

Pigs and Power: Urban Space and Urban Decay

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Public Arenas and Public Space

Mary Douglas started her fundamental insight into the study of purity and danger with the fairly blunt observation that dirt is substance in the wrong place. This chapter will deal with dirt as well but mainly with pigs on garbage heaps in the wrong place: that is in public. Mary Douglas' second observation about dirt is more interesting. She claims that the things we abhor or detest develop a power over us. The fear of dirt or pollution has a transformative quality as it empowers the culturally defined realm of man, animal or substance (Douglas 1966: 165). Starting point in time for the narrative of pigs and power was a visit to Kanpur after a time gap of nearly 20 years. Two things stunned me: The pigs on the garbage heaps along the roadside, even in the best localities, and a new and for me unknown Dalit assertiveness. The Dalit had gained a place in public, not only through numerous Dr Ambedkar statues, but also through public arena activities. What did it mean for Kanpur, India's first and oldest industrial town, the former 'Manchester of the East'? Can one derive the one from the other? Is there a Dalit narrative on urban development or industrial decay? Or is there more than one narrative?

In this chapter, I will try to show why the pigs in Kanpur multiplied and in what respect their appearance is linked with Dalit assertion in Kanpur. Assertion is employed on the one hand as social movement of underprivileged groups (Fuchs 1999: 59) in their fight for recognition as well as their fight to be different. In Uttar Pradesh, Dalit politics and Dalit imagery have been in the foreground during the present and former rule of Mayawati and the Bahujan Samaj Party. During her short spells of rule in 1995 and 1997, she multiplied the representation of Dalit culture, especially of Dr Ambedkar through statues, parks and *ghats* - river banks. [202] It led to a "foregrounding of the Dalit issue" (Froystad 2000: 265) and has been more pronounced since the elections in 2002 when Mayawati became chief minister of Uttar Pradesh again.

Intertwined with the discourse of Dalit assertiveness is the narrative of pigs and power, which entered public awareness during the so-called post Ayodhya riots of 1992. These Hindu-Muslim riots broke out after the destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya by fundamentalist Hindus. In Kanpur, the riots were machinated and carefully planned by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and the agency of this unabated and pointed murder of Muslims was attributed to a Khatik swineherd and

city councillor with the meaningful name 'Kala Bacca'. For the BJP he was a hero but for the police and administration he was "not only a 'criminal type' but a 'thief' as well who made money by stealing 'whatever unclaimed pigs were roaming around'" (Brass 1998: 249). Through him the pigs reached a level of perception, although it took a long time before public action followed.

The support for the BJP was very much in line with the overall political development in UP and Kanpur as well. In Uttar Pradesh the BJP formed the government in 1991 and in Kanpur, the BJP had a landslide victory (Brass 1998: 213). The Kala Bacca episode was not a singular derailment from the path of Dalit politics but rather a long entanglement with Hindutva as the dominant political discourse. It actually lasted from 1993 till 2002, when Rakesh Sonkar was elected as BJP MLA from Sisamau reserved constituency. His only qualification was that he was the son of a pork butcher; and he was very much in the mainstream of Dalit identity. The infatuation of the Khatik with the BJP is even more surprising, as they were once at the forefront of the Dalit movement in Kanpur (Bellwinkel-Schempp 1998: 193).

Concerning the pigs, there are only scanty references to this species. The pig is considered to be the animal of Dalits and Adivasis, which is why it is juxtaposed to the 'holy cow' and essentialized as an abomination for *savarna* Hindus and for Muslims as well (Harris 1988: 84). According to Manu, the domesticated pig is looked down upon as the animal of the dung heaps (Doniger 1991: 100). The pig is symbolically frozen as the heraldic animal of the sweeper (Searle-Chatterjee 1981: 36), both of them scavenging, removing garbage, dirt and faeces of the *savarna*. It deserved the same fate as its master, and there is barely any recognition of its nutritional value, only by courageous veterinarians (Sahukar 2000). There is a colonial discourse on pigs, which is closely connected with Kanpur and the Khatik. It is at the root of the present [203] day's problem of pigs in public, urban governance and civic response.

The focus of this chapter is on the Khatik, a caste of untouchable masons and butchers. I am deliberately taking an approach which focuses on one particular caste, although most research on Kanpur has been accentuating the class dimension of industrial development, most prominently in two recent studies (Gooptu 2002; Joshi 2003). Religion, culture and politics transform the representations of class and lead, according to Nandini Gooptu, to the following subaltern manifestations: "The untouchables drew upon a religious tradition of heterodox nirguna bhakti in their self-assertion, while the shudras elaborated upon a martial past and *saguna* tradition of devotionism, which had been more prominent in their own history." (Gooptu 2002: 198) For her, the Khatiks and Pasis belong to the lower Shudra agricultural castes (ibid, 192).

The caste approach helps to understand the complex interplay of urban governance, politics, public response and violence more minutely than the class approach. However, it leads to a critique of the

subaltern class construction of Shudra and untouchable castes with respect to their religious and political orientation. Besides, it serves as reassessment of the colonial construction of caste (Cohn 1987; Charsley 1996) in its political as well as religious dimensions. This chapter serves the purpose of showing the positioning of the Khatiks within Dalit assertion and Shudra militancy and to deconstruct the juxtaposition of heterodox *bhakti* and orthodox *saguna* devotionalism.

‘Manchester of the East’

Kanpur has 4.1 million inhabitants according to the Census of 2001. It is still the biggest city in Uttar Pradesh. Kanpur was founded as a British army camp in 1778 (Yalland 1987: 42). For a long time, the origin of the name was contested between Kanaiyapur city of Krishna, - and Kampoo - the etymological deduction from camp (Majumdar 1960: 19) but recently Kanaiyapur has been given the preference with the rise of Hindutva (Froystad 2000: 48). It was to become the oldest and most renowned industrial town of India. Kanpur’s industrialisation was born out of the ‘Great Rebellion’ of 1857, which led to the annihilation of the British civil and military population. The ‘Great Rebellion’ supplied the trope (Mukherjee 1998: 4) of treason and treachery and the script for Kanpur’s industrialization.

