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A New Life in Huddersfield: The Memories of Partition and Migration.
What is the legacy of Partition in the diaspora community in the UK?

Fatima Sonyia Jamal

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of Master by Research:

Public History, Oral History and Community Heritage

July 2019

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Abstract

The Seventieth Anniversary of the Independence of India and Pakistan has addressed the sensitive nature of the Partition legacy through the media coverage. This year a new debate has been addressed: that less knowledge of this topic is being transferred to the next generation of the diaspora South Asians. There is a preconception that this community that migrated from South Asia to the UK cannot live side-by-side. The oral history account states some people were a little hesitant because of the traumatic memories of childhood, but wanted to move forward rather than dwell on the past. The existing oral history archive is focused on people's experience of settling in the UK, not about their ancestral history. It has only been in recent decades that there is a shift towards understanding this community's memories about the Partition. I explore the existing local and national oral history archive regarding the Partition legacy of community that migrated to Huddersfield during the 1950s and 1960s. This community started to live side-by-side again in Huddersfield despite the fact they had experienced the traumatic memories of the Partition during childhood. Working with a company Lets Go Yorkshire, my project leader, Mandeep Samra, Director of The White Line Project offered guidance on how a community heritage project can be incorporated with academic learning to bring together expertise and knowledge into the public spheres. The aim for this thesis was to start a dialogue between the second generation who had experienced the Partition with third generation who are unaware of their family history and to understand their memories through creative writing

workshops, oral history archive, and a documentary.¹ The documentary reflective questionnaire for participants during the screening reveals that people had little knowledge about this topic prior to the media coverage during the Seventieth Anniversary. In addition to this South Asian community third generation feel ashamed that they did not learn about this topic during school education. The reflective essay discusses my experience and perspective as a third-generation South Asian academic working with the local community heritage project to create a shared history an archive for the local communities in Huddersfield.

¹ With this thesis I will submit a CD with 12 oral history interviews conducted for the White Line Project, a DVD of the documentary which is also present at the Yorkshire Film Archive online website. Finally, a USB stick with portfolio folders of all the workshops and events discussed in the reflective essay and throughout this thesis

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Dedications and Acknowledgments

This thesis relies upon research and analysis done by various scholars, and writers, on the subject of 1947 Partition. It was through their body of work on the respective subjects that I was able to structure my thesis. I acknowledge their contribution, as their work has inspired me on many levels. I am thankful to my parents for their support; they were intrigued by the subject of my thesis. I would like to thank Professor Paul Ward; it was very sad to see him leave the University of Huddersfield in February, and I am grateful to him in guiding me and introducing me to Mandeep Samra Director of The White Line Project. I am thankful to the CEO of Kirklees Local TV Mr Milton Brown for training me to use the facilities, to create a video for the Masala Tea Party event. I am thankful for Home 1947, an art installation by Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, which remembers the traumatic division of British India through, oral history, material memory, and virtual reality. This is one of the major highlights of the product of my thesis, and it played a key role in its development. Finally, I am thankful to Mr Iqbal Husain at the National Archive for reaching out to the local community project.

1. Introduction

This Masters Research coincides with India and Pakistan's Seventieth Anniversary of Independence, in August 2017. In May 2016, I visited Pakistan for the first time in twelve years. I explored many historical sites, visited the Lahore Museum and watched the Wagah Border Ceremony. Indian and Pakistani security forces have performed this ceremony since 1959. This border showcases competitiveness, friendship, and cooperation between both nations. Sightseeing the colonial remains of the British Empire in Pakistan, along with other historical landmarks, in part motivated this thesis.² I was inspired to research my heritage and the South-Asian Partition legacy, also to learn more about the diaspora South Asian community in the UK and more specifically in Huddersfield. The majority of the historiography currently available is either national or focused on the central cities within the UK. There is no material that can be found on Partition in Huddersfield, most of the focus is about understanding the cultural history of the South Asian community. This research focuses on this point, and in particular, how the transfer of the knowledge about this topic has been limited for the next generation. There is no consensus on the meaning of the word community as Hester Barron states 'the use of community as a tool of analysis poses significant conceptual problems, not least of definition'.³ For the purpose of this thesis I will refer to the word community as the South Asian population which specifically migrated to

² Fatima Sonyia Jamal. (2017). *Wagah-Attari Border Ceremony May 2016*. Retrieved from <<https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/2017/05/31/wagah-attari-border-ceremony-may-2016/>> (This is my blog on my personal research website)

³ Hester Barron (2010), *The 1926 Miners' Lockout: meaning of community in Durham Coalfield*, (Oxford, Oxford university Press)

Huddersfield. The word community will be used in a descriptive form to mean the descent of a geographical region, but it should be noted that individuals do not always use the word South Asian to describe themselves due to religious, location, language, and other dissimilarities.

Through this research I will use the oral history and local public responses to create a dialogue between the second and the third generation, to create a shared history rather than individual histories. There is a lack of historical knowledge and sense of historical identity in the South Asian young generation born in the UK, they seems to be unaware of their family history in connection to the Partition. [See Appendix 3] The South Asian community that separated during the Partition reunited again in Huddersfield and other parts of the world.⁴ Through this research I helped to create workshops, events, and exhibitions to create a dialogue to understand the different perspectives about the Partition. On beginning this research, I volunteered in organising a local event about Partition in the Lawrence Batley Theatre courtyard, Huddersfield, on 12th August 2017, two days before the Anniversary of Independence. Originally, this thesis had only three interviewees who were willing to talk about their experience, so in order to encourage more people to come forward I helped to organise the Masala Tea Party (MTP).⁵ This event was significant as it helped to bring different ethnic, religious, and age groups together to start a discussion about this topic. I got the opportunity to interview the audience at the MTP and

⁴ Richard T. Ashcroft & Mark Bevir (2018) Multiculturalism in contemporary Britain: policy, law and theory, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21:1, 1-21, DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2017.1398443

⁵ See chapter 7 Reflective: about MTP also the video I created; Kirklees Local Television [Masala Tea Party]. (30 Aug 2017). *Masala Tea Party: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the partition of India and Pakistan* [Video file].

through this we introduced the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) Project, the White Line Project (WLP), to the local residents. This event was a starting point for this research, it helped me gain understanding of the conflicts going on today within the South Asian community, by looking at the past and more specifically the Independence Day Anniversary.⁶ I will discuss the diasporic South Asian community in Huddersfield and their childhood memories of Partition.

The strength of feeling around Partition was known to exist within the South Asian community but the lack of historical awareness informed my interest in this topic. On 18th June 2017 Pakistan won against India in the International Cricket Council (ICC) Champion Trophy, it was reported by the media as the biggest match in cricket. Commenting on the match a 73-year-old told the BBC that 'it's similar to the Ashes [between England and Australia], but to me it's more than that because of the history, the background, the politics'.⁷ It was reported that bottles were thrown and six police officers were injured as rival cricket fans clashed in Leicester, after Pakistan beat India in the Champions Trophy final at The Oval, London.⁸ This addressed the issue as to why even seventy years after the Partition there is room to question the historical narrative being transferred to the next generation.⁹ This is something I had wished to

⁶ Kirklees Local Television [Masala Tea Party]. (30 Aug 2017). *Masala Tea Party: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the partition of India and Pakistan* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6ncbrEDbKw>

⁷ BBC Sport News Article by Kal Sajad 'Champions Trophy 2017: India v Pakistan - the biggest match in sport?', 3 June 2017 <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/cricket/40108344>>

⁸ BBC News Article 'India v Pakistan cricket fans clash in Leicester', 19 June 2017, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-40324089>>

⁹From Parks To Pavilions 2017 Project: The AYA Foundation, a community organisation specialising in promoting minority heritage, arts and culture, has been awarded a grant by the Heritage Lottery Fund to work with young people from across West Yorkshire to record interviews and collect memorabilia from the founders of one of the oldest Asian led cricket

explore further through oral history by uncovering history from below to understand the lives of people who were 'hidden from history' and not highlighted in books, newspapers nor media.

Before embarking on this topic, it is important to question the origin, legacy, and impact of memories of those who lived through the years of Partition and explore why this history is not being passed on to the third generation. [see chapter Oral History] It is critical to discuss the historical legacy that has helped to shape Indian and Pakistani perceptions of each other. I have used local and national events during the seventieth anniversary, and oral history interviews, to reflect on how the third generation of the diaspora South Asian community view the Partition legacy, and how neglect in in the National School Curriculum in England, has limited how we understand our ancestral history. This research explores what the Partition legacy means to the diaspora community, as well as why there has been more focus on understanding culture and identities of South Asians settling in the UK, rather than migrants' history in connection to Partition. Oral history projects are not playing the role of the storytelling tradition and can be used 'as a distinct type of historical thinking and transference'.¹¹

The sensitive nature of this topic and the workshop held by our project enabled the younger generation to communicate with elder members of their family and within their South Asian community. Open discussion and creating an

leagues in Britain, the Bradford based Quaid-e Azam Sunday Cricket League.<<http://fromparkstopavilions.org.uk/about/>>

¹¹ Perks R, Thomson A. (2015), The oral history reader. Third ed. (London, Routledge), p.42; This will be discussed later in Chapter 3: Historiography and Sources in the discussion about community History in the UK and the Third Generation understanding of Partition Legacy.

understanding within the third generation during the anniversary has opened a dialogue about introducing changes in the National School Curriculum in England; in addition to this there has been a lack of memorials to keep alive the memories of these silent voices. This has resulted in the first Partition Museum in Amritsar in India, inaugurated on 25th August 2017. Hence heritage projects are a catalyst for the next generation to learn about their own heritage and spark an interest about their ancestral history. The inter-generational transmission of historical knowledge is an important aspect of this thesis.

Since 1994 there have been many regional projects awarded by the HLF to help diverse communities to preserve their history and culture.¹² Part of this research involves co-production: to gain 'historical knowledge [this] approach or methodology [...] allows for a deeper comprehension of people's self-identities'.¹³ For this thesis the co-production took place with "Let's Go Yorkshire," a diverse community-interest company which focuses on aspects of local cultural heritage that is largely hidden and unrecorded by mainstream history. The project is named the White Line and the research involved creating an oral history archive, education pack, and a documentary which was presented as a narrative that encompasses Partition and the experiences of children or adults who migrated to Huddersfield in the 1950s and 1960s. I

¹²Great Britain, National Audit Office, *Heritage Lottery Fund: Report, (2007)*, Annual report and accounts, (National Government Publications, London), pp.8-13, [Since it was set up in 1994, the Heritage Lottery Fund has awarded £3.8 billion of funding to some 24,000 projects. This report looks at how the money has been spent, what has been achieved, and the effectiveness of the grant-making process. The Fund has been successful in supporting projects that are helping to preserve the heritage of the UK.]

¹³ Pente, Elizabeth, Ward, Paul, Brown, Milton and Sahota, Hardeep (2015), *The co-production of historical knowledge: implications for the history of identities*. Identity papers: A journal of British and Irish studies, 1 (1). p. 32

explore the importance of transfer of stories from one generation to the next by accessing memories of people who experienced Partition and those who were born here in Huddersfield, where I live. The main theme is to help assess contemporary memories and how this has influenced the younger generation's own ideas about the cultural gap between the generations. Heritage projects like the WLP give the diasporic South Asian community an opportunity to preserve their ancestral history. As a researcher for the WLP, we created an oral history archive, a documentary, online blogs, and academic resources which can be transferred to the next generation.

2. The White Line Project (WLP)

This project involves twenty-two people from Huddersfield's South Asian community, born before or after Partition and who migrated to Huddersfield during the 1950s and 1960s. The numerous stories and memories collected in this study illustrate how the Partition has impacted people in this town both physically and emotionally. The interviewees for this project were from India and Pakistan who migrated to Huddersfield, I contacted the religious Indian and Pakistani community centres/associations to understand the public history of their life before and after Partition. [See Appendix 1, Source 9 and 10] The Map shows where the migrants lived after Partition in India and Pakistan. The White Line Project (WLP) is developed by Let's Go Yorkshire, an arts organisation set up in 2011; they develop innovative projects reflecting contemporary British culture. This project involved me and four volunteers gathering stories of Partition, and how it dramatically shaped the lives of South Asian migrants who settled in Huddersfield. It is to commemorate local diaspora South Asian

ancestral history, focusing on people's experiences and memories of Partition. The co-production approach used in this project is a way of exploring historical knowledge through public engagement and learning more about my own heritage by talking to the Indian and Pakistani elders in Huddersfield.

The project name was created because of the infamous white line drawn between the east and west Punjab. This line was hurriedly drawn on a map in a span of six weeks by a British Lawyer, Cyril Radcliffe, who had little expertise in this matter and had never visited India.¹⁴ [See Source 9] The white line drawn was a significant part of the memory for Partition survivors. One of the most notable satires from this period entitled 'Toba Tek Singh' by Saadat Hasan Manto (1955) mentions 'the white line' between the borders known as the 'no-man's land'; the white line played a significant role and creates nostalgic memories for people crossing the borders during Partition.¹⁵ During the oral interviews conducted for this thesis all the interviews mentioned the traumatic memories they had either experienced or stories they heard about the borders whilst people were crossing. This suggests how powerful memories can be regarding something that happened seventy years ago, and the white line and borders played an influential role in keeping the memories alive. The WLP title coincided with a personal visit to Pakistan, as during the visits to Wagah Border I witnessed the white line. On the eve of Independence, parts of India held

¹⁴ Yasmin Khan (2008), *The Great Partition: The making of India and Pakistan*, (America, Yale University Press), pp.3-4

¹⁵ Ashok K Behuria and Mohammad Shehzad, 'Partition of History in textbooks in Pakistan: Implications of selective memory and forgetting', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol, 37, No, 3, (2013), p.356 < <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700161.2013.782664> >; David Gilmartin, *Partition, Pakistan and South Asian History: in search of a narrative*. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Nov., 1998), p. 1084

ceremonial parades, banquets, flag hoisting, and fireworks, whereas some places experienced outbreaks of rioting and bloodshed. This thesis involves the co-production of historical research with the WLP led by Mandeep Samra, to mark the Anniversary.¹⁶ On 12th August 2017, the MTP, event was organised for the Anniversary of the Partition, which took place at the Lawrence Batley Theatre in Huddersfield.¹⁷ This was the first local event that helped to bring local people together for the anniversary; prior to this Independence was always celebrated separately by Indian and Pakistani communities. This was a unique opportunity to get involved and to learn more about my heritage and how Partition historically shaped the lives of migrants in Huddersfield. This event was also beneficial for crowdsourcing different interpretations about the legacy for Partition in Huddersfield . During the event I interviewed the audience and asked questions in connection to themes such as homeland memories, celebration, commemoration, and historical understanding about the Partition.¹⁸

Most historians examine the political aspects of the transfer of power, but fail to address the meaning behind ceremonial aspects: what does it mean to ordinary people? The first transfer of power ceremony is a pivotal point in the Independence Day 'celebration', and it stimulates the memory of the horror and

¹⁶ See chapter 7: Reflection: Personal perspective on Partition. page 71

¹⁷ Kirklees Local Television [Masala Tea Party]. (30 Aug 2017). *Masala Tea Party: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the partition of India and Pakistan* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6ncbrEDbKw>>; Kirklees Local TV News – 'Huddersfield's Big Masala Tea Party to Commemorate the Partition of India and Pakistan' Blog by Sonyia Jamal, 22 August 2017, <<https://kltvnews.blogspot.co.uk/2017/08/huddersfields-big-masala-tea-party-to.html>>

¹⁸ Kirklees Local Television [Masala Tea Party]. (30 Aug 2017). *Masala Tea Party: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the partition of India and Pakistan* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6ncbrEDbKw>>

violence that accompanied this. Nicholas Owen examines the transfer of power ceremony, asserting that the intention was to make the British departure look like a peaceful and honourable withdrawal. Amongst the Partition chaos the departure ceremony was seen as a compulsory procedure, it narrowed and blurred the 'margin between happiness and mourning'.¹⁹ Owen states that the 'British [departure] was deliberately portrayed as the tidy winding-up of a job well done'.²⁰ The first Independence Day ceremonies by the new dominions, however, had a cohesive element that were either politically involved, motivated by propaganda, or led by hatred of the other. The national holiday, rituals and official procession in both nations played an influential role. As Yasmin Khan suggests Independence Day itself helped to strengthen the nationalistic self-consciousness, and this 'sovereignty intended to inscribe state power at a time of acute crisis'.²¹

It was after the MTP event that I encountered the South Asian community in Huddersfield celebrating Independence Day.²² The first Indian Independence Day celebration took place in Huddersfield on the eighteenth anniversary in August 1964. The President of the town's Indian welfare association, Mr Krishna Gupta, advised the local Indian community on 'outlining the Indian's two duties', one to his motherland [India] and one to the country where he was

¹⁹ Nicholas Owen, "More than a transfer of Power: Independence Day Ceremonies in India, 15 August 1947," *Contemporary Record, the Journal of Contemporary British History*, Vol. 6, No.3, Winter 1992 (London), p. 434.

²⁰ Nicholas Owen, "More than a transfer of Power: Independence Day Ceremonies in India, 15 August 1947," *Contemporary Record, the Journal of Contemporary British History*, Vol. 6, No.3, Winter 1992 (London), pp.416.

²¹ Yasmin Khan, 'The Ending of Empire: From Imagined Communities to Nation States in Indian and Pakistan', *The Round Table*, Vol. 97, No 398 (Oct 2008), p.695

²² Kirklees Local Archive, 'Huddersfield Examiner, India Independence Day Celebration', 22 August 1964, p.9

living [Britain]. Mr Gupta, referring to the difference between the communities stated that an 'Indian child should be the same as the English child', putting more emphasis on their children's future, education, and learning the etiquettes of an English man.²³ On the 21st September 1970, the Independence Day event by Huddersfield Pakistani Association was reported in the *Huddersfield Examiner*. The pamphlet for this event by the Pakistani Association, stated that 'the Pakistan Association wish[ed] all Pakistanis to join the Solemn Oath that we shall foil any conspiracy to split Pakistan'.²⁴ The reasoning behind this statement was due to the Kashmir crisis during the 1970s; on this anniversary more emphasis was placed on the historical importance of Pakistani heritage, art, culture, and Mughal period Muslim monuments. This helped to unite the South Asian community relationships by teaching them their cultural heritage. However, the interviews conducted through for this thesis suggest that people who migrated to Huddersfield did not want to talk about the traumatic memories and only wanted to remember the happy memories. The people just wanted to start a new life and provide better living conditions for their family back home and here in the UK. [See page 50]

My inspiration to research Partition history was the Wagah-Attari Ceremony which takes place at the border in between Lahore (Pakistan) and Amritsar (India). My first impression of the beating retreat ceremony was that it is an aftermath of Partition; it narrates the relationship between Indian and Pakistani

²³ Kirklees Local Archive, 'Huddersfield Examiner, India Independence Day Celebration', 22 August 1964, p.9

²⁴ The University of Huddersfield, Heritage Quay Archive, SCT/1/6 – II d. Huddersfield – Pakistani- General religion/ Associations Huddersfield Examiner 21.9.70 - Pakistan Association Independence Day celebrations Clr A.J. Hazelden May of Huddersfield

on a national level. The only academic work on this ceremony is by Jisha Menon and Pippa Virdee, but there is a lot of media coverage around this controversial border. As Menon and Virdee argue, this ceremony is a 'mimetic...performance of nationalism', and it aims at 'affectively overwhelming its supporters [by] soliciting loyalties that privilege attachments to abstractions over [connections] to people in one's everyday life'.²⁵ The performance and flag hoisting has been taking place every day since the 1950s; the location of the border is unique because the British Red Cross created a Wagah refugee camp and many people lost their lives due to epidemic or starvation.²⁶ Despite the historical significance of the location, the performance shows how the spectators on both sides of the border attach their conscious or unconscious loyalties yet are unaware of the underpinning history. It took Seventy years to create a first Partition Museum in Amritsar for commemorating the victims and ordinary people rather than political or national figures. We used this border line during the MTP to show the divide by using a white fabric to recreate the memories of people moving across the border. Witnessing the White Line and organising the ceremony helped me to explore the unprecedented horror of Partition through the spectators' conscious patriotism. The MTP event was a way to bring the different Indian and Pakistani communities together and introduce our project, to start a dialogue about the memories people wanted to leave behind.

