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Digital Oral Archives (1947 Partition Archive) and Material Memorial Turn in the Partition Historiography

Abstract

In the past decade, partition historiography has undergone a significant shift commonly referred to as the material and memorial turn or new history of the partition. I argue that the memory and material culture turn in partition historiography is due to the growth of privately owned digital oral archives that aim to preserve the memory of the partition of India for historians and future generations. The evident unavailability of personal memories in the official archives has paved the way for these digital oral histories to take over. I will focus on the 1947 Partition Archives and its oral history collection, which consists of more than 10,000 testimonies from the partition survivors across India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. And try to navigate the new history of the partition, which is more interdisciplinary in nature and draws insights from memory studies.

Key Words: Partition; Memory Archives; Oral History; Historiography; Memory Studies; Material Culture

Introduction

The rise of memory studies is primarily associated with the Holocaust, and the oral digital archives related to partition were also initiated on the model of Holocaust oral history archives. I will try to trace out how and to what extent the partition oral collections are providing a different lens and enabling partition historians to access a wider range of voices and experiences that were previously marginalized or excluded from official histories.

This article is divided into three sections. The first section is related to the emergence of oral history as the mainstream historical method. And how it affected archival and historiographical practices in general and partition studies in particular to counter the prevalent nationalized ‘high politics’ narrative. The second section is about the rise and impacts of digital oral archives on historiography, specifically how oral collections and their mission to preserve the memory of partition have resulted in a memorial and material shift within partition studies. The third section examines the challenges and limitations of using oral history as a historical method in partition studies, as well as the reliability,

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dynamics, and reach of digital oral repositories in an era of rapid technological development.

Rise of Oral History and Subaltern Studies

Oral history rose as the alternative to challenge the hegemony of written documents (archives) and for presenting alternative and broader views of the past. During the 'social turn' in history in the 1960s and 1970s when the 'human dimension' got attention and oral accounts of ordinary people started getting the historian's consideration for challenging textual supremacy.¹ It reached India with the rise of the Subaltern school of thought in the 1980s, and the trend of giving 'voices to the voiceless' and 'history from below' gained momentum.² In their efforts to decolonize their history, subalterns challenged the prominent colonial narratives through oral history.³ Partition studies got the attention of subaltern historians much later when in 1997, two ground-breaking works, *The Other Side of Silence* by Urvashi Butalia and *Borders and Boundaries* by Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin.⁴ These works focused on the female sufferings of the partition and completely relied on the oral accounts of the victims. Female challenged some of the existing notions surrounding the celebration of partition as independence and uncovers some of the uncomfortable truths related to female suffering. Partition historiography saw a humanistic shift with the inclusion of lived experiences of the victims of the mass displacement till the first decade of the 21st century when historians followed this trend.

This humanistic turn in partition scholarship highlighted different subjectivities based on class, caste, gender, and ethnicity in the partition experience. Historians used oral histories combined with written documents to dig out for deeper partialities related to the different themes of the partition. Historians such as Pippa Virdee, Vazira Fazila Zamindar, Yasmin Khan, Sara Ansari, Ian Talbot, Gyanendra Pandey, and many others demonstrated and brought the threads of collective and individual perspectives of Partition into focus.⁵

Holocaust, Memory, and Oral Testimonies

The social turn in history caused the rise of oral history as the mainstream source of history and caused a shift in archival practices.⁶ The same period saw the growth of Holocaust memorial oral archives, the memory of holocaust survivors got attention, and memory started being preserved through the oral archives. This rise in memory and oral history caused a paradigm shift in the historiographical writings of holocaust studies, and renowned works based on the intersection of holocaust memory and history were produced. Till the 1990s, there were numerous Holocaust survivor narratives that demonstrated the lingering impact of past trauma and violence on the present. This posed a challenge to modernity, which had deemed violence, displacement, and trauma to be relics of the past. These accounts confirmed that the Holocaust left deep psychological scars on the minds of the survivors. This gave history a new direction; history writing and rewriting were conceptualized from the perspective of survivors.

