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The Trickle-down Effect: Reconciling Memory and Identity in Lyallpur

Abstract

This article looks at the role memory plays in Partition studies and its relationship with identity formation. This is understood by using the city of Lyallpur as the case study and observing the impact extending from the temporal and spatial bounds of partition in 1947 to Lyallpur's name change in 1977 and lastly the current day impact of both. The current day impact is expanded on through a micro-study of the People's Colony 1 in Faisalabad and its elderly residents. This will be done in the form of interviews. All of these factors are understood not only in the context of partition but the colonial history of the canal colonies as well as how Lyallpur came about. Additionally, when exploring memory, the sub-category of inherited memory and its application by both state narratives and subaltern narratives will be given particular attention in analysis.

Keywords: Identity formation, Memory, Lyallpur, Faisalabad, 1947 Partition.

1. Introduction

Lailpur shahr bada gulzar,

Ghantaghar hai vichkar,

Ode wich ath bazaar

The city of Lyallpur is like a garden,

The Clock Tower at the center and eight bazaars in that What can I say of the bazaars?

They are not bazaars, but fresh rose gardens. Or "the city is bejeweled with skilled ones".¹

Above mentioned is a popular doggerel sung by residents of the city Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) a city established under colonial rule in 1890 spearheaded by Sir Charles James Lyall, the then lieutenant governor of Punjab and consequently named after him as well.² Lyallpur was also one of many cities within Punjab that faced the brunt of the aftermath of the 1947 partition. Violence ensued, and many individuals faced terrible atrocities and were forced to migrate on the basis of their religious identity which became synonymous with their national identity. The name Lyallpur carries connotations of colonial rule, violence and experience of the 1947 partition but why is it that to this day the doggerel is sung within the city of

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Faisalabad? Why is the name Lyallpur important to the community? What does it stand for in terms of reconciling memory and identity?

There has been great work done in understanding how partition violence and its aftermath unfolded in Punjab. Scholars such as Ian Talbot and Ilyas Ahmed Chattha have highlighted the systemic patterns of violence within Punjab and its possible reasons. Additionally, Pippa Virdee in her book *From the Ashes of 1947* has extensively mapped out the migration experience faced by the communities of Lyallpur, Jalandhar and Ludhiana as well as their traumatic experience of partition and displacement. Similarly, Anjali Roy explores the link between history and memory in her book *Memories and Past Memories of the Partition of India*. Furthermore, Ali Usman Qasmi's work on master narratives expands on how by controlling narrative the state constructs a nationalist identity for its citizens based upon demonizing the "other".³ All of these works in addition to Butalia's, Bhasin and Menon's work makes use of several interviews and oral histories in understanding the subaltern and the experienced partition and how it is still in progress today. What these works do not do is intersect in their understanding of partition memory being active in identity formation till this day in the post-memory stage. Additionally, they do not explore the link between state manipulation of the narrative surrounding the 1947 partition as a continuous process mapped onto other minuscule state changes in the present day.

This essay will look at how active history functions to reshape identity with respect to names, material markers (e.g. architectural structures), and memory. The notion of identity formation will be understood in relation to temporal theories and memories as active theatre that can forge new identities and erase or reconstruct old ones. The link between the reconstruction of identity and state master narratives will be developed upon. Alongside the impact of memory in identity formation in 1947, particular attention will be paid to the name change of the city of Lyallpur on September 1st, 1977, just two months after Zia-Ul-Haq became prime minister. In regards to the structure of the essay, it will unfold in a tripartite manner. Firstly, the context of the 1947 partition and the development of the sandal bar area into the canal colonies will be explored. Furthermore, certain cities like Faisalabad and Ludhiana will be looked at in more detail in the wake of 1947 to explore the impact of memory. Lastly, the sustained impact will be observed through its effect on the mindset of people in the locality of People's Colony, Faisalabad in regards to Lyallpur's name change to Faisalabad.