The British transformed the ‘white man’s tragedy’ into the ‘white [204] man’s triumph’ with textile and leather industries. Blueprint, machinery and foremen were imported from England (Nevill 1909: 82) and raw material (cotton, hides, bristles, sugar, oil seeds), capital¹ and labour were Indian. Kanpur’s industries diversified into sugar, brushes, engineering and ordinance and in the 1930s chemicals and metals (Singh 1990: 16). Kanpur became the ‘Manchester of the East’, India’s first industrial town. Not only that, Kanpur developed into a wholesale market for grains and pulses, hides, bristles, and raw cotton. This was due to the favourable traffic network. Kanpur was situated on the navigable Ganges and the Great Trunk Road connecting Kanpur with Lahore to the west and Calcutta to the east. The town became one of the major railway junctions in northern India with three different railway lines (Majumdar 1960: 16).

Had it not been for Kanpur’s industrialization, the so-called ‘Cawnpore massacres’ - as they were called in colonial historiography, would have been long forgotten. Now, through the industrial and commercial eminence of Kanpur, the events at ‘General Wheeler’s entrenchment’ got transformed into ‘All Soul’s Church’ in cantonment and ‘Bibi Ghar’ into ‘Memorial Gardens’ right in the centre of town. These places of “horrors and valour” (Yalland 1994: 3) were full of cloying Christian symbolism, barred to the Indian public. British mourning was regularly enacted through the drive to church on Sunday morning (Yalland 1994: 2) or through conducted tours, organized by Thomas Cook. The ‘Great Rebellion’ became frozen in the marble angel and remained ever present.

Not only that, the trope of the ‘massacres’ of Kanpur did not only linger on but gained notoriety through its frequent riots (1905, 1923, 1927, 1931, 1939). During the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement, tensions built up between Hindus and Muslims (Freitag 1989: 234), and burst in the 1931 Hindu-Muslim riot,² which was considered to be the most severe in pre-independence India (Rai 1999: 16). The riot reinforced the trope of Kanpur as “city of violence” (Molund 1988: 32) and left a major imprint on Kanpur’s urban landscape and on the minds of its people. Since the beginning of the trade union movement, and even before that, riots were interspersed with strikes, police firing and lock outs, the most militant ones being under communist leadership in [205] 1937/1938, which gave Kanpur the fame and name of “Lal Kanpur” (Joshi 2003: 208).

Before the ‘Great Rebellion’, the town of Kanpur had consisted of a hypertrophied cantonment and a densely populated ‘black town’ (Molund 1988: 39). After the ‘Great Rebellion’, the western part of the cantonment beyond the railway lines and parallel to the Ganges was given to the civil authorities. The Civil Lines were set up with broad streets, single spacious bungalows in huge gardens, surrounded by high walls. It became the seat of administration, police and industry. As an extension of the Civil Lines in the western direction along the Ganges, the factory area developed. The factories were huge brick structures with majestic gates, which had their own charm. The woollen factory Lal Imli even built a replica of Big Ben in London, which rang out at every hour.

The ‘black town’ came under the jurisdiction of Kanpur municipality in 1861. “The natives were allowed to live as they pleased and to build in a way that suited their fancy, so long as they were separated from the civil station by a broad shopping mall” (Srivastava 1996: 111). The ‘native bazaar’, as it used to be called from the 1880s onwards, became proverbial for its congestion, overcrowding and appalling sanitary conditions. Already in the 1870s, a broad thoroughfare was laid through the ‘native bazaar’ (Yalland 1994: 166) and sewage canals were built.

The native town sheltered Hindus, Muslims and Scheduled Castes. Already before the riots of 1931, these groups clustered along community and caste lines, because, due to migration, “bonds of community and ties of religion” (Joshi 1985: 278) were strong. After the Hindu-Muslim riot of 1931, the cleavages between caste and religious communities became even more accentuated (ibid, 279). The Dalits too were affected, most noteworthy the Chamars, but the Khatiks withstood the clashes, which was to become a part of their self-definition.

The Dalits used to live in so-called *hatas* - enclosures, which were privately built wards. They sprouted around the factory areas and gave Kanpur the additional notoriety of “city of slums” (Majumdar 1960: 35). Industry and city were well planned and the factories set up housing for the labouring classes. These ‘model labour colonies’ with school, health centre, and open space stood in marked contrast to the congestion and squalor of the *hatas*. Although there were considerable ef-

forts for town planning, especially after the Improvement Trust was set up in 1909, these exemplary measures were usually too little or undertaken too late. They could never compete with the influx of migrants, caused by famines in the countryside in the nineteenth century, and in the [206] twentieth by the depression and war production during two World Wars.

For the 'white sahibs', decolonization was a slow but steady process in Kanpur, as it took them nearly ten years to hand over their factories to the Indian merchants who were in second rank. But the symbolic reorganisation took place at a much faster rate. Memorial Gardens were opened to the public. The 'weeping angel' and the entire memorial were removed to All Soul's Church in the cantonment. During this process, the nose of the angel got damaged (Mukherjee 1998: 2). Memorial Gardens became Nana Rao Park, named after the nobleman who led the rebellion. The former 'traitor' became the 'hero'. Tania Topis' bust (he was Nana Rao's able military commander) was put up instead of the angel. Nana Rao Park became the focal point of the early morning walk of Kanpur's citizens from all genders, castes and creeds. As soon as the British were out, the Americans set up the Indian Institute of Technology in 1959, far out on the outskirts of Kanpur beyond the municipal boundaries. The campus became a modern township in itself and was only incorporated into city administration in 1991.

30 per cent Muslims resided in Kanpur in 1941. After partition there was a substantial shift of population. Muslims migrated to Pakistan and Punjabi refugees swelled the ranks of the Sikh community. Since the 1950s, Muslims from eastern Uttar Pradesh had been migrating to Kanpur to work in the leather industry. Nowadays, the Muslim population of Kanpur constitutes 18 per cent. Population growth has been at par with the overall development, but Kanpur lost its rank as sixth largest city of India which it held in 1961. In 1991 it had dropped to rank 9 and according to the Census of 2001 to rank 10.

Initially, independence brought a diversification of industry with light engineering, transport equipment, electric goods, chemical based industries, cold storage, fruits and vegetables (Singh 1990: 54). Besides, there was also expansion, noteworthy is J. K. Rayon in Jajmau in 1959 with a well-planned labour colony attached. Nevertheless, the percentage of workers employed in industry decreased continuously from 45.1 per cent in 1951 to 28.5 per cent in 1991 (Srivastava 1996: 111), which was due to a number of factors. Already in the early 1950s, it became obvious that the machinery was outmoded, necessary investments had not been made and there was little demand for country cloth. Besides, Nehru favoured other growth centres and decentralisation became the industrial policy.

