

Investigation Into Jallikattu Events

14 to 31 January 2022







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I. Details of the Investigation

Jallikattu Events Investigated

Place	District	Date
Avaniapuram	Madurai	14 January 2022
Palamedu	Madurai	15 January 2022
Alanganallur	Madurai	17 January 2022
Chettipalayam	Coimbatore	21 January 2022
Gummanur	Krishnagiri	27 January 2022
Kilpallipattu	Vellore	29 January 2022
Velangadu	Vellore	31 January 2022

Objectives of the Investigation

- To record the treatment of bulls
- To check for violations of animal protection laws and rules
- To record any reported human or bull injuries and casualties

II. Executive Summary

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) India's comprehensive investigation into seven jallikattu events, including three erudhuvidumvizha events, conducted in Coimbatore, Krishnagiri, Madurai, and Vellore districts, Tamil Nadu, from 14 to 31 January 2022 identified and recorded numerous instances of physical and mental cruelty to bulls.

The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (PCA) (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 2017, received the president's assent on 31 January 2017 and was deemed to have come into force on 21 January 2017. This Tamil Nadu state law amended The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (PCA) Act, 1960, to allow jallikattu, which includes other bull "sports" like manjuviratu, vadamadu, and erudhuvidumvizha, and to make such events immune to the provisions of the PCA Act, 1960. The state government also devised corresponding rules – namely, the Tamil Nadu Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (PCA) (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017 – regarding jallikattu events, but PETA India's findings consistently show that these rules do not prevent human or bull injuries and deaths. The Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, do not include any fine or punishment that can be levied against people who violate the Rules or inflict cruelty on bulls at jallikattu events.

Furthermore, COVID-19 guidelines and restrictions issued by the Tamil Nadu state government for jallikattu were brazenly flouted by the organisers, Animal Husbandry Department officials, police personnel, bull owners, participants ("tamers"), and spectators alike.

More than 300 participants were registered at some of the jallikattu events, and more than 150 spectators were admitted at the erudhuvidumvizha events, with the spectator galleries in the arena packed to full capacity instead of 150 spectators or 50% prescribed by the state government protocols. The spectators weren't wearing face masks or maintaining social distancing. Moreover, at none of the events were the spectators asked to produce a double COVID-19 vaccination dose certificate or negative RT-PCR test results or to register prior to being allowed into the spectator galleries, as required by the latest COVID-19 Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) issued by the state government's Revenue and Disaster Management Department in early January 2022.

This latest eyewitness investigation as well as previous investigations of jallikattu events confirm that jallikattu takes advantage of bulls' natural nervousness as prey animals, deliberately placing them in a terrifying situation in which they're forced to run away from those they rightly perceive as a threat. The evidence – photographs and video footage – shows that during jallikattu events, bulls are hit, tackled, and poked with

wooden sticks (including nail-studded ones) and other sharp objects. Their tails are bitten and twisted, and they're treated in other cruel ways.

At the four out of the seven jallikattu events investigated in 2022, exhausted and dehydrated animals were forced to participate after being made to stand in queues for several hours without overhead shelter or sufficient water or feed. They were yanked roughly by nose ropes, causing their nostrils to bleed, and many collapsed from exhaustion or dehydration before and after they ran through the arena. Such abuse led to severe injuries, including broken bones, and even death.

The following statistics have been compiled based on multiple newspaper articles:

- In 2022, the number of deaths of both bulls and humans at the events skyrocketed within four months. Bull injuries and deaths are not always reported by the media, yet in 2022, between 13 January and 30 April alone, 1,655 humans and six bulls were reportedly injured and at least 17 humans and two bulls died.
- In 2021, between the first event in January and 25 April, 1,119 humans and eight bulls were reportedly injured and at least 14 humans and one bull died.
- In 2020, between January and 9 March 2020, at least 570 humans reportedly sustained injuries and 13 humans and six bulls died during jallikattu events.
- In 2019, between January and April 2019, at least five bulls and one cow reportedly died during jallikattu events while at least eight humans reportedly died and 597 people sustained injuries.
- In 2018, at least six bulls and 14 humans reportedly died.
- In 2017, at least three bulls and 20 humans reportedly died.
- According to news reports, the total number of human fatalities resulting from jallikattu events in the last seven years (i.e. from 2017 to 30 April 2022) is at least 86. In the same period, 6,351 humans were injured and 23 bulls and a cow reportedly died.

As jallikattu continues, a staggering number of human deaths and injuries continue to occur. Over the years, even after the issuance of the Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, there has been a steady increase in reports of bulls' deaths, confirming that no amount of regulation can prevent participants from subjecting them to cruelty and injury.

Inspections conducted by the Animal Welfare Board of India (AWBI) in 2011, 2012, 2013, and 2014 and investigations by PETA India in 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021 have also demonstrated that jallikattu is inherently cruel, causes bulls unnecessary suffering, and is in direct violation of the provisions of Sections 3 and 11 of the PCA Act, 1960. The findings of the AWBI were upheld by the Honourable Supreme Court of India in its landmark judgment in *Animal Welfare Board of India vs A Nagaraja & Ors* dated 7 May 2014.

PETA India's 2022 investigation once again shows that jallikattu must be banned, as it is inherently cruel and cannot be conducted without causing unnecessary pain and suffering to bulls.

III. Key Observations and Findings

A. Rampant Cruelty to Bulls

Photographic evidence of observations and findings from the seven events that took place between 14 and 31 January 2022 are listed below. The photographs and videos are included on a CD as **Annexure 1** for reference.

1. Jallikattu in Avaniapuram



Photo 1: A man poked a bull with a metal sickle inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 2: A bull's hump was poked with a metal sickle inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 3: A bull was whacked with a metal sickle inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 4: A bull was poked with a metal sickle inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 5: A man bit the tail of a bull inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 6: A man whacked a bull with his bare hand inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 7: A man pulled the tail of a reluctant bull inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 8: Men yanked the nose rope of a bull upwards to cut it from a height inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 9: A bull was forced to stand on his hind limbs as his nose rope was yanked to be cut from a height inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 10: A reluctant bull was on the ground inside the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 11: A man pulled the tail of a bull inside the arena in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 12: A man pulled the tail of a bull while another tried to tame the animal by holding on to him inside the arena in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 13: Two men attempted to tame a bull inside the arena in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 14: A bull fell on the ground under the combined weight of two participants who attempted to tame a bull inside the arena in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 15: A bull fell onto a participant inside the arena in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 16: A bull's nostrils bled in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 17: A bull's nostrils bled in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 18: Spectators hit a fleeing bull in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 19: Spectators hit fleeing bulls in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 20: Spectators jumped in front of fleeing bulls to intimidate them inside the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 21: Spectators crowded and blocked the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 22: Spectators attempted to hit a bull fleeing the arena in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 23: Spectators crowded and blocked a bull's way in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 24: A bull was restrained inside the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 25: Spectators tried to escape to safety as a fleeing bull charged into the crowd in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.