2. Active Memory & the 1947 Partition

To understand the link between memory and identity, one must understand the context of Lyallpur in regard to its colonial establishment and restructure within the 1947 partition. From the mid-1880s, the province of Punjab was restructured and experienced rapid industrial and population growth through an "irrigation project which saw the development of the canal colonies".⁴ This project targeted the uncultivated lands in between the five rivers of Punjab with the purpose of setting up rich "farming" communities to work the land.⁵ This tackled the area of the Sandal Bar, Nilli Bar and Ganji Bar with its main premise being the "Rakh branch, Jhang branch and Gogera branch".⁶ This included "places like Lyallpur, Montgomery" which are now a part of Pakistan.⁷ Hence, most of

present-day Faisalabad's history is "intrinsically linked to the development of the Chenab Colony in West Punjab" mapping out in the form of "agricultural development and colonisation" prior to partition.⁸ The city established by the British seemingly has no pre-colonial history, but many attribute the history of the Sandal Bar region and the "land of Dulla Bhatti".⁹ Development of this area called in for migration and many Hindus, Muslims and mainly Sikhs migrated to the region. Malcolm Darling describes it best in his travels prior to partition "In crossing the Chenab we entered the central Punjab, where Muslim and Sikh are as intermingled as barley and wheat when sown together".¹⁰ Although areas such as Jalandhar and Ludhiana were Muslim-dominated, and areas like Lyallpur, and Nankana Sahib were Sikh-majority areas, most communities were intermingled until partition occurred in 1947. As violent migration ensued, in Azmeh Waleed Malik's words, due to a new definition of "citizenship".¹¹ An individual's identity of their city or perceived home did not matter, all that mattered was a division of citizens on the basis of religion and suddenly the Hindus and Sikhs living within Lyallpur found themselves on the wrong side of the border. Although their initial migration to Lyallpur under the canal colony project was "voluntary and organised" the latter was "forced migration".¹² Lyallpur as a district had "one of the largest populations of non-Muslim refugees to evacuate from West Punjab".¹³ Most of the interviews taken by scholars like Pippa Virdee reflect this reluctance to leave their homes, in which many of them had recently migrated to. This even led to the emergence of 5000 *Bazigars*, an Urdu word denoting that they were willing to take the risk of harm and violence in order to stay and only moved away when it was no longer possible to stay back.¹⁴ One such account being of Jaswant Singh and how their family moved from Lyallpur in the eleventh hour "We stayed in Pakistan until 3rd November. It was only after 15 August that we started selling our belongings".¹⁵ Similar feelings are present in most oral accounts of partition, such as Sardar's longing for his village in Pakistan;

*The thing that has affected me the most, which I still yearn for is the need to go back to my village and have a look but I am unable to do this. The law does not allow me to go back there to see my ancestral village and meet my friends and others there. This thing I feel I will be unable to complete in my life... Work is good but what happened at that time, the things we saw and experienced, and now when I see trouble taking place then it upsets me. We are settled now everything is fine but like I said it can never compensate for that time and what is in my heart. The thing that I yearn for, to see my house and my friends.*¹⁶

In recounting the event of partition their memory of being displaced, of the life they left behind and their nostalgia for their home still lives with them. It becomes apparent that partition did not only have territorial or immediate repercussions but a long-lasting impact on people's "emotions and memories".¹⁷

3. A Tale of Twin Cities: Lyallpur & Ludhiana

The context of partition makes it clear that unresolved sentiments lingered beyond 1947 and reveal themselves in post-memory of the event. Before elaborating on the impact memory has on shaping identity, one must be cognizant of the fact that memory comes in several forms. There is popular memory, collective memory, individual memory and inherited memory. This essay is limited to Lyallpur and hence will initially look at individual recounts of migrants and how later on those accounts come together to form a collective inherited memory of the city of Lyallpur, informing its current-day residents as well. To do this Koselleck's understanding of time must be applied in that it isn't linear or chronological but instead has "its own historical quality" and hence partition becomes an event that did not occur in time "as a moment of the past which is now gone, but rather through time as an event which is still present" e.g. new places in Faisalabad being named Pakkimari enclave or Sandal Bar enclave hence becoming "performative acts of remembrance" hence it "travels through history into the present and future" as active history.¹⁸ Furthermore, David Scott's theory regarding catastrophic "experiences", in this case, the 1947 partition, being a marker of segmenting interpretation of time becomes useful.¹⁹ Most refugees have a painful memory of a lost homeland, much like Somavanti's account (Bhasin and Menon's interview recounted by Malik) there is no "anticipation" for the future, rather her identity and existence in the present is informed by her "past" identity.²⁰ There wistful longing for a romanticised version of their lives before migration. Moreover, to ground themselves in the present and prevent "temporal dislocation" the memory is actively performed through a "shared location".²¹ This refers to Karl Mannheim's work *The Problem of Generations* in which he states that a shared location is formed through a "specific mode of thought and experience and exposure to a characteristic type of historically relevant action".²² The shared space in this context becomes Lyallpur. As Anjali Roy mentions, most refugees remember their lives prior to partition vividly, so much so that they are able to construct "memory maps" of Lyallpur.²³ Sangat Singh and Sethi recount their neighbourhood in their accounts and intersect at "the corner of Gole Bazaar" where both of them describe a "mochi (cobbler)" to be present;