The U.P. government intended to increase productivity through rationalization. But rationalization schemes faced stern opposition (Pandey 1970: 128) from Kanpur's trade unions. Old memories of

'Lal [207] Kanpur' resurrected, which were channelled into frequent strikes and unrest (1955, 1981, 1989). By the mid 1970s, the Government took over the old textile mills, and subsequently they served as income schemes for a laid-off working class. Production stopped at the beginnings of the 1990s. When Narasimha Rao opened India's economy for the world market in 1991, there wasn't much to finish as the old and renowned factories set up by the British had already closed. The newer ones followed the same lead.

Leather industry in the private sector under predominantly Muslim entrepreneurs took a different turn from the end of the 1970s onwards. Encouraged and streamlined by various Government schemes (Bannerjee, Nihila 1999: 185), the leather industry could meet the quality standards of the global market. Labour costs were low and tax-free export secured high profits because labour was recruited on a contract basis, therefore undermining labour laws and trade union representation. On an all-India scale, the region Kanpur and Unnao procure 13 per cent of all leather exports (Council for Leather Exports 2001: 28). Besides, Kanpur is one of the main suppliers of *chappals* – sandals and manufactured footwear.

The dominant theme during the first two decades of independence was housing for the labouring classes, which was undertaken by Development Board and Labour Office. New colonies in south Kanpur sprang up (Babupurwa, Juhi, Govindnagar and Kidwainagar) and slums were cleared in old labour areas like Benajhabar and Khalasi Lines (Singh 1990: 29). A total of 27,744 houses were constructed. Many Dalits and Muslims, usually those better off, moved to those areas. However, nearly 40 per cent of Kanpur's population were still living in slums (Awasthi 1985: 24). In the 1980s and 1990s government policy changed. With the help of UNESCO, slum improvement schemes (Lavigne 1984: 72) were launched. The upgrading of *hatas* had a positive effect but did not solve the slum problem. New slums developed and with them a new terminology: they are called *malin bastis* - dirty hamlets.

Other southern suburbs, which were developed in the 1950s or 1960s, were decaying already and people were moving back to their old localities. This shift of population had political reasons too. After the severe Hindu-Muslim riots of 1992, many Muslims from South Kanpur moved back into Muslim majority areas either in the old part of town or to the tannery area Jajmau. Ghettoization is nearly complete nowadays. On the other hand, the newly affluent began moving to Civil Lines where high rises, boutiques and restaurants convey a modern western flair – apart [208] from pigs and the roaring sound of the Diesel generators needed in case of a power cut. Whereas originally 'The Mall' warded off the Indian part of town from the residences of the 'white sahibs', nowadays urban segregation is different. Houses in Civil Lines and other upper middle class areas are fortified by high walls and solid gates to ward off poverty, communalism and squalor.

These various streaks of industrial decline were accompanied by urban deterioration on the administrative level, which could only partially be cushioned through World Bank, UNICEF and Indo-Dutch Government Projects. Housing, water and sanitation were the tasks, which were on the agenda, but only effluent treatment for the Jajmau tanneries was partially successful, administered through the Indo-Dutch Project. Besides, not only lower middle class housing, but also new factory areas were developed in Unnao district, which led to a shift to these new growth centres and an even greater loss in the budget of Kanpur's municipal corporation. Since the introduction of the self-assessment tax in 1986, there was a drastic decline of income and the Kanpur Municipal Corporation is literally bankrupt and municipal workers are not paid regularly. This leads to an atmosphere of mistrust and obstruction, which is accompanied by further deteriorating civic and sanitary conditions .

Masons and Butchers

The Dalits in Kanpur constitute 15.5 per cent, much less than in Uttar Pradesh as a whole, where they comprise 22 per cent. The *Khatiks* are a comparatively small *jati*, only constituting 5.8 per cent of all Scheduled Castes in Kanpur, according to the Census of 1961 (Bhatnagar 1965: 62).³ In Kanpur, they reside in two areas of the old part of town, which are named after a street and a ward. It is La Touche Road Khatkiana and Colonelganj. There are smaller Khatik settlements in Khalasi Lines, Gitanagar, Kalyanpur and Babupurwa, which have only recently branched off from the two original settlements.

Let us start with the Colonelganj Khatiks, an *upjati* - subcaste of [209] masons and building contractors who are intrinsically connected with the development of industrial Kanpur, because as experienced masons and building contractors, they set up the mills. They were endogamous and only recently started exogamous relationships with the other *upjati* of Khatiks living on La Touche Road. The Colonelganj Khatiks consider themselves to be the original inhabitants of this area, which was according to their narrative a village around which the town grew. Before the 'Great Rebellion' this area belonged to the cantonment.

The present settlement in Colonelganj is an amazing manifestation of Khatik skills and craftsmanship: Most of the double storied houses were constructed at the end of the nineteenth century. They are huge mansions, solidly built and beautifully decorated. They prove the Colonelganj Khatiks' glorious past as masons and contractors. During the 1931 riots, there was also an exchange of population: upper castes and Chamars moved out⁴ and Muslims from other localities moved in.

Today there are 150 households of Khatiks, 30 Chamar, 40 Teli and 30 Pasi households. The Muslim population is said to constitute 750 households. In Colonelganj, there is the Barhe Masjid, the

main mosque in Kanpur for the Id prayers. Besides, the Bakarmandi goat market, slaughterhouse for buffaloes and the Muslim graveyard is not far away from there. The Colonelganj Khatiks do not keep pigs and claim that they have given up eating pork a long time ago. The Gassa *akhara*⁵-wrestling stadium - tells the story of Muslim and Khatik cooperation and competition in a brotherly - *bhaiband* - manner. But still, this area is known for its Khatik and Muslim strife, hooliganism and petty disturbances. Whenever there is a curfew, it is certainly imposed on Colonelganj, although during the post Ayodhya riots of 1992 there was only one incident reported from there (Brass 1998: 218).

The people of Colonelganj quickly learned how to build factories. The British respected them for their craftsmanship, their entrepreneurial acumen and skills and maintained friendly and respectful relationships with them. “The British paid us great respect, and on Christmas they sent baskets full of dry fruits and nuts as a present. We were rich and affluent, and on Sundays our men used to take the buggy and drive [210] down the 80 miles to Lucknow just to eat pan, that was our life.”⁶

Their professional status as contractors (*thekedar*) elevated them above the normal and put them into a different status bracket. The profession as such had a very wide connotation and was an all-inclusive category: it could be trading in raw hides, making shoes, recruiting labourers, supervising construction work, conservancy work or procurement of cattle and slaughtering. On the one hand, the term had an ennobling quality as it pointed to an elevated position; on the other hand it covered up polluting tasks and messy business. In the case of the Colonelganj Khatiks, they pursued a ‘clean’ profession, but were still regarded as untouchables.

