Crowdsourcing Memories: Mixed Methods Research by Cultural Insiders-Epistemological Outsiders

Tarun Khanna
Karim Lakhani
Shubhangi Bhadada
Nabil Khan
Saba Kohli Davé
Rasim Alam
Meena Hewett

Crowdsourcing Memories: Mixed Methods Research by Cultural Insiders-Epistemological Outsiders

Tarun Khanna
Harvard Business School

Karim R. Lakhani
Harvard Business School

Shubhangi Bhadada
Harvard University

Nabil Khan
Broad Institute

Saba Kohli Davé
Barefoot College

Rasim Alam
Harvard University

Meena Hewett
Harvard University

Crowdsourcing Memories: Mixed Methods Research by Cultural Insiders-Epistemological Outsiders[1]

Tarun Khanna

Harvard University (tkhanna@hbs.edu)

Karim R. Lakhani

Harvard University and National Bureau for Economic Research (klakhani@hbs.edu)

Shubhangi Bhadada

Harvard University (sbhadada@fas.harvard.edu)

Nabil Khan

Broad Institute (nkhan@broadinstitute.org)

Saba Kohli Davé

Barefoot College (sabakohlidave@gmail.com)

Rasim Alam

Harvard University (mrasim@hks.harvard.edu)

Meena Hewett

Harvard University (meena_hewett@harvard.edu)

---

[1] This project came about as the result of a research collaboration between Khanna and Lakhani who are professors at Harvard Business School. They have worked extensively with Bhadada, Khan, Davé, Alam, and Hewett, staff from the Mittal Institute, to design and execute the project. Although Khanna and Lakhani are the primary protagonists and researchers behind the article, the joint authorship with Bhadada, Khan, Davé, Alam, and Hewett reflects the collaborative nature of the project.

Crowdsourcing Memories: Mixed Methods Research by Cultural Insiders-Epistemological Outsiders

Abstract

This paper examines the role that the two lead authors' personal connections played in the research methodology and data collection for the Partition Stories Project - a mixed methods approach to revisiting the much-studied historical trauma of the Partition of British India in 1947. The Project collected survivors' oral histories, a data type that is a mainstay of qualitative research, and subjected their narrative data to statistical analysis to detect aggregated trends. In this paper, the authors discuss the process of straddling the dichotomies of *insider/outsider* and *qualitative/quantitative,* address the "myth of informed objectivity", and the need for hybrid research structures with the intent to innovate in humanities projects such as this. In presenting key learnings from the project, this paper highlights the tensions that the authors faced between positivist and interpretivist methods of inquiry, between "insider" and "outsider" categories of positionality, and in the quantification of qualitative oral history data. The paper concludes with an illustrative example from one of the lead authors' past research experiences to suggest that the tensions of this project are general in occurrence and global in applicability, beyond the specifics of the Partition case study explored here.

Keywords: Mixed methods; Insider-Outsiders; Myth of Informed Objectivity; Hybrid Research; Oral Narratives.

***Introduction*: Situating Disciplinary Insiders and Outsiders in Academic Research**

What does a prior intimate connection to a topic add to an academic research project's substance and direction that an arms-length perspective does not, and vice versa? How can newcomers or "outsiders" to a field of study conduct innovative research that builds off and is mindful of pre-existing knowledge? In this article, we approach these questions through mining our experience as social scientists from the world of business and economics who approached the unfamiliar terrain of a project analyzing oral histories of geopolitical events. This endeavor enabled us to develop a keen insight into our overarching research question of how the power of data science can be most effectively combined with the vitality of ethnographic research: while fieldwork has historically been imagined as an individual and personal project, its findings are strengthened through collaboration with other fields, especially those that seem particularly far apart. By the same token, while macro-minded and quantitative social scientists have learned to be more skeptical of their assumptions about objectivity in recent years, they can benefit from making their personal connections to a topic itself data for research.

These questions became philosophical concerns of ours[2] as we pivoted from our usual quantitative bent to understanding the world (as quantitative social scientists) and made a foray into researching the 1947 Partition of British India[3], a topic whose complexity has fascinated us since our childhoods. Partition has, in many ways, shaped our lives and those of our families, from growing up listening to stories and studying it in school, to feeling its impact reverberating even

---

[2] Unless otherwise explicitly stated, this article is written in the voice of the first two, "lead" authors.