My father had a shop at the corner of Gole Bazar just next to Dr. Chaman Lal's dispensary and next to Bhagat Ram Sawhney's office and home. His son Ravi was my friend. . . . Our shop was just in Cooperative Bank building next to the vegetable stall, and also a Mochi (cobbler) used to sit. (Sangat Singh 2016)

Lal Photo, next to Aleem Painter, was opposite our house in Gole Bazaar now that you mention I remember the Vegetable walla and the Mochi. In fact, our father used to get our shoes made from a Mochi who had a shop on the left hand the moment you entered Kachery Bazaar from the court side. (Sethi 2012).²⁴

Both accounts describe the city in such vibrancy that the location inherently becomes alive and performed in remembrance and inherently a part of their

identity in the present. Hence memory not only leads to identity formation but becomes strong enough to manifest itself in tangible structures e.g. names, shops, plaque cards etc. This becomes apparent through Puran's example who migrated to Ludhiana and opened up a shop "named after his pre-partition home, Lyallpur Tailors".²⁵ Through a physical manifestation of his identity, he actively impacts the identity of not only Lyallpur but Ludhiana by influencing the collective inherited memory of the cities. This method of memory preservation is seen in both cities e.g. in Ludhiana one will find "Lyallpur Sweet Shop, Lyallpur Tailors, and Lyall Book Depot" whereas in Lyallpur one will find "Ludhiana Sweet Shop and Ludhiana di hatti".²⁶



Image 1. Picture taken in Chaura Bazaar, Ludhiana, near the clock tower.²⁷



Image 2. Picture taken in Lyallpur, near the clock tower.²⁸

The images present a similar story, in which an individual's memory has taken physical manifestation in the form of tangible material such as a shop or signboard. This physical marker inherently not only presents the individual's identity and what they have been through but also impacts the collective inherited memory of the cities in which it is present i.e. the Ludhiana sweet shop and namesakes emphasise the mass migration of Muslims from Ludhiana to Lyallpur and Sikhs to Jalandhar and Ludhiana. Hence remembering becomes a form of identity expression not only for those directly affected by partition but also for those who inherit its memory when they move past physical landmarks.

4. Identity Formation & the Nation-State

It becomes apparent that memory functions as a tool for expressing identity but also for influencing others. This influence can be good i.e. in which individuals recount a positive aspect of their life pre-partition, but this influence can also be bad i.e. Chhabra's explanation regarding her own biases of the "other" developed by ancestral stories told to her, as well as the kids in the seeds of peace program when defending their biases.²⁹ With the presence of influence, the question of power ultimately arises as Foucault states in his work *Power/Knowledge* that "a whole history remains to be written of spaces __ which would at the same time be the history of powers".³⁰ In This regard, controlling the memory of spaces would inherently lead to exerting domination/power. The states of India and Pakistan understood this hence constructing a national identity that would justify the country's existence became a priority. This could only be done by "re-imagining the past" through means of knowledge production and names.³¹ This was mainly done by glorifying "great men" such as Jinnah and Nehru.³² In India, the policy was put in place through the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) which "was set up with the intent to solidify a unified and secular nationalist" rhetoric.³³ This recounted the dream of "Indian unity" and displaced the blame of partition violence onto the British and Muslims, praising the Congress for having a "patriotic spirit" whereas the Muslim League was seen as bringing about "communalism and the division of India".³⁴ Similarly in Pakistan this hegemony over memory ensued in the form of the two-nation theory and the us versus them rhetoric that caused bifurcation in society and demonised the Hindu other as the reason for the creation of Pakistan.