2. Jallikattu in Palamedu



Photo 26: A nail-tipped stick was used to poke bulls inside the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 27: A man poked a bull with a nail-tipped stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 28: A nail-tipped stick was used to poke bulls inside the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 29: A nail-tipped stick was used to poke bulls inside the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 30: A nail-tipped stick was used to poke bulls inside the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 31: A man whacked a bull with his bare hand inside the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 32: A bull's nostrils bled after a nose rope was used to drag the reluctant animal into the queue to the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 33: A bull's nostrils bled after a nose rope was used to drag the reluctant animal into the queue to the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 34: An exhausted bull collapsed on the ground inside the bull run area in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 35: An exhausted bull fell to the ground inside the bull run area in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 36: An exhausted bull fell to the ground near the collection yard in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 37: A bull was dragged by a nose rope in the bull run in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 38: Two men dragged a reluctant bull by a nose rope in the bull run in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 39: A bull was dragged by a nose rope by one man and by a noose by another in the bull run in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 40: A bull was restrained by men near the bull run area in Palamedu on 15 January 2022 – one man thrust his fingers into the bull's nostrils.



Photo 41: A bull's tail was pulled by a man as the animal was restrained by other men near the bull run in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 42: Spectators including young children attempted to scare and whack a bull running in the bull run area in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 43: Spectators entered the bull run area over broken barricades in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 44: A bull was restrained with ropes against a tree near the bull run area in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 45: A participant tamed a bull very far from the vaadi vaasal exit in the arena in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 46: A bull jumped over broken barricades during the bull run in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 47: A bull jumped over broken barricades during the bull run in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.

3. Jallikattu in Alanganallur



Photo 48: A nail-tipped stick was used to poke bulls inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.

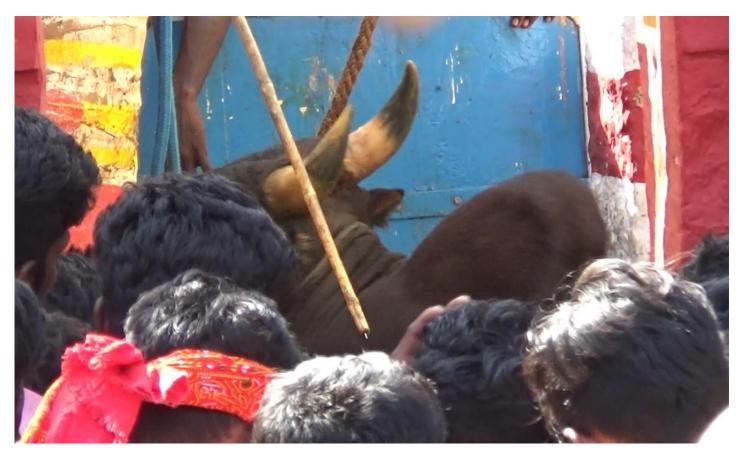


Photo 49: A nail-tipped stick was used to poke bulls inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 50: A bull was poked with a nail-tipped stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 51: A bull was poked with two nail-tipped sticks inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 52: A bull was poked with two nail-tipped sticks inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 53: A man poked a bull with a tiny sharp object held in his palm inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 54: A bull's tail was pulled as he was poked with a stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 55: A man poked a reluctant bull with a stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 56: A man bit a bull's tail inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 57: A man bit a reluctant bull's tail even as the animal was poked with a stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 58: A man bit a reluctant bull's tail even as the animal was poked with a stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 59: A man bit a reluctant bull's tail even as the animal was poked with two sticks inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 60: A bull's tail was yanked as he was poked with a nail-tipped stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 61: A man pulled a bull's tail in the arena in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 62: A man yanked a reluctant bull's tail inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 63: A man yanked a reluctant bull's tail inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 64: A man yanked a bull's tail as the animal was poked with a nail-tipped stick inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 65: A man yanked a reluctant bull's tail as the animal was tamed by a participant inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 66: A bull was in pain as his nose ropes were pulled high up to be cut inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 67: A bull jumped on his hind legs as his nose ropes were yanked high to be cut inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.

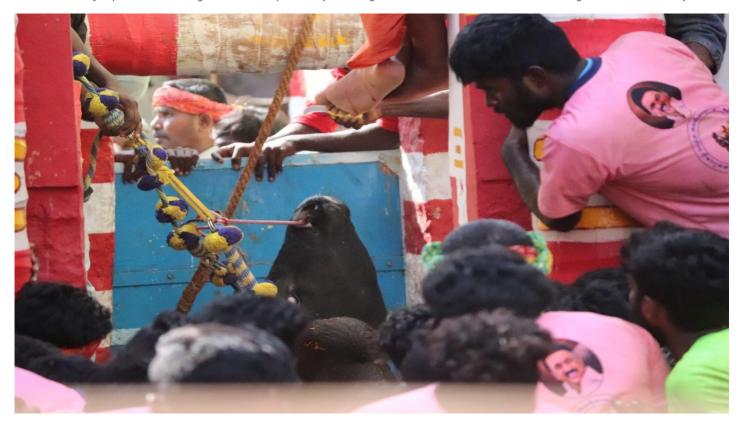


Photo 68: A bull's nose ropes were pulled high up to be cut inside the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 69: Two participants held onto a bull's horns as he exited the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 70: A participant held onto a bull's horns as he exited the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 71: A spectator held a bull's horns while the animal running in the bull run area in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 72: Spectators attempted to hit and scare a bull running in the bull run area in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 73: Men attempted to restrain bulls using ropes in the bull run area instead of the collection area in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 74: A bull who died during jallikattu was loaded into the animal ambulance near the collection yard in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.

4. Jallikattu in Chettipalayam



Photo 75: An injured bull was treated by a person near the bull waiting area in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 76: A bull's nostrils bled due to rough handling of a nose rope inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 77: A bull's nostrils bled inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 78: A bull's nostrils bled due to rough handling of his nose rope inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 79: A bull's nostrils bled inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 80: Two bulls fought inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 81: Two bulls fought inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 82: A bull bled from an attack by another bull inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 83: A bull sustained a bloody wound because of an attack by another bull inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.

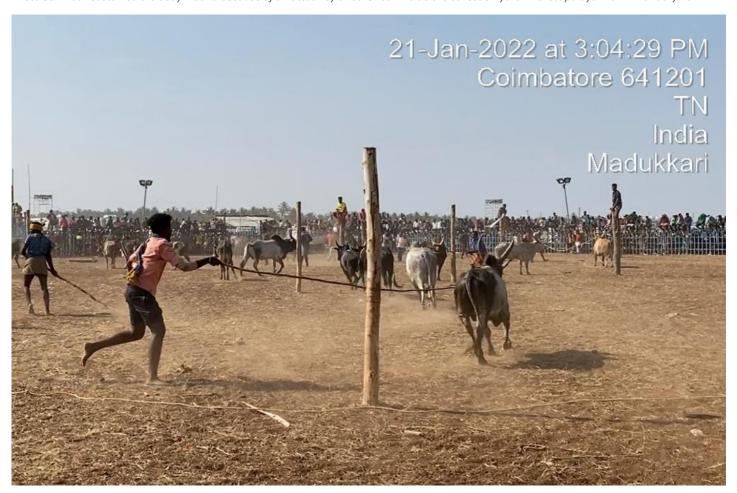


Photo 84: A man poked a bull with a long wooden stick inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 85: A man poked a bull with a long wooden stick inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 86: A man bit the tail of a bull to force him to climb into in a mini-truck near the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 87: A man yanked the tail of a bull inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 88: A man yanked the tail of a bull as another man pulled the reluctant bull's nose rope to drag him from the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 89: A man yanked the tail of a bull inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 90: A man pulled on a bull's tail to drag him inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 91: An exhausted bull who had collapsed on the ground was restrained inside the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.