The most famous person was Bihari Lal (1820-1905), who built Muir Mill and erected the Shiv Narayan *math* – monastery in Colonelganj. The *gurdwara* is consecrated to Swami Shiv Narayan (1716-90), a *bhakti* saint in the tradition of Sikhism. Swami Shiv Narayan was a Thakur by caste but he had an exclusively Dalit following, especially amongst the Dhusiya and Jaisvara Chamar in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar. Amongst the Khatik, his following was confined to Bihari Lal’s extended family in Colonelganj. The temple became the centre of the early Dalit movement under Swami Achutanand (1879-1933) in Kanpur. Swami Achutanand was the founder of the Adi Hindu movement (Khare 1984: 83) who claimed that the Dalits were the original inhabitants of India, driven off their land by Aryan conquest and enslaved by Brahmanism.

The Khatiks from La Touche Road are of different stock. There is a general agreement that they were there already before the turn of the nineteenth century.⁷ La Touche Road⁸ is one of the major thoroughfares through the old part of the town, which was constructed in 1905 (Majumdar 1960: 21). Substantial three storied commercial buildings line La Touche Road. It is the main bazaar for agricultural tools, spare parts, and machinery.

Around La Touche Road there are approximately 250 households of Khatiks, 30 Balmikis and 60 Chamars. It is an area, which is highly congested with a concentration of 562 persons per acre (Singh 1990: 27). [211] Solid buildings were only established rather late in the 1940s but this was done by the rich. There was also a slum clearance drive in the 1980s with UNESCO money (Lavigne 1984: 72), which led to the reconstruction of Khatik lane with two blocks of municipal housing and sanitation.

Muslims constitute 1000 households. The close proximity of Khatiks and Muslims on both sides of La Touche Road triggered off frequent communal disturbances in the past. Besides, there is considerable professional rivalry because both groups are vegetable vendors. They sit at the same markets side by side. Their agency – the Muslims’ as well as the Khatiks’ – is well recorded for the 1931 riots⁹ and during the post Ayodhya riots, although only three incidents were recorded (Brass 1998: 218). The whole area is known for its high incidence of crime, hooliganism and communal disturbances.

The La Touche Road Khatiks are pork butchers, vegetable vendors and brush manufacturers. They are proud to be self-employed and many prefer to employ others: Kori for bristle dressing and Pasi for pork butchery. The Khatiks in La Touche Road are very much part of the mainstream Hinduism with a strong veneration for the *devi* - goddess. In the 1930s, a number of them came under the influence of the *shuddhi* - purification- movement of the Hindu Mahasabha (Rivariya 2000: 48). Although they did not reform their eating habits – pork is still their cherished meat and alcohol their cherished drink today – a number of them considered themselves to be Shudras, whereas few supported the early Dalit movement of Swami Achutanand. In the caste dimension they oscillated between Dalit and Shudra identity. In the religious realm however, there was interplay between religious and secular identities.

What is most stunning is that the La Touche Road Khatiks consider themselves superior to the Colonelganj Khatiks, although with their ‘piggery’ and ‘bristle’ they were pursuing a ‘defiling’ job according to Hindu norms of purity and pollution. They use the English terms, because the Hindi terminology sounds derogatory (Molund 1988: 195). The Colonelganj Khatik had a ‘clean’ profession. Until the 1950s, there were no marital relationships between the two *upjatis* - subcastes, and the first one – between the son of a La Touche Road *chaudhuri* - headman and the daughter of a Colonelganj contractor – led to the social boycott of the later. It required a formal decision of the ‘Akil Bharatiye Khatik Sangh’, an all-India body of Khatiks from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, [212] Bihar and Punjab, in 1969 to abolish subcaste endogamy.¹⁰

Babupurwa is a residential area which was constructed by the government as a labour colony in 1954. The Khatik population is said to comprise 150 households (Singh 1990: 29) but a closer look

discloses that this is sheer exaggeration. After the post Ayodhya riots, many Khatiks and Muslims left. It was the area with the highest number of incidents due to the agency of Kala Bacca. Nowadays, there are only 12 Khatik households and 80 Muslim households left.¹¹ The Khatiks in Babu-purwa are said to be an offshoot of the La Touche Road Khatiks, kinship relations exist between these two groups. The same applies to the Khatiks living in Harshnagar (20 Hh). The 20 Khatik households in Khalasi Lines and the households in Gitanagar (30 Hh) are said to be from the same stock as the Colonelganj Khatiks.

Piggery and Bristles

Let us probe into the intricacies of piggery and bristles, which is at the core of the problem. The British were well aware of the fact that pigs are despised animals, both by *savarna* Hindus and Muslims. But they realised soon that it would be better to use the peculiarities of Indian culture and commerce to their advantage. The ravines around Kanpur were full of pigs and it was a risky waste of energy only to use them for pig sticking, which was the favourite and violent sport of Kanpur's youthful 'white sahibs' (Yalland 1994: 359). As British animal husbandry had just turned to breed hogs for consumption, there was a shortage of bristles for the expanding British brush industry. Why not export those bristles as the Indians had no use for them? It did not escape their attention that the 'Depressed Classes' and 'Depressed Tribes' traditionally kept pigs, which had a great resemblance to the wild species: They were black, long legged and above all, endowed with long and stiff bristles along the spine.

With an infallible sense for business and profit, the British put the Khatiks to the task of procuring those bristles. From the 1860s onwards (Yalland 1994: 330), bristles were exported to London, even before the British opened the 'Pioneer Brush Factory' in 1896 (Nevill 1909: 82). The commodity was so eagerly sought after, that even a special auction was set up in London. Kanpur became the Indian centre for bristle [213] manufacturing, and its product was called 'Calcutta' bristle, because the leading British trading firms had their head offices in Calcutta.

In the 1930s, after the Great Depression, when it became feasible for Indian capital generally to venture into industry, the Khatiks from La Touche Road established firms. At that time Kayasthas, Punjabis and a few Parsis got into that line as well, sensing the profit. Due to the Chinese civil war, supplies from China were seriously hampered and 'Calcutta Bristle' came into even more prominence. Although the British middlemen and agents deducted a good share from their profits, the Khatik bristle manufacturers invested in real estate and built substantial houses during the war years.