This master narrative was built on "larger societal discourse" taking selective narratives from inherited memory and making them a part of "textbook and classroom enactments" through government policies e.g. the document Compilation of books on (i) the need for a strong centre and (ii) the history of Muslims in East Pakistan map out a precise plan to construct and legitimise the history of Pakistan as well as implement the national perspective in every school through textbooks.³⁵ This inherently becomes what Paul Ricoeur refers to as "imposed memory" that is "armed with a history that is itself 'authorised,' the official history, the history publicly learned and celebrated".³⁶ This process eventually trains the individual to think a certain way due to "forced memorization" particularly of "those events belonging to the common history that are held to be remarkable, even founding, for the common identity".³⁷

Whatever does not supplement the common identity and indicates a counter-narrative becomes in need of remedy by the state narrative. This becomes most apparent in the names of places in Pakistan, be it colonial or local. "Lawrence Gardens in Lahore, a reminder of a colonial past, was renamed Jinnah Bagh after Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah".³⁸ Even if the old names were used in "day-to-day conversation" the new names had replaced them entirely on city maps and the collective memory of the location would cease to exist if not preserved in immaterial form for future generations.³⁹ Interestingly enough even "appropriate local names" which were given during the "British raj" were replaced e.g. "Two main roads in Karachi - Bunder (Sindhi for " Harbor") Road and Drigh (Sindhi for "Long") Road - have been changed".⁴⁰ The former was named Muhammad Ali Jinnah Road and the latter was called Sharah-e-Faisal.⁴¹ All traces of the "empire" are removed to make room for the construction and manifestation of memory and namesakes that recall a nationalist past and support state narratives regarding partition.⁴² This inevitably creates a state hegemony over the history of partition, how it is remembered and from what source an individual may gain their identity. Additionally, the removal of names and physical representation of memory inevitably limits the memory to individuals and endangers its preservation in the future, hence essentially leading to erasure and reconstruction of history. What is vital to understand is that the state's master narrative construction is not limited to events revolving around 1947 and continues further in eliminating any counter memory inadvertently leaving behind a hegemonic nationalist memory through which individuals can only form a national identity.





Images 3 and 4 from Nawa-i-waqt newspaper September 1st 1977 mentioning the name change of Lyallpur to Shah Faisalabad. The smaller extract mentions the name change of Drigh Road in Karachi as well.⁴³