²⁵ Jisha Menon (2013), *The performance of nationalism: India, Pakistan, and the memory of partition*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), p.52; Pippa Virdee, *No man's land: The Wagah-Attari border*, 14 August 2017, *The London School of Economics and political science* <<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/southasia/2017/08/14/no-mans-land-the-wagah-attari-border>>

²⁶ Sam Smith, 'India partition – looking back at the Red Cross response to the refugee crisis', *British Red Cross*, August 9, 2017, <<http://blogs.redcross.org.uk/international/2017/08/india-partition-looking-back-red-cross-response-refugee-crisis/>>

3. Historiography and Sources

The Partition is a significant moment for South Asian people; it was the largest forced migration in the Twentieth Century. Seventy years later a new generation of writers are increasingly challenging sensitive and taboo subjects such as violence against the 'other', rape, and abduction of women and children. It was estimated that fifteen million people were displaced; by November 1947 perhaps eight million refugees had crossed the borders.²⁷ Recent South Asian studies in relation to Partition have been carried out by historians who take into consideration the political, social, religion, and gender contexts, to consider why Partition happened, its aftermath, and who was to be held responsible. Early works on Partition were concerned with narrating both nations' 'high politics' leading up to Independence to delineate the procedure of the transfer of power, and the leadership of those who helped towards the struggle for freedom.

Recently a renowned Pakistani author, Ishtiaq Ahmed, produced a narrative from testimonies of the "other"; for a Pakistani, the word "other" means an Indian and vice versa. It is always considered that the "other" was presented as a villain, and itself as the victim.²⁸ Independence introduced the term 'separatism' in political dialogue and in the leadership of both new countries. To live under the rule of Hindus was not acceptable by certain Muslim rulers and scholars, and vice versa. It was thought that the 'other' would not get justice

²⁷ Yasmin Khan (2008), *The Great Partition: The making of India and Pakistan*, (America, Yale University Press), p. 156

²⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed (2012), *The Punjab bloodied, partitioned and cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 tragedy through secret British reports and first-person accounts*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press)

and might not be treated well, so a new country was needed. This created an uncompromising nationalistic structure, that complicated the dynamic of different ethnic societies in the period up to and during decolonisation. Naturally, the modification of power overwhelmingly concerned the lives of writers, academics, and ordinary people. In the years after Partition the South Asian community united again in the UK, and other parts of the world. As shown by Nafhesa Ali's oral history research we understand that people started to live together in the same street, sometimes the same house, and owing to having similar cultural understanding they often participated in shared leisure activities.²⁹ The nationalistic historical narrative is crucial for this research to understand how the South Asia Diaspora community started to live side-by-side again in a place like Huddersfield and other parts of the world. This helps to understand to what extent the people who had experienced the Partition wanted to leave behind the past. This is evident in the oral history accounts these people wanted to infuse into South Asians community relations and move forward. [See Page 26 and Chapter 5: Oral History]

In 1997, the Golden Jubilee of Independence encouraged a reassessment of Partition from different perspectives, for example, a feminist writer Urvarshi Butalia conducted ten-years' worth of research on the recovery of women.³² Her work *The Other Side of Silence* coincided with the ongoing debate about

²⁹ Nafhesa Ali, (2010, *Asian Voices: First generation migrants*, (Huddersfield, The university of Huddersfield), p.25

³² Urvashi Butalia, (2000), *The other side of silence: voices from the partition of India*, (London, Hurst), pp. 69-70

ethnic cleansing, genocide, and war crimes against women. Feminist writers have given a new vision of the rehabilitation period after Partition. Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin have also produced similar work titled *Borders & Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*. This book is a commemorative work for 'all those women who survived Partition and lived to tell the tale'.³³ The oral testimonies recorded were of women social workers, involved in the rehabilitation process of women in ashrams and refuges in Punjab. The Abducted Persons Recovery and Restoration Act 1949 was the first step towards rehabilitation; a psychoanalyst, Baljeet Mehra, worked during the restoration period and gives insight into the traumatic displacement of women and of her experiences of working with refugees at Kingsway camp in 1947. Also, Paul Brass's work, '*Forms of collective violence: riots, pogroms & genocide in Modern India,*' is crucial to understanding collective violence in Indian society. It provides a historical understanding of sensitive taboo subjects and social violence on a popular level along with Butalia, Menon, and Bhasin's work.³⁴

The preliminary point of Partition literature was produced by the official histories of India and Pakistan, but these writings address the achievement towards independence; the violence has been either played down, overshadowed or seen as a blame-game on the 'other' religion. British historian Sarah Ansari's work illustrates the implications of the historiography by Indian and Pakistani writers. She critically examines the Indian nationalist approach to

³³ Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, (1998), *Borders & Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, (New Delhi, Rutgers University Press)

³⁴ Paul Brass (2006). *Forms of collective violence: riots, pogroms, & genocide in modern India*, (Gurgaon, Three essays collective) p.159

understanding why Partition happened, by examining how they portray the divisive colonial power and their tactic of 'divide and rule'. For the Pakistani writers, the approach was to address the issue Muslims faced by oppressive Hindu rule, and the creation of a 'homeland' by their 'great' leaders with a solution of the 'two-nation theory'.³⁵ Much of the earlier debate was around the polarity between the All-India Muslim League who wanted Partition and the Congress who wanted unity. It was argued that the Lahore Resolution by the Muslim League in March 1940 initiated 'separatism', and demand for Partition. However, as suggested by Yasmin Khan it was the Third of June Plan that has been criticised, as the subheading of the so-called plan affirmed the 'necessity for speed' but the reason behind the speeding process is unclear.³⁶ The early work by Indian and Pakistani authors around Partition needs to be scrutinized for their nationalistic work, but sometimes this can be useful for understanding the subjective opinion.

Exploring the earlier historical context is important for this thesis, because this had a huge impact on the education of the generation growing up after Partition.³⁷ The aim is to understand how the historical narrative being taught through oral history or official history might have changed people's perspectives of each other. During the second migration to the UK the Indian and Pakistani communities united again and started to integrate with the people from which they had separated during Partition. Under the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*

³⁵ Sarah Ansari (2005), *Life after Partition: Migration, community and strife in Singh, 1948-1962*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press) p.8

³⁶ Yasmin Khan (2008), *The Great Partition: The making of India and Pakistan*, (America, Yale University Press), p.92-94

³⁷ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition*, p.4-6

1962 the citizens of the commonwealth had extensive rights to migrate to the UK and the government issued employment vouchers. This Act was one of the reasons why many people from India and Pakistan rural areas migrated to the UK, in search of a better job or for monetary needs for their family.³⁸ The Oral History interviews show how the different historical interpretations have shaped their understanding of the South Asian communities that were once divided. Some people were a little hesitant at first but due to shared-heritage and culture, the communities united again.³⁹ [See Page 30]

Moving away from the orthodox historical narrative of 'minority' and 'majority', the revisionists' approach considers that British India was a multi-ethnic society not defined by religion. Brass explains that the Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu in India had, and still have, multi-ethnic identities, which were not rigidly fixed by religious belief and varied immensely.⁴⁰ In connection to the migrants in Britain constructing their own identities, it is important to refer to work by Paul Ward and Wendy Webster. Both state that the 'ordinary people' often 'construct their own identities', and that the idea of 'Britishness' and 'identities' were immensely contested after World War II and mostly by elite groups in society.⁴¹ Brass also underlines the complexity of multi-ethnic identities by stating that 'ethnicity and nationalism are not 'given' but are social and political which are constructed by

³⁸ Richard T. Ashcroft & Mark Bevir (2018) Multiculturalism in contemporary Britain: policy, law and theory, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21:1, 1-21, DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2017.1398443

³⁹ Paul R Brass (1991), *Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison*, (New Delhi; Sage publications), p.167

⁴⁰ Paul R Brass (1991), *Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison*, (New Delhi; Sage publications), p.9

⁴¹ Paul Ward, (2009), "The end of Britishness? A historical perspective", *British politics Review: Journal of the British politics society*, Norway 4 (3). p.3; Wendy Webster (2005), *Englishness and empire, 1939-1965*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press)

the elites'.⁴² Most people develop attachments in childhood and youth that have deeply emotive significance, that remain with them through life. During the 1960s the British government officially advocated the assimilation of all migrants into British society.⁴³ They saw this as a one-way process: being white British stayed the same, and so called 'coloured immigrants' needed to become British. This changed in the late 1960s and 1970s as government rhetoric moved towards promoting 'integration' in which migrants would keep their own cultures while adapting to British, and then 'multiculturalism'.⁴⁴ This helps to understand why identities and the Britishness narrative were given more importance, and why this played a crucial role in neglecting diaspora South Asian community history in connection to Partition.

Since the 1990s there has been a growing shift towards oral history in Partition studies. This was propagated by the need to shift the focus from the history of 'great men' to exploring 'history from below', which incorporates a public history. Oral history study has enhanced our understanding of human trauma and turmoil in which the commoner suffered during those confused and chaotic days leading up to the collapse of the British Empire. As a third generation Pakistani growing up in the UK, analysing the oral history account from the WLP, it is

⁴² Paul R Brass (1991), *Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison*, (New Delhi; Sage publications), pp.8, 69, 70

⁴³ Richard T. Ashcroft & Mark Bevir (2018) *Multiculturalism in contemporary Britain: policy, law and theory*, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21:1, 1-21, DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2017.1398443 (1960–61 Proposed immigration restrictions lead to beat-the-ban immigration from the Indian sub-continent. Birmingham Education Department sets up the first Department for teaching English as a second language. Birmingham Immigration Control Association and Southall Residents Association set up and oppose immigration of 'New Commonwealth' (non-white) citizens.)

⁴⁴ Graham Smith, (2010), *Historical Insights: Focus on Research* (University of Warwick, Coventry), p.10

evident that this is the first time that there has been huge focus on Huddersfield South Asian people's memories during the Partition. Prior to this the main focus has always been on history of migrants settling in the UK and understanding their identities, or cultural heritage. At the beginning of this thesis there were no resources about local South Asian history in relation to the Partition in Huddersfield. The WLP archive will help to create ancestral history for the local South Asian community, of what differences occurred that were important and memorable for the children growing up either before or after the Partition.

In 2006, The National Archives curated the *Moving Here Stories* which contained various projects on people's migration experiences. The archive offered access to personal and educational resources related to migration from local, regional areas, to help understand migrants' culture, religion, and identity. One of the sub-projects was 'Kirklees Museums and Galleries and the South Asian Community', which focuses on the history of people in Kirklees. The archive includes Huddersfield migrants' experiences; there were many local familiar names that appeared in the oral interviews. One of them was Mr Guru Datt Bali, father of Kiran Bali, who is a General Secretary of the Hindu Temple on Zetland Street, and Global interfaith leader; he played an important role in bringing the Huddersfield different faith groups together.⁴⁵ Mr Bali born in 1942, is from a Hindu Brahmin family who lived in Hoshiarpur, Punjab.⁴⁶ In the interview there is no mention of his ancestral family or life after the Partition.

⁴⁵ The Huddersfield Daily Examiner, "Diwali 2017 celebration in Huddersfield: What it's all about", by Jonne Douglas, 17 October 2017 <<https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/diwali-2017-celebrations-huddersfield-what-13769731>>.

⁴⁶ The National Archives, (2006), *Moving Here Stories: Guru Datt Bali, 'Migration to Huddersfield from the Punjab' [1940-2006]*

Hardeep Singh Sahota, a former Huddersfield University Masters by Research student, who has written a book about Bhangra dancing and its culture and history, was also interviewed. As the project was about 'Moving here stories', he shares both his grandfather and family's history about migration to Huddersfield from Punjab during 1963, and his experience as a migrant living in Huddersfield.⁴⁷ Whilst researching, another familiar name was Gindi Kaur Sarai, and again there is no mention of life lived back home.⁴⁸ Mrs Sarai was identified for the WLP interview, but this time the interviewees were asked about their family history, and questions in relation to their life before, after the Partition, and settling in the UK. [see Chapter 5 Poral History: Gindi Sarai]

Another recent work by Dr Nafhesa Ali, research entitled 'Asian Voices: First generation migrants', in 2015, focused on immigrant communities settling in Huddersfield, and how they established their community associations such as education, social, and religious life.⁵² Dr Ali's work is beneficial in understanding the South Asian community living in Huddersfield through oral history interviews: it shows individuals' social relations within their community, and how people viewed Huddersfield life. There is no mention of the migrants' experience of the life they lived back home, and their ancestral history in connection with the Partition. Mr Asad was also interviewed for the WLP, but this time we asked questions about his childhood, Partition, and migration to

⁴⁷ The National Archives, (2006), Moving Here Stories: Hardeep Singh Sahota, 'Vaisakhi in Kirklees' [1971-2006]

⁴⁸ The National Archives, (2006), Moving Here Stories: Sarai 'Gindi Sarai and Migration from India' [1950-2006]

⁵² Nafhesa Ali, (2010, Asian Voices: First generation migrants, (Huddersfield, the university of Huddersfield); Ali, Nafhesa (2015) Exploring Older South Asian Migrant (SAM) Women's Experiences of Old Age and Ageing. Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield.

Huddersfield memories. [See Chapter 5: Oral History: Mr Mohammad Hanif Asad] In this way, we considered how people's lives in the UK were not separate from their lives in South Asia but were integral to their identities in Huddersfield. The WLP helps to add a new narrative compared to the previous oral history project conducted about the issue of identity and culture and I bring a new perspective about importance of ancestral history.⁵³ It was after I interviewed Mr Hanif and Mrs Sarai when I discovered that they were interviewed previously for these heritage project, and during the interviewed both addressed that this is the first time we have been asked about our childhood memories in connection to Partition and life back home.

Community history in the UK and the Third Generation understanding of Partition Legacy

In 2009, the Huddersfield Pakistani Youth Forum helped to lead a project funded by HLF. The Huddersfield Pakistani Community Alliance (HPCA) provided help to nineteen young volunteers, aged between fifteen to nineteen, to lead this project.⁵⁴ This project was named *Desi to Pardesi - Home and Away*, the word 'Pardesi' means a person or thing from a foreign land, whereas 'Desi' means a person or thing that is rooted to its origin/home. During this research youngsters from the Pakistani community recorded the experience of the first generation's journey to Huddersfield in the 1950s and 1960s. Sofia Buncy, Project Coordinator, stated that the purpose was to 'inspir[e] journey for young people [and to show] elders in the community [that] worked hard to pave the

⁵³ Paul R Brass (1991), *Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison*, (New Delhi; Sage publications), p.9

⁵⁴ Huddersfield Pakistani community alliance <<http://www.hpca.org.uk/whatwedo.php?id=1>>

way and lifestyle for British Asians today, and through this intergenerational piece we hope to commemorate and recognise these contributions'.⁵⁵ In May 2010, the *Asian Express* newspaper article *Desi to Pardesi*, and one of the young volunteers, Adil Yousaf, states that 'before the beginning of this project I used to take a lot of things for granted like my education or think I had a tough life', but this research made him appreciate the first generation's struggle, language barriers, work, and discrimination related issues.

It is interesting to point out that we interviewed Mohammad Hanif Asad for the WLP, who was interviewed for *Desi to Pardesi*. In that project he stated:

This is the first project of its kind that I have come across in Huddersfield. I have heard about other heritage projects and would love to tell my story. The old generation are vanishing and it's important that young people know what sacrifices, and hardships us elders went through to settle here.⁵⁶

The aim of *Desi to Pardesi* was to explore and archive the history about how the first generation coped with settling in Huddersfield, learning about issues they faced, but it was not about their ancestral history of the life they lived back home.

⁵⁵ AsianExpress, May 2010, first edition, "Desi to Pardesi", p.25 < <http://www.hpca.org.uk/pageview.php?token=MTI=>>; From Pardesi to Desi?: Cohesion, integration, and social mobility amongst British-born Asians <http://www.lse.ac.uk/website-archive/newsAndMedia/newsArchives/2012/08/FromPardesiToDesi.pdf>

⁵⁶ AsianExpress, May 2010, first edition, "Desi to Pardesi", p.25 < <http://www.hpca.org.uk/pageview.php?token=MTI=>>; From Pardesi to Desi?: Cohesion, integration, and social mobility amongst British-born Asians <http://www.lse.ac.uk/website-archive/newsAndMedia/newsArchives/2012/08/FromPardesiToDesi.pdf>

There are several national oral history projects about the South Asian community, however the main reason these projects were brought forward into public attention was due to the tension within the Youth South Asian community. The Sixtieth Anniversary has addressed the importance of ordinary people's narratives of the Partition. During the mid-1990s the young generation were in the media for negative reasons; gang violence took place between young people from the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities of Slough and Southall. These conflicts encouraged the creation of a mediation group which would be led by young people, for young people, to avoid conflict. This resulted in the formation of Slough Youth organisation in 1998, called 'Aik Saath' (English translation: together as one). Their aim was to 'work with people from all communities, faiths and backgrounds to promote, and encourage conflict resolution'.⁵⁷ Aik Saath worked with young people aged between 15 and 25 who volunteered their time to train others in conflict resolution and anti-racism skills. In 2007 and 2017 the volunteers participated in two HLF projects in relation to the Partition, to help the community understand the communal conflict in 1947 and help mediate the negative youth tension.

Since 1994 the HFL has awarded £7.7 billion to over 42,000 projects. Whilst contacting the regional offices, it was highlighted that the HFL are not aware of how many projects have been produced on the South Asian community and the Partition.⁵⁸ It was disappointing to find that the HFL do not have an organised

⁵⁷ Aik Saath -Together As one, Slough <<http://www.aiksaath.com/about-origins>>; Heritage Lottery Fund Project: "Partition Women's voices", Tuesday, 21, February 2017 <<https://partitionwomensvoices.com/>>

⁵⁸ Great Britain, National Audit Office, *Heritage Lottery Fund: Report*, (2007), Annual report and accounts, (National Government Publications, London), pp.8-13; Keri Facer & Dr Bryony Enright, (2016)., *Creating Living Knowledge: The Connected Communities Programme*,

system to record or archive the 42,000 projects, which would benefit future researchers and historians, but it is important to note that HFL is the only main association that are helping the minority communities preserve their heritage.