5. Erudhuvidumvizha at Gummanur



Photo 92: Six men whacked a bull with bare hands at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 93: A bull jumped after being hit by men at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 94: Men hit a bull at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 95: A man repeatedly pulled a nose rope to incite a bull to run while others held the bull's horns at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 96: A man repeatedly yanked a bull's nose rope to incite him to run while other men whacked the animal with their bare hands at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 97: A man bit the tail of a bull to incite him to run at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 98: A man bit the tail of a bull to incite him to run at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 99: A man twisted the tail of a bull to incite him to run at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 100: A man yanked the tail of a bull to incite him to run at the starting point in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Figure 101: People without masks at the race point where the time of bulls' run is recorded.

6. Erudhuvidumvizha at Kilpallipattu



Figure 102: People are about to whack a bull during the event.



Photo 103: Children hit a bull with their bare hands in Kilpallipattu on 29 January 2022.



Photo 104: Since there was no collection yard, a bull ran into a paddy field in Kilpallipattu on 29 January 2022.

7. Erudhuvidumvizha at Velangadu



Photo 105: Spectators hit a bull in the bull run area in Velangadu on 31 January 2022.



Photo 106: Spectators hit a bull in the bull run area in Velangadu on 31 January 2022.



Photo 107: A man whacked a bull on his face with his bare hands at the starting point in Velangadu on 31 January 2022.



Figure 108: There is a lack of overhead shelter for bulls.

B. Illegal Parallel Jallikattu by Spectators

Onlookers and spectators at the seven jallikattu events were filmed pouncing on and illegally tackling bulls fleeing in the bull run areas. The same illegal practice was observed and filmed inside and outside the collection yards, where boisterous spectators jumped onto bulls and held onto their humps. This illegal practice was particularly rampant in the jallikattu events in Avaniapuram, Palamedu and Alanganallur. Parallel jallikattu causes additional physical injuries and mental trauma to the frightened bulls. While PETA India does not support even registered participants tackling bulls in jallikattu, illegal tackling by onlookers mocks the registered participants who undergo the compulsory protocol of registering, which includes undergoing a physical examination by a doctor, presenting a COVID-19 vaccination certificate indicating two doses and a negative RT-PCR test result taken two days before the event, and donning the official jersey while tackling bulls. While the participants were brought into the arena in batches and given a stipulated timeframe to participate, several onlookers and spectators outside the collection yards illegally engaged in pouncing on and tackling the fleeing bulls throughout the duration of the event.



Photo 109: Spectators tamed a bull illegally in the bull run area in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 110: Spectators tamed a bull illegally in the bull run area in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 111: Spectators tamed a bull illegally in the bull run area in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 112: Spectators tamed a bull illegally in the bull run area in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.

C. COVID-19 Rules Brazenly Flouted

In January 2022, the Tamil Nadu government's Revenue and Disaster Management Department issued additional COVID-19 guidelines and restrictions for organising jallikattu events in 2022.¹

The standard guidelines to be followed to curb COVID-19 infection included the following restrictions:

- The number of people permitted to accompany a single bull was limited to one owner and one helper who is well acquainted with the bull. The owner and helper had to present a COVID-19 vaccination certificate indicating two doses and a negative RT-PCR test result taken two days before the event, and the district administration would issue them an identity card. No one without this identity card was to be allowed entry into the jallikattu event premises.
- The number of "bull tamers" participating in jallikattu, manjuviratu, and vadamadu events should not exceed more than 300 people.
- The number of participants in the erudhuvidumvizha event should not exceed 150 people.
- The conditions for allowing the audience to watch the jallikattu events included making them follow COVID-19 prevention guidelines and occupy the open arenas based on their total capacity so that they can adhere to social distancing restricting numbers to a maximum of 150 people or 50% of the total seating capacity (whichever is lesser). Audience members were also required to have a COVID-19 vaccination certificate indicating two doses and a negative RT-PCR test result taken two days prior to the event.
- All department officials, event organisers, and members of the audience and media were required to adhere strictly to the guidelines advised by the government.

¹Revenue and Disaster Management Department, Government of Tamil Nadu. Summary: Disaster Management Act, 2005 – COVID-19 guideline procedures to be followed for organising jallikattu 2022. 10 January 2022. Accessed 9 June 2022. https://cms.tn.gov.in/sites/default/files/go/revenue t 27 2022 0.pdf.

Express permission was required to organise jallikattu events, and the guidelines carried a reminder that the PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017 and all other guidelines for organising jallikattu events and COVID-19 prevention restrictions released by the government should also be strictly followed.

The COVID-19 guidelines for organising jallikattu events in 2022 were brazenly violated at all the events investigated and at other events across the state. In Vellore, bull races were suspended because attendees violated COVID SOPs. An article in *The Hindu* titled "Bull races suspended in Vellore as people flout SOPs",² dated 22 January 2022, stated, "With a daily increase in the total number of COVID-19 infections and violation of the Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) in bullraces, Collector, P. Kumaravel Pandian, on Saturday, suspended bullraces in the district until further notification. According to a press release, the Collector said it was found that COVID-19 SOPs have been violated in the villages, where bullraces were conducted since Pongal."

The utter disregard for COVID-19 restrictions shown by the organisers of jallikattu events across the state demonstrates that they care as little for human health and safety as they do for the safety and well-being of bulls.

1. Restrictions on number of participants violated

Below is a list of some jallikattu events held between January and April 2022 in which the organisers reportedly registered more than the stipulated 300 participants:

	Place	District	Date	No of Participants
1.	Alanganallur	Madurai	17 January 2022	515
2.	Navalurkuttapattu	Tiruchirappalli	18 January 2022	380
3.	Lakshmanapatti	Tiruchirappalli	8 March 2022	800
4.	Kosavapatti	Dindigul	9 March 2022	400
5.	Sakkudi	Madurai	12 March 2022	650
6.	Anbil	Tiruchirappalli	20 March 2022	321
7.	Pugailaipatty	Dindigul	6 April 2022	368
8.	Sevugampatti	Pudukkottai	18 April 2022	400

2. Maximum spectator limit of 150 people and 50% arena capacity rule violated

As per Government Order (GO) No 795 dated 26 December 2020 and GO No 25 dated 7 January 2022, the audience must be limited to a maximum of 150 spectators or not more than 50% of the total seating capacity (whichever is lesser). However, thousands of people turned up to watch the jallikattu events and the galleries were packed, exceeding capacity, i.e. at 100% occupancy, with many left standing. Spectators huddled together to get the best view of the arena.

This violation was observed at six of the seven events investigated, barring Chettipalayam jallikattu where spectators were banned from the spectator galleries. At the three jallikattu events in Madurai district, the majority of spectators, including the guests in the VIP galleries, were filmed sitting and standing without adhering to any social distancing. At the three erudhuvidumvizha events, a lot more than 150 people were allowed to watch the bull run.

²Special correspondent. Bull races suspended in Vellore as people flout SOPs. *The Hindu*. 22 January 2022. Accessed 9 June 2022. https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/bull-races-suspended-in-vellore-as-people-flout-sops/article38311088.ece.

