the case in court, given that they have their own legal representatives (expected to have enough funds to hire the best lawyers). **Favourable Outcome:** Advantage of this approach is that the government ensures enforceability of the decision taken by the judiciary system. Hence it will be successfully strengthening the animal protection law. However, the possibility of the outcome seems low as lawmakers at the apex level will sympathise with the sentiments of the locals given the ongoing protest and political support. **Payoff:** Ban on Jallikattu **Contented Stakeholders:** Animal rights activists and common people who support the ban.	**Action:** To organize a mass movement in support of the ban. Further connecting with the villagers and suggesting other ways to conserve the breed. Investing towards native breed conservation. (requires considerable amount of time, local association and money) **Favourable Outcome:** Public opinion may change in favor of the ban given the animal rights activists are investing breed conservative actions. State government will support the ban if locals approve it. **Payoff:** Gradual acceptance of Jallikattu ban **Contented Stake holders:** All of them	HIGH
HIGH	**Action:** To setup a Jallikattu Committee that takes the viewpoints of different stakeholders into consideration. Based on the brainstorming, the committee can submit a report for organizing Jallikattu in a peaceful manner, which will be implemented by the government. **Favourable Outcome:** May lead to out of court settlement **Payoff:** Jallikattu conducted under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists. **Contented Stake holders:** All of them	**Action:** To bargain with the political groups directly. **Favorable Outcome:** May lead to out of court settlement **Payoff:** Jallikattu conducted under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists. **Contented Stake holders:** All of them	LOW
	EASY	HARD	INFLUENTIAL AND AFFORDABLE

Source: Created by the authors based on Gundel (2005), Taleb (2004, 2007) & Björck (2016)

Exhibit TN-7: Strategic output of political group's action

PROBABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME	STRATEGIC OUTPUT OF POLITICAL GROUPS ACTION		PAY OFF FROM FAVORABLE OUTCOME
LOW	**Action:** As means of protest, going ahead and conducting Jallikattu against the ban with the support of rural communities. **Favorable Outcome:** Possibility of protest becoming intense due to government intervention. Further encouraging them to conduct it illegally with the support of politicians (to gain vote bank) in a way controlled by politicians, villagers and breed saviours (similar to cockfights conducted in Andhra Pradesh, India) (India Today, 2017; The News Mint, 2019). **Payoff:** Party can gain popularity and favoritism among local communities. **Contented Stake holders:** Political groups, villagers, and breed savior groups	**Action:** Contest the case in court against the ban (requires huge amount of money for the best lawyers) against **Favourable Outcome:** An advantage, of this approach is that the government ensures enforceability of the decision taken by the judiciary system. Hence it will successfully be able to strengthen the existing tradition. **Payoff:** They claim the complete credit for conducting Jallikattu. **Contented Stake holders:** Villagers, breed saviours and Political groups	HIGH
HIGH	**Action:** Supporting the protest will gradually catch the attention of media and also the government. It will increase the prominence and popularity of the party in national stage. **Favourable Outcome:** May lead to out of court settlement or state government would play in supporting the protests by defending Jallikattu in court and passing special ordinance in the state assembly. **Payoff:** They can claim part of the credit for conducting Jallikattu under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists. **Contented Stake holders:** All of them	**Action:** To unite all the political parties under one leadership and support Jallikattu. **Favorable Outcome:** May lead to out of court settlement or state government would play in supporting the protests by defending Jallikattu in court and passing special ordinance in the state assembly. **Payoff:** They can claim the credit for conducting Jallikattu under strict monitoring of the government and animal rights activists. **Contented Stake holders:** All of them	LOW
	EASY	HARD	INFLUENTIAL AND AFFORDABLE

Source: Created by the authors based on Gundel (2005), Taleb (2004, 2007) & Björck (2016)

Exhibit TN-8: Summary of stakeholder wise responses for each proposed solution

Conflicting issue/problem	Stakeholders				Type of solution
	Breed saviour groups	Animal rights activists	Political groups	Common people	
Harming of animals in Jallikattu	No	Yes	Neutral	No	Strict monitoring of the sport
Banning Jallikattu threatens breed variety	Yes	No	Neutral	Yes	Ensuring that different breeds are protected in-house through advanced technologies. Protection strategies to safeguard animals in the sport.
Power or connectedness difference between stakeholders	Weak	Strong (highly connected with celebrity and government members)	Strong	Individually weak, strong when together	Weaker stakeholders can gather power by joining together and protesting against the issue
Hurting the sentiments of people	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Ensuring that all the stakeholders are made aware and well educated about the need for tradition.

Source: Created by the authors

Exhibit TN-9: Analysis of *4Rs Framework on Stakeholder Roles* for Farmers and cattle breeders

<u>Rights</u>	<u>Responsibilities</u>
• Owners of the cattle • Right to use in agriculture • Right to extract animal produce • Rights on the offspring	• Making cattle ploughing ready • Ensuring good health • Provide adequate livable conditions
<u>Relationships</u>	<u>Revenues</u>
• Dependent on government for its support • Needs a good market for buying/selling cattle • Dependent on other villagers too	• By profitably using in cultivation • By selling the cattle in the markets • By renting it to other users

Source: Created by the authors based on Dubois (1998).

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