For the Sixtieth Anniversary of Independence Aik Saath initiated an oral history project, '1947 The Partition Project', in 2006, funded by the HLF. Over six months, young people interviewed older British Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs about their experience of the Partition. They created an exhibition and workshop for school and community groups. The aim of this project was to explore stories of the Partition, and its relevance today. Another of their projects in 2017, *Partition Women's Voices*, aimed to address gender-based violence due to the 'pervasiveness of ideas about izzat (honour)'.⁵⁹ Whilst interviewing one of the volunteers from *Partition Women's Voices (2017)* project, Aneesa Hussain, it was interesting to note that one of the main topics which had been addressed by the third generation was that they have been deprived of their ancestral history. Aneesa Hussain aged nineteen, states when she asked her Grandad about the Partition, he did not feel comfortable talking about it. At school neither she nor her friends were taught about the Partition so had no knowledge prior to this project. Hussain commented that, 'When I was in school, it wasn't a topic [taught] in our history lessons, we have Black History Month and other events'.⁶⁰ The National School Curriculum in England contains a strong English cultural bias, and this is a prime example.

community university relationships and the participatory turn in the production of knowledge, (Bristol: University of Bristol/AHRC Connected Communities), p.1-2

⁵⁹ Heritage Lottery Fund Project: "Partition Women's voices", Tuesday, 21, February 2017
<<https://partitionwomensvoices.com/>>

⁶⁰ Aik Saath, Partition women's voices project volunteer, Aneesa Hussain, interview conducted on 24th November 2017

Whilst interviewing Hussain explains, 'I was heartbroken as [the interviewees] were in tears', and when discussing commemorative and celebratory aspects of Independence, she agreed that 'some people do not realise what [others] had gone through'.⁶¹ In Aik Saath's project, one of the interviewees, Mrs Shamin Akhtar states: 'Partition did make us fearful of others. When I came to England my children were very scared of Sikh people. They said, they will kill us! But I told them nothing like that would happen'.⁶² The oral history of the Partition survivors highlights that when people came to the UK, some were hesitant to mix in with the Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh. However, despite the painful memories, the Partition had a significant impact within the South Asian community; due to shared cultural identities they formed a good relationship because they understood each other's experience.

Existing Oral history archives

Studying oral history allows historians to think about what kind of significance certain events had, through individual or collective testimonies. By considering oral history, we can identify the significance Partition had on the general population, the debates it caused between people of Indian and Pakistani heritage, and religious and social interactions. Urvashi, Menon and Bhasin all reference James Young's book *Writing and rewriting the Holocaust*, in which

⁶¹ Aik Saath, Partition women's voices project volunteer, Aneesa Hussain, interview conducted on 24th November 2017

⁶² Heritage Lottery Fund, Aik Saath, Exhibition Pamphlets: *'Partition: An exhibition exploring the Partition of British India into India and Pakistan in 1947, through the personal memories of people living in the UK today'*. (Slough, Berkshire, 2017), p.9 [Mrs Shamin Akhtar was born on 27 December 1937 in Jullundur. During Partition she migrated from Jullundur across the new border to Lahore, Pakistan.]

he states that memories helps to understand the events on a personal level, through private testimonies of ordinary people who has experienced the events.⁶³ Urvashi acknowledges the Holocaust narrative has been addressed through diverse sources; we can use this as an example to show the Partition legacy being 'handed down to us: through fiction, memories, testimonies, individual and collective memories'.⁶⁴ There are four main existing oral history Partition archives: Cambridge Centre for South Asian studies oral archive,⁶⁵ the '1947 Partition Archive'⁶⁶, 'The Citizen Archive of Pakistan',⁶⁷ and Andrew Whitehead's 'India: a people partitioned' archive.⁶⁸ These existing oral history testimonies provided me with essential techniques in structuring and conducting the interviews for this research. Publishing them online allows these archives to be accessible for anyone who is interested in this topic. This is one of the many reasons why oral history is a source that is vital to use in academic research. I used the similar dynamics of the Partition archives listed above to form the interview questions for the WLP and make the archive digital by creating blogs and English transcripts of each of the interviews, so it will be available to everyone. [See Appendix 2]

As discussed earlier in Huddersfield most of the research conducted is about migrants arriving, their experiences living here, and understanding their

⁶³ Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, (1998), *Borders & Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, (New Delhi, Rutgers University Press), p.29

⁶⁴ Urvashi Butalia, (2000), *The other side of silence: voices from the partition of India*, (London, Hurst), pp. 7-8

⁶⁵ University of Cambridge: Centre of South Asian Studies – collection of oral history
<<http://www.s-asian.cam.ac.uk/archive/audio/>>

⁶⁶ 1947 Partition Archive; <<http://www.1947partitionarchive.org/>>

⁶⁷ The citizens archive of Pakistan (CAP); <<http://www.citizensarchive.org/>>

⁶⁸ Andrew Whitehead 'India: a People Partitioned', <<http://www.andrewwhitehead.net/india-a-people-partitioned.html>>

cultural, social, and political lives. Research by Duncan Scott is valuable for contemporary historians, as it gives an insight into the identity of the South Asian community living in Huddersfield after the Partition.⁶⁹ In his thesis Scott does not mention the Partition in detail, but suggests the importance of religion, and how the caste system helped to shape the community factions in Huddersfield. According to Scott, 'no coherence' developed until after the formation of Pakistan, and the Independence of India. A Muslim man with the pseudonym Zadiqui was the main informant who helped to introduce Scott to the Huddersfield's Pakistani Community. According to Zadiqui there was a divide between the religions: 'they didn't argue but there was more of the [labelling that] they're Sikhs leave 'em we don't want em'...though face to face nobody quarrels'.⁷⁰ Through his research it is evident that there was an emergence of factional rivalry, but whilst conducting the oral interviews people talk about good relationships. As Scott's research focuses on "A political sociology of minorities", he could be referring to political factional rivalry. There is a preconception that this community that migrated from South Asia to the UK cannot live side-by-side. The oral history account states some people were a little hesitant because of the traumatic memories of childhood, but wanted to move forward rather than dwell on the past. One of the reasons behind this

⁶⁹ SCT/2 – publications – dissertation, pp.50-52 - the influence of homeland on development of Pakistani family and voluntary association in Fettlebridge [pseudonym for Huddersfield]. Largely Mirpuri group, 12 families from Karachi, 17 families from Ahmadi muslims forming a destination religious sect separate from the largely Sunni majority, 5 houses were also occupied by Pakistani Christian.

⁷⁰ Duncan Scott (1972), "A political sociology of minorities: the impact of coloured immigrants on local politics", (1972) <<http://heritagequay.org/archives/SCT/>> Duncan Scott at The University of Huddersfield, heritage Quay: SCT/2 (publication dissertation), p.11, 55, 101, 102

might be because people were coming from a land where identity and religion started to define the community after Partition.

4. Methodology

Anniversaries of any historical event always help to start a debate about that topic. It is the 'mnemonic [of] commemorative activities, [and] public acts of commemoration that mark significant events in the past, and for the public apologies for past atrocities made by state authorities'.⁷¹ The methodology of this thesis involves using the anniversary as a source to understand the memory and history of a local community. This helped me acknowledge that the primary sources and ceremonial aspect will be beneficial to engage with the different community to get a better understanding of common views and private testimonies, in retrospect to national narrative of the lives of people and who were affected by the historical event during Partition. As mentioned later on in this thesis the 'Masala Tea Party' event in Huddersfield and the interviewed conducted during the 'The White Line' project will assist in discussion how Independence ceremony or anniversary helps to revitalise their nostalgic memories which they do not share or talk about.

Volunteering for the heritage project the WLP was the first step to building connections with the local residents and a learning process about local people's memories in relation to Partition.⁷² I have participated in oral history, film making, and a creative writing workshop to enhance my skills. We use the Let's

⁷¹ Joan Tumblety (2013), *Memory and history: understanding memory as source and subject*, (London, Routledge), p. 1, 2, 7

⁷² Let's Go Yorkshire Facebook < <https://www.facebook.com/letsgoyorkshire/> >

Go Yorkshire Facebook, Instagram page, and public engagement to make connections with the local community to raise awareness about this project. Some of the interviewees first language was not English, so we decided to interview them in their own language then translate the summaries on the WLP blog. When producing the film, we use subtitles transcribed by the project volunteers.

This project relies on the cooperation of interviewees for success in its present form; an alternative approach would be relying on local historical archives including, newspapers, and secondary reading offered other possibilities. This data could also complement an interview-based approach. We have used creative writing workshops to start a discussion because not everyone feels comfortable talking openly about this topic. Hence a practical workshop for oral history at the beginning of this project was necessary to understand the ethical procedures and devise a practical plan to develop this project realistically. This is discussed further in the reflective essay.

Duncan Scott's thesis and archive material were an essential guide for locating Huddersfield South Asian communities for this research. As an academic at Huddersfield Polytechnic in the 1970s, he used an ethnographic approach that allows us to examine and understand culture through the societies point of view.⁷³ Scott uses 'Fettlersbridge' as a pseudonym for Huddersfield to examine the 'political sociology of minorities'.⁷⁴ The first Asian immigrants came in the

⁷³ Valerie Yow, (1997), "Do I like them too much?": effects of the oral history interview on the interviewer and vice-versa. *The Oral History Review*, 24(1), p.59

⁷⁴ Duncan Scott (1972), "A political sociology of minorities: the impact of coloured immigrants on local politics", pp.1-5, <<http://heritagequay.org/archives/SCT/>>;

early 1930s; their occupation was usually pedlars based in Barnsley or coalfields in the South Yorkshire, and by the late 1930s there were about half a dozen men equally divided between Muslim and Sikh.⁷⁵ However little is known about the migrants' history and it is the generation after 1980s and 1990s when people finally begin to write about British immigrants history, but little is written from the perspective of the British Black Asian and Minority Ethnic community (BAME). Chris Waters writing about 'discourses of Race and Nation in Britain' states the term 'Dark Strangers' was coined for the race relations, 'consistently narrated the migrant other as a "stranger" to assumed norms of what it meant to be British, or at least English'.⁷⁶ Since the 1990s historians are beginning to examine the experiences of people from the commonwealth in Britain. Partition is a hidden history in this sense, and it is a major aspect of British History, as well as South Asian history and other minorities within this community.

South Asian is a term coined for ethnic groups from the southern part of Asia, but a lot of the ethnic community have been ignored. For Example in Scott's thesis whilst examining the list of migrants, there were five houses that were occupied by Pakistani Christians, twelve families from Karachi, and most of them were not from East and West Punjab.⁷⁷ Whilst researching further into the Pakistani Christian community I came across an article in 2009 about Huddersfield Canon Yaqub Masih, who became the first Asian to be made a

⁷⁵ Duncan Scott (1972), "A political sociology of minorities: the impact of coloured immigrants on local politics", p.101

⁷⁶ Chris Waters, (1997). "Dark Strangers" in *Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947–1963*. *Journal of British Studies*, 36(2), pp.209, 210, 225 <doi:10.1086/386134>

⁷⁷ Duncan Scott (1972), "A political sociology of minorities: the impact of coloured immigrants on local politics", p. 52

lay canon in the Church of England. He helped to organise a meeting in Wakefield to discuss Pakistan Christian Concern, and a special service of prayer for Asia Bibi, a Pakistani Christian mother of five who had been sentenced to death for blasphemy. In another article in 2013, Canon Yaqub Masih stated that 'It is important to highlight Asian Christians because people in this country see an Asian person and assume they are Hindu, Sikh or Muslim and that's not always the case.'⁷⁸

In addition to this during the early process of this research I interviewed a Zoroastrian in November 2017, from the North-West Zoroastrian Community.⁷⁹ The purpose was to understand what Independence meant to their community and how Partition affected them. Viraf Fitter-Pithawalla states that Zoroastrian history has been neglected and even today, as an Indian himself he states that this applies in India, Pakistan, and within the diaspora community. He states that 'our community played a neutral part during Partition'.⁸⁰ Similar issues highlighted by Mr Pithawalla were addressed in a 2015 article by the *DAWN* newspaper, which was founded by, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in 1941, representing the Muslim League. In the November 2015 article, a twenty three year-old Zoroastrian Art student, Veera Rustomaji, states that '[Zoroastrians]

⁷⁸ Huddersfield Examiner "Huddersfield man Yaqub Masih to become first Asian Christian lay canon in Church of England" published on 12 JUL 2013; (Yaqub Masih has become the first Asian to be made a lay canon in the Church of England Canon Masih, the first Asian to be made a lay canon in the Church of England, said Prince Charles asked him about his 25 years involvement in seeking to improve relations between communities across the county) <<http://www.examiner.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/huddersfield-man-yaqub-masih-become-5022008> >, <<https://www.examiner.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/huddersfield-christians-lead-calls-release-4985017>>

⁷⁹ Interview with Viraf Fitter-Pithawalla on 18th November 2017<<http://www.nwzc.org.uk/>>

⁸⁰ Interview with Viraf Fitter-Pithawalla on 18th November 2017<<http://www.nwzc.org.uk/>>

need to do more to preserve their heritage'.⁸¹ The article states that the Pakistan's fading Parsi Community are migrating to the West due to not having a platform to speak. This is one of the examples why the South Asian minority communities might have migrated to the UK due to having less representation, or because their livelihood was destroyed after Partition. It is noteworthy that there is still some aspect of the Partition that has not been discussed: this topic can be explored further in other research. Due to the time constraints we were unable to locate any of the minority community families, but it would have been beneficial for this research to interview a Pakistani or Indian Christian family to understand their perspective of the Partition legacy.

Co-production and Connected Communities methodology

The methodology of this project involves co-production, this type of research helps a better understanding how "historical knowledge operates in terms of partnership between academically-trained historians and public groups or individuals".⁸² As a diaspora South Asian community, we needed more events to help reach out to minority community and teach our history, as previously discussed the HOME 1947 exhibition was inspirational and influential for this thesis and the WLP. Inspired by the exhibition local artist Mandeep Samra

⁸¹ DAWN, September 04, 2015, "Pakistan's fading Parsi Community looks abroad", AFP News agency interview with 23 year old Veera Rustomji, she is a fine Art graduate from the Indus Valley school now an art contributor - <<https://www.dawn.com/news/1204890>>; YouTube Video - Pakistan's fading Parsi community looks abroad by AFP News Agency (For more than 1,000 years, Parsis have thrived in South Asia but an ageing population and emigration to the West means their tiny community in Pakistan could soon be consigned to the country's history books. Duration: 01:51, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_DIOaCeNGE>

⁸² Pente, Elizabeth, Ward, Paul, Brown, Milton and Sahota, Hardeep (2015), *The co-production of historical knowledge: implications for the history of identities*. Identity papers: A journal of British and Irish studies, 1 (1). pp. 32

created a mobile sound installation called “Drawing The Line”, consisting of stories pressed onto vinyl of Huddersfield Partition survivors and their families’ experiences and narratives. These oral history accounts were displayed throughout the local community to share untold Partition memories. [Table 1] In the reflective essay towards the end of this thesis I discuss the Sound Installation, creative writing workshop, and Film project in detail and how they helped me to address my research questions and methodology.

This research method allows academics to work with communities and universities to create living knowledge through this heritage project by considering collaborative and participatory research with people. It enables academics to think differently. Keri Facer and Bryony Enright’s model of ‘creating living knowledge’ through ‘connected communities’, suggest that this type of research helps to identify tensions and topics for future conversations and clarification’.⁸³ The model of collaboration engagement between the community and the University helps to create a living knowledge.

Elizabeth Pente and Paul Ward demonstrate that the commemoration and celebratory aspect in the ‘localities, institutions and ethnic groups...[helps to] reveal myriad ways in which people are connected to the past’.⁸⁴ Pente and Ward’s article is essential to understand how to use the co-production method to carry out this research. This assists personal understanding of the primary

⁸³ Keri Facer & Dr Bryony Enright, (2016). *Creating Living Knowledge: The Connected Communities Programme, community university relationships and the participatory turn in the production of knowledge*, (Bristol: University of Bristol/AHRC Connected Communities)

⁸⁴ Pente, Elizabeth, Ward, Paul, Brown, Milton and Sahota, Hardeep (2015), *The co-production of historical knowledge: implications for the history of identities*. *Identity papers: A journal of British and Irish studies*, 1 (1). pp. 32

sources and ceremonial aspects, by engaging with the different communities to analyse their perspectives. The MTP event in Huddersfield and the interviews conducted during the WLP project assist in discussion about why this topic has largely been neglected and how Independence ceremonies and the anniversary helps to revitalise nostalgic memories which people do not share due to the sensitive nature of this topic. This participation in the research by the community brings multiple perspectives together and from my own identity as part of that community, knowledge is enriched. For this research I use collaboration knowledge and people's representation within their community to produce workshops, commemorative event, oral history, and a documentary. The reflection essay of this research shows my learning process, people's perspectives, and new skills gained through this co-production work with the local community organisation.

Personal experience as a research method

Part of this research is based on autoethnography, 'this type of ethnography refers to reflecting and writing about one's own personal experience and its relationship to culture'.⁸⁵ I used various research methods for example oral history, focus group workshop, and visual performance to think about what the Seventieth Anniversary of Partition means to me and the third generation.

Historians and South Asian community representatives are beginning to use their own family history or personal experience to raise awareness, and to

⁸⁵ Hesse-Biber, S.N. and Leavy, P., (2010), *The practice of qualitative research*, (London, Sage), pp.6,210, 223

create a dialogue between the communities. On 4th July 2017 as part of the WLP we visited 'HOME 1947' exhibition at The Lowry, Manchester Media Centre by first Pakistani Oscar winner, Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy. In 2012 Mrs Chinoy won an Oscar for the documentary *Saving Face* - she is a first Pakistani to win an Oscar and the film highlighted the under-reporting of acid violence against women and other cultural inequalities. The HOME 1947 exhibition was 'an ode to her grandparent's generation'; the stories are the inherited trauma and underlying feelings that haunt the next generation. The exhibition expresses Partition not through historians or politicians, but through the eyes of those who lived through it. It is an excellent example of the collective power of the creative voice, and how every little piece makes one large picture. Home 1947 was a very powerful and emotional exhibition: in the reflective essay I will discuss how this exhibition helped my ethnographical approach.

This exhibition highlighted a moving portrayal of displacement during Partition. For example, the sound installation and captivating video was eye capturing, it shows the iconic migration train image filled with refugees, to childhood friendship, and families torn apart. The motive of this exhibition was to appreciate and acknowledge the meaning behind Independence Day. Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy stated in an interview that:

I grew up listening to my grandparents' stories about childhood homes they left behind...the friendships they longed to rekindle, the mango trees under which they played – HOME 1947 is my ode to that generation.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Khaleeli Homa, "Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy: 'I know there will be an attempt to silence me'", 27, June 2017, *TheGuardian*, <www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/jun/27/sharmeen-obaid-chinoy-home-1947-installation-manchester-international-festival-pakistan>

I got to experience such a beautiful immersive exhibition about an extremely sensitive subject in the South Asian community. The WLP and volunteers for this project were accompanied to the exhibition by Asian and non-Asian colleagues from our project and in the end, we had a discussion on this topic and reflected our thoughts; how it must have been for people moving to a different land and leaving their home. At the end of the exhibition, there was a notebook on which the participants could leave a message to reflect their thoughts and experience of HOME1947. My note was to “Imagine that you go to bed as a slave and wake up a free subject, but you have no family, friends or a shelter... would you be happy?” This helped us to link Partition memories to the modern ongoing refugee trauma. My grandparents lived 30 minutes away from the Wagah Border in Lahore and belonged to a land owning family. My grandparents were born in the 1940s and are not alive to share their memories and nor do my parents have any recollection of their parents telling them stories about Partition. Hence these oral history accounts helped me to imagine the life of my grandparents’ generation back home and migrating to Huddersfield.