The status of oral testimony became an archival document for historians to gain insights into past events and bring the diverse narrative to the surface concerning the 'lived experiences' of ordinary people.⁷ This was the time that saw a historiographical transformation in terms of the partition of India, where

historians like Butalia, Menon, and Bhasin were writing about the partition from the perspective of the survivor and causing the change in the partition studies. While on the other side hand, Historians like Claude Lensmann, Hannah Arendt, Charlotte Delbo, Dominick LaCapra, Lawrence Langer, Marianne Hirsch, and many others wrote about the enduring effects and different aspects of Holocaust memory with the inclusion of survivors' testimonies and thus were responsible for bringing change in the holocaust studies and to the different aspects of memory (personal, collective, communicative, and cultural)⁸. This shift in the historical and memory studies discourse resulted in a new understanding of the victim as a survivor, his or her oral account as a testimony, and memory as a remembrance.

Digital Oral Archives and Memory of Partition

Similar to the Holocaust, being the legacy of World War II, the Partition of India is one of the most tragic and violent events of the twentieth century. It resulted in the displacement of more than 14 million people, making it one of the largest human migrations in human history.⁹ The chief sufferers are ordinary people. Contrary to the Holocaust, where the victim was one community, the horrors of partition were borne by all Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, and the scale of violence was enormous. One component which is common between partition and holocaust two is the element of the suffering of common lives. While much attention was paid to the preservation of oral accounts and testimonies of Holocaust survivors through digital oral archives, neither India nor Pakistan made any effort to preserve the oral testimonies of partition survivors. The priority of both postcolonial states, which were founded as the result of partition was to disseminate the nationalized agenda, that associates partition with independence rather than with mass displacement and human suffering. Therefore, the memories of partition survivors are missing from the official archives of both India and Pakistan, and neither side has made any attempt to preserve them until now.¹⁰

The emergence of privately owned digital oral archives containing the oral testimonies of survivors from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh marked a turning point in the historical effort to preserve memories of partition.¹¹ These archives preserved not only the oral accounts but also the memoirs and autobiographies written by the survivors of the partition, as well as all the relevant web resources pertaining to important details about the partition. The 1947 Partition Archive is the most prominent digital archive of all. Its oral history collection contains a wide range of survivors' testimonies.

1947 Partition Archives was founded in 2011 as an initiative taken by Ms Guneeta Bhalla and set up on the models of the Holocaust Digital Oral Archives.¹² The main aim of these archives was to give voices to the voiceless, deal with the silences in conventional archives, and preserve the personal memories of the partition survivors and their generations before their loss. The main objectives behind the initiative of these archives are – 1) the documentation, preservation, and collect first-hand accounts irrespective of caste, religion, nation, gender, and class, affected by the Partition of India. The second objective is to collect and preserve the personal objects and artifacts carried by the people throughout their journey of displacement. Material objects being part of their collections is a sign that the objects that survived during the catastrophic event hold importance and their association with memory is crucial for partition.¹³

The interviews in this collection have been recorded in over 300 cities from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh and in multiple languages including English, Urdu, Punjabi, and different regional languages. Their website provides the complete database of the interviewer and interviewee, which is proving vital for the young generations of historians who have limited access to the other sides of the border. A recent effort was being made to transcribe the testimonies in the form of a book titled “10,000 Memories: A Lived History of Partition, Independence and World War II In South Asia”.¹⁴ This step is essential because it will stop the abrupt loss of data which is the common threat posed by the transition to the digital and paperless world.¹⁵ They are preventing the loss of crucial information due to technological malfunctions or digital exclusions by transcribing the memory in the form of a book. The 1947 Partition Archives also provide training to young historians and researchers through Oral History Workshops. More than 800 researchers were trained to become full-time oral historians (citizen historians), and each of them is contributing to the collection of testimonies and also wrote about the partition based on what they heard.

