

Trajectories of Socio-Economic Impact of Refugee Settlement in Sargodha after Partition of India 1947

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Abstract

The contemporary cities of Sargodha and Lyallpur (presently Faisalabad) were established by the British as agricultural market Sowns as part of larger context of development of canal colonies throughout the Punjab with the major aim of tapping the agricultural potential of many barren areas that needed to be turned into cultivable green plains making them, ultimately, into a basket of bread of the British empire. It was mostly in the first decade of twentieth century that promising peasant cultivators from eastern and central Punjab were allotted lands in these canal colonies and they miraculously turned whole vast areas into productive agricultural units producing grains and products at unprecedented scale. Nonetheless, almost the same generation that had done laboriously work of establishing these cities and villages around them had to leave their immovable property in the shape of lands and buildings and go back almost to the same areas they had left decades ago. The overwhelming majority of population of urban Sargodha and rural as well as urban Faisalabad went through such a disturbing experience. On the other hand, with the new settlement of migrants of partition of 1947, the trajectories of socio-cultural and economic life of the people entirely changed. This paper analyses causes

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and repercussions of this change as it unfolded in and around Sargodha right after partition of 1947.

Introduction

The present study contextualizes the local settlement of refugees that had complex dimensions that need to be comparatively re-evaluated at regional level. It was during this formative phase that an informal, along with formal, system of allocation of resources, state mechanisms of responsibilities, inadequate linkages of institutional arrangements could be witnessed. As a result of formidable pressure built by the refugees, the administration of Punjab had to shoulder the tremendous burden of providing shelter and relief to the Muslim refugees who were pouring into this province at an average rate of about 50,000 persons per day over many months. The newly established governments of Pakistan and India made certain joint and reciprocal arrangements for the evacuation of eleven to twelve millions of people from both sides of the border.

The people of both the communities (Muslims and non-Muslims, as communities were being viewed in purely religious prism at that time) suffered enormous socio-economic difficulties and faced cultural threats being settled in different context. The overall social environment had become hostile towards other religious and cultural communities. Those who used to share happiness and worries with each other became the worst rivals and started butchering each other. The burden of trauma that

Punjab went through is unprecedented in the history of migrations. It affected all segments of life including political, economic, administrative, social, cultural and moral. As millions of men and women crossed the border from both sides, the problem of settlement was of immense magnitude and proportion.¹ The communal riots marked permanent imprints on the social and economic fabric of the Punjab which finally culminated in acute communal tensions tearing apart the social fabric. Moreover, all this created an aura of insecurity that both states could not shun away in many decades to come.

Demographic Impact

The migrated people remained deprived of the basic facilities in the Western Punjab as many of them had exhausted all their savings in the migration process from the East Punjab to West Punjab. The refugees of both communities had very limited prospects of employment in the near future but they expected jobs from the state. Due to inflation, many of them were compelled to live a difficult life. This immediately resulted in the emergence of a new class of corrupt individuals and criminals. It can plausibly be argued that degeneration of moral values and upscale in corrupt practices took place as a result of partition and migration. Thus, mass corruption and criminality was raised to new proportions as a result of partition. The refugees became alien in their new surroundings although they perceived themselves to have become citizens of independent countries from subjects of the Raj.² They were mostly unfamiliar to the

places, the physical and geographical environment, the local community and the new relationships. The historically and naturally developed channels of normal trade and commerce in the province were inundated: there were no agencies to finance the movement of agricultural produce from the farms to the markets or the factories; the wheels of industry ceased to revolve; wide gaps occurred in the administrative machinery; hospitals lost their doctors and dispensaries; and above all, the task of running the canals which supplied the life-blood of agriculture in the province—especially agricultural towns like Sargodha— seemed to be intractable problem due to loss of many canal head-works.³

The study of Sargodha has revealed that the previously-acquired technical and industrial skills and capital acquired in East Punjab was an important factor not only in individual refugee rehabilitation in Sargodha but the city's rapid post-independence economic growth which resulted from the settlement of East Punjabis in this area. Another highlight of the study is reorientation of industries, raw materials and markets in its economic sphere.