5. Oral history

When starting the WLP we had decided to interview twenty-two local people. We were able to contact and reach out to these participants by contacting the local mosque, temple, Gurdwaras, and community centres. All the interviewees are born in British India between 1931 and 1951 and migrated to Huddersfield during 1950s or 1960s. The oral history interview captures the Partition view and legacy through the eyes of a child, as most people who are still alive today, and who are willing and able to provide first-hand accounts, were only young at

the time. The interviewees were not shown or told any of the questions beforehand, and for a spontaneous response not all of the questions were asked. [Appendix 2] This way the answers would be what they had experienced, as opposed to what the interviewer wanted to hear. Valerie Yow concludes that a spontaneous reply is often from the heart and it helps to eliminate 'an objective relation to one's own subjectivity'.⁸⁹ Similarly, Kathryn Anderson says that spontaneity allows 'freedom and flexibility for research and narrator alike.'⁹⁰ This style of interviewing reveals far more about the person because of their willingness to express their private memories.

Interviewees were only told that the questions would focus on life before and after Partition, migration to the UK, experience, past and present and the importance of storytelling to the next generation. The aim is to create a knowledge of the past through recovering and interpreting their childhood memories, and their ancestral history which needs to be preserved. Seventy years onwards, how does the reflection on their memories impact the diaspora South Asian community, and how do they pass on this legacy to the next generation?

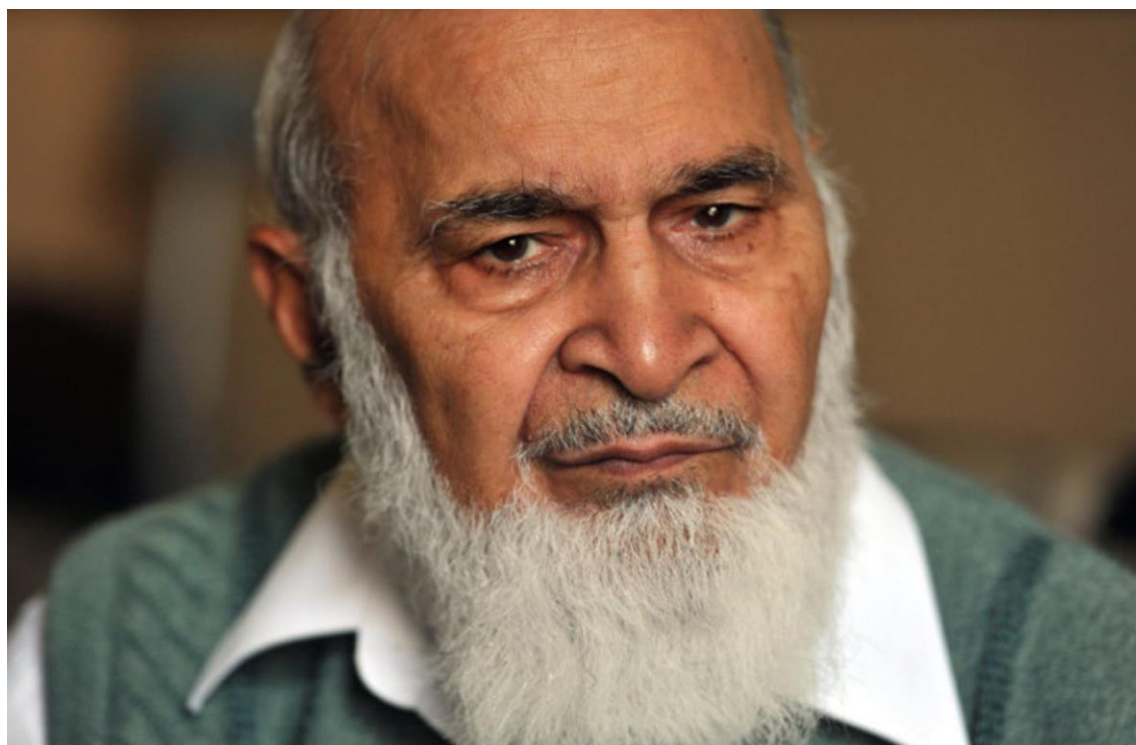
I analyse the four interviews that I conducted for the WLP blog, those of Mohammad Hanif Asad, Hemant Kaur Dutta, Dr Nasim Hasnie, and Gindi Sari. As mentioned, Mr Asad was interviewed for the *Desi to Pardesi*, Mrs Dutta for *Moving Here Stories*; for both of these projects these two participants were not

⁸⁹ Valerie Yow, (1997), " Do I like them too much?": effects of the oral history interview on the interviewer and vice-versa. *The Oral History Review*, 24(1), pp.55, 59

⁹⁰ Kathryn Anderson, and Dana C. Jack, (1991). *Learning to listen: Interview techniques and analyses*. *Women's words: The feminist practice of oral history*, pp.11-12.

about the Partition and for purpose of this research it was crucial to understand not only their struggle of settling in the UK but to learn about their Partition memories.

Mr Mohammad Hanif Asad



Source 1 - Mr Mohammad Hanif Asad photograph provided by Let's Go Yorkshire 'The WLP project' Photography by Elliot Baxter

Mr Mohammad Hanif Asad was born in 1938, in Ludhiana (Punjab, India) his family had migrated to Lyallpur (Faisalabad, Pakistan).⁹¹ His grandfather was from a Punjabi farming background, and they had migrated earlier due to agricultural reasons, so his family did not move during Partition. Though his grandparents and parents had lived through it, he states, 'I was only nine...[but]

⁹¹ Lets Go Yorkshire: The WLP project – Oral history interview of Mr Mohammad Hanif Asad interview conducted on 6 October 2017

I know very well what happened. I remember my grandfather warning the whole family not to go out, [he used to say] it was madness and I won't [let] anyone commit the same crime'. When asked about describing his connections with different communities before Partition, he answered that Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs all went to same school, 'in our village bloodshed was very minimal, [the] people were like criminal they killed innocent people, I have seen plenty of people coming from India sharing horrific stories, women being raped'. There are certain taboo subjects which cannot be openly discussed in the South Asian family; during the interview, it was rather unexpected to hear a male Muslim touch on this subject, but he did not divulge on this sensitive matter.⁹² Once the interviewee felt comfortable, he willingly shared his paternal Aunt's story, who lived in a village in Ludhiana where the whole population was slaughtered along with her entire family. She had three sons, all married, and one daughter aged twenty, who was engaged soon to be wedded. This addresses the issue that a lot of people lost many of their family connections, and it is unknown what might have happened to their relatives.

Listening to the interviews it is evident that most of the individuals like Mr Asad, and other children who were young during Partition now incorporate contemporary political and official historical situations into their memory. Mr Asad mentions that when people were crossing-over to their new homes they were taking with them stories of atrocity that occurred during their journey, but it was the overpowering influence of the media that created rumours and

⁹² Virdee, Pippa. "Remembering Partition: Women, Oral Histories and the Partition of 1947." *Oral History* 41, no. 2 (2013): 49-62. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23610424>., p.51

exaggerated certain events to create a division between South Asian communities. Tanwar Raghuvendra has addressed on a similar issues and he states a 'critical concern has focused upon the capability of the media to shape the way people behave...especially among the potentially more malleable members of the public' and to this some extent helped to shape the way people behaved during Partition chaos.⁹³ To some extent this did influence people's opinion of the politicians of that era, and now the second generation challenge the nationalistic interpretation of Partition that had been fed to them during their youth. Mr Asad asserts that it was the 'politicians, Indian leaders and British government. They started up digging history and spreading seditious rumours. What did the village people got to do with this? What did my grandfather got to do with that?'. It is clear in most of the interviews that they challenge and oppose nationalistic interpretations which have been taught through official historical narrative.

The awareness of coexistence with different sects, castes, and religious groups with no similarity was not prevalent in the minds of children before Partition. Some of the differences were present within the religious community, as some of our ancestors believed that if we share food in the same plate or drink from the same cup it would make their religion impure. Mr Asad mentions that he saw 'on the Railway Station there were water pots labelled for Muslims and Hindus. So much was divided; the water was coming from the same river. It was seen as impure if you were drinking in same cup'. He recollects a childhood

⁹³ Tanwar Raghuvendra (2006), Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and other opinions, (New Delhi, Manhor Publishers), p.7-10

memory of his elders telling him how they used to socialise with Sikhs and Hindu friends:

We have lived thousands of years together, no harm living together, only thing that was troubling Muslims was that Hindu were not mixing, even though we were friends.... Hindus were afraid to tell their parents that we ate with their Muslim friends. Hindus will not eat together, they would have their own plates and cups.

In the Punjabi tradition, it was a high priority to look after guests, and this was seen as rude. The issue of Hindus not eating from the same plate arises several times in oral history accounts; many tend to blame the caste system for creating this division.⁹⁴

In 1962, Mr Asad migrated to Huddersfield at the age of 22. The migration to the UK helped to reconnect him to a community. Mr Asad expresses 'when you lose your community, you miss it for rest of your life'. He gives an example of normal hospital check-up visits, which enabled him to connect to a Punjabi who lived in the same area as him before Partition. His friend was from Jalandhar (Punjab, India), and during the hospital visits they both connected straightway because 'when it's Punjabi [someone from Punjab] it attracts the other one'. In a brief emotional recollection of his friend, who had passed away 15 years ago, the only thing that connected them were the stories both shared about their homeland; Mr Asad states 'he was still missing his homeland...[and] we are still not at home, at the other side' despite the migration between the borders. The magnet binding the Punjabi Muslim and Sikh community in Britain was commonality; it was the language spoken, culture, food and in a sense same

⁹⁴ Crispin Bates (2001), *Community Empire and Migration: South Asians in Diaspora*, (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan), pp, 248, 251

identity that connected them, despite having a border drawn between their homeland.⁹⁵ This helps to understand the community, as well as the changing attitudes of different communities mixing together, in relation to the aftermath of migration to the UK.

The use of word homeland shows that unconscious loyalties towards their new land were forming due to the millions of survivors who had feared or witnessed their family or community being destroyed. A Partition child, Amjab Hussain living in Lahore, interviewed during 1995 stated that when the announcement was made on the radio about the Independence in 1947, my 'father took the Holy Qur'an in hand and made all family members take an oath of loyalty to Pakistan'.⁹⁶ This can be an involuntary loyalty as a child; there are some Partition children like Mr Asad and his friend who did not have any loyalties despite the formation of borders, or as a migrant living in Huddersfield. Mr Asad asserts that Huddersfield 'is my home now, I am quite settled here'. In retrospect of his life, his message to the next generation is that 'young generation do not know those people who lived through hard life and now they have disappeared'.

It has come to my understanding that people who have experienced the events do want to share their stories. One of the main aims for these interviewees was to highlight their concern about the neglect to transfer this oral history. Many people like Mr Asad reconnected again with the community they had left behind

⁹⁵ Tanwar Raghuvendra (2006), Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and other opinions, (New Delhi, Manhor Publishers), p.41

⁹⁶ Andrew Whitehead Oral archive: India: A People partitioned; Amjad Husain, interviewed in Lahore 11 October 1995

and formed another community in Huddersfield due to same cultural understanding.

Hemant Kaur Dutta



Source 2 – Mrs Hermant Kaur Dutta photograph provided by Let's Go Yorkshire 'The WLP project' Photography by Elliot Baxter

Mrs Hemant Kaur Dutta was born on 1937 in Kamalpur (Pakistan), aged nine or ten during Partition, moved from Ravalpindi (now Pakistan) to Bombay (India).⁹⁷ Her Father was a Captain in the Army then later Evacuation Officer, her family had knowledge about Partition earlier; despite this her mother thought they would go back and it was not a long-term move. Her Grandfather's neighbours were Muslim, they had a brotherhood connection, he helped an orphan Muslim boy, so they could safely travel to Pakistan. Mrs Dutta said she

⁹⁷ Lets Go Yorkshire: The WLP project – Oral history interview of Mrs Hemant Kaur Dutta interview conducted on 6 October 2017

has vivid memory of a night in 1947, when her family was sleeping and woke up due to the beating of drums and Muslims going up and down the street trying to disturb them. Her father was in the army and during the ongoing disturbances her mother wrote a letter to her father, and when he came back from his duty, he showed her how to use a revolver. There were some women who had to protect themselves, whilst the male members of the household were away due to work or other priorities.

Her memories of the journey to India were travelling in an Army passenger train, it took twenty days from Sialkot to Ambala. There was a lot of commotion near the River Ravi, and they saw ten or twelve Muslims running towards the train she stated that:

I heard that train driver was Muslim, so [for precaution] my dad sat with the driver. On the way, we saw a lot of dead people on top of other train and train stations, whilst we were passing Lahore we were really agitated [by the fact that] the driver being a Muslim [who] might stop the train and we all might be chopped off, but luckily the train did not stop because my dad was with the train driver.

At that young age, she expresses that 'she felt sad, but now thinking back I feel really upset...I was too young to think about it. We used to go to neighbour's house to listen to the radio we were really interested in the news and wanted to know what was happening'. Radio and neighbourhood storytelling was a way of transferring this narrative for the next generation, but the heritage project like WLP provides another forum to archive digital oral history available for the anyone to access.⁹⁸ [See page 73]

⁹⁸ Yasmin Khan, 'The Ending of Empire: From Imagined Communities to Nation States in Indian and Pakistan', *The Round Table*, Vol. 97, No 398 (Oct 2008), p.698

One of her cousins lived in a village called Thamali. She killed all her three children herself with Karpan⁹⁹ and killed herself because she did not want anybody to rape her. Mrs Dutta only found out about her cousin after she came to the UK. She visited Pakistan with her son for a week in 2004, to visit her grandfather's village in Gujar Khan, and met one man who had killed her Grandad's Muslim servant. Mrs Dutta says that 'this man asked her about my cousin, but I kept quiet' because she did not want to talk about this topic. This shows she was reluctant to discuss this topic, as she felt uncomfortable sharing her memories about her visit to Pakistan. The continuing antagonism between the two countries makes it difficult for the second generation to openly share the distressing stories, which they prefer to be left behind. This suggests how powerful memories can be regarding something that happened seventy years ago.

She migrated to Huddersfield in 1967, at the age of 29, and was single. Normally migrants came to the UK through a voucher to work and it was mainly males, whose family arrived later. It was hard to find a job, but eventually she started teaching English to immigrants in Huddersfield. She remembers going to her first interview at the Civic Centre, and was supposed to get off at Bradford, but went to Leeds by accident. She states she felt 'hesitant and asked a Muslim driver. Are you Muslim or Hindu? Straight away he said it does not matter over here if you are Muslim or Hindu'. Another one of her memories highlights how the memory of back home triggered the sense that Muslims are

⁹⁹ Karpan also Spelt Kirpan is a small dagger sword. It is a religious commandment given by Guru Gobind Singh - Singh in 1699, he demanded that Sikhs must wear the five articles of faith (the 5k's) at all times, the kirpan being one of five Ks

scary. One of her colleagues was Mrs Hussain, a Muslim. Whilst wanting to show her Asian clothes, Mrs Hussain invited Mrs Dutta to go upstairs in her house. To which Mrs Dutta refused and stated 'I was worried, because I didn't know who was upstairs. I said no, bring them down stairs... because of what had happened back home those days... First when I came I feared Muslims, but not anymore. This gives a sense of the psychological trauma that was building up in the mind of children, which later turned to paranoia of religious-consciousness.

To conclude each interview, we asked the interviewees about how they transfer their memories and family history to the next generation? When asked about how our community should transfer her ancestral history to next generation, she proposes 'I tell my kids about our hard life. Many younger generation do not know the history. My mother used to say before Partition things were much better'. In this interview Mrs Dutta shared her Partition experience, education struggle, marriage life, accounts of racism as an immigrant, and she informs her children about her ancestral history and the struggle they had to face.

Dr Nasim Ul Haq Shazad Hasnie



Source 3 - Dr Nasim Hasnie showing the Map of his journey back home during the Creative Writing Workshop - photograph provided by Let's Go Yorkshire 'The WLP project' Photography by Elliot Baxter

Dr Nasim Hasnie was born in 1945, near Jalandhar in Punjab, India, and grew up in Karachi, Pakistan.¹⁰⁰ His grandparents and father lived comfortably and did not want Partition. Whilst growing up in India he heard numerous stories,

¹⁰⁰ Lets Go Yorkshire: The WLP project – Oral history interview of Dr Nasim Hasnie interview conducted on 18 August 2017

and memories were being passed on to him by elders within his family and community. He was told stories by his mother of massacres which took place in Jalandhar and the train station in Punjab. His Grandfather's sister died as she was trying to flee, and like many others, died due to River Beas in Punjab being flooded, which happened during the October.¹⁰¹

Dr Hasnie grew up in Karachi City; this was one of the main destinations for Muslim Muhajirs (refugees) migrating from India. This city represents the ethnic diversity with minority religious groups such as Hindus, Zoroastrians (Parsis), Christians, and Jews.¹⁰² Some of these communities did not migrate, they still live in Pakistan and India as minority communities.¹⁰³ Dr Hasnie states that Muslims who migrated were given a refugee status as 'Muhajirs' in their own country, and this alienated some people.¹⁰⁴ When we asked Dr Hasnie if there was any conflict between different communities in Karachi, he states that 'there was always tension, that's what makes us human'.

Dr Hasnie is profoundly interested in Partition literature and poetry and this played an important role in shaping his understanding of Partition. He mentions classic novels by Khushwant Singh, *Train to Pakistan* (1956), Sadat Hassan

¹⁰¹ Margaret Bourke-White (1949), *Halfway to Freedom: A report on the new India in the words and photographs of Margaret Bourke-White*, (New York, Simon and Schuster), p.5 [Punjab, which means Land of Five rivers, all five began overflowing their banks...I was almost caught myself in the rising of the River Ravi.... River Beas claimed the most victims.... I photographed one meadow between the river and a railroad ramp where four thousand Muslim shad gone in to camp for the night. Only one thousand had some out a live]

¹⁰² See page 36-37 as discussed earlier there is still room to question the history of these minority religious groups.

¹⁰³ Joya Chatterji, 'Review Article: New Directions in Partition Studies', *History Workshop Journal*, 67 (Spring 2009), pp.217

¹⁰⁴ Joya Chatterji, 'Review Article: New Directions in Partition Studies', *History Workshop Journal*, 67 (Spring 2009), pp.219

Manto, *Toba Tek Singh* (1955), and eighteenth-Century Punjabi Sufi Poet named Warsi Shah.¹⁰⁵ Indian and Pakistani news has heavily influenced Dr Hasnie, he was seventeen when he came to UK.