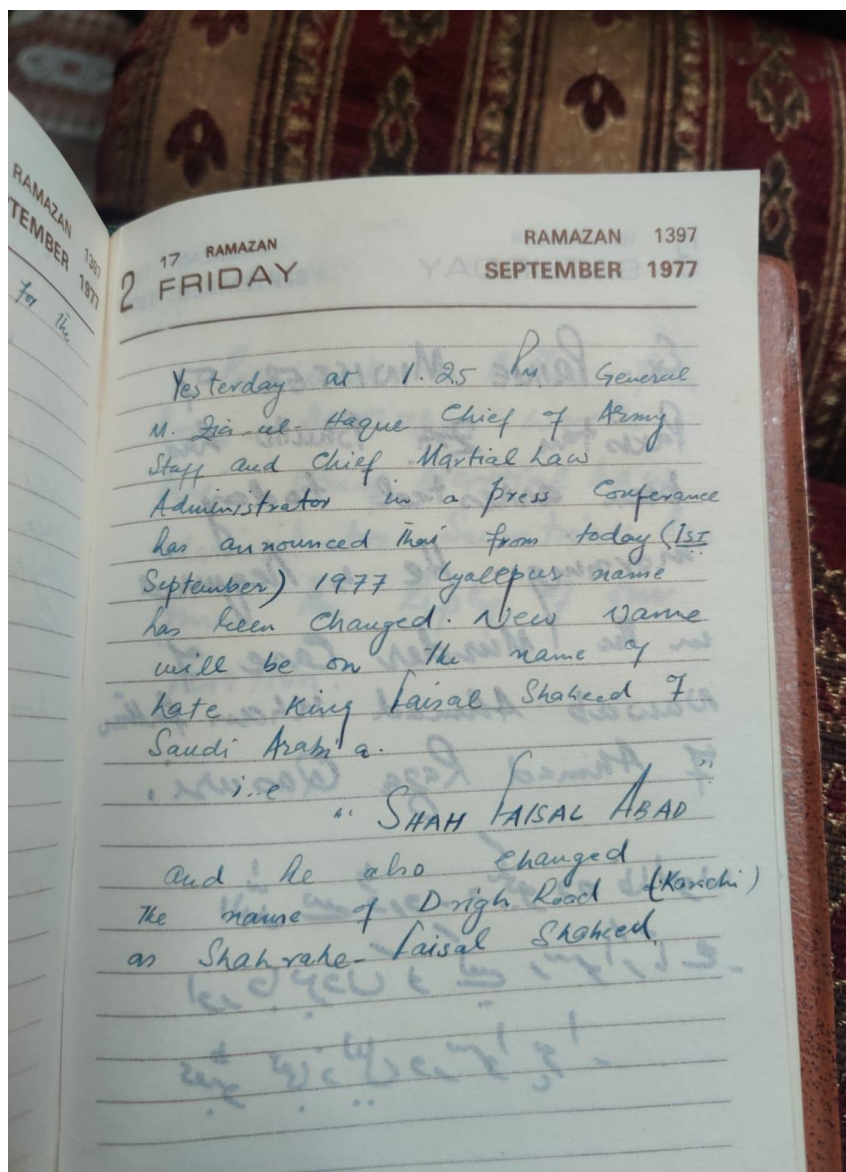
5. Lyallpur's Name Change and the Residents of People's Colony

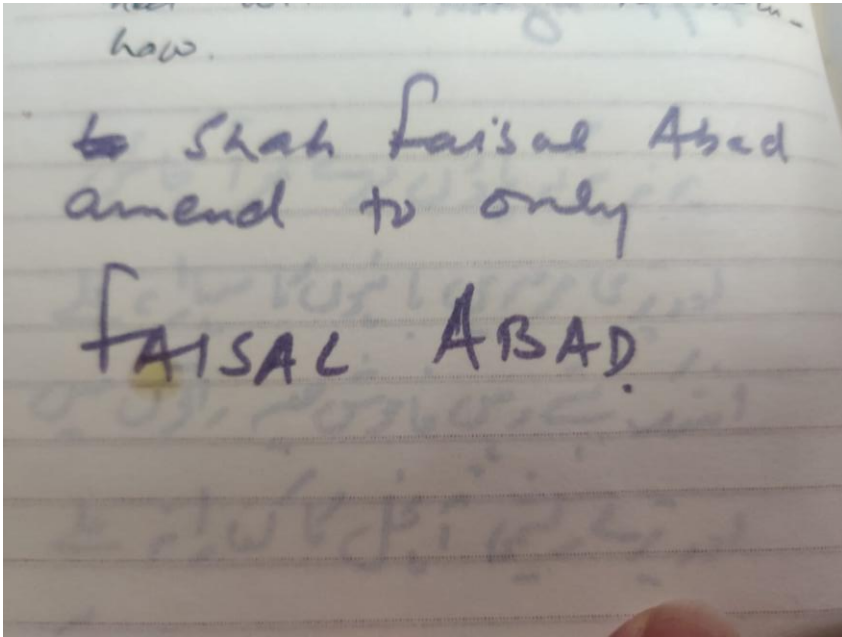
One such incident of erasing counter memory occurred on September 1st, 1977 when Lyallpur's name was changed to Faisalabad. Before proceeding with an analysis of the case study one must be aware of its limitations. Firstly, the case study deals with only one perspective of the name change and does not claim its entire purpose to be part of the "nation-building agenda" as there is an economic and political aspect tied to commemorating the Saudi King's name.⁴⁴ Additionally, the case study is inspected on a micro-level looking at only the elderly residents of People's Colony and their experience with the event. This will be explored through interviews as the medium. Furthermore, the sample size for interviews is small, consisting of four interviews as the research methodology applied is a qualitative one rather than a quantitative one.