Social Impact

Languages play an important role in a society and the social impact of refugee regarding language is an important arena. Before discussing the languages spoken in Sargodha district, it is important to know about the areas surrounding it. Its northern border touches *Puthohar* region while southern border

proximate Jhang. The *Punjabi* dialect spoken in Sargodha includes both the *Puthohari* dialect of northern areas and the *Jhangvi* dialect of southern areas.⁴ Both the *Shahpuri* dialect i.e. the main dialect of the district and the *Majhi* dialect, the standard dialect of the other cities of the Punjab are included in *Punjabi* spoken in Sargodha.⁵ The influence of *Majhi* dialect is due to the earlier canal colony settlement by the British in which people from the upper-central districts of Punjab were settled in Sargodha. All the population of Sargodha understands Urdu. A total of 97.5% population of Sargodha is *Punjabi* speaking while the remaining 6% population is *Haryanvi* and *Ranghari* speaking specially those living in Phullarwan area.⁶

Cuisine is another important cultural marker and social impact of cuisine of East Punjab on Sargodha is also clearly discernable: *Nihari*, *Boti Kebab*, *Thali* with *Naan*, *Sultani Dal*, *Raita*, *Shahi Paneer*, *Kebabs Faluda*, *Paan Shop*, *Haleem*, the *Samosa*, old *Hyderabadi Biryani*, *Korma*, *Bihari Kabab*, Chilli Sauce, Yougurt chutney and *Biryani* were the dishes that these migrants brought over with them to this town.⁷ These dishes reflected the tradition of the East Punjab which have been mixed up with the traditions of the West Punjab now and these dishes are common in Sargodha presently.

The caste and tribe in Sargodha are remarkable in social sphere although it may be argued that caste as a religious division does not exist among the Punjabi Muslims. The Pathan and Baluch exert much influence in the Western parts of Punjab and both of these ethnic groups remained part of traditions and customs of

Sargodha. There is a real bond on the basis of common origin, common habits, common customs and mode of thoughts and tribal association that continues to holds people together in this area.⁸ In this district, land-owning classes are recognized on the basis of the tribes that in turn are based upon caste or beraderi which is generally understood as e.g. Gondal, Cheema, Waraich and Bhatti etc. In common parlance, qaum and caste are used interchangeably in this region. When the author asked a junior (from Mandi Bahauddin) in Forman Christian College regarding his nationality, he replied “Gondal”. Nationality in this case was confused with qaum. Nevertheless, population of the district is generally sub-divided into tribes.⁹

Educational Impact

For upward social mobility in all the social and economic sectors, education plays a significant role. After partition of India, communal riots started between Muslims and non-Muslims triggering killing, looting, rape, abduction and forced migration by the refugees.¹⁰ When the refugees reached in Sargodha, they were totally disappointed of their lives as they were uprooted from their social and economic life. To steer them towards promising future, education played an important role. The table below provides information regarding growth of schools during the period 1950-1970 in Sargodha.

Educational Institutions in Sargodha

Year	Primary Schools		Middle Schools		High School	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1950	266	80	33	3	25	3
1960	500	190	41	8	29	6
1970	775	300	48	16	32	16

Source: District Education Office, Sargodha, 1974.

A significant impact of education is that educated people are not prey of conservatism. Education makes them a tolerant citizen instead of making them a local or a refugee. It is due to the education that the younger generation has almost bridged up the gulf prevailing between refugees and locals. This generation has a less concept of religious or cultural communalism. They think the world is a global village now where every human must respect the cultural values of every other human.

Cultural Impact

One important cultural impact was that before partition, kinfolk's organization was strong in the West Punjab. The towns were divided into kinfolk's neighborhoods where caste and profession were interrelated. But with the arrival of refugees, these divisions became weak. After the process of migration, some cultural traits were added to the multiculturalism of Pakistan. In some cases, the smaller provinces resisted this

multiculturalism as was the case in Sindh where migrants supported it whereas the local Sindhis resisted.¹¹

During the process of migration, people coming from the Punjab's parts now constituting India started to settle in Sargodha. Some people came here due to the government settlement policy while others came to live with their relatives being attracted by the local rural culture of Sargodha. Culture does not mean only customs, traditions, religion, economic sources and needs of life but it also includes various other factors affecting life.¹² Whenever a Muslim migrates for the cause of Islam, he feels as if he is going to his own home, opined a migrant.¹³ The Muslims who migrated from Hindustan were of the view that they had got their goal very clear. They thought that they, together with local Muslims, will establish such a society that the whole world will quote them as an example of brotherhood and fraternity. They dreamt that in an Islamic society, they will practice their religion freely where nobody will make any hurdle in performing Islamic rituals. In the land of the pure, communal riots would have been unimaginable.¹⁴