The second generation feel deeply sensitive and question the political process taken for the transfer of power. From the very beginning the historians were told to construct historiography under the framework of the Pakistani Ideology' to justify the idea of Muslim nationhood, validate the Partition narrative, and celebrate the creation of the new nation; the same principle applied for India.¹⁰⁶ Similarly the British imposed a patriotic identity of Britishness after the Second World War to create a national unity. As Ward asserts, during the 1960s the idea of Britishness for white people was a way 'to facilitate cohesion [but in fact it was a way to] undermine the position of Britishness, as a common identity',

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Whitehead Interviewed Amrita Pritam (1919-2005) was in Delhi in May 1997 about the suffering of Punjabi women at Partition, she reads out her poem 'An Ode to Waris Shah'. Waris Shah was a Punjabi Sufi poet who wrote story about punjabi love tragedy, after he had fallen in love with a girl. The famous poetic narrative is named Heer Ranja written in 1766. Amrita Pritam also wrote a novel Pinjar in 1950, which was later created into a movie named Pinjar in 2003. Whilst reciting the poem in the interview she feels deeply emotional and states 'I'm sorry, it is so painful to remember'.

An Ode to Waris Shah (This poem resonances India and Pakistan and horror of Partition 1947)

English Translation:

Today, I call Waris Shah, "Speak from your grave,"
 And turn to the next page in your book of love,
 Once, a daughter of Punjab cried and you wrote an entire saga,
 Today, a million daughters cry out to you, Waris Shah,
 Rise! O' narrator of the grieving! Look at your Punjab,
 Today, fields are lined with corpses, and blood fills the Chenab. (River Chenab – Punjab is famous for "The Land of Five Rivers" (Beas, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum and Satluj)
 <<http://www.andrewwhitehead.net/partition-voices.html>>

¹⁰⁶ Ashok K Behuria and Mohammad Shehzad, 'Partition of History in textbooks in Pakistan: Implications of selective memory and forgetting', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol, 37, No, 3, (2013), p.356 < <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700161.2013.782664> >

Britishness was only seen to apply to white people.¹⁰⁷ As a result, the disastrous aftermath and interfaith conflict would have made the teachers wary of teaching this British imperial history in schools to avoid conflict within different communities.

Partition narrative tells us the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs cannot live together. Along with the second-generation Dr Hasnie raises a lot of question during this Anniversary such as: 'Could they have waited? Could they have administered it better? We lost everything. We lost the soil, the heritage, the connectivity.' He learned from his family about the how different communities lived together, he says 'you lived with those people. How could they become enemies overnight? What created that?' Whilst showing a collection of his books, Dr Hasnie discussed his political awareness. He asserts that 'Jinnah was Hindu-Muslim unity ambassador. I blame Nehru, [he was] responsible [for this], he said if you have a headache you get rise of the head'. In a meeting in May 1947, between Krishna Menon and Mountbatten advising him that Nehru had agreed and was ready to 'get rid of that headache' referring to Jinnah and urging Mountbatten to finish the process 'without delay, wanting no further discussion of it with Jinnah'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Paul Ward, (2009), "The end of Britishness? A historical perspective", *British politics Review: Journal of the British politics society, Norway*, 4 (3). P.3

¹⁰⁸ Stanley worlpert (2003), *Gandhi's Passion: The life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*, (Cary, Oxford University Press) page 340 (Stanley Worlpert (1996), *Nehru: A tryst with Destiny*, (oxford, Oxford University Press), p.396

Dr Hasnie had always taken a keen interest in the promotion of equality of opportunities for the disadvantaged sections in the community.¹⁰⁹ In 2002, after 55 years, Dr Hasnie got the opportunity to visit his birthplace, Jalandar. This was part of a Youth Exchange programme, in which the local authority and the Asian Community arranged a visit to Pakistan and India, to establish educational and cultural links to help promote better understanding within the Huddersfield Communities.¹¹⁰ He was refused a visa, his Indian colleagues intervened and represented his case in New Delhi, and finally he was granted a visa and joined his colleagues a week later. This was due to his parents having a Pakistani nationality, as there are strict regulations for the Pakistani citizen to visit India and vice versa for Indian citizens. During the creative writing workshop as discussed in the reflective essay, Dr Hasnie, shared the story about the map. [Source 3] His father's cousin, now a lecturer in Bradford, used to work at a court in Jalandhar. He sketched a map for Dr Hasnie for his visit. The highlighted area shows the Grand Truck Road which connects East and West Punjab. He explains his journey to his birthland was overwhelming: 'like

¹⁰⁹ Huddersfield Local Library archive: Magazine collection, 070, - Awaaz Newspaper: July 1992, issue 114, p.1; Awaaz Newspaper: October 1992, issue 117, p.1 [Dr Hasnie came to Huddersfield in 1962, when he was seventeen. His Uncle Rashid Chowdry was the first to come to Huddersfield in 1956, sadly he died in 1999. His uncle used to drive buses, and in 1963 he opened a Punjab Store in Huddersfield, it was the first Asian corner shop. When Dr Hasnie came he could speak English really well, he went to college and got his O-levels, and worked in the mills. During the 70s and 80s he studied hard and gained a PhD in Chemistry, a Certificate in Education, and an MSc in Race Relations and Community Studies. He contributed to the Huddersfield community in various ways; in 1986, he was elected as chairperson of Kirklees Community Relations Council. He has received an OBE for playing an active role in formation of various local organisations such as The Pakistan Associations, Huddersfield Council of Islamic Affairs, Pakistan Youth Association, Huddersfield Minority Groups Council, and Kirklees Multi-Cultural society]

¹¹⁰ Mr Katar Singh Kathuria (born 1936) was also interviewed for The WLP project Asian Awaaz newspaper July 2002, page 7

you could feel the spirits of your ancestors around you'. He also visited the border and saw Pakistan from the Indian side.

He quotes a well-known phrase in Punjabi to show feeling of his second visit to Lahore. He says, 'Jin ay Lahore nahi dekhyia, O Jamia Nahi' [English translation: Whoever has not seen Lahore, hasn't been born/lived yet]. He remembers this phrase and describes his journey through metaphors stating:

It was the centre of gravity, the centre of the world form. All those things which I've listened to, heard from my grandparents from the age of three or four. You are part of the same soil. Just because you draw a line, it doesn't become a different country. I'd arrived where I belonged, where I could be connected to my ancestors.

It is interesting to point out the phrase mentioned above was the title of a play written in the 1980s by Syed Asghar Wajahat born in Uttar Pradesh, India, in 1946. The story is based on an elderly Punjabi Hindu woman who gets left behind in Lahore, after the Partition of India, but later she refuses to leave. This play became famous; it was performed across thousands of venues and was staged in India, Pakistan, Sydney, New York, and Dubai. Wajahat's vision behind this play was to showcase the 'clash between three antagonistic forces – religious fanaticism, the common man and the poet, finally asserting human

values.’¹¹¹ Lahore City in Pakistan plays a significant part during the Partition, it connected the Muslim and Sikhs through Punjabi Culture.¹¹²

Dr Hasnie has a Pakistani, Punjabi, and a Muslim identity; he is heavily influenced by Punjabi culture and is proud to be from the Punjab. He states ‘My heroes are Punjabis and I am most impressed by Guru Nanak Dev Ji [founder of Sikhism]. He wanted to bring [Hindu] and Muslims together. Hind [India] is part of us, this is from the soil. I’m proud of my Punjabi heritage, which means Sikhism is there.’ He links the community connections from before Partition, and the ‘transplantation’ of those communities to Huddersfield living together side by side, during migration these people reconnected.

¹¹¹The Hindu Times, “History’s reflection: a man of many parts novelist, playwright, filmmaker and scholar Syed Asghar Wajahat”, Friday, Aug 26, 2005, by Diwan Singh Bajeli
<<http://www.thehindu.com/fr/2005/08/26/stories/2005082602390300.htm>>;

Naatak (Theatre Play) “Naatak, Jis Lahore nai Dekhya” - Jis Lahore Nai Dekhya O Jamiyai Nai (“One who has not seen Lahore has not been born”) was written in the 1980s. Set in 1947, it is the story of a Muslim family that migrates from Lucknow to Lahore and is allotted a haveli vacated by a departing Hindu family. Drama ensues when they find an old Hindu woman living in the haveli. Asghar Wajahat’s classic was first performed by Naya Theatre under the direction of Habib Tanvir, who staged the play in Karachi, Lahore, Sydney, New York, Dubai and all over India. The play has also been performed by Ank Theatre group under the direction of Dinesh Thakur and by several other theater groups in various Indian regional languages. Recently, renowned Bollywood director Rajkumar Santoshi has announced plans to make a film based on this play.

<<http://www.naatak.com/pastprod/lahore/jislahore.html>>

¹¹² (I remember hearing this phrase from my uncle whilst visit to Lahore in May 2016. I asked my Uncle the meaning, he told me the translation but I did not understand why he said it. However, after talking to Dr Hasnie I know, I will explain this a chapter about my visit to Pakistan)

Gindi Sarai



Source 4 - Mrs Gindi Sarai photograph provided by Let's Go Yorkshire 'The WLP project' Photography by Elliot Baxter

Gindi Sarai was born in 1951; she was only four years old at the time of Partition and remembers seeing a lot of empty houses people had evacuated from.¹¹³ She expresses that sometimes 'me and the local kids used to go inside those houses and play'. It was the curiosity of seeing the empty houses that urged her to ask her mother, and it was only then her mother shared the stories of Partition. She heard a lot of stories whilst growing up such as

Women and girls raped, breast[s] cut, torturous killing like killing animals, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. The Muslims used to wear Sikh clothes so people could not kill them, they used to take their Shalwar [trousers] off to see if they were circumcised. The reason nothing, just want[ed] two countries. [People] were poisoned by leaders.

¹¹³ Lets Go Yorkshire: The WLP project – Oral history interview of Mrs Gindi Sarai interview conducted on 18 August 2017

As some Muslims stayed behind and still live in their villages, she found it bizarre that Muslims had moved to India and wondered why some Muslims still lived there. Whilst growing up Mrs Sarai says she did not see any difference between Muslims and Sikhs. Belonging to a Sikh family, her family and local people had created a brotherhood relationship-bond with a Muslim man who they called Uncle Aqils. Mrs Sarai states 'Uncle Aqils's daughters were our friends, called Kaamo and Jeero. They used to play with us. My mum told us we hid these girls.' She remembers going to Eid Mela in her village and they used to wait for the delicious food. She stated, 'they used to call us Bhabhi (sister-in-law)'. [There was] no difference before and even now between the different communities.' In her village there were two girls aged between seven or eight who never talked to anyone; Partition had a devastating impact on their lives. Their mother died during Partition and used to live in their village, they never asked them about what had happened to their mother. She says, 'Mum told us that their mother died during Partition, we never asked them, they faced trauma and feared the event, they did not want to remember it'. During the interview Mrs Sarai started crying; it is evident that she really cared about these girls, whilst talking about them she states hearing those stories her mother had told her it was traumatic: 'I can't imagine how people must have felt. We gave those girls love and never made them feel they were any different [from] us, just because we had a different religion. When they were getting married the whole village put money towards their wedding'. Even now when she goes back to her homeland she visits them.

Mrs Sarai came to Huddersfield at the age of seventeen in 1968, though her brother and father came much earlier. She says at first, 'we never liked it here and our people were low in number. Nothing we could find for our living like, food, the taste was not the same, language. Now we feel this is our home, [we still] miss [our] family and life back home'. She always shares stories about her culture, heritage, and history with her kids and asserts that 'even if it's bad or good I used to share it, and never used to hide it. History is very important, educating them through films'. Although some people did not move, they still have been informed about Partition either it is through media, news or oral history.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the interviews conducted for the WLP was to highlight their ancestral history and not just their experience of settling in the UK. It can be agreed that even if some people did not migrate this does not mean that the hardships the ordinary people faced was less important. Most of the interviewees were either children during Independence or born during or after Partition, these interviews help us to understand how ordinary people's perception of the events has changed over time. Until recent years, Partition survivors refused to divulge the excruciating details about their experiences, either as a child or an adult. Some tend to pass on their stories to their grandchildren, whereas some do not like to talk about the traumatic pasts. The Partition generation are aging and dying, and when you ask them about their story most of them answer on the lines of 'what is the point of going over those bad times now?' Some people want to forget the history and move on, whereas, for some people who do share their

story, it has become fairly accepted that a person's inner feelings and memories can best or more easily be understood by exploring past history through experiences. Their memories of their homeland and cultural practices were being passed down, but sometimes the Partition memories were left behind.¹¹⁴

Yasmin Khan's work helps to examine the local politics and ordinary lives that helped to shape the larger narrative of Partition by studying the widespread unconscious exposure to 'separatism' and 'nationalist' principles. Khan states that the majority of the local people were illiterate, but those who 'owned or could gather around wireless sets in family homes or in shops [and] heard the voices of four men carrying across the airwave from broadcasting stations of all India Radio', whereas other news was being passed 'from relations and friends, by reading newspapers and, later, through government pamphlets'.¹¹⁵ Despite this, ordinary people were unaware of the full details of what was going on; this helps to understand the speed of the transfer of power, and the reckless decision-making that created a detrimental past. This highlights the sense of confusion people had faced, as to what was going on, which was mainly due to inadequacy of information being provided to them or false rumours.¹¹⁶ The same sense of confusion is addressed during the oral history interviewees' memory of Partition.

¹¹⁴ Razia Parveen, "Food to remember: culinary practice and diasporic identity and communal identity, (2013 Phd, University of Huddersfield)

¹¹⁵ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition*, p.1

¹¹⁶ Robert Perks, Alistair Thomson (2015), *The oral history reader*, (3. edn), (London, Routledge), p.381

The memories were not transmitted down the generations. By interviewing the younger generation, it has come to my understanding that the oral tradition of storytelling is dying out in the South Asian community. Partition was an event that altered people's livelihood; it affected the entire population of British India, and it would be difficult to find someone who was not affected. Oral history testimony of South Asian migrants living in Huddersfield gives an insight into vivid memories about the life back home. As the refugees crossed the borders, they brought with them stories of the most terrible atrocities against their community, then these stories in turn created further violence and hatred of the 'other communities'.¹¹⁷ Much of the rural population did not even hear about the contours of the border until much later.¹¹⁸ There is a mixture of elements of stories being passed down to them, and eye witness accounts as a child living before, during, or after Partition, then later they share their experience as a migrant living in Huddersfield.

The interviews highlight that in the late 1950s and 1960s the people started to migrate to the UK which resulted in an emergence of consciousness around issues like religion.¹¹⁹ There was a sense of need for religious centres and association. The only difference which was becoming visible was having the word 'Pakistani' and 'Indian' in front of the different association's name. Through there was factional rivalry on political level within the ethnic minorities as suggested by Scott research it should also be acknowledged that the associations were there to resolve minor disputes, and bring the community

¹¹⁷ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition*, p.12

¹¹⁸ Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition*, p.6

¹¹⁹ Louise M Ryan, & D'Angelo, A. (2017) *Changing Times: Migrants' Social Network Analysis and the Challenges of Longitudinal Research*. *Social Networks.*, pp.4-5

together for events like Eid, Diwali, and other social and religious events. [see page 36]¹²⁰ The associations created the same atmosphere as discussed in the oral history, people talk about going to each other's houses for festivals and celebratory events during childhood.¹²¹ The community that was once divided started to communicate again but did not talk about Partition because it was a sensitive topic.

This Seventieth Anniversary media coverage has addressed the issues about the word celebration and commemoration. The word "celebration" is for Independence from the British Empire; the word "commemoration" is for the Partition and misery it caused. Over the years the word "commemoration" is overshadowed by "celebration", both terms have different meaning for the "other" community. As Lindsey Dodd states the 'national commemoration helps to heal the wounds', and open discussion through workshops and this project is important to help the silent voice share their memories.¹²² Originally local communities either celebrated or commemorated the anniversary separately, whereas others had little to no knowledge of the event.¹²³ Through this research it has occurred to me that there is a link between the silence of the migrants' voices on the issue of Partition and the silence of official British History. Partition was presented in the press and by the government as an honourable and orderly withdrawal at the exact right moment and this has contributed towards

¹²⁰ Huddersfield Pakistani community alliance <<http://www.hpca.org.uk/whatwedo.php?id=1>>

¹²¹ Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, (1998), *Borders & Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, (New Delhi, Rutgers University Press), pp.77-78

¹²² Lindsey Dodd (2016), *French children under the allied bombs, 1940-45: an oral history*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press), p.2

¹²³ Virdee, Pippa. (2014) 'No-mans Land' and the Creation of Partitioned Histories in India/Pakistan. In Eltringham, Nigel and Mclean, Pam, (eds) *Remembering Genocide. Remembering the modern world*, (Florence, Taylor and Francis), pp.6-7

perceptions of the British Empire as a successful or positive aspect of British History.¹²⁴ The original focus was about understanding cultural history but since the Anniversary there is a shift towards understanding the migrants' memories in connection to Partition.¹²⁵ The fact that their memories did not conform to the official narrative or popular perceptions in the UK may have contributed towards the lack of remembrance until now.

The oral interviewees highlight that for millions of people, Independence is not about celebrating, however I believe that the celebration side has overshadowed the commemorative side of the events during 1947. Therefore, there might have been a belief that nothing had happened in these people's lives, that was necessarily noteworthy enough to write about, or to record for the oral history projects. The WLP oral history interviews have helped individuals to share childhood memories, who were helpless at the time, and unaware of a significant event shaping their lives. As a third generation with Punjabi heritage, I had never heard of any of these literatures mentioned by Dr Hasnie or Partition stories, as most of the second generation do not want to share their memories. From personal experience and the documentary reflective interviews it has become apparent that in the National School Curriculum in England, history taught in school is outdated and does not allow the multicultural communities to learn about their history. [Appendix 3]

¹²⁴ Nicholas Owen, "More than a transfer of Power: Independence Day Ceremonies in India, 15 August 1947," *Contemporary Record, the Journal of Contemporary British History*, Vol. 6, No.3, Winter 1992 (London), p. 420

¹²⁵ Paromita Deb., (2011), Religion, partition, identity and diaspora: a study of Bapsi Sidhwa's Ice-Candy-Man. *South Asian Diaspora*, 3(2), pp.215-216

To review the documentary created by the WLP, I interviewed the audience at the screenings, and created a questionnaire on the Survey Monkey website. This was posted both on personal Facebook, and the Let's go Yorkshire Facebook page. The answers helped to diversify our communication with the local community; some of the people I interviewed were anonymous and some were randomly selected. Nearly all the participants I interviewed stated that they had little or no knowledge about this history. The aim of these interviews was to understand mostly young generations perspective through asking four simple open-ended questions.¹²⁶ An anonymous interviewee even mentioned that knowing little about our community history 'made me feel ignorant and a little embarrassed. [This project is a] brilliant example of communities reflecting and working together to improve awareness [to] pull [them] together.' I personally had the same feeling during the Seventieth Anniversary, and this research has helped to start a discussion and remember the people who might not be with us for the next anniversary.