[3] Hence, "Partition".

today in our homes and societies. When the opportunity arose to study the Partition in a manner that allowed us to apply our disciplinary expertise to this topic that is deeply personal to both of us, we seized this intellectual challenge and opportunity. This event has been previously broached in scholarship primarily through the lenses of the humanities and qualitative social sciences. As we developed and executed a project collecting oral histories of the Partition through a modified form of crowdsourcing[4] and started conducting statistical analyses on them, we received pushback on our unconventional approach from experienced South Asianists with more traditional expertise and their differing underlying assumptions with regards to reliability and validity of research methods. This ended up stimulating our reflection on the means by which disciplinary spheres are carved out and made distinct, how these boundaries create "insiders" and "outsiders", and how this landscape affects innovation in research methods. In particular, we familiarized ourselves with the rich and growing literature on mixed method designs in research that wrestles with some of the very issues that we encountered as well as grappled with the rich diversity of theoretical and practical approaches to the conceptualization and use of mixed methods.

The authors themselves have exclusively participated in research traditionally often perceived as aligned with an "outsider" perspective in their academic sub- disciplines (for Khanna – applied economics, applied math, and strategy, for Lakhani – innovation and technology management) and methodologically, have mostly relied on mathematical models, large-scale data analyses, and field experiments, all within the broad domain of the quantitative social sciences. While some social scientists traditionally prefer to use more personally-involved and/or subjective methods of data collection, the natural sciences and data science fields are disciplines which

---

[4] See Boudreau and Lakhani (2013) and King and Lakhani (2013) for a brief overview on crowdsourcing as a resource for corporate innovation.

privilege outsiders and objective, detached methods (Morey & Luthans, 1984). Research on the Partition, as we describe below, has most often been carried out by scholars, unlike us, from the humanities and qualitative social sciences - and we thought we could bring something new to the table by amplifying analytic power using data science tools. Initially, we very much felt like outsiders, at odds with the most esteemed guardians of the history of our peoples and removed from the traditional research paradigms that are used in Partition scholarship. We very much felt what we perceived, as outsiders, to be a strain of "polemical, epistemological posturing" (Gaskell & Bauer, 2011) against approaches seen as associated with positivism in qualitative research. Instead of taking a purely positivist approach, we designed a mixed approach that borrows techniques from our fields of specialty in both collection of data (using crowdsourcing) and analysis (by extracting key data from each interview and then analyzing them using mixed methods to detect aggregated trends) while relying on the contextual intelligence (Khanna, 2014) that our familiarity with the Partition allows us. We have tried to consciously recognize and acknowledge our preconceptions about the event to ensure that our personal connection was used to generate insight that would have been missing otherwise, but that separating insight from preconceived notion required collaboration across difference, an approach built into our research structure. We argue in this paper that this personal connection was essential for the success of this exploratory research in showing the value of data science in historiography, but that this success required an introspection and self-critique structured into the research process

This article presents a case study of boundary-crossing, mixed methods research on oral history as a means for exploring and unpacking tensions within which much scholarship is situated in the postmodern era. This includes our grappling with the rise of data science in recent years alongside a deepening attention to the subaltern in the humanities; the spectrum of qualitative

("soft", "fuzzy") and quantitative ("hard") modes of inquiry; the dichotomies of objectivity and subjectivity and positivism and interpretivism; and the effects of disciplinary geographies on the movement of "insiders" and "outsiders" across pre-determined boundaries. We start by laying out these tensions and relevant literature, and then dive into our own subjectivity as well as specifics of our project - its background and details of design. We then present some key learnings from the project, highlighting the tensions that we faced, how we tried to contend with them, and the illustrative presence of these tensions in another contemporary scenario. We conclude by discussing some possibilities for the transferability of our learnings and implications for other projects.