The expectations of refugees in Sargodha were more or less the same as elsewhere in India. After the safe evacuation of the Sikhs and Hindus, the Muslims started migrating from different parts of India and due to this reason, the people started to settle in Sargodha as it was the case in other cities. The refugees were rooted out from their land of their civilization, culture and living style. When the cultural traits of the locals and migrants intermingled, it produced the present synthesized culture. Due to

this reason, both the refugees and the locals supported the conception of a new culture promoted by the nation state as Pakistani culture constituting of cultural traits of the indigenous and the migrants.¹⁵

As all the cities were facing the challenges of rehabilitation of refugees from India, more or less the same was faced by Sargodha. They were thinking that they were going to their sacred homeland where their own people live who will welcome them warm-heartedly. But when they came here, their dreams were shattered and expectations were ended in smoke. During rehabilitation, they were not given their due rights. When they were called as *mohajirs* with stereotypical manner, they bitterly resented it and felt the sense of deprivation and remained in chronic trauma psychologically as they had left their lands and properties in the name of migration.¹⁶

Among others, these were some of the factors that the establishment of new society was faced with many contradictions which were yet to be resolved. When refugees came and locals felt that these were coming to share their resources, it only lead to unending ideological and cultural clash. Nearly 90% of evacuee property became a ferment of clamor among the locals although it had to be allotted to the refugees.¹⁷ Under such circumstances, changes could not be made in a society that promoted the culture of usurpation and control.¹⁸

The people who were settled in Sargodha from Gujranwala, Gujrat and Sialkot were called as ‘locals’ because they had settled in this area in the early settlement period of Sargodha

whereas the people who migrated from India were called ‘mohajirs’ according to the geography of area that they had come from. On the other hand, the refugees coming from India showed a sense of superiority which produced a negative effect on the locals which resulted in producing an indifferent behavior in the locals. The locals then resisted welcoming the refugees from India.¹⁹

In common affairs of life, people generally tend to be united whenever any important issue such as marriage, election or any tournament comes. However, the gulf between locals and refugees becomes clear when such uniting event subsides. If we take the example of marriage, the refugees do not want to marry in locals and in the same way, the locals seem hesitant to marry their daughter or son in refugee’s families.²⁰ Even after nearly seventy five years of independence, this gulf remains unabridged. Similarly, during the election campaign, it is observed that both the communities showed different ways of campaigning which marked them as locals and refugees.²¹ The electoral dynamics of urban Sindh showed the same tendency where, after the encouragement of Zia’s dictatorship, a yawning gap could be discerned between Sindhis and migrants.

The locals blame the refugees calling them as ‘*mohajirs*’ and claim that they shattered their peace as they were living peacefully before refugees’ arrival. On the other hand, the refugees claimed that locals are the people to whom they taught the style of living and etiquettes. But this prejudice varies from villages to cities. Sargodha is consisted of 207 villages and the

structure of villages of locals and refugees is different and so do their customs. In the villages of Sargodha, the gulf between locals and refugees is even worse which can be observed clearly on any special occasion. Nonetheless, it is thought that the persistent gulf will become narrow if not bridged with the passage of time.²²

Industrial Impact

The economy of Sargodha division was seriously dislocated after the migration as the non-Muslims were mostly middle class people, clerical officials, shopkeepers and on the other hand, the majority of Muslims who migrated to Sargodha division were poor peasants and they also were not much expert in the field of industry. The population growth in Sargodha district was as follows.

Population Growth in Sargodha district²³

Census year	Population	Average annual increase
1911	8,849	--
1921	17,728	10.03
1931	26,762	5.9
1941	36,420	3.61
1951	78,463	11.54
1961	83,141	6.48
1972	1,66,076	10.2

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Sargodha,
1974.