The country's leading English daily newspapers and TV news channels reported the failure to implement COVID-19 restrictions at these events. The Pongal season's first jallikattu event, held in Thatchankurichi in Pudukkottai on 13 January 2022, saw brazen flouting of this rule. An article in *The New Indian Express*³ stated, "Thousands of people gathered on rooftops and outside the barricades." An article covering Palamedu jallikattu⁴ stated, "Tensions prevailed at the beginning of round one of the event, as there was no adherence to the guidelines ... Police personnel and the officials faced a huge challenge in making the crowd comply with the COVID norms. ... Adding to the woes, the locals also climbed in groups to the rooftops of the nearby houses and overhead tanks making it impossible for the officials to control them." An article in *The Hindu*⁵ stated, "Thousands of spectators watched the world famous Alanganallur jallikattu in Madurai district on Monday which was held amidst the COVID-19 restrictions." And another article from *The Hindu*, titled "Manjuvirattu: 16-year-old gored to death", stated, "According to the organisers, nearly 100 bulls took part in the event which has about 1800 spectators."



Photo 113: More than 150 people watched the jallikattu event in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.

3. No face masks or social distancing

No social distancing was observed at any of the seven events investigated, and the majority of spectators were not wearing face masks, thus violating the mandatory guidelines. These violations across the state were widely reported in the media.

³Mani S. Vaadi vaasal opens in Thatchankurichi. *The New Indian Express*. Updated 14 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/14/vaadi-vaasal-opensin-thatchankurichi-2406686.html.

⁴Radhakrishnan S. Palamedu jallikattu: It showered gold coins as bull tamers demonstrated their skills. *The New Indian Express*. Updated 16 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022, https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/16/palamedu-palame

Updated 16 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/16/palamedu-jallikattu-it-showered-gold-coins-as-bull-tamers-demonstrated-their-skills-2407431.html.

⁵Chandar BT. It was raining gifts at Alanganallur jallikattu. *The Hindu*. Updated 18 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022.

https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Madurai/it-was-raining-gifts-at-alanganallur-jallikattu/article38283360.ece.
⁶Staff reporter. Manjuvirattu: 16-year-old gored to death. *The Hindu*. 17 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022.
https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/manjuvirattu-16-year-old-gored-to-death/article38280020.ece.

Regarding the jallikattu event in Thatchankurichi, Pudukkottai, it was reported,⁷ "No one wore masks and no social distancing was practiced." According to the coverage of Alanganallur jallikattu,⁸ "Most of the people failed to comply with COVID-19 guidelines. They were seen without masks and there was no physical distancing. Officials had to intervene and they were seen urging the public to follow the guidelines."

In Palamedu, too, the rules were flouted. An article about that event⁹ said, "Many spectators failed to wear masks or maintain physical distance, despite multiple warnings from the Collector."



Photo 114: There was no social distancing among spectators, police, and organisers in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.

⁷Mani S. Vaadi vaasal opens in Thatchankurichi. *The New Indian Express*. Updated 14 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/14/vaadi-vaasal-opensin-thatchankurichi-2406686.html.
⁸Chandar BT. It was raining gifts at Alanganallur jallikattu. *The Hindu*. Updated 18 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Madurai/it-was-raining-gifts-at-alanganallur-jallikattu/article38283360.ece.
⁹Radhakrishnan S. Palamedu jallikattu: It showered gold coins as bull tamers demonstrated their skills. *The New Indian Express*. Updated 16 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/16/palamedu-jallikattu-it-showered-gold-coins-as-bull-tamers-demonstrated-their-skills-2407431.html.



Photo 115: There was no social distancing between spectators in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 116: There was no social distancing between spectators in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.



Photo 117: People weren't wearing face masks in Kilpallipattu on 29 January 2022.



Photo 118: Organisers weren't wearing face masks in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.

4. Spectators were admitted without the compulsory COVID-19 vaccination certificate indicating two doses and negative RT-PCR test result

At all the events investigated, spectators were observed and filmed being admitted into the spectator galleries and stands without having to show their COVID-19 vaccination certificate and negative RT-PCR test result 66

taken two days prior to the events both of which were mandatory requirements as per the guidelines issued in the GO No 25 dated 7 January 2022.



Photo 119: Spectators were allowed into the stands in Alanganallur without being asked to produce compulsory COVID-19 vaccination certificates indicating two doses and a negative RT-PCR test result.

5. More than two caretakers accompanied each bull

At all seven jallikattu events investigated, the majority of bulls were accompanied by more than two caretakers. Most bulls had as many as four to six caretakers, and this was filmed and photographed at all seven events. Some even had up to 10 caretakers. The flouting of this rule was noted by the media at Thatchankurichi jallikattu¹⁰: "Each bull was accompanied by a minimum of six people despite the rule stating two people."

¹⁰Mani S. Vaadi vaasal opens in Thatchankurichi. *The New Indian Express*. Updated 14 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/14/vaadi-vaasal-opensin-thatchankurichi-2406686.html.



 $Photo \ 120: More \ than \ two \ caretakers \ accompanied \ bulls \ in \ the \ queue \ to \ the \ vaadi \ vaasal \ in \ Alanganallur \ on \ 17 \ January \ 2022.$



Photo 121: As many as 12 people accompanied a single bull in the queue to the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 122: More than two people accompanied a bull in the queue to the vaadi vaasal in Alanganallur on 17 January 2022.



Photo 123: Several men gathered around a bull in Gummanur on 27 January 2022.

D. Jallikattu Events Not Held in 'Open Grounds'

The Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, state, "The organisers shall conduct Jallikattu in an open ground." Furthermore, the GO No 27 issued by the Revenue and Disaster Management Department clearly states, "Jallikattu events are being organised at open grounds by following standard guidelines which were released earlier." However, this was not followed in Avaniapuram or Alanganallur, as the jallikattu events there were held in narrow by-lanes amid residential areas located in the middle of each village.

In Avaniapuram, jallikattu was held in the middle of the village, in streets cordoned off by police and district administration authorities.

The Alanganallur jallikattu was held in the town centre and its narrow by-lanes. The arena, erected on a by-lane, had a curved path, not a straight one. The exit from the vaadi vaasal and the path out of it turned at 90 degrees towards a long bull run area in the arena. Because of this, the bulls forced to run out of the vaadi vaasal often fell to the ground as they were unable to make the left turn while running. Numerous bulls were filmed crashing to the ground. Madurai's district administration authorities must ensure that this rule doesn't continue to be violated year after year in Alanganallur and Avaniapuram.

Bulls were also observed and filmed skidding and falling to the ground in the erudhuvidumvizha event in Kilpallipattu in Vellore district on 29 January, as the bull run area had a 90-degree turn.



Photo 124: The jallikattu event in Avaniapuram was held in the middle of the town, in a residential area, and not in an open area on 14 January 2022.



Photo 125: The jallikattu event in Alanganallur was held in the middle of the town and not in an open area on 17 January 2022.

E. Insufficient or No Feed, Drinking Water, or Shelter

At the Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, Chettipalayam, and Palamedu jallikattu events, there was almost no feed, drinking water, or shelter in the collection yard for bulls (after they were forced to participate). What little was there was grossly insufficient.

There were no drinking water troughs or feed for the bulls at any of the three erudhuvidumvizha events at Gummanur, Kilpallipattu, and Velangadu.