Four firms rose into prominence¹² and many more made a good living as traders, dressers and agents. Mitthu Lal, one of the big bristle dealers, was casually and with the ironical undertone of British humour named 'King of Bristles' by a British customer in the 1940s. He took it as an invitation to crown himself. He got a coloured photograph made with the caption 'King of Bristles' in quotation marks.¹³

They could not translate their rise to riches into esteem within society at large but among the Dalit castes of Kanpur they were assigned the highest rank. Ram argued that this is due to the fact that they were pursuing a "clean occupation" (Ram 1988: 42). This does not hold true because only the rich bristle dealers could delegate the polluting task to other Scheduled Castes. The 'piggery' business posed additional problems, which were clearly spelled out by George Trevelyan in 1864:

Along the gutters wanders the hideous foul Indian pig. It is only necessary to watch the habits of the animal for five minutes to understand why the eaters of swine-flesh are held unclean throughout the East. In this respect Englishmen have adopted what is generally looked upon as an oriental prejudice; and no pork appears on a Calcutta table except such as has been sty-fed by hands in which the host reposes the most perfect confidence. (Trevelyan 1992: 22). [214]

How to obtain sty-fed pork? Teaching the Khatiks what they called 'piggery' was not enough. Cleanliness, supervision and handling had to be done under British eyes to avoid any deviation from their understanding of hygiene. Besides, the Indian public, Hindus and Muslims alike, for whom the pig was an abomination, had to be bypassed. Although abattoirs were constructed in the 1880s, one in Fazalganj industrial estate for pigs and the other at Colonelganj for cows and buffaloes, it was better to place the bloody business of the butcher into the cantonment.

Besides, the job of the butcher was camouflaged as *thekedari*, meaning procurement, slaughtering, and processing of pigs for the needs of the British civil and military population.¹⁴ Veterinary doctors did the inspection. Besides, the Aligarh Dairy Farm added a pig breeding section to their cow stable from where ham and sausages were supplied, which were regularly advertised in the Pioneer, the leading newspaper. Kanpur had four pork shops on the Mall, which predominantly served an English public.

While doing 'piggery', a semantic change occurred for the Khatiks. The pig was no longer the defiled animal, which marked their untouchable status, but the cherished food of the 'white sahibs'. Slaughtering of a pig was not done any longer in veneration for the goddess to heal a sick child (Briggs 1920: 138) but according to veterinary considerations and health inspection. The semantic shift and the expertise worked well and enabled individual mobility and social recognition. Ram

Avatar, a pork butcher doing 'piggery' for the British, bought a substantial mansion in Etawah Bazaar, an area inhabited by Baniyas, Brahmins, and Kayasthas. Living on the top floor of his house, he has rented the other apartments to Brahmin and Kayastha families. Asked about the quality of inter-caste relations, he described their neighbourly exchange as amicable and full of mutual respect.

Besides, cow protection had a great impact on the Khatiks. Ideologically, the cow protection movement was quite strong in Kanpur, as Pratap Narain Misra's monthly *The Brahmin* was published in Kanpur. "Misra put forward in 1880 'that cow protection was the supreme dharma of the Hindu, that the wealth of Hindustan too was largely dependent upon the welfare of the cow, and that without cow protection the 'Hindu nation' and the country of Hindus could never prosper' ...The religious appeal focussed on cow as mother" (Pandey 1992: 179-80). [215]

The notion of cow protection was adopted by the Khatiks wholeheartedly and pitted against the Muslims and even to a lesser extent against the Chamars. They strongly incorporated into their belief system the conviction that the cow is the incorporation of mother India and he who eats beef is committing matricide. These two streaks of reasoning developed, which were paradoxically juxtaposed against each other. For the Khatiks, bristles became ennobled as commodity and lost its defiling status; on the other hand, cow protection sanctified even animal by-products from the cow. The British went on happily slaughtering cattle for their flourishing tanneries and leather industries, semantically camouflaged as "commissariat cattle" (Roy 1999: 176). The Khatiks knew very well that it was the Muslim *kasai* - butchers on the other side of La Touche Road who slaughtered cows, and although cow slaughter was banned in Uttar Pradesh in 1955 (Lensch 1987: 64), the notion of cow protection is still at the core of Khatik - Muslim resentment.

'King of Pigs'

The 1970s were years of economic decline for the old British-founded textile and leather industry. There was also a political set back through the emergency. For the Khatik bristle manufacturers, the export boom was over when Nixon renewed trade relations with China (Bellwinkel-Schempp 1998: 194). Kanpur could not compete with the cheaper and greater quantities of Chinese bristles. The economic decline of the Khatiks began, when the constraints of the textile industry became obvious. Bristle trade was on the decline, and the final blow came in 1984,¹⁵ when the Chinese flooded the international market with their cheap and good bristles, which made Indian bristles obsolete. The former bristle manufacturers turned brush makers.¹⁶ But the Khatiks lagged behind the more experienced Kayasthas and Punjabis who were able to cater for the Indian market as a whole.

The Khatiks resorted to vegetable dealing where they faced the swelling numbers of the laid off and unemployed industrial workers who were doing the same. Their former monopoly was broken.

Apart from this, in the wholesale market, the Khatiks could not compete with the Muslims.¹⁷ Pig-gery was also on the decline. When the British left, the [216] demand for high quality pork subsided. Most of the Mall road pork shops closed. With increasing buying capacity, chicken became the craze for the middle classes. Pork became the meat of the Dalit poor¹⁸ and buffaloes the meat for the poor Muslims.

At the end of the 1970s, one Khatik family started a new business venture: pig rearing in public. It was facilitated by the garbage collection system of the municipality which only had primary and secondary collection. Primary collection is the sweeping of roads, drains and the collection of garbage from open garbage dumps along the roadside. A few are containers, others are walled compounds, but most of them are open dumps. Secondary collection is done once or twice a week with lorries and bulldozers. The garbage is then dumped at the outskirts of Kanpur as landfill.¹⁹ The new entrepreneur used the gaps between primary and secondary collection to his advantage and put pigs on Kanpur's garbage heaps. The pigs multiplied quickly, although their fertility rate was severely hampered by traffic, toxic refuse and climate.