The interviews conducted represent the experiences of Peoples Colony residents in Lyallpur following the city's 1977 name change, examining their personal perspectives and the impact of this change on their lives. They aimed to shed light on how this historical event was perceived and felt by those who lived through it. One interviewee reveals that he kept a diary and recorded the entry of the name change.

"Yesterday at 1:25 pm General M. Zia ul Haq, Chief of Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator, in a press conference has announced that from today (1st September 1977) Lyallpur's name has been changed. New name will be on the name of late King Faisal Shaheed of Saudi Arabia.

I.e. Shah Faisalabad".⁴⁵





Images 5 and 6 from Fazal Shah's personal diary regarding the change in the name of the city. Image 6 mentions the amendment of Shah Faisalabad to Faisalabad.⁴⁶

The initial name given to Faisalabad was "Shah Faisalabad" as indicated by the newspaper and diary.⁴⁷ The name held its place for fifteen days after which it was felt that the name was "too long" and was shortened to Faisalabad.⁴⁸ In conducting the interviews, three out of four interviewees preferred the name Lyallpur over Faisalabad. When interviewing Fazal Shah, an 80-year-old man, he stated quite affirmatively that he liked Lyallpur as a name. He even went on to praise an initiative taken up by his boss at "interloop" to "get the name changed back to Lyallpur" as stated in an extract from his interview below.⁴⁹

"I like (the name) Lyallpur (extremely quick and affirmative response). My boss at Interloop has taken a very good initiative. Someone told me that they are trying to get the name changed back to Lyallpur.

The name change occurred on September 1st 1977 I have written it in my diary.

Its first name was not Faisalabad. Its first name was Shah Faisalabad for 15 days. I tell you very frankly, most of the population now in Faisalabad don't know about this. After 15 days they thought the name was too long. At that time we used to admire Shah Faisal too much. This happened in Zia's time, and then they changed the name to Faisalabad".⁵⁰

Similarly, an interview with Muhammad Abid revealed a similar preference for Lyallpur as a name, stating that he preferred “the name of Lyallpur mainly due to nostalgia” and that he “grew up with that name and it is still commonly used in Faisalabad today”.⁵¹ Not every interviewee had the same reason though, as Muhammad Tariq Mushtaq mentions “I think it isn't about like or dislike. I believe the name of a place should proceed as is in history in order to not distort history”.⁵² He jokingly states that after Shah Faisal's death, there was a movement to get the name changed to “Khalidabad” in name of the new king but his joke holds truth that if a place is continuously renamed, it is unable to form an identity for the newer generation or preserve a memory for the older one.⁵³ When asked if there is a difference in memory when he thinks about Lyallpur or Faisalabad he revealed how memory and inherited memory reshape the same geographic location into different spaces for each individual.

“I think of the same thing. Even for the chowk in front of our house people now call it tempo chowk (the name of the grocery store they own on the corner of the chowk) its real name is Nalka stop. I prefer Nalka stop. Even when naming new places, people don't use the new names, they use the old names for the area.

*This confuses people who travel to the city or aren't familiar with its history. I remember giving directions to an acquaintance and told him to come to Abdullahpur he said he's at Nusrat Fateh Ali khan underpass and I thought he was lost; both of us were talking about the same place”.*⁵⁴