Just as the Holocaust oral archives altered conventional approaches to memory and historical writing about the event. In a similar way, the 1947 Partition Archives have contributed to partition historiography by introducing a historiographical turn in partition studies with the inclusion of memory and material culture.

Material and memorial turn in the partition historiography gain momentum in the second decade of the 21st century with the introduction of digital oral archives which instigated historians to shift their lens to the transcription of memorial accounts and material dimension of the partition survivors.¹⁶ The new generation of historians employed a variety of methods to recover the experience on a micro-level. Historians focused on oral history methodology, memorial sites, material objects, and the history contained within the objects brought by the survivors through their journey from one side of the border to the other. Although objects cannot contain, experience, or store memory, they still provide people with a ground to experience memories. Objects act as tangible reminders of the past and can evoke emotions and memories associated with them.¹⁷

This shift to memory has been accompanied by a rising interest in the materiality of Partition, as scholars seek to combine oral testimonies with material culture and the inclusion of objects works as the instigators of memory. Churnjeet Mahn and Anne Murphy, in an edited volume, bring together scholarship which attempts to build narratives of Partition situated at the intersection of memory and commemoration. Many of the articles included in this work utilize material culture in the study of Partition.¹⁸ The most significant work in this respect, however, is the monograph produced by the art historian Aanchal Malhotra approaches the question of memory and Partition by employing perspectives from the study of material culture. She argues that objects saved and brought by survivors of Partition are as important as documentary and oral sources in revealing hitherto unexplored aspects of the Partition, bringing to light not only narratives of violence but the tales about the harmonious elements and cooperation from the other communities provided to each other which can contribute to lessening the animosity and communal tensions.¹⁹

Historical accounts have recently begun to become more inclusive and diverse in the process of uncovering the multifaceted understanding and challenging official discourse of the partition, which is based on factors such as class, geographic location, urban setting, generational accounts, and gender.²⁰ Amber Heather Abbas's work, which is based on the archives of oral history narratives of students at Aligarh Muslim University, describes how the partition had an effect on the students' lives and how their lives were shaped by it. When compared to the history of decolonization and independence that is typically presented by both the Indian and Pakistani governments, the narrative of the students tells a very different story about the partition of India and Pakistan. According to the student's memories, the partition transformed familiar places and spaces into strange places that were frequently characterized by fear and uncertainty. In the official history discourse of the Pakistani state, Aligarh University has been celebrated as a place that played a key role in the Pakistan movement. However, this study provides a counter-discourse to that official history and creates ruptures in the state narrative.²¹ Similar to this, several other significant works highlighting the gender caste and ethical experience emerged. For example, Uditti Sen has drawn attention to the various subjectivities associated with the rehabilitation process based on class, caste, gender, and ethnicity which are crucial for understanding the issue of postcolonial governmentality in India.²²

Although not all the historical accounts produced after the introduction of the oral archives revolved around the oral collections contained in these archives in terms of partition. But the introduction of these archives caused the memory to be the focus of numerous historical accounts.

Oral History, Memory, and Limitations

Oral history has played a significant role in altering the way history is written and studied, nonetheless, it has always been a source of objection for a variety of reasons. Some of the most common limitations/objections are; memory is considered an ever-changing phenomenon that cannot be recorded or preserved by archives. Oral testimony's factual accuracy or exaggerated nature is also a source of concern. The subjective nature of oral accounts/memory and the reliability of oral testimony are two major concerns that have arisen since the growth of oral history. But, if the historian takes the subjective and exaggerated nature of the oral testimony as a merit, not a de-merit, then this approach would open diverse and broader dynamics of the memory that he or she is taking into account. As Alessandro Portelli argues that

“Even when the oral accounts do not tell the events as they occurred, the discrepancies and errors are themselves clues and are open for the painful search of meaning”.²³