In the collection yards in Alanganallur and Palamedu, there were only a handful of troughs with drinking water – for the hundreds of bulls forced to participate – laid out with little feed that consisted of dried hay of very poor quality. In Alanganallur's queue to the vaadi vaasal, drinking water in the troughs was murky and muddy.



Photo 126: No feed or water was kept for bulls in the collection yard in Chettipalayam on 21 January 2022.



Photo 127: No feed or water was kept for bulls in the queue to the vaadi vaasal in Avaniapuram on 14 January 2022.



Photo 128: A small trough with dirty drinking water was observed in the queue to the vaadi vaasal in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.

IV. Legal Violations

The Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, and the AWBI Guidelines on Conduct of Jallikattu Event, 2018, (issued on 5 January 2018 in letter no 17-1/2017-18/PCA/CC/JK) were all blatantly flouted in the seven jallikattu events in Tamil Nadu investigated by PETA India in 2022.

The findings of the investigation and evidence of abuse documented in the photographs and video footage prove that no amount of regulation can prevent cruelty to bulls during jallikattu events.

Tamil Nadu Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017	Violations at the Three Events Investigated
3. Procedure for Conduct of Jallikattu	
(7) The organisers shall conduct Jallikattu in an open ground with the following facilities.	Year after year, this rule is brazenly violated in Alanganallur and Avaniapuram, where the events are held in the heart of the localities in narrow by-lanes in residential neighbourhoods, paralysing regular public life as streets are barricaded and movement in the area is restricted. The Alanganallur jallikattu event is held in the narrow streets of the town centre, and the arena is curved, not a straight path. The exit from the vaadi vaasal and the path out of it has a 90-degree turn, leading to a long bull run area in the arena. Because of this, the bulls fleeing the vaadi vaasal often fall to the ground, unable to make the sudden left turn. This is a gross violation of the rule that jallikattu must be held in an open ground.

(7) (a) The bulls shall be provided rest for a minimum of 20 minutes before they are brought into the arena.	This was not implemented at any of the events. Many bulls were brought the night before the event and forced to stand in a queue overnight. Many were made to wait this way for up to 16 hours. The bulls were forced to move up the queue and forced into the vaadi vaasal after they passed the veterinary examination. In none of the seven events was a single bull given time to rest before being forced into the arena.
(7) (b) In the holding area, each bull shall be provided adequate space to exhibit the normal behaviour. Each bull shall be provided a minimum space of 60 square feet. Adequate feed and water shall be provided to the bulls and they shall be allowed to perform their normal physiological functions.	At the jallikattu events in Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, Chettipalayam, and Palamedu, bulls were kept in queues by being squeezed in sideways. There was almost no feed or drinking water for them in the holding areas. The bulls were forced to stand in queues from the night before the event and made to wait this way for up to 16 hours. They were not able to perform their physiological functions in this state, were forced to move sideways, and were dragged by nose ropes in the queue. Many bulls were tethered by short ropes for hours in the holding area.
(7) (d) The bulls shall be thoroughly observed for any physical injuries to the body parts like mutilated ears, fractured tail, etc. by Veterinarians of the Animal Husbandry Department. If any injury is found, they shall not be permitted to participate in the event and shall be sent back.	At all the events, bulls with visible injuries or mutilations, such as cut ears, were found in the queue – beyond the medical examination area where they should have been rejected. Investigators filmed bulls with bleeding nostrils entering the arena from the vaadi vaasal in Chettipalayam, thereby showing that cruelty occurs in the vaadi vaasal, resulting in injured bulls being forced to participate in jallikattu.

At all seven events, the roofing was inadequate and didn't provide the bulls with protection from the (7) (e) The bull holding area shall be provided elements. Only scanty portions of the queues had with adequate roofing (shamiana / thatched overhead shelter. The majority of the queues at the roof) so as to protect the bulls from rain or venues had no shelter, shamiana, or thatched roof. sunlight. (7) (f) The holding area shall be maintained At all the events, bulls were filmed being forced to stand neat, clean and hygienic. All wastes like dung in accumulated dung and urine in the holding areas and and organic wastes shall be cleared then and queues. Dung and other organic waste accumulated in there and disinfectants shall be used liberally the queues and was not removed from the holding areas to ensure complete hygiene. as required. 4. Examination of Bulls Eyewitnesses observed and filmed bulls who were brought to the government veterinarians for check-ups and declared fit, even though the veterinarians did not (1) The bulls shall be compulsorily subjected conduct a thorough examination to assess their mental to veterinary examination by the qualified and physical health. In most cases, the photos of bulls in veterinarians of Animal Husbandry the documents were simply verified at the medical Department. examination camps, and the bulls were allowed to participate. In all seven events, bulls showing symptoms of fatigue, dehydration, restlessness, and so on were forced to (2) The participating bulls shall be examined participate. for general health by clinical examination. Bulls showing symptoms of fatigue, Reluctant, scared, and exhausted bulls were whacked with bare hands, and their tails were bitten and yanked in dehydration, restlessness, etc. shall be the queue leading to the vaadi vaasal after they were identified and not permitted to participate declared fit to participate. Many bulls were also hit, and further in the event. their tails were yanked and bitten while they were forcibly taken to the holding areas after being unloaded from mini-trucks. 5. Arena

(1) Arena shall be at least a 50 square metre area. The bulls have to be embraced by the participants within this 50 square metre area.

Rules about tackling bulls were violated at Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, Chettipalayam, and Palamedu as the participants subdued bulls well beyond the 50-squaremetre area. In their greed to win prizes – such as silver coins, furniture, motorbikes, and a four-wheeler – participants held onto the animals for more than the prescribed distance and duration, i.e. they held bulls' humps for more than 15 metres or longer than 30 seconds and forced them to jump more than three times, causing the animals extreme discomfort.

(2) The participants shall not be permitted to stand in front of the bulls as they enter the arena. They shall also not be permitted to block the exit way for the bulls. The participants shall be permitted only to embrace the bulls by their hump and run along with the bull for 15 metres or for 30 seconds or sustain three jumps of the bull. The participants shall not hold on to the tail, horns using their hands or restrict the movement of the bulls by holding on to the bulls' legs. The participants violating these guidelines shall be liable to be debarred from participating further in the event. The 15 metre area shall be liberally strewn with coir pith.

At Alanganallur, Avaniapuram and Palamedu, participants were filmed holding onto bulls well beyond 15 metres, for longer than 30 seconds, and for more than three jumps of the bulls. The erring participants were not disqualified but given prizes instead.

Many participants held onto bulls' horns. The majority of participants deemed to have "tamed" a bull after doing so were not disqualified, as the organisers turned a blind eye to the rampant flouting of this rule and even awarded prizes to the violators.

Organisers rewarded participants who broke the rules with prizes instead of issuing warnings or ending their participation, thus showing that they themselves have no regard for the rules.

6. Bull Run Area

(1) The area after the bull embrace area up to the Bull collection yard is the Bull Run area. A strong double barricade should separate the galleries from the arena. The spectator gallery shall be constructed from at least 15 metres beyond the point where the bulls are released so as to minimise the noise from the spectators at the time of the bull release.

At all four jallikattu events, the spectator galleries were erected within 15 metres from where the bulls were released.