While that place remains Abdullahpur for Mushtaq, it becomes Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan underpass for his friend. Although an anecdotal incident, it reveals the distortion and gap between individuals' lived experiences within the same place and time. This act of reckless renaming, as Ashcroft states, is a colonial imprint in “imagining of the colonies as blank spaces on earth to be named, measured, and owned” something that is observed in numerous colonial cities such as Lahore where you have governments renaming historically significant areas of the city with new names in order to erase Hindu and Sikh presence in the cities annals e.g. changing the renowned Lakshmi Chowk's name to Maulana Zafar Ali Chowk which has been met with criticism from the residents of Lahore who still refer to the area by its primary landmark the Lakshmi building.⁵⁵ Originally the mansion of Sir Shadi Lal, India's first Indian High Court Judge, this Lahore building was sold in 1930 to Lala Lajpat Rai's Lakshmi Insurance Corporation.⁵⁶ It then became a combined office and residential complex, named “Lakshmi Building” both for its owner and the statue of the goddess Lakshmi that adorned its facade (destroyed after Partition).⁵⁷ Although revered by many, it is important to note that not everyone has the same opinion regarding the renaming. Many stated that such efforts by the government were useless as the area would forever be known and called by the Lakshmi name, impressing upon the rich oral tradition in the region in terms of interacting with spaces.⁵⁸ Others were impressed that they acknowledged the intentional name change and agreed with it as it served a purpose that aligned with their personal goals and beliefs.⁵⁹

Similarly, Lyallpur's name change was also met with positivity by some of the residents. The interviewee Parveen Rashid states that she likes the name of Faisalabad as the previous one was "named after sir Lyall. I did not like the name. It kept reminding us that the rulers here were British and that we were colonised".⁶⁰ She stated that the new name reminded her of a Muslim identity and a positive note for development in the future as the Shah had invested within Lyallpur's economy "Named after Shah Faisal because he was a hero_ well-wisher of Muslims. He wanted the Muslim economy and banking to be united. He wanted to create an Islamic research centre. He had a positive outlook for Muslims".⁶¹ Here she expresses the state narrative of a homogenous identity in which religion becomes synonymous with the national identity and is derived from the new name, but why does the name of Lyallpur still remain alive 46 years after the name change as well? What identity and association do people take from the previous name? To this Fazal Shah replies straightforwardly that "Lyallpur was also an Islamic identity" implying that not only was religious identity not attached to the name itself but it mattered more that the name indicated the community, something observed in the dialogue around the Lakshmi Chowk rename as well.⁶²

6. Fixed Geography & Fluid Temporality; The Effects of Adaptive Memory

It is important to note that 3 out of the 4 interviewees are migrants from Jalandhar and one from Ludhiana, yet they have a strong affiliation to the "shared location".⁶³ This affiliation not only stems from the inherited memory of Lyallpur's migrants but also the physical manifestations they leave behind in the city. One such physical symbol being the Ghanta Ghar (clock tower) which not only makes an appearance in the popular doggerel but also is mentioned by all interviewees as their place of affiliation. Fazal Shah describes how it has the statement "this clock tower is erected in the commemoration of the reign of queen victoria" and states how there were three statements "One in hindi, one in farsi and one in english".⁶⁴ In a predominantly present-day Urdu and Punjabi-speaking community, statements in Farsi and Hindi symbolise a memory pre-partition.



Image 7. Pakkimari enclave on Canal Road, Faisalabad. Has the dated era of the name also written as 2nd A.D.⁶⁵

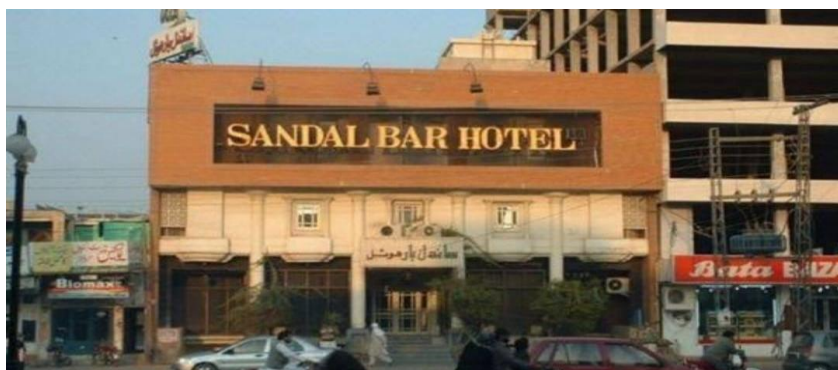


Image 8. Sandal Bar Hotel, Canal Road, Faisalabad.⁶⁶

What is interesting to note is that the shared location in remembrance is formed in an immediate pre-partition colonial city rather than a native name. Although Lyallpur has native name markers such as the Pakkimari enclave and the