In addition to contributing to a shift in the historiography of the partition, the wave of recording the oral histories ‘lived experience’ of the partition through digital oral archives, the 1947 Partition Archives served as a stepping stone for many other similar initiatives around the world for collecting memories from the South Asian Diaspora who has experienced partition. For example, the foundation of Partition Education Group-UK in 2017, BBC Radio Series (2017) in commemoration of Partition and lived memory of the partition survivors, South

Asian Institute at Harvard initiated a project 'Looking Back, Informing the Future: the 1947 Partition of India'. On the 70th anniversary of Partition (2017), the 1947 Partition Archives partnered with Stanford University Library to ensure accessibility and inclusion of oral testimonies of the partition survivors in the libraries' sections devoted to the history of Modern South Asia. This resulted in an increase in the reach of the voices to the diverse audience, historians, and researchers.

Critiques of the Digital Oral Archives

Oral history has changed in terms of the division and limitations of the testimonies in relation to the partition, and this shift has been accompanied by a significant influx of memory in the form of digital archival initiatives. which has increased their reach to a larger audience, but this influx is not serving the intended purpose. Partition historian Pippa Virdee criticized digital archival initiatives as contextless and insufficient in generating new knowledge due to selective participation. She calls digital archives a step towards the commodification and industrialization of memory.²⁴ She questions the relevance of these oral accounts in terms of their claim to give voices to the voiceless or deal with the silences in the conventional archives. Another objection is that the digital archives initiatives may inadvertently perpetuate the marginalization of subaltern voices by only collecting memories from a certain demographic, thus reinforcing existing power structures and inequalities.

There is no doubt that rapid digitalization is causing a dual problem: information overload and a scarcity of archival records, both of which contribute to the spread of enormous contextless data.²⁵ However, this criticism about the influx of memories related to the partition does not seem to be true, because the partition did not end in 1947. When millions of people were uprooted, all they have is their individual story and context, which can help historians. The 1947 Partition Archives provide a complete database with all the information about a survivor's name, where he or she is from, and how old he or she is. This helps historians find and track down survivors of the partition. Also, these collections help historians learn about what happened on both sides of the border (India and Pakistan) from the people who lived through it. For example, I as a Pakistani researcher who intends to study the communicative memories of partition among the generations of partition survivors, plan to include accounts from both sides of the border. The practical limitation of my project is that I may not be able to go to India and conduct research across the border. Because of ongoing tension between India and Pakistan, which has its roots in the partition. This collection will be useful to me in this situation because it will allow me to incorporate stories from the other side of the border.

Every archival collection, whether documentary or oral, is devoid of context. The narrative produced by that archival material depends on how the historian interprets and frames historical questions in order to examine the record, just like other written archives do. Oral archives offer only a platform and a lens through which to view history.²⁶ The criticism that oral collection is contextless and insufficient for creating new knowledge is misleading. Oral archives provide a platform for those who suffered during the horrific displacement and have been kept silent for so long. It is up to the historian, however, to place the oral

narratives in a broader context and generate knowledge based on his or her analysis. Similarly, in order to make the best use of these collections, these digital oral archives must be treated as documentary archives and read along the archival grain.

Digital memorial archives are also being held responsible for the commodification and industrialization of memory. The fact that access to the complete testimonies is only granted with the permission of the archives' director along with a nominal fee for each set of oral interviews adds validity to this claim. The growing number of memorial archives, the involvement of funding agencies, and limited access to testimonies with approval and monetary payment are all contributing to the claim of commodification and industrialization which needs further investigation.

The oral history digital archives are also blamed for limited participation and adding to existing power structures by not including already marginalized groups. The 1947 Partition Archives collect their data through crowdsourcing, with oral historians recording nearly all of the testimonies voluntarily. In different regions that were the epicenters of partition in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, testimonies are being gathered without regard to religious, racial, or gender discrimination. According to the database provided on the official website of the 1947 Partition archives, 45 percent of females and 55 percent of males participated in the partition. This 10 percent disparity may be a result of female survivors' reluctance to discuss their traumatic past experiences.