When I started with my enquiry into the technicalities of pig farming on public grounds, I was quickly led to Romi Sonkar, who is known as 'King of Pigs', because he owns 20 000 pigs in Kanpur. Pig farming is done in the whole of Kanpur and it is especially rewarding in the 'posh' localities, where the nutritional content of the garbage heaps is high. An inspection tour on the back of Romi's motorbike proved to be very illuminating. The whole of Kanpur is divided into four zones, which are 'farmed' by his brothers and uncle. The pigs in each zone get a specific brand for designation. Inspection is done on motorbike early in the morning and it consists of enumerating the pigs which have died during the night. Pig farming depends on networks of so-called 'friends', who turn up from nowhere to do odd jobs for Romi. These *lumpen* elements get no salary from him; instead they extract dues and fines from the car drivers if a pig is run over. Romi commands high authority, a whisper and raised eyebrows are followed. He himself claims to do *pahlwani* - wrestling but not in the *akhara*, but privately. *Pahlwani* is often blended with *badmashi* - petty criminals, hooligans - (Freitag 1989: 241) and his 'friends', the muscle men, belong to that category. [217]

For Romi and the Khatiks in general, pig farming certainly means money, authority and urban development, when one takes Romi's five storied building as proof of that. The Khatiks define themselves as Hindus, which makes them susceptible to the BJP who use their traditional animosity with the Muslims for their own end. Public pig farming on the premises of Kanpur Urban Agglomeration had the effect that the meaning of Hindu amalgamated with these representations of Dalit culture. It showed Dalit assertiveness on a different plane, an extension of the boundaries of locality, which

left an imprint on the town as a whole. They were also an expression of solid waste mismanagement and the negligence of urban authorities.

Kanpur's public took a long time to realize what had happened. But slowly, public opinion turned against the pigs. It started with small articles in the Hindi press, in the hot season of 1999, about various mischief done by the pigs (*Dainik Jagran*, 18.4.1999). The municipal authorities took legal action and issued orders that the pigs had to be kept in sties. This led to an immediate protest by the Khatiks²⁰, who pointed out that the pig issue might be drawn into the forthcoming Lok Sabha election campaign. The municipal authorities gave in, because they knew very well with whom they were dealing. As the Khatiks had BJP backing at local, state and centre level, the municipal authorities were not keen to get entangled. The outcome of the election showed a new and unprecedented alliance: a Congress candidate won the Lok Sabha seat supported by Khatiks and Muslims alike.

The new millennium came and with it a new trial. The mayor issued orders that the slaughterhouse should be auctioned to the highest bidder. As the slaughterhouse was situated right in the middle of town, it was to be moved to the periphery. This scheme stirred up a big commotion and brought the whole Muslim community against the mayor. Right into the imbroglio with the slaughterhouse, another onslaught came from a fairly unexpected side. The young lawyer's association, which had nothing to do, filed a court case against the mayor (*Times of India*, 9.2.2000). [218]

'Let's clean Kanpur together'

The mayor did not know how to respond until Anna came. She was young, energetic, a civic engineer and an expert in solid waste management. She joined the ranks of 'Indo-Dutch Ganga Institutional and Community Development Project', a bilateral government project, which had gone through several phases since 1988. Started under the Ganga Action Plan, it was to set up an effluent treatment plant in Jajmau to recover highly toxic chromium. This was only partially successful, because the plan had used the wrong technology whilst frequent power cuts hampered the whole process. The water was pumped untreated into the fields, damaging the standing crops (*Pioneer*, 15.2.2000). Lately, Indo-Dutch, as it was called colloquially, was helping out the city administration with computer billing to recover the outstanding tax-arrears. The Kanpur municipality was bankrupt.

Anna wanted to do some real work. She came with the clear intention to free Kanpur from the pigs. Her scheme was simple and convincing. She intended to deprive the pigs of their feed, which would make them disappear in no time. So the sweeping and lifting of garbage had to be organized in such a way that the pigs could not get hold of any garbage. However, the municipal administration already had some experience with 'door to door collection'. Repeatedly, they had tried on a NGO-

basis to privatise sweeping. But before long sweepers were beaten up by Romi's 'friends' and the whole project collapsed. The KNN knew very well who the big *badmash* was, although they never met Romi personally.

The KNN were thrilled about Anna. Not so much about the plan but with Anna, her youth and vigour. Her help became even more necessary because the reports in the Hindi press got even longer and more precise (*Dainik Jagran*, 5.7.2000). Suddenly all kinds of animals were targeted. The more the journalists probed and inquired, the more complaints were issued. Besides, there were 'People for Animals' a NGO projecting the cause of the animals. They were blaming the littered polythene bags for endangering the health of the cows. The KNN reacted in the usual manner, promising to remove stray animals from the streets (*Times of India*, 13.3.2000), especially Romi's pigs. But who could catch pigs if not Romi's friends? They were hired to do the task. The KNN was not keen on keeping the pigs and they were sold for a small sum to 'deserving people'. Romi's friends were certainly deserving, so the pigs were back on the streets again.

At the same time, the KNN under Anna's guidance started with the [219] new project. To enable door-to-door collection and the installation of new garbage pits, Anna wanted to know exactly how much garbage Kanpur produced. She went on to weigh the daily garbage disposal, which put the authorities under considerable strain because she supervised the weighing herself and noted down the tonnage. This led to an estrangement between the truck drivers and the health inspectors because the result was that the total garbage was much less than estimated. There were superfluous trucks, too many truck drivers and wasted petrol. Squandering of public resources happens every day but one loses one's face if that becomes public news through a foreign expert. As a consequence, the whole project was considered to be too ambitious and stopped.

A small model scheme on self-help basis was thought to be better. So "Let's clean Kanpur together" was born. A poster showed how cows and pigs were driven out of their urban grazing grounds. New uniforms and new charts would give additional incentives to the sweepers. Everything was well prepared and the administrators and workers were happy and optimistic. The day of the inauguration came. The mayor was there, the municipal authorities and the journalists. Suddenly, the sweepers union turned up, threatening the assembly with their *jharus* - brooms. They put forward that the whole project was nothing else but a clandestine privatisation, and they would strongly object to it. The mayor fled immediately, and Anna left for a long vacation. The cleanliness drive was over. Six months later, Indo-Dutch's solid waste management was terminated, because there was no other scheme to justify their presence.

The corporation elections were coming. Romi Sonkar and Chunna Bacca, Kala Bacca's brother, were standing on a BJP ticket. But public opinion turned against them.