It can be noticed that there had been very high percentage of increase in population during the decade 1941-51. This is due to the fact that after partition many refugees settled in Sargodha city. The growth rate decreased during the decade 1951-61. The rate of growth again increased abnormally in the decade 1961-72. This increase can be attributed to the creation of a divisional headquarters at Sargodha, as a result of which the town got more importance, and many people came to the city in connection with employment in government offices and other job and economic activities. Expansion of air-base and creation of cantonment in Sargodha were other important factors that contributed towards high rate of increase in population. As compared to Faisalabad, Sargodha did not make sufficient development in the field of industry. Investment shy people, relatively distant location of the town from big cities and agricultural hinterland appear to be major reasons for retarded growth of the town in industrial field.²⁴

Rich people in the area were generally big landlords. They were not inclined to invest in industry and therefore did not invest in this field. Consequently, no big industry could be established in the town in the post-partition period. Unchecked concentration of industries in the nearby town of Faisalabad and lack of incentives in the town also contributed to its slow growth.²⁵ An Industrial Survey of the town was carried out in the year 1976. All the industries were enumerated in the survey and data regarding location of industries, their structural formation, employment size were collected. It was revealed that there were

only 9 industrial establishments in the town in the year 1947. The number grew to 87 by the year 1976. Total area occupied by the 87 units stood at 57 acres of land. Before Independence there were only a few oil mills functioning at Sargodha but after partition few more were added.²⁶

Industries in the town are concentrated in the factory area situated in between the railway line and Sillanwali road, towards south-west of the town. Some industries which have cropped up in the shape of small sized units are scattered all over the town and except for a couple of cases are located towards the north of the railway line.²⁷ The industries of Sargodha comprised of cotton ginning, oil, soap and flour milling units. Other factories like rice, ice, matches, and pulses etc. had also cropped up in the town as follows.

Industries in Sargodha²⁸

Type of Industry	Industrial Units		Labour employed			Total labour force	Percent of total
	Number of units	Percent of total	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Un-Skilled		
Cotton Ginning	4	4.60	46	10	61	117	10.17
Cotton ginning & pressing	5	5.75	36	32	96	164	14.27
Oil & Cotton mills	2	2.30	5	7	81	93	8.9
Oil Mills	6	6.90	20	3	41	64	5.57
Oil & soap	1	1.14	2	3	102	107	9.30

Table 3.3 (continued)

Oil & rice Mills	1	1.14	4	2	4	10	0.87
Oil & Ice Factories	2	2.30	14	--	8	22	1.91
Soap factories	16	18.3 9	58	2	16	76	6.61
Flour Mills	6	6.90	20	8	61	89	7.74
Flour & Pulses	2	2.30	10	1	4	15	1.30
Pulses & Rice	2	2.30	7	3	9	19	1.65
Pulses	10	11.4 9	10	6	22	38	3.30
Rice Factories	7	8.05	18	3	57	78	6.78
Ice Factories	12	13.7 9	51	36	51	138	12.00
Chemical Match Factories	2	2.30	6	3	36	45	3.91
Matal & Matel Works	1	1.15	1	--	--	1	0.9
Miscellaneous	4	4.60	35	3	16	54	4.70
	4	4.60	7	0	13	20	1.74

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Sargodha,

1974.

As evident from the table, the dominating industries of Sargodha are soap, oil, cotton ginning, flour pulses, rice and ice factories. These factories constitute 87.35% of the total number of industrial units in the town. Except for the ice factories, which account for 13.79% of the total industrial units all the above mentioned industries are agro-based industries. Most of the industrial unit, i.e. 55 units were owned by individuals. Whereas

there was neither any government owned nor any public limited concern in the town, the remaining 32 industries were owned by private companies. Source of power was exclusively electricity. Only two carpet factories in the town were hand operated.²⁹

The industries located in Sargodha had large areas of land in comparison to employment which was manifested by worker/space ratio of 20 workers per acre. Out of 87 industrial units, 54 industries employ up to ten workers. The rest of the 33 units' employee were more than 10 workers and comprise of rice and oil mills. These industries employ 865 workers, i.e. 75% of the total labour force.³⁰ Most of the labour force, i.e. 678 or 69% is unskilled. Skilled and semi-skilled workers, on the other hand, constitute 30% and 11% of the total industrial labour force.³¹

Number of Workers

Employment size	Number of Industrial Units	Percent of total industries	Number of workers	Percent of labour force
Up to 10 workers	54	62	285	25%
More than 10 workers	33	38	865	75%
Total	87	100	1150	100%

Source: Punjab, Housing and Physical planning, Sargodha, 1974.