Each partition survivor and his/her testimony (memory) are a source of history, and despite all of the criticisms and limitations, the efforts of the 1947 Partition Archives and all of the other digital platforms dedicated to preserving the lived experiences and stories of the survivors and their subsequent generations cannot be compromised. With the rapid loss of generations who witnessed partition first-hand, there was an urgent need for initiatives like these to emerge and preserve historical sources for future generations and historians.

Conclusion

Partition historiography has evolved from high politics to a human dimension approach. This approach has made the lived experience and memory of the people a central concern for historians to show how partition can not only be confined to the year 1947. Instead, the partition began to make a new history, and this new history can't be found in official sources. Rather, it can be uncovered through informal archives, oral history methods, and memory and material culture.

The digital oral archives are setting out the focus of partition historians and scholars to write alternative narratives about the partition at the intersection of memory and material culture. The growing interest of historians in writing about the memorial accounts of the partition with the micro-level analysis of the ordinary lives and their 'lived experience' has put these archives in the limelight. These archival initiatives are also contributing to bridging the gap between both India and Pakistan and easing the communal tensions, as the accounts contained not only the tales of violence but also the harmonious elements and helping hands offered by the members of the opposite communities at the time of mass upheaval.

As a result, many separated families are now able to meet with their family members and visit their ancestral homes after almost 75 years of separation.

Notes and References

¹ See Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963); Paul Thompson, *The Voices of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), Zinn, Howard, and Matt Damon, *A People's History Of The United States* (New York: New Press, 1998). These accounts are considered classics in terms of social history because they were written with a focus on 'history from below,' adding ordinary people and their oral accounts to challenge the existing hegemony of the written texts and present oral history as an alternative for the diverse engagement with the past.

² In India, Ranajit Guha founded the Subaltern School of Thought, whose main objective was to write 'history from below' and give a voice to the marginalized (peasants, laborers, poor, and women), as well as to present a counter-narrative to the traditional colonial narrative. The colonists' documents and narratives, according to subaltern historians, did not acknowledge the marginalized voices. They believed the elites mobilized the masses for their own personal gain. There are only two social classes, according to subaltern historians: elitists and subalterns. For details see, Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India." *Postcolonialisms: An Anthology of Cultural Theory And Criticism* (1982): 403-409.

³ Vinay Lal, "Subaltern Studies and Its Critics: Debates Over Indian History Source," Review of A Subaltern Studies Reader 1986-1885.

⁴ Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1998); Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders & Boundaries: Women in India's Partition* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 2007).

⁵ Pippa Virdee, *From the Ashes of 1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Vazira F. Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New York: Yale University Press, 2017); Sarah Ansari, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh, 1947-1962* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and Its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Gyanendra Pandey, *Remembering Partition: Violence, Nationalism and History in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶ Marika Cifor, and Stacy Wood, "Critical Feminism in the Archives," *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): page number add

⁷ Marianne Hirsch, and Leo Spitzer, "The Witness In The Archive: Holocaust Studies/Memory Studies," *Memory Studies* 2, no. 2 (2009): 151-170.

⁸ Hannah Arendt, and Jens Kroh, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Viking Press, 1964); Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, Translated by Daniel Heller-Raozen (New York: Zone Books, 1999); Lawrence L. Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1993); Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994); Marianne Hirsch, "Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and public fantasy," In *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999): 3.

⁹ Pandey, *Remembering Partition*.

¹⁰ The National Archives of Pakistan do not contain an oral history collection dedicated to the partition survivors; instead, they only hold statistical records, evacuee property records, and documents that support and disseminate the state's nationalized narrative. <https://archives.gov.pk/PublicRecordWing.php> , Accessed on 18 April 2023. Similarly, the

National Archives of India do not appear to have an oral history collection pertaining to the memorial aspect of partition (at least, this is apparent from the website). <https://nationalarchives.nic.in/content/records-management-rm> , Accessed on 18 April 2023.