The biggest pig holder in Kanpur, Romi Sonkar, is standing for the corporation elections in Kanpur... The pigs are feeding on garbage and spreading dirt. After the death of Kala Bacca, Romi has become the biggest pig holder in town. It is estimated that he has got more than 10 000 pigs. He has beaten up many people. In this respect, criminal cases are filed against him. Romi does the supervision of the pigs on his motorbike and he gives orders with the help of his mobile. At the last elections, the BJP put up another pig holder with the name of Chunna Bacca who was threatening the voters and never did anything against dirt [220] and disorder in his constituency” (*Dainik Jagran*, 8.9.2000).

Neither Romi nor Chunna Bacca was elected. And the BJP mayor lost her seat against the Congress candidate. The people were looking for a more gifted administrator. So the choice fell on Anil Sharma, whose father was a long time MLA on a Congress ticket, known for his competence, impartiality and skilful political manoeuvring. High hopes accompanied the election of his son. The dominance of the BJP was broken at the city level. The state elections in 2002 resulted in Mayawati and the BSP forming a coalition government with the BJP (Pai 2002: 267). Dalit assertion became prevalent on the political plane as well.

Back to Citizenship

Amongst the Khatik too, the tide was turning. The moderates gained ground, not so much because they resented what Romi was doing but more from a vision of a better future for their *samaj* - society. They felt left behind in comparison with the upwardly mobile Chamar who were securing most of the posts in the highest echelons of administration. The Khatiks had only one IAS officer in the Class I bracket. Neither brush manufacturing nor contracting opened an avenue for progress and prosperity and pig rearing led to criminality. The educated and enlightened amongst the Khatik began projecting the three tenets of Dr Ambedkar “educate, unite and fight” for the well being of their own society.

Nawal Kishor was the leading figure behind this. He was the son of a rich bristle dealer Makund Lal who had educated his sons well. Makund Lal was convinced that progress was only possible through the equalizing effect of trade, commerce and modern education, which would eventually overcome discrimination arising from the caste system. His sons were the only ones among the La Touche Road Sonkars who knew English fluently. When the bristle boom was over, Nawal Kishor managed to transform his trade into brush manufacturing, placing his son and nephew into the business. Now, at the age of 60, he was in a position to fulfil himself a dream: In 1998, he had started a

magazine called *Brushes, Hairs and Fibres*.²¹ Swimming against the current of Sonkar [221] resentment, he employed two Muslims as office staff, and with the help of his secretary and a young computer specialist, he got in touch with the world at large through the internet.²² This was his response to globalization, and the Khatik had been linked with global economy for more than 100 years.

On 16 March, 2001, the last day of Holi, a riot broke out (*Times of India*, 18.3.2001). The Islamic Student's Union (SIMI) was protesting against photos which were circulated on the Internet showing the Koran being burnt. In the course of their demonstrations, an Additional District Magistrate got shot, which triggered off a riot. But neither Khatiks nor Hindus participated. Looting and burning of shops and brutal harassment of Muslims was the police reaction, against which a broad citizen forum of all social groups and denominations protested in a silent demonstration (*Times of India*, 26.3.2001). Nawal Kishor lost his Muslim office staff as they gave notice after these events.

There was not only growing resentment against the pig holders in Kanpur but also against Rakesh Sonkar who was accused of having contributed to the deteriorating urban conditions.

The increasing number of pigs has created a great chaos in different localities. 'We are fed up of the pigs. Our *puja* – prayers - has become useless. The moment we leave the house, the filthy pigs are coming up from the sewers and garbage heaps and cheek us. It is like hell - *narak*.' Road decay, brain disease, cancer and other severe diseases are attributed to the pigs. Not only that, the pig herders and their families are also getting chronic diseases. 1000 people are connected with this business and it is very lucrative. Mr Sonkar agreed to build pig herders colonies outside the city with the help of the government, the municipal authorities and the Kanpur Development Authority. He was also confronted with the fact that the popularity of the BJP is going down because they are pursuing group politics. When he was questioned that he acquired schools and *dharmshalas* and misappropriated public property, he just denied but could not argue the case. (*Dainik Jagran*, 16.7.2001).

Misappropriation of land, urban property and corruption were the charges against Sonkar. He lost the candidature in the 2002 State elections and a candidate on a Congress ticket, Sanjay Dariawadi, a Khatik as [222] well, won the constituency seat reserved for Sisamau. Nawal Kishor raised funds for the election campaign and actively supported him. Sanjay's father had been Makund Lal's partner in bristle manufacture. He had been a businessman for many years and set up the *Jauhar* temple on La Touche Road. Following his father's sudden death, Sanjay's mother became an MLA, also on a Congress ticket. During her legislative period, the slum clearance scheme in La Touche Road

Khatkiana was set into motion (Lavigne 1984: 72). Apparently, the Khatiks had gone back to the Congress.

Swine Herder's Assertion

Pigs in the Indian contexts are considered an abomination, closely connected with pollution and danger and a signifier of untouchable culture. Let us go back to Mary Douglas' observations about substance at the wrong place, in this case about pigs at the wrong place. Has the public appearance of the pigs changed their cultural meaning? In the mapping of urban space, pigs are synonymous with Hindu localities. They show an extension of untouchable culture to the whole town. Pigs are equated with the concept of Hinduness in structural opposition to Muslimness as the other. Besides, they had an equalising effect on the town as a whole, because so called 'posh' localities were affected as well as poor localities. Pigs were not the only ones creating havoc in town. Dogs, cows and buffaloes were a security and health hazard as well. But all efforts to contain them, starting from slaughterhouse campaigns to repeated schemes to settle them at the outskirts of Kanpur, did not help.

The failure of urban governance to contain the live-stock on Kanpur's streets seems to be symptomatic of a variety of factors (de-industrialization, economic decline, communal tensions) although they do not explain the complex interface of different segments of the public and the power relations involved. The rather helpless manoeuvring of the administrative set up and the NGO involved shows the failure of the 74th Amendment. Urban governance depends on the power relations at the centre and state level, which is openly discussed and reckoned with. The political constellation on the different levels of electoral authority is important, not the administrative measures, schemes and projects.

Engaged journalism was voicing the complaints of the citizens against animal menace. Detailed enquiries presented differentiated reactions to all kinds of animals, which reiterated the notions of purity and pollution [223] as well as superseded them, thereby elevating a religiously contained animal symbolism on to a secular platform. Newspapers as a forum of citizens' concerns beyond communalism and in pursuance of common objectives (health, cleanliness, safety) presented a public awareness for the common good.