Sandal Bar Hotel as the images present, none of these names don't appear in the collective shared memory of the city, as most interviewees don't even know about it. Instead, the inherited memory that takes precedence is Lyallpur's name which is littered across the city in the form of literary festivals, places e.g. Lyallpur Gymkhana, and local businesses. This happens not only due to the effects of inherited memory as selective inherited memory is utilised by the state as well as the pre-colonial identity; rather the identity of Lyallpur seems to encompass several identities within it. As Muhammad Tariq states in his interview even at the time of the name change it wasn't deemed inherently Islamic;

"No, I don't think so. Even when the name change occurred we didn't hear this anywhere in conversations or gatherings that an Islamic name has come. This was merely in affiliation with the Saudi king. I believe during that time there wasn't much religious polarisation hence people didn't think like this".⁶⁷

Recalling the point regarding active history and memory being "corporeal", it becomes apparent that the name Faisalabad did not do justice not only to migrants of Jalandhar or Ludhiana but also to the people born within the city.⁶⁸ The name Lyallpur represented their refugee identity, their migrant identity, their religious identity, and their roots in what is now East Punjab (as most interviews look favourably on the places their ancestors migrated from stating that an affiliation through inherited memory was created). Additionally Lyallpur much like "Guru Nanak Pura and Guru Gobind Pura" are names which are still used in conversation "despite the out-migration of all the Sikh community".⁶⁹ Moreover, "For many of the Partition's refugees, while the physical relationship with land/people was irrevocably lost, their "Punjab" would live on in their imaginaries, and in the new world, they constructed for themselves" such a sentiment was used in which these identities go against state narrative yet are still expressed actively in everyday life.⁷⁰ The word Lyallpur inherently sums up the amusing question encountered by Pippa Virdee when conducting her research that "tussi pichhon Kithon de ho?(which city are you descended from?)" in regards to her origin.⁷¹ The name Lyallpur answers that question of identity for its residents by performing not a selected piece of memory but a complete memory that acknowledges the inter-religious communities that coexisted prior to partition, the colonial past, as well as the refugee identity and the present-day individual residing in it. In this regard inherited memory actively shapes history and not only keeps the spatial place of 'Lyallpur before partition violence' alive but also actively recreates it to integrate with the newer generation and influences their identity as well that till this day the names Lyallpur and Faisalabad can be used synonymously.

7. Conclusion

By looking closely at these factors it becomes apparent that memory, in the form of inherited and collective memory, performs the role of active history as residents continue to use it as a means of forming identity to this day. Additionally, the utilisation of inherited memory can work in several ways, be it remembrance of subaltern history or reaffirming state narratives. By examining the case study of Peoples Colony and the interviews conducted, it is evident that memory, as a form of history, is a multifaceted phenomenon. Through its physical embodiment in material objects, memory becomes a battleground against the erasure of history by state-sanctioned master narratives. These narratives often seek to suppress accounts that do not align with their constructed vision of national identity, which is frequently predicated on a notion of unity that disregards the complexities of lived experience. Hence citizens of Lyallpur, be it in 1947 or the present day, continue to perform the identity of Lyallpur and form their own individual identity through it.

Notes & References

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² A doggerel refers to a comic verse composed in irregular rhythm. This often refers to crude simplistic statements that elicit humour.

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⁸ Virdee.

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¹⁰ Virdee.

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¹² Virdee, *From the Ashes of 1947*.

¹³ Virdee.

¹⁴ Virdee.

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¹⁶ Virdee.

¹⁷ Virdee.

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²² Mannheim, “The Problem Of Generations.”

²³ Anjali Gera Roy, *Memories and Postmemories of the Partition of India*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2021), <https://www.routledge.com/Memories-and-Postmemories-of-the-Partition-of-India/Roy/p/book/9781032091068>.

²⁴ Roy.

²⁵ Virdee, *From the Ashes of 1947*.

²⁶ Virdee.

²⁷ Virdee.

²⁸ Virdee.

- ²⁹ Chhabra, “Memory Practices in History Education about the 1947 British India Partition.”
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