¹¹ The first decade of the twenty-first century witnessed the emergence of Digital Oral History Archives with the goal of preserving memories of the partition. In 2007, Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy inaugurated the Citizen Archives of Pakistan (CAP), and in 2011, the 1947 Partition Archives were introduced. The entire wave of memory preservation began with the establishment of these archives, and the following decade witnessed the establishment of numerous other similar archives.

¹² The founder of 1947 Partition Archives, during an interview stated that the idea of preserving memories of the partition survivors came into her mind during her studies in the United States of America. And the model and inspiration for this came from the Holocaust Oral Archives, Such as the Jewish Family and Holocaust Centre Digital Oral Archives, Voice/ Vision Holocaust Oral History Archives, Oral History Collection Virginia Holocaust Museum, etc, where memories of the Holocaust survivors and their second and third generations are being recorded and preserved for the historians and future generations. She found the similarities between the partition of India and Holocaust in the extent of violence and the legacy of WWII.

¹³ link to the official website of the 1947 Partition Archives. <http://1947partitionarchive.org/> Accessed on 18 April 2023.

¹⁴ Aimee Genova, Anachal Singh, Fakhra Hassan, Guneeta Singh Bhalla, Rumela Ganguly, Udayan Das, 10,000 Memories A Lived History of Partition, Independence and World War II in South Asia (ND: 1947 Partition Archives, 2023).

¹⁵ Ravinder Kaur, "Writing History In A Paperless World: Archives Of The Future," *History Workshop Journal* 79, no. 1 (2015): 242-253.

¹⁶ Nazia Akhtar, Amit Rahul Baishya, Nandita Bhavnani, Ilyas Chattha, Amrita Ghosh, Kaiser Haq, Rezaul Haque, *Revisiting India's Partition: New Essays on Memory, Culture, and Politics* (Pennsylvania: Lexington Books, 2016); Anjali Gera Roy, *Memories and Post Memories of the Partition of India* (Oxon: Routledge, 2019); Anne Murphy and Churnjeet Mahn, ed. *Partition and Practice of Memory* (London: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2018); Kavita Puri, *Partition Voices: Untold British Stories* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020); Devika Chawla, *Home, Uprooted: Oral Histories of India's Partition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014); Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Partition's Post-Amnesias: 1947, 1971 and Modern South Asia* (Delhi: Women Unlimited, 2013); Aanchal Malhotra, *Remnants of the Separation: A history of the Partition Through Material Memory* (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers, 2017).

¹⁷ Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

¹⁸ Mahn and Murphy, *Partition and Practice of Memory*.

¹⁹ Malhotra, *Remnants of the Separation*.

²⁰ For details see, Rotem Geva, *Delhi Reborn: Partition and Nation Building in India's Capital* (California: Stanford University Press, 2022); Kavita Daiya, "Honourable Resolutions": Gendered Violence, Ethnicity, and the Nation," *Alternatives* 27, no. 2 (2002): 219-247; Vanita Sharma, "Inherited Memories: Second-Generation Partition Narratives From Punjabi Families In Delhi And Lahore," *Cultural and Social History* 6, no. 4 (2009): 411-428; Akanksha Kumar, "Revisiting Partition of India 1947: the Voice of Dalit Refugees," *International Journal of Social Sciences and Research* 4, no.3 (2019): 2112-2133.

²¹ For details see, Amber Heather Abbas, *Partition's First Generation: Space, Place, and Identity in Muslim South Asia* (London; Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020).

²² Udit Sen, *Citizen Refugee: Forging the Indian Nation After Partition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

²³ See Alessandro Portelli, “What makes oral history different,” in *Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans*, ed. Luisa Del Giudice (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 48-58.

²⁴ Pippa Virdee, “Histories and Memories in the Digital Age of Partition Studies,” *The Oral History Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): 328-345.

²⁵ Ravinder Kaur, “Writing History In A Paperless World,” 242-253.

²⁶ Jeannette Allis Bastian, *Owning Memory: How A Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History* (Westport, Conn.: Libraries Unlimited, 2003)