Soap, *daal*, ice and rice factories are the dominating industries of Sargodha town. Second largest category was the flour milling, oil and cotton ginning factories which account for 33.33% of the industrial units. According to projections the total population of Sargodha town for the year 1976 was 1,93,809. Growth of industry in Sargodha, in the past couple of years, had been negligible. Incentives provided by small industries corporation coupled with change in local conditions warrant the same. A standard industrial area had, therefore, been proposed in the upcoming plan for population of 1000 persons.³²

Industrial area in the town was well located and was segregated from the residential area with a buffer zone and nearly 120 acres of land was earmarked for this purpose. Necessary physical infrastructure including railway line was provided to the industrial area. Up to 1977, 102 industrial units had been established which had engaged 1517 workers. Industrial labour force in the town at the rate of 3% was 1260 which means that the town engaged surplus labour force of the other areas as well. Out of 102 industrial units, there was one sugar mill known as Koh-e-Noor Sugar Mill, 5 flour mills, 26 furniture making shops, 4 gypsum plants, 3 printing processes, 2 ice factories and one prefabrication plant.³³

Agricultural Impact

At the time of partition, nearly 70 per cent of the refugee/migrant population of Pakistan belonged to the agricultural community. The bulk of these people arrived in the provinces of the Punjab and Sindh during 1947-48. They were at once given temporary

allotments of land, assisted by loans and maintenance allowances. In 1950, the Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme was brought out for giving the allottees provisional permanent rights. Settlement operations were finalized in 18,245 towns, disposing of 1,014,073 claims, covering an evacuee area of 3,094,951 acres. In this way more than 85 per cent of this resettlement was completed in the Punjab. In Baluchistan the refugee claimants were granted provincial-permanent rights over evacuee land. The same scheme was for the province of Sind. The state of Bahawalpur and Khairpur and the province of the then NWFP, as well as Karachi, also took actions to implement it.³⁴

It can be argued that on account of incoming refugees that exceeded those leaving the country, there was now considerable shortage of agricultural land in West Pakistan and a greater shortage in East Bengal. Before partition a bulk of the 3.5 million cultivated their lands with their own hands and they formed a class of peculiarly willing and self-reliant workers. They set the pace of agricultural operations and the standard of industry.³⁵ Efforts were being made to reclaim new land in the Punjab and Sind. But reclamation of new land was a comparatively slow process, especially in the province of Sind where a big Barrage Scheme was undertaken to reclaim an area of 2 million acres of which 1.7 million acres would be virgin land. The rehabilitation of the agricultural refugees, who had not so far been settled, largely depended on the progress and result of scheme. The problem in East Bengal was even more difficult. There was already great pressure on land on account of a very high density

of population. There was no evacuee property there and the increase in population made the situation worse than before.³⁶

The government of Pakistan established the Agricultural Development Finance Corporation. The Corporation commenced business in March 1953, and was providing credit facilities to agriculturists for the development of agriculture and agricultural products (horticulture, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry, poultry keeping and dairy farming) including provision of mechanical equipment for mechanization of farming, provision of water-lifting equipment, provision of tractor stations, production and distribution of chemical and other fertilizers, establishment of stores or *godowns* for keeping implements, seeds or other agricultural products, provision of embankments, water-courses and drainage, reclamation, elimination of agricultural pests and taking measures against water logging, purchases and distribution of agricultural implements and cattle breeding etc.³⁷ To help raise agricultural production, the government in 1961 established semi-autonomous Agricultural Development Corporations in each of the provinces, and assigned them two main functions: to organize the supplies needed by the farmers and to provide them with technical knowledge. Recognizing the need to provide for the necessary technical skills in the vital sector of country's economy, two agricultural Universities, one at Mymensingh in East Pakistan and the other at Lyallpur (Faisalabad) in West Pakistan, were established in 1961.³⁸

Loans were given ordinarily in kind but cash loans could also be granted by the corporation at its discretion. Loans could be sanctioned up to a limit of Rs. 100,000 in the case of individuals and Rs. one million in the case of a company or cooperative society. These limits can be relaxed by government up to Rs. 200,000 and Rs. 2 million respectively for special reasons. The Corporation had its Head Office at Karachi and the Regional Offices at Sukkur, Lahore and Dacca to cater to the requirements of various units of the country.³⁹

In Sargodha, the agricultural economy was seriously dislocated after the migration as the majority of Muslims who migrated to this region were poor workers and they also were not much expert in the field of agriculture. They had not been involved in progressive agricultural activity and, hence, did not possess experience of this sector. Before discussing about the impact of refugees on the agricultural sector in Sargodha, we must know about the distribution of refugees according to their original professions in districts.