¹²⁶ Anonymous five people answered the online survey
<<https://www.surveymonkey.co.uk/r/CL3L5RB>>

7. Reflection: Personal perspective on Partition

This thesis began with the writing of a personal blog about my interest in the Partition History, during a holiday to Pakistan. Philip Lewis asserts that during childhood, the diaspora community from any country intend to take their children to their ancestral homeland to preserve their culture for the next generation.¹²⁷ The visit to Pakistan, and especially the Wagah Border trip, helped me to acknowledge and question why South Asian history about the Partition was not taught in history lessons during my education, nor did I learn about this from, my relatives/family , despite the fact that we have a diverse multicultural society in Britain. One of the reasons why there was little representation of the South Asian Partition narrative, was because when migration started to the UK during 1950s, and 60s, people wanted to start a new and better life for their families. The memories of the community who had witnessed the event during the Partition were traumatic and few wanted to talk about it or indeed acknowledge it. The difference now, is that the community that migrated is settled, and the third generation want to talk and learn about the Partition history; this is one of the reasons why there has been wide a range of media coverage during the Seventieth Anniversary. Volunteering for the heritage project, the WLP, was the first step to building connections with the local community and understanding about local people's memories in relation to the Partition.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Personal WordPress blog < <https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/> >; Philip Lewis (2002), *Islamic Britain: Religion, politics and Identity among British Muslims*, (London, I.B.Tauris), p.52

¹²⁸ Let's Go Yorkshire Facebook < <https://www.facebook.com/letsگویorkshire/> >

On behalf of those who survived, it is our responsibility to take this timely event as a reminder that this work needs doing before it is too late. My involvement within this project involved creating a legacy, with oral archive, blogs, workshops, documentary, and digital podcasts available for not just the local community, but wider audiences. After discussing the WLP, this reflection goes on to review this heritage project through its co-production workshop, exhibition, and community events.

The plan of the this thesis was to interview four people for case study but I ended up helping out with most of the interviews for the WLP, addressing the themes of migration to Huddersfield, childhood memories in their homeland, family memories, and a message to the next generation. [see Chapter 5: Oral History] My research supervisor, Dr Paul Ward, introduced me to the WLP Project leader, Mandeep Samra. She is a Sikh and her motive for this project was to create an archive for the local residents. It was during this research I had first engagement with the Sikh community in Huddersfield and visited local Gurdwara and learned about Mrs Samra's family, and it was through this project she discovered that her family were refugees during the Partition. Belonging to a Sikh community this project had a huge impact on her sense of identity. Her father is a prime example of the East and West Punjabi community uniting again in Huddersfield after the Partition. Mrs Samra's Father is still friends with Mr Asad who we interviewed for this project. [See Oral History Chapter: Mr Mohammad Hanif Asad] Before starting this project, our Project leader, arranged a visit to the National Archive in London. The aim was to educate all the volunteers, including me about the Partition narrative through primary

archive material. During each research workshop I wrote a blog reflecting on my experience and learning process about understanding Hindu and Sikh culture which I was familiar with but had little understanding of.¹²⁹

This co-production methodology was a collaboration between academics and the heritage organisation/ film maker to coproduce knowledge and to create a dialogue about Partition by visiting various religious and community centres. [see Appendix 1] We used the film to create an exhibition at the university by inviting local people to ask questions to reflect this thesis. [Se appendix 3] As Paul Ward has stated, to understand people's lives and emotions the co-production method helps in 'blurring of the boundaries between University and communities [it helps] diversity of people to participate in the research process'.¹³⁰ One of the benefits of this co-production was that I used the university campus to communicate with local people and invite them for a series of workshops to create a discussion. As rightly pointed out by John Tosh 'history is a critical resource for the active citizen', and this 'barrier between public engagement with history in its enormous variety of forms and academic history is still discernible and real'.¹³¹

The Regional Community Partnership Manager, Iqbal Husain, at the archive introduced the various archive materials, but before an introduction he shared

¹²⁹ National Archive London trip - the blog on The WLP project website.
<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/tag/huddersfield/>

¹³⁰ Pente, Elizabeth, Ward, Paul, Brown, Milton and Sahota, Hardeep (2015), *The co-production of historical knowledge: implications for the history of identities*. Identity papers: A journal of British and Irish studies, 1 (1). pp. 32-33

¹³¹ Pente, Elizabeth, Ward, Paul, Brown, Milton and Sahota, Hardeep (2015), *The co-production of historical knowledge: implications for the history of identities*. Identity papers: A journal of British and Irish studies, 1 (1). pp. 32-33

his family history. His mother, a Sikh, was eleven, and his father, a Muslim, was sixteen when the Partition happened.¹³² Mr Husain has a dual heritage and was aware of the divide between the different communities from an early age; whilst sharing his family story he was deeply emotional. When I was writing a blog for The WLP about this visit to the archive, the first thought that came across my mind was that, 'Why was I not taught about the Partition of India?' No one in the family mentioned this topic. As a third generation British Pakistani, growing up the only source of information I had access to was through the media, and this only highlighted tense relationships between India and Pakistan.¹³³ Mr Husain's passion for his job and family story helped me to acknowledge the importance of oral history and how these private family stories are important to pass on. Oral interviews with ordinary people highlight what the word Partition meant to them then, and what it means to them now in terms of culture and starting another life in Huddersfield alongside the same communities they left behind.¹³⁴ As a regional community manager from an ethnic minority he uses his cultural and ancestral knowledge to bring forward the Partition voices.

¹³² Iqbal Husain, Regional Community Partnerships Manager at The National Archive London: "Remembering Partition: official records and Community voices", Published Wednesday 14 Feb 2018, < <http://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/remembering-partition-official-records-community-voices/> >

¹³³ Fatima Sonyia Jamal, The WLP project blog: "Research visit: The National Archives, July 2017", published on September 17, 2017
<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/tag/huddersfield/>>

¹³⁴ The National Archives: DO 133/61 Boundary commission award Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commission awards Punjab and Bengal and disturbances arising therefrom, November-December 1947

Outdated history education and Local Archives

In August 2017, British media coverage about the Partition was essential for the diaspora community, and most importantly it helped me to question what the Partition Legacy was for the diaspora South Asian community in the UK. A BBC Newsnight Debate *The Partition at Seventy: What is the legacy of Empire?* highlighted a new discussion about narrowed and outdated history education in the National School Curriculum in England.¹³⁵ Canon Michael Roden from St Mary's Hitchin, has set up a national campaign, 'Partition History Project', which incorporates Indian and Pakistani history in schools.¹³⁶ During the debate, Canon Roden, said that he was deeply shocked at the history of suffering on all sides from an event he knew little about. Being brought up in the 70s, he did not learn about the Partition's traumatic impact during the secondary school. Another young Pakistani girl addressed the same issue about learning less about Indian and Pakistani history' during history lessons.¹³⁷ This Anniversary has highlighted a new debate about outdated history in the National School Curriculum in England, because nearly all the interviews conducted for the documentary commented that they were not aware of this

¹³⁵ BBC Newsnight debate about Partition at 70: What is the legacy of Empire?, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b091zsyz>>

¹³⁶ Bristol Cathedral. (2018). *The Revd Canon Michael Roden appointed Canon Chancellor*. Retrieved from <<https://bristol-cathedral.co.uk/news/revd-michael-roden-appointed-canon-chancellor>> [Michael is currently Rector of St Mary's Church, Hitchin where he's been in post for 16 years, which is an Inclusive Church with a strong commitment to in-depth interfaith work. In 2017, St Mary's set up the Partition History Project, a national campaign to pioneer the teaching India and Pakistan History into schools and heal cross-community divides and Michael's experience in this area will be timely and important as Bristol continues to grapple with the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade and inequality in the city.]

¹³⁷ BBC Newsnight debate about Partition at 70: What is the legacy of Empire?, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b091zsyz>>

part of history and only learned about this through this project. [Appendix 3]

Recently a senior Lecturer in Indian and colonial history, Deana Heath stated that

“the students who I encountered know very little about Britain’s past, let alone Britain’s connections with the wider world or the history of the world outside Europe. They therefore know practically nothing about empire and its legacies – including in Britain. The histories they have studied and texts they have read were virtually all about or by white men, so they also know nothing about the history of women or the histories of people of colour, either”.¹³⁸

As Robert Perk rightly suggests, creating the historical knowledge through oral history will help understand personal historical knowledge and “history taught in school helps to understand, and accept, how the political and social system under which [we] live came about, and how forces and conflicts have played, and continue to play, their part in that evolution”.¹³⁹ The same concern has been highlighted by the documentary and reflective interviews conducted for this research. [Appendix 3]

As a member of the third generation and Pakistani, I personally have not heard any stories of Partition from my parents nor grandparents. I was experiencing the same concern whilst watching the wide range of media coverage about the Partition. This helps to understand that oral history can be used as public

¹³⁸Deana Heath, (2019). *British Empire is still being whitewashed by the school curriculum – historian on why this must change*. 2nd November 2018 [online] The Conversation.

[<http://theconversation.com/british-empire-is-still-being-whitewashed-by-the-school-curriculum-historian-on-why-this-must-change-105250>], [Accessed 10 May. 2019].; Chris Waters, (1997). “Dark Strangers” in *Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947–1963*. *Journal of British Studies*, 36(2), pp.209, 210, 225 <doi:10.1086/386134>

¹³⁹ Robert Perks, Alistair Thomson (2015), *The oral history reader*, (3. edn), (London, Routledge), p.22.

knowledge to address hidden stories; to see to what extent stories of Partition were being passed down to the third generation from their parents and grandparents. In the Scott's archive, a pamphlet titled 'Pakistan Independence Day Celebration 1971', was given out at Huddersfield Town Hall during the event on 14th August 1971. The context of the pamphlet addressed the heritage of art, culture, and history of Pakistan before Partition.¹⁴⁰ This pamphlet is one example what highlights that although history was not taught through the National Curriculum, the migrants had other resources to gain that knowledge, through community centres. Passing down of cultural history and memory plays an important role, just as in traumatic stories like the Holocaust oral history, these Partition memories are important to be passed down, so that the South Asians are aware of their ancestral history, to avoid any conflicts from occurring again in the future. As a result, the documentary and oral history archive created for this project provides another forum of education which can be incorporated into history to create a dialogue, and would be beneficial for the future historical knowledge about Huddersfield South Asian ancestral history.

The BBC debate was significant as it helped to raise the questions as to 'Why did the schools fail to address the Partition narrative? and what do we as a diaspora South Asian Community know about the Homeland our family inhabited?' This thesis offered the freedom to write critically, and to reflect on the concerns of the communities and societies in which we live. Since this thesis is about *Public History, Oral History, and Community Heritage*, these

¹⁴⁰ SCT/1/6 – II d. Huddersfield – Pakistani- General religion/ Associations, Pakistan Association Huddersfield, 'Pakistan Independence Day Celebration 1971, Saturday, 14th August, 1971,'pp.1-22

three phrases played an important role in constructing a local history archive for the diaspora South Asian community, by engagement with the community to start a conversation and raise awareness about Partition and its legacy in Huddersfield.

To find people who were willing to be interviewed for this project was crucial. When I first started carrying out research, I contacted West Yorkshire Kirklees Archive, to locate any primary resources regarding Independence. The response I got was disappointing. I was informed that the archive does not hold any records relating to Indian and Pakistani communities. They stated that these communities are very under-represented in the collection. Some years ago, the West Yorkshire archive was involved in a project to encourage a diverse range of local community organisations to collect and preserve their own archives, but sadly after researching into this project titled 'NowThen', there was no topic regarding the discussion of Partition or Independence.¹⁴¹ The only primary sources I came across, were two Huddersfield local newspaper articles of the Indian and Pakistani communities celebrating Independence Day during the 1960s and 70s. These articles enabled us to locate the community centres, and make connections with the Pakistani Association, religious centres, and South Asian community centres.¹⁴²

During the research process of this thesis the WLP visited the first ever exhibition about the Partition in the UK, HOME 1947, with the volunteer team

¹⁴¹ West Yorkshire Archive Services: Now Then online archive, <<http://nowthen.org/collections>>

¹⁴² Pnina Werbner, (2013), Everyday multiculturalism: Theorising the difference between 'intersectionality' and 'multiple identities'. *Ethnicities*, 13(4), pp.402

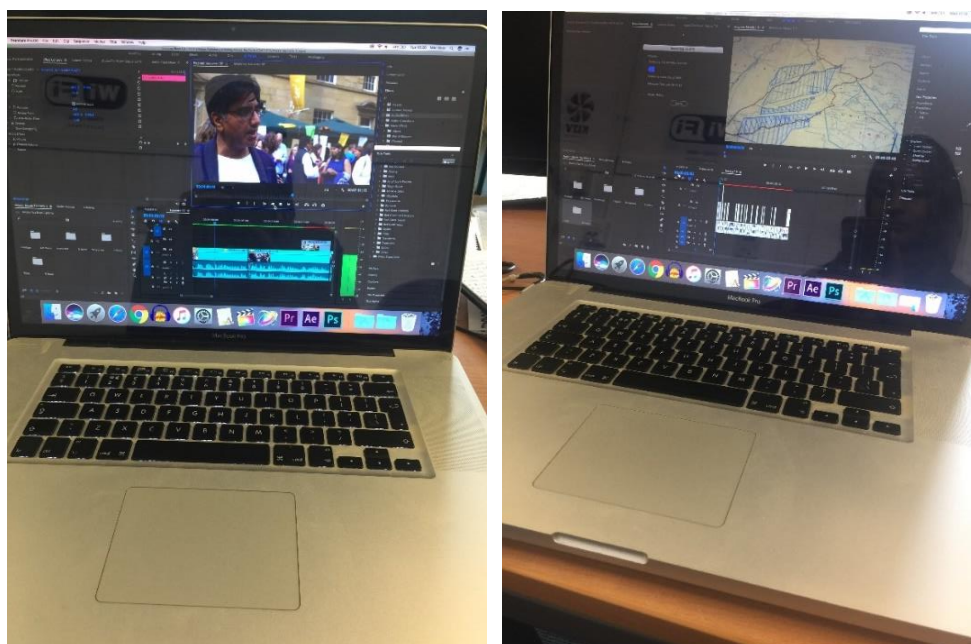
including me; the aim was to get inspiration for our project. The London Archive and this exhibition research visit provided access to material that covered the build up to the Partition, the actual Partition itself, and the subsequent fall out.¹⁴³ This exhibition inspired us to develop ideas for the Masala Tea Party (MTP), an event in Huddersfield to mark the Seventieth Anniversary of the Partition. [Source 5] As recorded on the blog many of the ideas for the theatrical performance at the event were inspired by HOME 1947 and the London Archive visits. This event was useful for our project; it helped us to promote the oral history project and build up connections with the local community.¹⁴⁴ I documented the MTP event with the help of Kirklees Local TV. The CEO, Milton Brown, videoed the event and afterwards I interviewed people. For my research purposes, I also edited the video, which is now uploaded onto the Kirklees Local TV YouTube.¹⁴⁵ [Source 5] During the interview I asked questions about celebration, commemoration, the British education system and how important History is in their life. This was a completely new experience for me to learn interview skills before embarking on the oral history project. I had the opportunity to learn so many different skills as well as interviewing Asian and non-Asian members of the public at the event to gather their perspectives about

¹⁴³ The WLP Blog, <<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2017/09/17/research-visits-part-two/>>; Personal blog, <<https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/2017/07/04/home-1947/>>

¹⁴⁴ The WLP Blog, <<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2017/09/17/research-visits-part-two/>>; Personal blog, <<https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/2017/07/04/home-1947/>>

¹⁴⁵ Kirklees Local Television [Masala Tea Party]. (30 Aug 2017). *Masala Tea Party: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the partition of India and Pakistan* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6ncbrEDbKw>> Personal blog - <<https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/2017/08/12/huddersfields-big-masala-tea-party-to-commemorate-the-partition-of-india-and-birth-of-pakistan/>>; Kirklees TV blog, <<https://kltvnews.blogspot.co.uk/2017/08/huddersfields-big-masala-tea-party-to.html>>

the Partition, their concepts of homeland and their identity. This was the first event in Huddersfield where communities from different ethnicity, race, and age



Source 5 - Editing the filming for the Masala Tea Party event at the Kirklees Local TV

participated for this Anniversary.

The MTP's aim was to infuse South Asian culture through music, food and colours to recreate memories for both communities living side-by-side before the Partition. This event was significant to showcase that we have a shared history, to make connections with the local community, and to raise awareness by introducing local people to come forward to be interviewed. A lot of the participants mentioned that during history lessons they learnt about the Indian mutiny and the political struggle for Independence, but the history teaching stopped there. During the interview Carly Clarke, Drama Practitioner commented that 'in school I remember learning about India and Gandhi, but it seems it got to 1946 and Gandhi held as the greatest Indian fighter for Indian

independence but then it seems we don't was to talk about Partition...it was highlighted on the news about freedom, celebration, and joy, it's just masking over [the] horrific events that actually happened to people'.¹⁴⁶ This made me reflect upon how little I knew about the Partition and that we do not get to learn about the aftermath of Partition or people's experiences. This event helped me to gain interview skills which I was able to transfer for the oral history project.

It was through this project I was able to develop presentation and communication skills. This allowed us to make not just regional but also national connections through this project. During the first visit to the National Archive we invited Mr Husain to this event. It opened an opportunity for us to present our sound installation 'Drawing the Line' and the WLP at the National Archives on 16th November 2017. [Source 6] At the end of the event, the Question and Answer session helped me to acknowledge that there are many minority communities who are still underrepresented.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Kirklees Local Television [Masala Tea Party]. (30 Aug 2017). *Masala Tea Party: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the partition of India and Pakistan* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6ncbrEDbKw>

¹⁴⁷ Iqbal Husain, "The Partition of British India: engaging new diverse audiences", Thursday 28 September 2017, < <https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/partition-british-india-engaging-new-diverse-audiences/> >; [reference for the blog] the blog on personal blog website <https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/2017/11/16/the-partition-plan-at-the-national-archive/>



Source 6 - Partition Plan at the National Archive Photo taken by the Archive

To bring this project to public attention we planned to take it out to people. Not everyone has an opportunity to visit exhibitions; through this project Mandeep Samra created a separate project named 'Drawing The Line'. This was a mobile sound installation consisting of a vintage-style gramophone featuring the voices of Huddersfield survivors and their families' experiences and narratives of the Partition. The sound Installation toured for 25 days at twelve locations in Huddersfield and the National Archives in London. I helped to organise and locate these local sites for sound installation.¹⁴⁸ The purpose of this was to take the oral history archive to people in and unique places and open a discussion about the impact on understanding what people thought about the Partition.

¹⁴⁸ The sound Installation toured for 25 days at twelve locations: Venue names and date of the installation. [see appendix]

Oral history interviews

Before starting the WLP, I took part in an Oral history workshop organised by Hardeep Singh Sahota from the University of Huddersfield; he recently published a book entitled *Bhangra: Mystics, Music and Migration*. The book explores Bhangra's past and present and, in particular, its roots in Huddersfield through the first Indian migrants.¹⁴⁹ This workshop was essential to learn about interview techniques, ethics, and time management.

Oral history was an important source of the WLP and this thesis in order to give a more in-depth study of the South Asian community in the town of Huddersfield. Oral history is a source that lets us experience the past through someone's spoken memories, with emotion, rather than just the words in a book or media. Some historians criticise the use of oral history being collated as a valid source material, as James Hoppes writes 'oral historians must deal with the problem that memory, on which they so heavily depend, is human and fallible'.¹⁵⁰ In analysing the case studies in this thesis on the Oral history chapter there are some instances where interviewees could not provide an answer to a particular question and were rather hesitant. However, it could also be because the question might not be relevant to their personal memory, or the person simply could not remember that event in discussion. In a counter argument

¹⁴⁹ Oral history workshop at Huddersfield university 1-2pm by Hardeep Singh Sahota from The University of Huddersfield researcher, 6 July 2017; Hardeep Sahota work, *Bhangra Renaissance Project*. University of Huddersfield with Heritage Lottery Fund support. [Research into the origins and heritage of the dance form of Bhangra, with reference to communities in Kirklees]. Hardeep Singh Sahota, *Bhangra: Mystics, Music and Migration* [Huddersfield University Press, 2014].