But how did that semantic shift occur from the pig as an abomination to the so-called 'clean' profession the Khatiks are pursuing? Piggery and bristle manufacturing were a break with the untouchable past, because the colonial understanding of the pig ennobled that business and changed the meaning. The Khatiks derived their self-respect and self-definition from the centre of colonial power, the London auction, where they sent their bristles. They turned to Hindu culture without re-

forming their eating habits in which the seeds for their susceptibility for Hindutva and its anti-Muslim appeal lay. Cow protection is at the core of their belief system and the pig was pitted against the Muslims as a provocation.

The Khatiks have grown out of two endogamous groups into a 'caste', what they call *samaj* in a shifting and oscillating understanding of 'caste' as *jati*, as caste association, as the community of Dalits in Kanpur and society at large. Apart from this, they are also oscillating between Shudra and Dalit identity and notions of purity and pollution do not explain their status, which also represents the paradoxical part of their history. I could also show how militancy was subsiding and how the Khatiks were coming back to a civic understanding of political propriety.

Neither Nandini Gooptu's construction of Dalit and Shudra castes with distinct characteristics holds true, nor the deconstruction of caste as a colonial machination. The Khatiks of Kanpur were oscillating between Dalit and Shudra identity, between secular and religious notions, between fundamentalist and progressive political orientations. Throughout their history, there was a continuous foregrounding or backgrounding of their multiple orientations and attributes of status. The Khatiks of Kanpur were followers of a *bhakti* saint as well as of Shudra militancy.

The Khatiks were closely associated with the British and derived their identity from the tasks they were assigned to. I could show how on the one hand the British 'fixed' the Khatiks into something they considered to be their hereditary occupation but they were also pragmatic enough to accept what was offered. The Colonelganj Khatiks were skilled masons and the British used their mastery to get their factories and houses constructed. Caste stigmata were used and ignored at the same time, they were fixed and superseded, all as a part of the colonial discourse. The [224] Khatiks of Kanpur are a good example of constructing and deconstructing of caste, along and beyond pollution lines. The semantic shift to piggery and bristle from the abomination of the polluted animal is an amazing finding. This lies at the bottom of their power and their appropriation of the public realm through their pigs.

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¹ The capital came from landed property, salaries paid in India and a minor portion of the capital was borrowed from Indian bankers. The most prominent, Juggilal, became an industrialist later on as well.

² About 400 persons killed, more than 1200 injured, 18 mosques, 42 temples, 248 homes of Hindus and 101 homes of Muslims destroyed (Brass 1998: 209).

³ The most numerous are the *Chamar* (leather workers 37.3 per cent), *Kori* (weavers 16.8 per cent), *Pasi* (vegetable sellers 11.2 per cent), *Balmiki* (sweepers 10.8 per cent), *Dhanuk* (pig rearers, 4.5 per cent), *Dhobi* (washermen, 4.3 per cent), *Shilpar* (stone cutters 2.1 per cent) (Bhatnagar 1965: 62). The *Chamars* supplied most of the workers in leather and textile industry (Niehoff 1959: 18) but their proportion of educated spokesmen is quite high (Ram 1988: 35). The *Kori* are a highly urbanized caste and work in textile industry and bristle dressing (Molund 1988: 119).

⁴ Interview with Advocate Tej Saxena on 20.2.2000. He is an old gentleman of over 80, the only *savarna* -upper caste - resident still residing in Colonelganj.

⁵ We attended the celebrations of all *akharas* on Nag Pancmi on 25.7.2001. The Colonelganj *akhara* was just celebrating its Diamond Jubilee with an impressive *kusti*- wrestling competition, a procession to the Hindu graveyard and a sword dance on the grave of Bihari Lal.

⁶ Interview on 8.2.2000

⁷ A tombstone in a Hindu graveyard, mentioning one Khatik Bhawanideen Chaudhuri Anwarganj Cawnpore who died on 30 July 1894, confirms this. His tombstone is not as elaborate as Bihari Lal's but still impressive. Visit to the Hindu graveyard behind Idgah Colony on 10.11.1999.

⁸ It was named after the then governor of the United Provinces, James La Touche.

⁹ Interview with Nazar Mohammed, owner of the Pioneer Tannery on 17.11.1999. He was a 12 year old boy and used to live on the Cooliebazaar side of La Touche Road.

¹⁰ Interview with Sunder Lal Sonkar, president of the Kanpur Khatik Mahasabha, on 16.3.1999.

¹¹ Interview with Chunnu Bacca, the younger brother of Kala Bacca, on 27.2.2000.

¹² There were initially only four registered: Mitthu Lal & Roshan Lal; Masterji Bandi Din & Bake Lal, Makund Lal & Dori Lal and Ram Lal & Shoba Nath,. They became founding members of the 'Indian Bristle Merchants Association' which was established in the 1930s. Interview with Suresh Saxena, the former Secretary of this association on 22.11.1998.

¹³ Visit to La Touche Road and the house of Satish *chaudhury*, Mitthoo Lal's youngest son who keeps the photograph in his *puja* corner on 12.2.1996.

¹⁴ Interview with Ram Avatar at Etawah Bazaar on 1.2.2001. He has his pork shop on King's Bazaar, the only British-style pork butcher left.

¹⁵ Interview with Tilokchand Sonkar on 26.10.1998.

¹⁶ Interview with Rakesh Saxena on 4.11.1998.

¹⁷ In Kidwainagar 75 per cent of the business is in Muslim hands. Visit with Mohammad Ahmad and Babar to Kidwainagar on 2.12.1999.

¹⁸ According to an estimate, which I got at the slaughterhouse from the Khatiks, there are still 300 pork butchers in Kanpur, whereas the health inspector claims that there are only 90 left.

¹⁹ Interview with Dr Girdhani, Chief Health Officer of the Nagar Nigam Kanpur (NNK) on 9.2.2000.

²⁰ Satya Prakash Sonkar, Congress politician from La Touche Road formulated the objection with a threatening undertone in a well-versed letter to the Mukhya Nagar Adhikari ; communication on 17.11.1999.

²¹ His magazine was a replica of the English bristle merchants magazine: 'Bristles, Hairs and Fibres' , which stopped publication at the end of the 1970s. His father had been a regular subscriber to that magazine.

²² While working on this paper, I got the sad news that Nawal Kishor died suddenly on 31.1.2000.