(2) After the run of 15 metres, when the bulls enter the bull run area, the participants are not to be allowed to touch the bulls. The Bull Run area should cover a minimum of 100 metres length to facilitate the bulls to the exit without any anxiety into the collection yard. The entire activity starting from entry of the bulls into the arena up to the bull collection yard shall be completed in 60 to 120 seconds.

Participants were filmed tackling the bulls in the bull run areas, i.e. well beyond 50 square metres of the arena, at Alanganallur, Avaniapuram and Palamedu. As the entrance to the collection yards at Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, Chettipalayam, and Palamedu were blocked by bull catchers and spectators, it caused confusion and anxiety among the bulls fleeing in the bull run area. Investigators filmed several confused and scared bulls running back into the arena together from the other end of the bull run area because of this.

7. Bull Collection Yard

(1) The bull collection yard shall be made out of bounds for others. Only the bull owners or their authorised personnel shall be allowed to enter the bull collection yard. A minimum of 60 square feet area shall be made available for each bull and at a time.

The bulls after completing the run will enter the collection yard, which shall also be a double barricaded area. The owner or a person authorised by the owner who is familiar with the bull shall receive the bull at the collection yard and peg it.

Water and feed shall be provided to the bull.

After ensuring adequate rest for the bull (minimum of 20 minutes), the bulls shall be taken back home by the owners.

The collection yards in Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, and Palamedu were infiltrated by spectators, and the police lathi-charged crowds out of the collection yards. No double-barricading was observed in the collection yards at Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, and Palamedu. There was no feed or drinking water or designated bull collection yard at the three erudhuvidumvizha events at Gummanur, Kilpallipattu, and Velangadu. There was almost no drinking water or feed in Chettipalayam's collection yard. The feed and drinking water provided in Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, and Palamedu were grossly insufficient.

The rule of ensuring that each bull was given adequate rest (a minimum of 20 minutes) in the collection yard after the run was not observed at the Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, Chettipalayam, and Palamedu events. Most bulls were taken back almost immediately after they were restrained upon entering the collection yards. At the three erudhuvidumvizha events at Gummanur, Kilpallipattu, and Velangadu, bulls were also taken back immediately and loaded into trucks without any rest. Investigators filmed bulls being restrained by impatient owners, bull catchers, and handlers in collection yards and not allowed to consume water or feed.

(2) The bull collection yard shall be provided with roofing (shamiana / thatched roof) so as to protect the bulls from rain or sunlight. Closed circuit cameras shall be fixed at vantage points in the bull collection area and all the activities shall be recorded. A Veterinary team shall be posted in the collection yard so as to provide immediate attention to the bulls that have completed the event. A posse of police personnel shall also be present in the collection area.

No shamiana or thatched roofing was found in the collection yards at any of the events.

9. Miscellaneous

(1) The participants shall be put to thorough check up by a medical team constituted by the Collector just before they enter into the arena. The Collector shall ensure that every participant wears an exclusive dress for the purpose of identification with necessary identification card. The Collector shall ensure deployment of additional medical facilities like extra ambulance vehicle, serving doctors, veterinarians etc., for ensuring the safety of the participants as well as the bulls. The Collector shall strictly ensure that the bulls are not physically abused just before it is released into the arena. Further, the nose rope / face rope of the bull should be snapped only by the owner or his representative in the presence of the authorised officials.

Bulls were physically abused at all seven events. The reluctant, scared, and exhausted animals were hit and jabbed with nail-studded wooden sticks and metal sickles at Alanganallur, Avaniapuram and Palamedu. They were whacked with bare hands and whipped with ropes. Their tails were bitten and twisted, and their nose ropes were roughly yanked to force them to enter the vaadi vaasal and the arena.

Bulls were rampantly and brazenly jabbed with wooden sticks and nail-studded sticks by men perched atop the vaadi vaasals (located right next to the VIP galleries), where officials from the district administration and the police department were present. The officials turned a blind eye when bulls were poked and hit with sticks and their tails were vanked inside the vaadi vaasal. Furthermore, because of the rough yanking of nose ropes and the cutting of nose ropes from a height in vaadi vaasals, it was observed, and filmed, that several bulls' nostrils were bleeding. In the three erudhuvidumvizha events investigated at Gummanur, Kilpallipattu, and Velangadu, bulls' nose ropes were roughly yanked continuously by the owners/handlers to incite them to run or charge out at the start point. Their tails were bitten, yanked, and pulled, and they were hit with bare hands by their handlers or owners at the starting points.

The AWBI's 2018 'Guidelines on Conduct of Jallikattu Event' (issued on 5 January 2018 in letter No 17-1/2017-18/PCA/CC/JK)

vi. (iv) Double-barricading of the arena or the way through which the bulls pass through in order to avoid injuries to the spectators and by- standers who can be permitted to remain within the barricades There was no double barricading in parts of the bull run area (after the arena) or in the collection yards at six of the seven events – Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, Gummanur, Kilpallipattu, Palamedu, and Velangadu. There was no barricading at all at the three erudhuvidumvizha events at Gummanur, Kilpallipattu, and Velangadu, and bulls were taken back immediately and loaded into trucks without any rest.

x. (viii) The participants in the event should also enroll their names in advance to the revenue authorities. They should also be put to thorough Many onlookers engaged in illegal parallel check up by the Physicians available in the medical team and only after their certification about the suitability of the individuals; they should be allowed to participate in the event.

iallikattu in the bull run area as well as inside and outside the collection yards at Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, and Palamedu.

xx. (xviii) The [vaadi vaasal]

(entrance) should be 12×15 feet.

The Alanganallur, Avaniapuram, and Palamedu events had narrow vaadi vaasals, smaller than the specified dimensions.

At present, the PCA (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 2017, the Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, and the AWBI Guidelines on Conduct of Jallikattu Event, 2018, do not hold the district collectors, jallikattu organisers, or bull abusers accountable or liable for punishment. This loophole in the legislation gives these individuals a free pass to continue abusing bulls and putting humans in harm's way.

The evidence gathered shows that these three sets of rules are neither adequately followed nor sufficient to prevent the suffering of bulls or injuries to humans. This proves that no regulation can or will protect bulls during jallikattu events.

V. Other Information

A. Data on Bull and Human Casualties

Disclaimer: The data presented in this section regarding human and bull injuries and deaths are partial due to the following factors.

- The numbers given below have been gathered by PETA India via news reports found through an internet search. Therefore, the results cannot be considered exhaustive.
- Not all deaths and injuries are reported in the news. This is particularly the case for bull injuries and deaths and human injuries.
- Humans and bulls may die after an event is over in a hospital or elsewhere and these deaths may go unreported by the media.
- Occurrences in remote villages may not have been reported by the media sources found by PETA India.

The list of casualties from jallikattu has skyrocketed this year. There has been a shocking 17 human deaths in approximately four months of the 2022 jallikattu season.