¹⁵⁰ James Hoppes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1979), pp.14-15

Andy Hill shows how important these oral accounts can be as these memories help us to make 'sense of the past through oral sources [and] provides an opportunity to gain a greater appreciation of the multiple, often sharply contested, historical perspectives that exist in memory; especially when history matters'.¹⁵¹ These oral history accounts matter because they help to address the hidden knowledge which is not available in books. Through this project I have learnt that people's memories can provide something no books or newspaper article could ever fully portray. Lindsey Dodd states that oral history gives access to a 'portion of unimagined existence' and these 'individual history' memories emerge as agents of change and individual histories become shared.¹⁵²

In September, I started to help with the Oral history interviews.¹⁵³ The Huddersfield Local History Society journal about the local minority ethnic and religious centres, was useful to identify the South Asian community in Kirklees.¹⁵⁴ With the help of this journal we contacted various community centres for potential interviewees for our project. We conducted twenty-two oral interviews and all the volunteers helped to summarise these interviews for the WLP project blog.¹⁵⁵ Below is the table showing all the participants interviewed

¹⁵¹ Andy Hill, 'Oral history and multi-cultural education', *Oral History*, 15 (1987), p.5-6

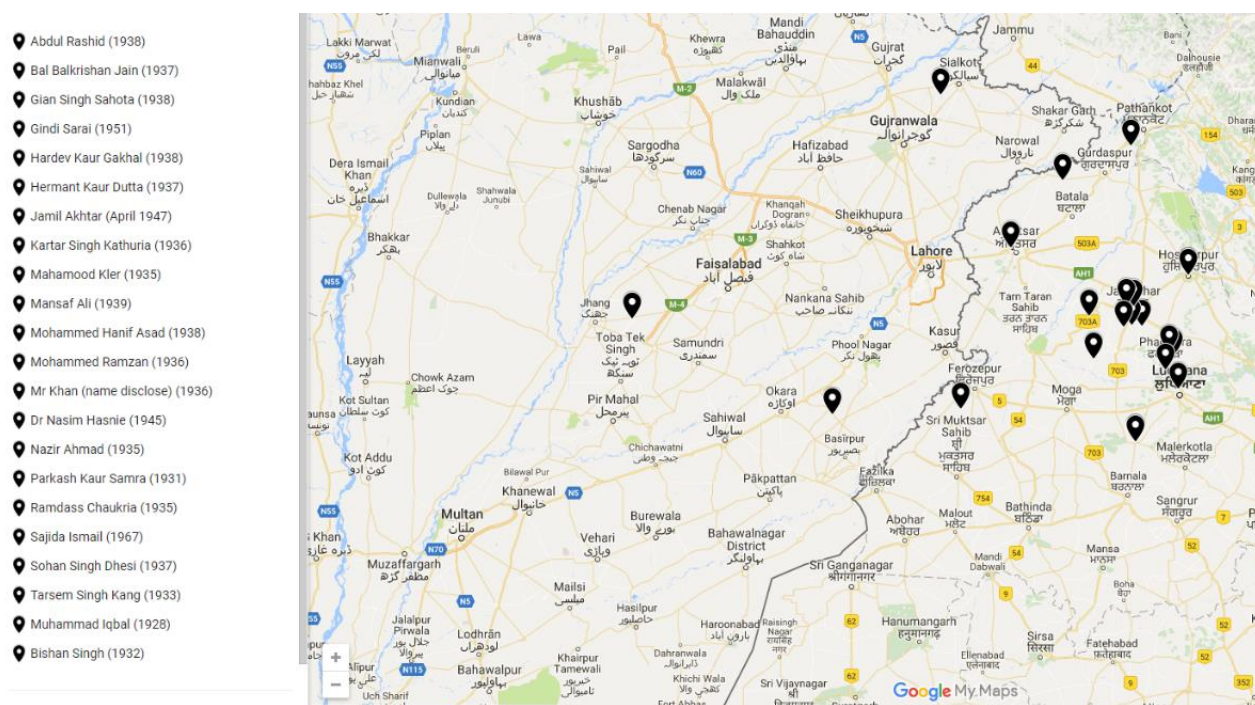
¹⁵² Lindsey Dodd (2016), *French children under the allied bombs, 1940-45: an oral history*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press), p.40

¹⁵³ I helped to conduct five interviews for The WLP project, these included: Abdul Rashid, Mahamood Kler, Mansaf Ali, Mohammad Ramzan, and Mohammad Hanif Asad. I also helped with video interviews for the documentary, these included: Gindi Sarai, Mohammad Hanif Asad, Dr Nasim Hasnie, and Hardev Kaur Sakhal.

¹⁵⁴ Recording the heritage journal published by The University's Centre for Visual & Oral History Research (CVOHR). <http://www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Migration1702.pdf>

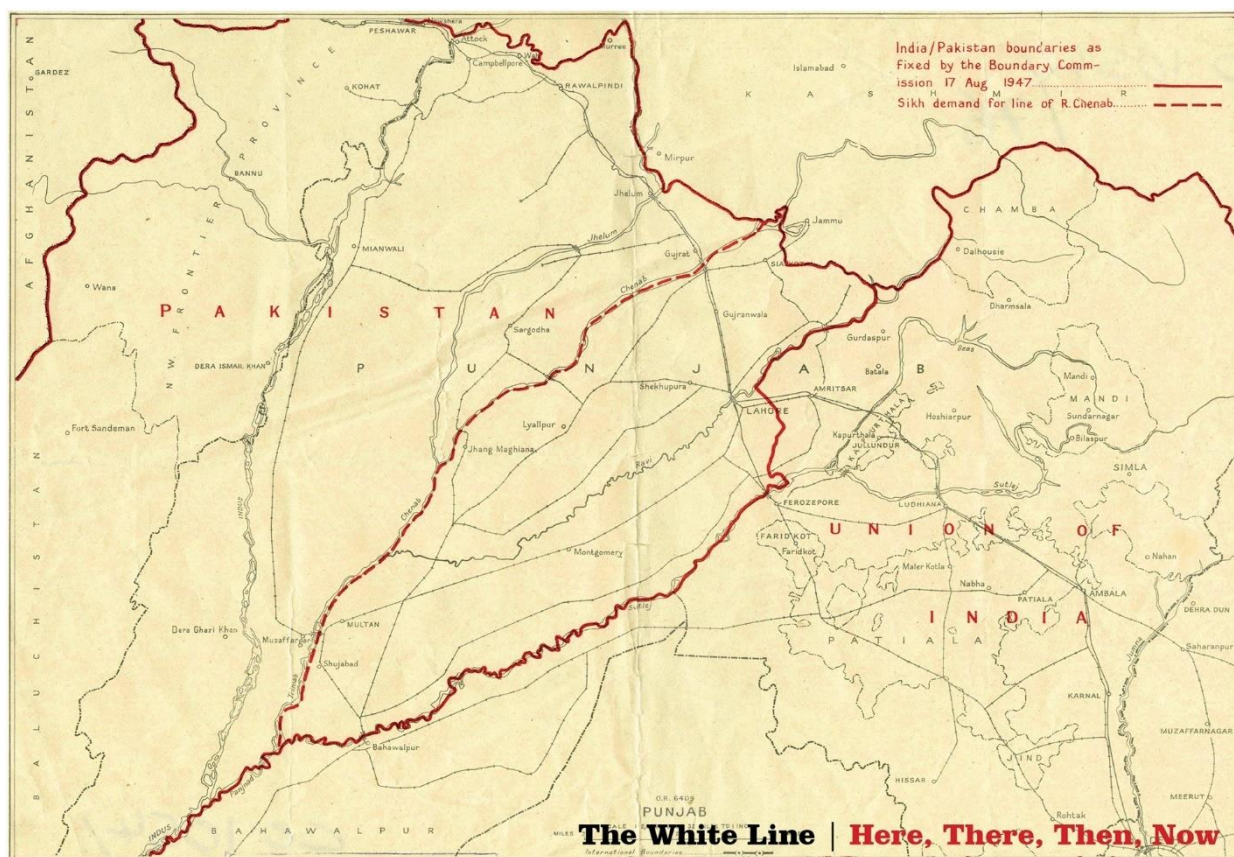
¹⁵⁵ Summary of all the Participants are on this link for The WLP project blog
<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/category/education/>>

for the oral history and documentary. [Table 1] Also I have created an interactive Google map link to show where the Participants lived during Partition.¹⁵⁶ [Source 9 and 10] The map shows how close together they all lived before Partition.



Source 9 - Google Map location of 22 migrants interviewed for the White Line Project. The location shows where they lived before migrating to either India or Pakistan after 1947 Partition.

¹⁵⁶ Interactive Google Map: A New Life in Huddersfield: The Memories of Partition and Migration <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1Ox_Ns5-sD-iViOdPjSyKliV6bRp3_pl7&usp=sharing>



Source 10 - India/ Pakistan boundaries as fixed by the Boundary Commission, 17 August 1947. By permission of The National Archives. CO 1054/76

The questions asked during the interview were broken down into five sections: coming to the UK, experience of settling in Huddersfield, life back home during childhood, memory of the Partition, and message to the next generation growing up in the UK. [Appendix 1] My Grandparents were born during 1940 and 1942, they are not alive to share their stories, but hearing the participants reflect on their memories helped me to realise how important oral history is to keep this alive and this is really the purpose of this thesis. We have created an archive for the local community and the families to preserve for the next generation.

Table 1 - Interviewees List

| | Name | born | Place |
|----|--|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 | Abdul Rashid | 1938 | India Jalandhar station near jora pul |
| 2 | Bal Balkrishan Jain | 9 th Jan 1937 | Shahkot district Jalandhar |
| 3 | Gian Singh Sahota | 1938 | Phalpota Phillaur Tehsil near Goraya |
| 4 | Gindi Sarai | 1951 | Jalandhar Punjab |
| 5 | Hardev Kaur Gakhal | 1938 | Tehsil in Punjab (102/15L) |
| 6 | Hermant Kaur Dutta | 1937 | Kamalpur Pakistan |
| 7 | Jamil Akhtar | April 1947 | tehsil in tehsil gurdaspur |
| 8 | Kartar Singh Kathuria | 1936 | village chak 19 in Pakistan side |
| 9 | Mahamood Kler | 1935 | district hoshiarpur |
| 10 | Mansaf Ali | 1939 | Raikot town in ludhiana |
| 11 | Mohammed Hanif Asad | 1938 | Lyallpur ludhiana |
| 12 | Mohammed Ramzan | 1936 | Raikot town in ludhiana |
| 13 | Mr Khan (disclose first name) | 1936 | India district Hoshiarpur |
| 14 | Dr Nasim Hasnie | 1945 | Jalandhar city mohalla purani kachari |
| 15 | Nazir Ahmad | 1935 | Malhuwala, Firozpur tehsil |
| 16 | Parkash Kaur Samra | 1931 | Khera Dona village |
| 17 | Ramdass Chaukria | 1935 | rukka khurd Jalandhar |
| 18 | Sajida Ismail (born in Huddersfield, mother passed away before the interview) | 1967 | Mother no accurate record given DOB (1938), dad (1935) born near Amritsar |
| 19 | Sohan Singh Dhesi | 1937 | Akalpur near phillaur |
| 20 | Tarsem Singh Kang | 1933 | Punjab village kalkulam Jalandhar |
| 21 | Bishan Singh | 1932 | Tehsil Samundri in Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) |
| 22 | Mohammad Iqbal | 1938 | West Punjab (Gujrat) |

Creative writing workshop

I attempted to explore literature to enhance my understanding and building up creative thinking skills. On 4th November 2017 I watched a play by Sudha Bhucher entitled *Child of the Divide*. The main character a Hindu boy named Pali lost his family during the refugee crisis, and was adopted by a Muslim family. Pali must decide 'if he is the boy he was born, the boy he has become, or simply a *Child of the Divide*'.¹⁵⁷ This play is a remarkable story of a family, identity, and belonging to a community. It helps us to think about contemporary issues of childhood and dislocation, as due to the refugee crisis thousands of families arrive on our shores today, it is the children's 'early emotional experiences... particularly with their parents, shape their adult personality'.¹⁵⁸ The past helps us understand the present, through this project I have started to acknowledge what people witnessed and experienced during the Partition, and how can this be linked to a wide range of historical and present traumatic experiences of a refugee negotiating between 'disrupted life trajectories, loss of status, sense of place, and culture shock, as well as attitudes of the host society-ranging from accepting to discriminatory'.¹⁵⁹

As part of this, with Let's Go Yorkshire we co-hosted a two-hour creative writing workshop at the University of Huddersfield. This workshop was led by writer,

¹⁵⁷ Child of the divide play Personal blog

<<https://southasianhomeland.wordpress.com/2017/11/04/child-of-the-divide-never-forgotten/>>

¹⁵⁸ Derek Summerfield, (2000), "Childhood, War, Refugeedom and 'Trauma': Three Core Questions for Mental Health Professionals", *Transcultural Psychiatry*, Vol 37, Issue 3, pp.420-24

¹⁵⁹ Derek Summerfield, (2000), "Childhood, War, Refugeedom and 'Trauma': Three Core Questions for Mental Health Professionals", *Transcultural Psychiatry*, Vol 37, Issue 3, pp.420

Aoife Mannix, and the participants used copies of original maps and documents held at The National Archives, to write creative responses to the Partition. A selection of these creative responses were published on the blog for the WLP, to help introduce people to our collections.¹⁶⁰ This workshop included a group of fifteen people of different ages and backgrounds, and opened with an introduction to working with archival material. Three of the interviewees for the oral history project also participated, Dr Nasim Hasnie, Gindi Sarai and Hermant Kaur Dutta. The participants were given an important insight into the Partition when Mannix invited them to imagine what animal the Partition would be. Various images came to participants' minds: snake, jellyfish, bear, hyena, jaguar, and jackal. During the workshop one of the participants, a young South Asian female's image of the Partition was lioness, which was certainly powerful. Her reason behind her choice was, "Lioness: Hides behind the glory of the male lion however it is the lioness that does the hunting". I chose Jaguar because the male aggressively protects his home and resident females from other males, also their habitat makes Jaguar a difficult animal to sight. This image of the Partition came to my mind due to exploring Urvashi Butali's book *The Other Side of Silence*. Reading women's silent voices and during the chaos people being labelled by a different religion just by certain characteristics was emotional.

Another one of the activities of this workshop included writing an imaginary letter saying goodbye to someone to whom we are or were close to. I wrote a

¹⁶⁰ Partition 70 years on Creative writing workshop 17 October 2017
<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2017/10/17/partition-70-years-on/>>

letter to my grandmother whom I never met. I wished at that moment to hear about her family and childhood memories. We had to read the letter to our partner; whilst listening to the letter of one of the female participants, which was addressed to her father who is still alive, she was felt deeply emotional and started to cry whilst reading her goodbye letter. The goodbye letters highlighted trauma that could have been experienced during the Partition and, agreeing with Mannix:

creative activity: through writing, poetry and filmmaking...allow[s] a space for people to creatively imagine what it may have been like, drawing on universal experience, [this] worked very powerfully as an introduction both for those familiar with the story of the Partition and those less aware.¹⁶¹

The last activity involved the oral history interviewees reflecting on what the Partition meant to them and sharing their experience and memories with the workshop participants. This workshop was helpful to use these methods during school education to help students and create a dialogue for the next generation. As an academic this was an amazing opportunity to get involved with, it helped to understand different perceptions of the past and help historians develop a better understanding of memories of Partition now.

After finishing the Oral history interviews, the next step was to create a documentary. One of the main reasons behind creating a documentary, was to create a visual memory, not just a written summary through oral history interviews. The oral history interviews are deposited at the Huddersfield

¹⁶¹ Partition 70 years on Creative writing workshop 17 October 2017 – Blog
<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2017/10/17/partition-70-years-on/>>

University Heritage Quay Archive, but not everyone would want to go listen to the accounts, so rather than history being stored away and never to be accessed again, it was important to create a documentary.¹⁶² In January 2018 a trip was organised by the WLP for the volunteers to learn about the Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA), to make connections with the archivist, and to learn about what material is available for the South Asian community in connection with migration and the Partition.¹⁶³ For someone who does not have any knowledge of film making, this visit was insightful.

Finding the oral footage was useful to our documentary and helped to create a storyline, rather than just having the interviewees talking throughout the documentary. After the trip to the Yorkshire Film Archive (YFA) we were convinced that this documentary was significantly important for this project. The final film was deposited at the YFA and uploaded on to their website.¹⁶⁴ The archive has vast experience of working with partners in the non-commercial sector, and their footage has been used in festivals, research, screenings, and educational workshops. This is one of the reasons why depositing the final work at this archive would be a beneficial and useful way to keep the history in the public eye rather than just archiving.

¹⁶² Graham Smith, (2010), *Historical Insights: Focus on Research* (University of Warwick, Coventry), pp.10-11; Michael Frisch, 2016. Oral history in the digital age: beyond the raw and the cooked. *Australian Historical Studies*, 47(1), pp.92-107.

¹⁶³ Research visit: Yorkshire Film Archive, January 2018, <<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2018/01/31/research-visit-yorkshire-film-archive-january-2018/>>

¹⁶⁴ Reference

Zoe Opal East, the filmmaker, ran two workshops at the Duke Studio in Leeds. During the workshops we discussed the fundamentals: dynamics of camera operating, video interview skills, visual storytelling, storyboard, and dramatic effects.¹⁶⁵ In the early stage of my thesis, I had gained some valuable experience by interviewing and editing a seven-minute video for the MTP event, but this workshop beneficial to for introduction to filmmaking. This made me think about knowledge differently. It enabled me to link oral and visual histories that connect the present (the oral history interview) with the past (the content of the interview and the archival film footage).¹⁶⁶

Filmmaker, Zoe carried out the editing. The volunteers helped with the storyboard, interviews, research, and creative ideas. Learning all these skills were useful before embarking on re-interviewing the people we had already interviewed for the oral history project. Mandeep and I visited Zoe at the Duke Studio in Leeds to create a storyline and pick candidates to be interviewed to fit the storyboard. [Source 11]



Source 11 - Creating Storyboard at Duke Studio in Leeds with Zoe, Mandeep and I

¹⁶⁵ 15th and 19th January 2018 - Filmmaker workshops 11-12:30pm & 1:30-3pm in Leeds at Duke Studio with Zoe East filmmaker

¹⁶⁶ Doug Boyd, (2012). Audio or video for recording oral history: questions, decisions. In D. Boyd, S. Cohen, B. Rakerd, & D. Rehberger (Eds.), Oral history in the digital age. Institute of Library and Museum Services. Retrieved from <<http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/2012/06/audio-or-video-for-recording-oral-history/>>

Creating the storyboard was an easy process, this is because whilst summarising the interviews for the WLP blogs and listening to the interviews, a clear theme was appearing in each interview. The oral interviews themes were reorganised for the video interview and included, migrants journey to Huddersfield, settling in Huddersfield, life back home, Partition memories, and the message to the next generation to highlight the important of this history. From 5th to 8th February 2018 we had four days to film all eleven interviews. For each day the volunteers had to write a small blog about their experience.¹⁶⁷ I participated in two days of the filmmaking during which we interviewed Dr Nasim Hasnie, Mr Mohammed Hanif Asad, Gindi Sarai, and Hardev Singh Gakhal. I had already participated in oral interviews and listened to all the twenty-two interviews, but to be able to hear their stories again was emotional. During Hardev Singh Gakhal's interview we had to stop the recording and let the participant relax, and respect his decision if he preferred to continue or not. It was very generous of Mr Gakhal to allow us to continue and share his memories. I found it surprising that Mr Gakhal had not shared these memories before, and it was during the interview he mentioned that 'it was because of this project my granddaughter wanted to know more about this'. The stories were overwhelming and difficult to imagine the experiences of the Partition survivors

¹⁶⁷ We had four days of film shooting below are the links for 4 days blogs.