Distribution of Refugees by districts according to their original professions in Sargodha division (Figure in Lakh)⁴⁰

District	Cultivators including owner	Non Cultivators						Grand Total
		Shop keepers	Technician	Artisans	Public servants	Labourers	Total	
Sargodha & Khusab	1.14	0.21	0.11	0.11	0.15	.11	0.69	1.83
Mianwali & Bhakkar	0.3	0.1	--	--	0.3	--	0.4	0.7

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1947.

The numbers of agriculturist refugees who settled in Sargodha district after migration. The following statement shows that at the time of partition, 4,60,000 agriculturist people were in the Sargodha district. (Figures in *lakhs*)

Agricultural Refugee in Sargodha

No. of Agricultu rists before migratio n	Increase in No. of Agricultu rists by migratio n	No. of evacuee Agricultu rists .41	No. of refugees that could be accommo dated 1.27	No. of Agricultu rists after migratio n 4.60
3.83	.86			

Source: Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948.

According to the above tables, it is clear that compared to the other districts i.e. Khushab, Mianwali and Bhakkar, the Sargodha district absorbed more refugees. Moreover, it also shows that the agricultural statistical figure in Sargodha district is greater than the other districts in Sargodha. There are two types of crops, Rabi Crops and Kharif Crops. The main Rabi crops that grow in the district are wheat, grains, fruit, and vegetables. The main Kharif crops that grow in the district are cotton, paddy, sugarcane, maize and vegetable. Fruits are also produced by this district. Kinno is a famous product of this district which is not only consumed in Pakistan but also liked in the whole world and therefore exported to many countries.⁴¹ Therefore, some citrus grading and citrus by-products industry has also flourished in Sargodha. It has not only engaged working force of this region but also attracts laborers from other areas on seasonal basis.

Conclusion

The partition of India and exchange of a great number of people from both sides of the border had an indelible imprint on the

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socio-cultural and economic life of the people. This inundation particularly devastated the lives of tens of millions of Punjabis because it was this province that singularly bore the brunt of the impact of partition of Punjab. Sargodha was established as an agricultural market town and its outlook remained predominantly as a rural market town with majority non-Muslim population. Its hinterland, however, was dominated by Muslim population that was involved primarily in agricultural occupations. Consequently, there was cultural variation in the urban and rural areas of Sargodha. The incoming in large numbers of migrants from East Punjab and their settlement in Sargodha made a major shift in almost all aspects of socio-cultural and economic trajectories of this city. Although Sargodha and Lyallpur (presently Faisalabad) were established on the same pattern as agricultural market towns yet the trajectories of their post-partition development diverged. While Sargodha remained predominantly an agricultural market town with many changes after the settlement of migrants, Faisalabad developed as a major industrial city of Pakistan after partition of 1947 and settlement of migrants in a very large number.

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- ²⁶ Organization, P. C. District Census Report of Sargodha 1998 Census publication No. 36. Islamabad: Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, Islamabad (1999), 25.
- ²⁷ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha (1977), 17.
- ²⁸ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha (1977), 17.
- ²⁹ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha (1977), 17.

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- ³⁰ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha (1977), 17.
- ³¹ Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha (1977), 18-20. To properly understand the dynamics of labour force, in comparative terms, resulting from partition see, Sucha Singh Gill, “Agricultural Development and Migratory Labour: A Case of Indian Punjab” in Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (eds.), *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-colonial Migration* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 177-186.
- ³² Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Sargodha, File No. 15582, government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Sargodha (1977), 18-20.
- ³³ Office of the Deputy Director Outline Development Plan, Jauharabad, File No. 11583, Government of the Punjab, Housing and Physical Planning, Physical Planning Cell, Jauharabad (1977), 20.
- ³⁴ *Pakistan 1953-54*, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, 197.
- ³⁵ “Five Years of Provincial Autonomy in the Punjab 1937-42”, File No. E-1(7), Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1943, 46.
- ³⁶ *Pakistan 1953-54*, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, 197.
- ³⁷ *Pakistan 1953-54*, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, 197.
- ³⁸ *Pakistan 1953-54*, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Statistics House, Islamabad, 36.
- ³⁹ “Development of Economy of Pakistan”, File No. 142/165, The National Archives, United Kingdom, 1950.
- ⁴⁰ Statistics of Resettlement of Refugees in West Punjab with the Compliment of the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, File No. 188, Punjab Archives, Lahore, 1948, 11.
- ⁴¹ “District Gazetteer of Sargodha” unpublished, Office of the District Coordination Officer, Sargodha, 1984, 136.