- In 2022, from 13 January to 30 April, two bulls and 17 humans reportedly died, while 1,655 humans and at least 6 bulls were reportedly injured in jallikattu events.
- In 2021, from the first event in January to 3 March, one bull and 14 humans died, while 1,119 humans and eight bulls were reportedly injured in jallikattu events.
- In 2020, between January and 9 March, six bulls and 13 humans died, while a bull and 570 humans were reportedly injured in jallikattu events.
- In 2019, eight humans, five bulls, and a cow reportedly died in jallikattu events and 597 humans were reportedly injured, including participants, spectators, bull owners and handlers, police personnel, and villagers. Many bulls were also injured.
- In 2018, 14 humans and six bulls reportedly died in jallikattu events and 364 humans were reportedly injured, including participants, spectators, bull owners and handlers, police personnel, and villagers.
- In 2017, 20 humans and three bulls reportedly died in jallikattu events and 2,046 humans were reportedly injured, including participants, spectators, bull owners and handlers, police personnel, and villagers. Injuries to bulls were routine at the events.
- Since the ban on this barbaric spectacle was lifted i.e. between 2017 and 30 April 2022 6,351 humans were reportedly injured in jallikattu events. In the same period, 86 humans, 23 bulls, and a cow reportedly died in these events.



Photo 129: An injured man was taken for treatment on a stretcher in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.



Photo 130: An injured tamer received medical aid in an ambulance in Palamedu on 15 January 2022.

B. Illegal Events Held Without Police Permission

Several jallikattu events are held across Tamil Nadu illegally without permission from the concerned police department. Casualties often happen at these illegal events. In a bull run event held in Vellore district, a teenager reportedly died. An article dated 17 January in *The*

New Indian Express, titled "Illegal bull race in Tamil Nadu's Vellore claims life of teen spectator, four held", 11 stated, "A 13-year-old boy died early Sunday morning at the Pernambut Government Hospital of injuries sustained when he was attacked by a charging bull at an unauthorised bull race conducted at Kallicheri on Saturday. Police have arrested four people for organising the event without permission. Police identified the boy as S. Krishnan of Mittapalli in Pernambut. He was a Class 8 student at a local government school. A senior police officer said that the boy had sustained serious injuries in his abdomen and was admitted to Pernambut GH." It continued, "The Kallicheri event took place without permission and we were not aware of it. It is mandatory for organisers to get permission to conduct races so officials can ensure proper safety and security arrangements are in place," Gudiyatham Revenue Divisional Officer S. Dhananjeyan said."

Another human life was reportedly lost at an illegal event held in Kandipatti in Sivaganga. An article by *The Hindu* dated 18 January 2022, titled "One killed in manju virattu near Sivaganga", ¹² stated, "One person was killed and scores were injured in the traditional 'manju virattu' held without police permission at Kandipatti near here on Tuesday." It further noted, "Despite the attempts by the district administration and the police to prevent the event by seeking cooperation from the villagers and putting up check posts in 12 places, the villagers managed to bring their bulls to the ground through irrigation tanks. A. Malaisamy, 52, of Paganeri, was killed after he was gored by a bull."

C. Illegal Fox Jallikattu Continues Year After Year

Year after year, police have been unable to prevent fox jallikattu from being held in Tamil Nadu. An article in *The Times of India* dated 19 January 2022, titled "Spectator strays outside seating area in Trichy, gored to death by bull", with the sub-heading "Forest Dept to fine for 'fox jallikattu", stated, "Forest department officials registered a case against unidentified residents of Chinnammanaickenpalayam near Vazhapadi here on Tuesday for conducting 'fox jallikattu'. Like bull jallikattu, villagers conduct an event in which they make a fox run in a confined space, and around 20 men will try to catch it with sticks and rods. Subsequently, the fox will be released in forest."

The police have not been able to prevent fox jallikattu from being held from 2017 to 2022.

¹¹Shyamsundar N. Illegal bull race in Tamil Nadu's Vellore claims life of teen spectator, four held. *The New Indian Express*. Updated 17 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022.

https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2022/jan/17/illegal-bull-race-in-tamil-nadus-vellore-claims-life-of-teen-spectator-four-held-2407612.html.

¹²Special correspondent. One killed in manju virattu near Sivaganga. *The Hindu*. Updated 18 January 2022. Accessed 10 June 2022. https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/one-killed-in-manju-virattu-near-sivaganga/article38287520.ece.



Spectator strays outside seating area in Trichy, gored to death by bull

Event Held At Village After 3 Years

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Trichy: The conduct of the jallikattu event in Navalur Kuttapattu village near Trichy on Tuesday had cost the life of a 24-year-old youth, the second such casualty in the district within a week.

The man was identified as a spectator who had strayed into the collection point of bulls in the jallikattuarena.

Th event hosted by the Navalpattu Jallikattu organising committee after a gap of three years, had around 510 bulls.



PASSION FOR TRADITION: Around 500 bulls were part of the jallikattu event at Navalur Kuttapattu village

While there is cap for spectators, a large number of locals due to the enthusiasm in hosting jallikattu after three years had thronged the venue, they had also climbed the terrace of nearby houses and structures to spectate the event.

A few hours after the launch, S Vinoth Kumar, from

Navalur Kuttapattu who had entered the collection point of bulls was gored by a charging bull rushing from the arena. Although the injured was rushed to Trichy MGMGH in an ambulance, Vinoth Kumar succumbed even before get-ting any medical attention. Police sources said that a total of

Forest dept to fine for 'fox jallikattu'

southpole

orest department officials registered a case against unidentified residents of Chinnammanaickenpalayam near Vazhapadi here on Tuesday for conducting 'fox jallikattu'. Like bull jallikattu, villagers conduct an event in which they make a fox run in a confined space, and around 20 men will try to catch it with sticks and rods. Subsequently, the fox will be released in forest. TNN

45 persons were injured of which 10 were referred to Trichy MGMGH, others were treated at the venue. Prizes including gold and silver coins were distributed by the organisers to the best performing tamers and bulls.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Spectator gored to death by jallikattu bull in Tamil Nadu's Thennalur

TNN | Feb 11, 2022, 06.45 PM IST



PUDUKOTTAI: A 20-year-old man was gored to death by a bull during a jallikattu event at Thennalur in Pudukottai district of Tamil Nadu on Friday.

The deceased has been identified as V Pandimurugan of Keezhapatti in Trichy district.

The Iluppur police said Pandimurugan was watching the event outside the arena. A ferocious bull ran away from vaadivasal (through which bulls enter the arena) and gored Pandimurugan on his left chest. A medical team rushed him to the outpatient facility set up at the venue, but he was dead by then.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Tamil Nadu: Youth injured in Jallikattu dies in Trichy MGMGH

TNN | Jan 23, 2022, 07.37 PM IST

TRICHY: A 21-year-old bull tamer has succumbed to grievous injuries sustained in the Jallikattu event organised at Pallapatti village in Trichy district on Saturday.

The casualty was third such caused by the conduct of Jallikattu in the Trichy district. Police identified the victim as A Sasi Gilbert, son of Arputharaj, a native of the Dindigul district.

Rights activists raise red flag after 7 die in Tamil Nadu **Jallikattu**

The Federation of Indian Animal Protection Organisations (FIAPO) has already opposed the cruelty meted out to bulls during the Jallikattu festival



IANS, Chennai, JAN 25 2022, 14:57 IST | UPDATED: JAN 25 2022, 14:57 IST



Jallikattu is one of the ancient sports played as part of Tamil harvest festival, Pongal, in major parts of Tamil Nadu. Credit: PTI Photo

Animal rights activists and Human rights activists have raised the red flag over the continuance of the violent, bloody sport of 'Jallikattu' in Tamil Nadu connected with the harvest festival of Pongal. The festival which is considered a valour sport is to tame bulls that are released from cages.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Bull gores its owner to death during jallikattu near Dindigul



DINDIGUL: A bull owner was gored to death by his own bull during a jallikattu held as part of a church festival at Pugailaipatty in Dindigul district of Tamil Nadu on Wednesday.