Monday 5 February 2018 blog by Lauren Ebanks (project researcher)

<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2018/02/06/behind-the-scenes-day-1/>>

Tuesday 6 February 2018 blog by Sonyia Jamal (project researcher)

<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2018/02/07/behind-the-scenes-day-2/>>

Wednesday 7 February 2018 blog by Sonyia Jamal (project researcher)

<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2018/02/07/behind-the-scenes-day-3/>>

Thursday 8 February 2018 blog by Zoe East (cameraperson/editor)

<<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2018/02/08/behind-the-scenes-day-4/>>

because most of the people we interviewed were children when the Partition happened.

Film Screening

We have had three screenings and the premiere was held on Monday 28th May 2018 at the Huddersfield University Heritage Quay. This was an ideal place and I was glad that the ITV Calendar attended, and Zoe, Mr Hanif Asad and I were picked to be interviewed.¹⁶⁸ The final link for the documentary was uploaded on the YFA website, deposited at the Heritage Quay at the University, and all the participants were given a copy of the DVD of the film and a CD of all the interviews.¹⁶⁹ The second screening was on 8th June 2018 at the Huddersfield University Postgraduate Conference. The theme was 'Engaging with gendered Perspectives on the Past: History and Community Heritage'. At the conference I presented the film. The third screening was on Wednesday 20th June 2018 at the Duke Studio in Leeds, which is Zoe's workplace. At the end of the event there was a question and answer session, which gave me the opportunity to reflect on my thesis and answer questions in relation to my thesis.

As part of a reflective response of the participants for this project, on 23rd April 2018 I was interviewed by Lauren Ebanks, one of the researchers for the

¹⁶⁸ Facebook photos by Let's go Yorkshire of the First Documentary Premier - We had over 80 people at the premiere, the link below includes photos of me as well talking to people at the event. <<https://www.facebook.com/letsگویorkshire/posts/56487773911607> >

¹⁶⁹ Film ID: YFA 6276 Yorkshire Film Archive - A New Life in Huddersfield – Memories of Partition and Migration: duration 34Mins 47 Secs
<<http://www.yorkshirefilmarchive.com/film/new-life-huddersfield-memories-partition-and-migration>>

WLP.¹⁷⁰ There are four podcasts created between fourteen to twenty minutes long; they are uploaded onto the SoundCloud titled ACROSS THE LINE by Lauren Ebanks as part of the WLP. I was interviewed for the last podcast discussing the impact of the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 and its present significance. During the interview I was asked questions in relation to my research and my experience of interviewing the participants: What was the migrant's experience whilst settling? How different is the migrant's experience now? Was I taught enough about the Partition? How important is this history? How do we move past the Partition as a community? I shared my view of the questions above. By listening to the interviews of the participants, I have learned that the Partition aftermath narrative should be taught in schools, as it can be linked to other refugee crises going on now. The participants of this podcast made me realise it is not just South Asian history, it concerns the whole diaspora community living in the UK and other parts of the world. The only way to raise awareness about this is through policy level, by introducing world history in Key Stages 2 and 3 in the UK.

The final stage of this project resulted in providing teachers with an introduction to this sensitive and complex history through the Education pack. This involved curriculum-based History, Literacy and Geography at KS2 and 3.¹⁷¹ The Education pack includes lesson plans, debates, documentary and oral history related activities. Recently I was asked if I would be able to show this documentary to Huddersfield Mirfield Free Grammar School year eleven

¹⁷⁰ Lets go Yorkshire's Across The Line - Episode 4 date published 16 May 2018

<<https://soundcloud.com/letsگویorkshire/sets/across-the-line>>

¹⁷¹ Partition information Pack <<https://thewhitelineproject.wordpress.com/2018/05/28/partition-information-pack/>>

students. Although I did not participate in creating the education pack, because this requires national curriculum related expertise, but touring this documentary to different schools and communities, is one of the step forward to keep this history alive. This project has enhanced my creative writing skills and I feel more confidence in public engagement related activities.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Drawing The Line - Sound Installation Tour schedule 2017

| Community partner | Venue start date | Venue end date | Number of days | Location | Numbers reached |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------|
| Chol Theatre Huddersfield's Big Masala Tea Party | Saturday 12 August 2017 | Saturday 12 August 2017 | 1 | Lawrence Batley Theatre Courtyard Queen Street Huddersfield HD1 2SP | 120 |
| Womenszone Community Centre | Monday 14 August 2017 | Tuesday 15 August 2017 | 2 | 21 Hubert Street Bradford BD3 9TE | 23 |
| Khidmat Centre | Wednesday 16 August 2017 | Thursday 17 August 2017 | 2 | 36 Spencer Road Bradford BD7 2EU | 20 |
| Batley Library | Tuesday 22 August 2017 | Tuesday 22 August 2017 | 1 | 14 Market Place Batley WF17 5DA | 17 |
| Dewsbury Library | Wednesday 23 August 2017 | Wednesday 23 August 2017 | 1 | Dewsbury Retail Park Railway Street Dewsbury WF12 8EQ | 40+ |
| Huddersfield Parish Church of St. Peter's | Friday 1 September 2017 | Tuesday 12 September 2017 | 12 | Byram Street Huddersfield HD1 1BU | 240+ |
| Pakistan Association Centre | Monday 18 September 2017 | Monday 18 September 2017 | 1 | 2 Hall Avenue Thornton Lodge Huddersfield HD1 3NL | 10 |
| Let's Go Yorkshire Partition: 70 Years On – a creative writing workshop | Tuesday 10 October 2017 | Tuesday 10 October 2017 | 1 | University of Huddersfield Queensgate Huddersfield HD1 3DH | 19 |
| Gurdwara Singh Sabha | Wednesday 11 October 2017 | Wednesday 11 October 2017 | 1 | Hillhouse Lane Huddersfield HD1 6JT | 8 |

| | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|--|-----|
| (Sikh centre of worship) | | | | | |
| 6million+ | Friday 20 October 2017 | Friday 20 October 2017 | 1 | University of Huddersfield Queensgate Huddersfield HD1 3DH | 23 |
| The National Archives The Plan To Partition | Thursday 16 November 2017 | Thursday 16 November 2017 | 1 | Bessant Drive Kew London TW9 4DU | 40 |
| Holocaust Memorial Day | Thursday 25 January 2018 | Thursday 25 January 2018 | 1 | University of Huddersfield Queensgate Huddersfield HD1 3DH | 150 |

Appendix 2 – Oral History Interview Questions

I helped to conduct five interviews for the WLP project, these included: Abdul Rashid, Mahamood Kler, Mansaf Ali, Mohammad Ramzan, and Mohammad Hanif Asad. I also helped with video interviews for the documentary, these included: Gindi Sarai, Mohammad Hanif Asad, Dr Nasim Hasnie, and Hardev Kaur Sakhal.

Stage 1 - Before Partition Life and Early Memories

- 1) What is your and where were you born?
- 2) Describe what family was like back home. Is there anything you would like to share about your family history?
- 3) What are your fondest childhood memories?
- 4) Describe the village or city where you lived before Partition?
- 5) What was the relationship like between different communities?
- 6) What do you miss about your homeland?

Stage 2 - Partition

- 7) How old were you and where were you when Partition happened?
- 8) Describe in your own words how you remember Partition?
- 9) How did Partition affect you, your family and your community?

Stage 3 – After Partition life and Migration to the UK

- 10) How old were you when you left your homeland?
- 11) Can you describe your Journey to the UK?
- 12) What did you pack in your suitcase?
- 13) How did you feel leaving your family back home?
- 14) What was the main reason for coming to Huddersfield?
- 15) Describe your first impression of England?
- 16) What was the accommodation like where you first lived? How different was it back then?
- 17) What difficulties did you experience whilst settling?
- 18) How did you take your mind off the struggles and hardship of life in the UK?

- 19) How did you make friends or socialise with other people?
- 20) Since moving to the UK, have you ever returned to the place where you lived before Partition?

Stage 4 – The Story now

- 21) How do you feel about Partition now in retrospect?
- 22) Do you think integration of diverse communities in this country has changed over time, if yes can you describe it?
- 23) As a Partition survivor, what advice would you give to the younger generation?

Last comment if they want to share anything else

Appendix 3 – Documentary reflective interviews

Five random interviews were conducted through Survey monkey through social media questionnaire <www.surveymonkey.co.uk> Six people interviewed through email were some attended the premiere whilst others watched the film:

- 1) Sunday 3rd June 2018 - Arusa Sadaf Ahmed – Attended the premiere
- 2) Sunday 3rd June 2018 - Harish Kaur – Local resident got interested in the project through social media
- 3) Monday 4th June 2018 - Henna Mehboob - Attended the premiere
- 4) Monday 4th June 2018 - Mohammad Barber – MA history Student
- 5) Friday, 22nd June, 2018 - Hannah Greaves - Attended the premiere
- 6) Friday, 22nd June, 2018 - Shazia Bibi – Writer Participated in Masala Tea Party event

The questions asked were:

- 1) What captured your attention about this event (If attended) or the film?
- 2) What did you learn?
- 3) What elements of the film made impact on you?
- 4) How Important is the history of Partition to you?
- 5) Do you have any further comments?

Saturday, June 2, 2018 - Arusa Sadaf Ahmed (attended the film premiere – childhood friend)

Question 1 - The fact the history was based locally in my home town, based on an ethnic group I could relate to as I am Pakistani myself and also I know very little about partition and emigration to the UK.

Question 2 - The poor attempt of the British helping to integrate ethnic minorities, how violent and saddening the process of partition was, the Indian British role in partition, the difficult experiences of the immigration to Pakistani and the UK.

Question 3 - The killing of many in India and Pakistan and the struggle of starting up in a foreign country

Question 4 - YES! Somewhat ashamed that I don't know more about my own cultures history, also questioned the British curriculum that does not teach the impact of the British empire.in the world with the exception of slavery history. Makes me want to learn more about partition.

Question 5 - Enjoyed learning new things and enjoyed the short film.

Sunday, June 3, 2018 - Email - Harishta Kaur (A friend and a young local resident)

Question 1 - Unfortunately I wasn't able to attend the event however I watched the film twice: once alone and another time with my family. Every aspect of this documentary captured an emotion of deep meaning and connectedness to my roots. The older generation that are still amongst us offer such vibrancy and insight into the real life difficulties they faced for freedom and equality. Beyond divisions, cast, colour, and creed this generation proved that community connectedness and human unity was more important to them than their own religion. For someone to cut their hair and remove their turban shows that their religion ran deeper than the surface. They have really integrated within society which is a quality I feel many families within Huddersfield can learn from.

Question 2 - That India was quite a wealthy country for many reasons that enabled people to be self-sufficient as they were able to farm their own food and resources. Despite the struggles many faced when settling in the UK they were able to get by on little finance and resources because of the skills they had and their lifestyle in India.

Question 3 - I come from an Indian background so I have only heard what the Sikhs have been through. I think this film defiantly offered greater awareness by showing me that both countries suffered great loss at the cost of inequality and discrimination. It is hard to know what truly happened but the film gives different perspectives on the events.

Question 4 – As rightly said by the gentleman in the video such events are still happening today so there is a lesson to be learnt from these horrific events. As a human being I feel I should be involved in bringing about greater change within Huddersfield so that we can maintain and improve community integration and community togetherness as they have done.

Question 5 - I first heard about this project from Sonyia Jamal who was posting behind the scene pics on her personal Instagram which suddenly grabbed my attention and I wanted to know more. I would like to say thank you for showing a glimpse of Huddersfield history, the partition and reminding me of the great sacrifices this generation made for my future today.

Monday, June 6, 2018 - Email - Henna Mehboob one of the volunteer for this project (attended the film premiere – Huddersfield University undergrad student)

Question 1 – The thing that captured my attention was the emotion during the screening of the film. It was very moving to experience the film alongside the Partition survivors and their families. The film is a beautiful tribute to the history of Partition. The stories of 1947 need to be told and heard. The film was a brilliant platform for the history of 1947 to be highlighted.

Question 2 - I learnt how many people suffered the horrors of Partition, and how they struggled to make home in the UK after migrating. It was incredibly emotional to hear these stories as a South Asian woman. I learnt the value of history and how a film like this can make a change and create a foundation for Partition history to be established.

Question 3 –The film overall is very significant however the element that created an impact on me the most was the message of Unity. To hear the words from Partition survivors on how they wish to see unity between Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus was incredibly powerful. They spoke of how all 3 religions lived together in peace. As one community. That message of Unity was something I felt very emotional about. It is something we need to work on today, to create a bond between our South Asian communities.

Question 4 – Definitely, it has made me more connected to the history of Partition. Even as a student who studied Partition in depth, I did not feel as emotional as I did during the film. It has made me understand how people experienced Partition and Migration on a more personal level.

Question 5 –A New Life in Huddersfield: Story of Partition and Migration is a very important tribute to Partition survivors and the south Asian community as a whole. The film has brought together stories that haven't been told in 70 years. These stories needed to be told, to be understood. I'm very proud and honoured to have taken part in the making of this film.

Tuesday, June 12, 2018 - Email - Mohammad Barber (from the Leeds University MA History Student)

Question 1 – Partition was a really bloody affair and unspeakable crimes were committed by ordinary people. Many have stayed silent over their experiences ever since, so it is great that a film has been made marking the event through the people that lived it. As Partition took place 70 years ago, many who lived through it are no longer with us and so recording the stories of those who are still alive is extremely important and timely.

Question 2 - I did not know women also worked when they migrated, and the role they played in the employment rights protest movements.

I was under the impression it was largely less well-off people who migrated to England, but it seems this was not always the case. Some were well to do and migrated, essentially, into poverty in Huddersfield.”

Question 3 – “We were friends and enemies in just one day” – the memories of partition violence were extremely sobering. The immense statistics are literally just numbers, until they're humanised by personal accounts

Question 4 – As I've studied partition in depth before, I was aware of much of what the film addressed.

Question 5 -I completely agree that the history of partition, and crucially the voices of it, must not be lost. I think contemporary relations between Indians and Pakistanis would be better if this history was better understood. Looked at in one way, Partition took place not all that long ago.

The documentary is fantastic; very formative, I liked that the role of women was also addressed, the range of differing experiences, and the breadth of topics covered from migrating to Huddersfield, racism and discrimination, political protests, experiences of partition and the importance of remembering this history.

Thursday, June 21, 2018 - Monkey survey Facebook

Question 1 – Knowing the local history.

Question 2 - An insight on the point of views of our older generation and knowing the gap in the history

Question 3 – How there are still some aspects that haven't changed.

Question 4 – Now that I know more about it, very.

Question 5 - Respondent skipped this question

Thursday, June 21, 2018 - Monkey survey Facebook

Question 1 – The event was well attended. It was really positive to see so many people interested in this topic.

Question 2 - I previously knew very little about the experiences of Huddersfield people during the partition.

Question 3 – The entire film was impactful. From the migration stories to the partition history, and the silence between the generations.

Question 4 – I feel that partition history is an incredibly important and unacknowledged aspect of our shared British History. The ending of the Raj was managed poorly.

Question 5 - The film was excellent. The narrative worked well and it was visually engaging as well as educational throughout

Thursday, June 21, 2018 - Monkey survey Facebook

Question 1 – My mother is in it!

Question 2 - About how scary it was for a lot of people

Question 3 – Respondent skipped this question

Question 4 – Very important. Ramifications are still being felt in terms of animosity between Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims.

Question 5 - Respondent skipped this question

Friday, June 22, 2018 - Monkey survey Facebook

Question 1 – Learning something about a subject I knew nothing about

Question 2 - What partition is, what life was like for those moving over before and after partition

Question 3 – the honest interviews with people who had not spoken about this event in their lives and how its effected them.

Question 4 – I didn't know anything about this before, but think its very important that people learn about this and learn about the heritage of migrants to the country.

Question 5 - Great film! So interesting. Thank you for making it.

Friday, June 22, 2018 - Email - Hannah Greaves (attended the film premiere, Friend who is also studying same MA as me at the University of Huddersfield)

Question 1 – I wanted to see the hard work put in by my friend, she'd worked so hard and I'd heard so much about I couldn't wait to support her and see what she'd spent so long doing.

Question 2 - I learnt a lot about the experiences of people in Huddersfield after partition. I learnt about these brutality, famine and pain many of these people suffered and about how they were received in this country. It was very interesting to see how Huddersfield embraces these communities.

Question 3 - The emotions some of the people showed in the film were very moving, the stories also were very difficult to hear.

Question 4 – It's not my focus but I believe it's important to educate yourself on the experiences of people from cultures different to your own so to that extent I feel it is important.

Question 5 – I really enjoyed the clips of Huddersfield in the 1970s, it was fascinating to see how much things had changed, the fashions of the ordain art people etc, and I was unaware of the sheer amount of people who supported the Indian workers association.

Friday, June 22, 2018 - Email - Shazia Bibi. Performer and writer

Question 1 – The event discussed historical events that are not spoken about in schools or are even discussed around students unless you search about 1947 Indian partition yourself. I have been associated with the WLP project through being part of the Drawing The Line performance at Lawrence Batley Theatre courtyard.

Question 2 - I learnt to be able to discuss the partition I need to seek more knowledge about it.

Question 3 – The element that I felt was really important in the film was giving a platform for personal stories to be told.

Question 4 – The film showed me the importance of telling stories and sharing our pain. The impact it has on me is that I need to have faith in myself as a writer and performer and keep going forward in representing stories from ethnic minorities.

Question 5 - My further comment would be we (as an audience member) I need to see 1947 Indian partition discussed on a larger scale too

Monday, June 25, 2018 - Monkey survey Facebook

Question 1 – It was something I had previously known very little about. Which made me feel ignorant and a little embarrassed. It looked like a brilliant example of communities reflecting and working together to improve awareness and pull together.

Question 2 - A real insight to real people and the impact Partition had on individual lives. Less of the official lines, more the reality of the situation and the social impacts it had on families and communities.

Question 3 – It was incredibly sad, shocking and tough in places. Hearing about the way people were treated and the experiences they had. But heart-warming too to see how they settled, the bonds formed and the small bits of kindness that went a really long way.

Question 4 – Infinitely more after having the privilege of viewing this documentary. I think it is so important to share these stories - especially in the society we live in today. A real, full viewpoint is crucial in educating everyone about the beautiful mixed cultures we live in.

Question 5 - The number of people I have spoken to about this project - and the interest it ignites is very exciting. It is fantastic to hear it will carry on with its journey and be shown elsewhere too.

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