The deceased has been identified as Thangavel, 59, of Naduvanoor village. The man tried to catch hold of his bull after it was released from the vadivasal around 3 pm.

The bull attacked him. Its horns pierced through his abdomen and lung. He was rushed to the Dindigul government hospital, where he died without responding to treatment.

Illegal bull race claims life of teen spectator

SHYAMSUNDAR N @ Vellore

A 13-year-old boy died early Sunday morning at the Pernambut government hospital of injuries sustained when he was attacked by a charging bull at an unauthorised bull race conducted at Kallicheri on Saturday, Police have arrested four people for organising the event without permission.

Police identified the boy as S Krishnan of Mittapalli in Pernambut. He was a Class 8 student at a local government school. The boy was standing with other spectators near the starting line of the race at around 1.15 pm when one of the bulls charged towards the crowd instead of down the lane.

As the crowd scattered, Krishnan was caught in the melee and attacked by the bull. A senior police officer said he'd sustained serious injuries in his abdomen and was admitted to Pernambut GH. He is survived by his mother and two siblings

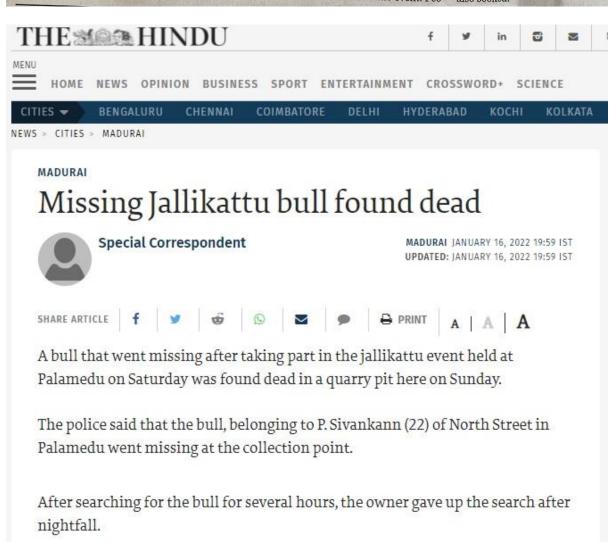
Police said only four villages
— Moonjurpattu, Sivanathapuram, Panamadangi, and

Kutlavaripalli — were given permission to conduct bull races on Saturday. "The Kallicheri event took

Kallicheri event took place without permission and we were not aware of it. It is mandatory for organisers to get permission to conduct races so officials can ensure proper safety and security arrangements are in place," Gudiyatham

Revenue Divisional Officer S Dhananjeyan said. A revenue official said around 30 bulls participated in the event. People from nearby villages also came to watch the race at which Covid norms were violated.

Based on a complaint from Pernambut Town Village Administrative Officer Gopinath, police booked the organisers under Sections 143, 269, 270 and 304 (2) of IPC and Section 11(1) of Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act. P Vedhachalam (42), M Suravel (47), R Chakkarai (69) and S Loganathan (47) were arrested and remanded in judicial custody. Four others — Arunkumar, Mahendran, Umanath, and Dinesh — were also booked.



On Sunday morning, the bull was found dead in the quarry pit around 1.5 km

VI. Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of PETA India's 2022 investigation reveal rampant cruelty to bulls, such as tackling them; hitting them with wooden sticks; poking and jabbing them with metal sickles and nail-studded wooden sticks; deliberately placing them in terrifying situations; biting, twisting, and yanking their tails; forcing dehydrated and exhausted bulls who had collapsed to participate; hitting bulls with bare hands; and denying them basic necessities, including shade, drinking water, and feed.

From January to 30 April 2022 alone, even according to the limited statistics available from media sources, 1,655 humans and six bulls were injured and at least 17 humans and two bulls died.

The district collectors, committees, police, and organisers failed to ensure that the regulations and state laws were obeyed, and the participants and spectators openly and blatantly flouted them.

As the PCA (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 2017, gives a blanket exemption for jallikattu events from the PCA Act, 1960, and as the Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, prescribes a punishment for treating animals cruelly that simply bars people from participating further in the event, those who abuse bulls during these events get off scot-free as offenders are mostly not punished. No fines or jail time are prescribed to penalise or deter violators. In the absence of such deterrents, the people involved, including the organisers, fail to ensure adherence to the rules and effectively get a free pass to abuse the bulls.

PETA India's investigation this year has also proved that no amount of regulation can eliminate cruelty during jallikattu, as the very purpose of the spectacle is to terrify, tackle, and taunt bulls and to subject them to immense physical and mental trauma. The investigation into these seven events shows that the regulations in the PCA (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act, 2017, and the Tamil Nadu PCA (Conduct of Jallikattu) Rules, 2017, as well as the AWBI Guidelines on Conduct of Jallikattu Event, 2018, are bound to be violated, as the spectacle necessitates subjecting the bulls to physical and mental trauma and cruelty.

Furthermore, the organisers, participants, bull owners, and spectators at all seven events brazenly flouted the COVID-19 restrictions and guidelines issued by the Tamil Nadu state government for jallikattu events during the ongoing pandemic. Social distancing was not maintained, face masks were not worn, spectators were allowed into the galleries without showing COVID-19 vaccination certificates indicating two doses and negative RT-PCR test results, at least five or six people (instead of two people) accompanied each bull, and galleries in arenas were jam-packed, exceeding 100% capacity instead of the prescribed 50% limit, with spectators reportedly numbering thousands instead of the prescribed limit of 150 people.

The interim orders and guidelines issued by the Supreme Court of India since 2008 were brazenly flouted at the seven jallikattu events, which were previously inspected by the AWBI, and even the guidelines that were followed were not sufficient to prevent the suffering of animals or injuries to humans. The statistics shared by the AWBI show that as many as 43 people died during jallikattu events between 2008 and 2014. At least four bulls also died during that period. The evidence gathered during those AWBI inspections proved

that no regulation can or will protect bulls from suffering. That's why, through its 2014 judgment, the Honourable Supreme Court banned jallikattu and stated that when culture and tradition are at variance with the law enacted by the Parliament, the law will take precedence.

There is so much more to the festival of Pongal than taunting bulls – including praying and singing, eating sweets, making offerings to God, doing charitable deeds, and garlanding and decorating bulls. The purpose of the festival is to offer thanks to the Sun god and nature for the harvest, and that's not something that can be achieved by tormenting bulls and causing injury and death to the animals and humans.

Animal torture is not something to regulate – and regulations cannot negate the fundamental cruelty of deliberately tormenting bulls. Many peer-reviewed papers demonstrate a link between the actions of humans and the fear, distress, and pain experienced by other species. Research has shown that handling animals roughly or abusing them compromises their welfare and increases their fear of humans. Bulls who are pushed, hit, prodded, or otherwise abused during jallikattu suffer mentally as well as physically. The ban imposed by the Honourable Supreme Court of India in 2014 must be continued in order to prevent bulls from facing cruelty and death and to prevent injury and death to humans as well.

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