Research Paradigms: Historical Trajectories, Contemporary Creativity

It has traditionally been thought that most scholarship can be categorized as based on either "insider" (inquiry from within, or *etic*) or "outsider" (inquiry from the outside, *emic*) research (Everard & Louis, 1981). In their seminal work on the insider/outsider dichotomy, Bartunek and Louis succinctly summarized the space occupied by the outsider and insider researcher respectively. The outsider researcher can be characterized as detached from the objects of research and interested in creating generalizable knowledge, while the insider researcher is invested in *uncovering* knowledge of a particular phenomenon (Bartunek & Louis, 1996, p.15). The paradigm equated with quantitative/objective/non-participant research, privileges the researcher's detachment from their subject so as to facilitate the gathering of "objective" data. The second paradigm, often but not necessarily always synonymous with qualitative/subjective/participant modes of doing research, values the involvement of the researcher for the sake of phenomenological integrity and quality and the intention to immerse oneself in the event in question seeking to minimize the effects of any predetermined analytical frames (Glasser 1967;

Everard & Louis, 1981; Morey & Luthans, 1984). This overly simplified and dichotomous traditional construct of *insider/outsider* as well as quantitative and qualitative approaches to research has, of course, come under question in the face of the rise of epistemological reflexivity, going as far back, in its most recent incarnation, to debates in the seventies and eighties (Sale et al., 2002). This is not to say that there are not substantive meaningful philosophical and epistemological differences between quantitative and qualitative researchers, such as conceptions of truth and the relationship between the investigator and the objects of investigation (Sale et al.,2002). To probably no one's surprise, it has been observed that researchers often choose to study phenomena in which they have a personal stake. Whether this strategy leads to differences in quality of conclusions reached from approaches with sentimental distance from the topic of research is a matter of contention.

A traditional case against "insider" academic research is that the researcher, always embedded in a particular context, has their own biases concerning the research topic, the hypotheses, and conclusions formed, while "outsider" research is more objective and freer from any such personal bias, and thus carries fewer risks of inaccuracies and distortions (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). The counter-argument against "outsider" research is that it devalues the subjective experiences of members of the group being researched by claiming to analyze their experiences in an objective, "scientific" way and creating generalizations (Morey & Luthans 1984; Brannick & Coghlan, 2007), while "insider" research lends conclusions more context and preserves their subjectivity more than would be available to the outsider researcher. Outsider research also typically embodies aspects of the positivist school of epistemology, which portrays "truth" as wholly objective and empirically derivable from data, facts, and observable actions (Xinping, 2002, p. 40). In contrast, insider research values an interpretivist lens which values multiple

perspectives on the same truth as well as subjectivity in the research process (Nowicka & Ryan, 2015). The paradigm a researcher or academic discipline leans towards influences what is considered "valid knowledge" and quality research practice (Morey & Luthans, 1984). However, this binary is restrictive and obscures the many unique, mixed approaches to conducting research (Maxwell, 2016) practiced by many academics.

Going Beyond the Myth of Informed Objectivity

Positivistic philosophies that call for a universally objective method of conducting research neglect the reality that all researchers need to be informed about the background of the research subject in the first place, and that this knowledge turns all researchers into quasi-insiders. Any engagement with the subject matter by the researcher opens up new possibilities for bias. In very few fields of study, if any, can one claim to fulfil an absolute ideal of objectivity. The camp of research methodology that calls for such impersonal research falls into the trap of what we term 'the myth of informed objectivity'. Most academics today would acknowledge that the boundaries of their disciplines blur at the edges, and that the etic and the emic within even a single piece of scholarship are not always neatly separable given the complexity of researchers' identities and their relationships to the topics and communities they study. Nonetheless, within any culture there is a mainstream and there are peripheries, and all cultures have their insiders and outsiders - academic disciplines and institutions have their own cultures that create such hierarchies. The extent to which any researcher can be termed an insider or outsider when it comes to research methodology (Bartunek & Louis, 1996, p. 15) is dependent on their particular context (Merriam et al., 2001). During our own research process, we realized that we had to move *between* the classifications of insider and outsider at various stages to design our research methodology. In doing so, our research could not be categorized as purely an outsider or an insider project but was a unique hybrid (as we

illustrate in the *Analysis of the Research Design (of the Partition Stories Project)* section). In the modern history of ideas, inquiry into researchers' positionality - and therefore into the situatedness and specificity of a research endeavor - has been considered an important task only relatively recently (Moore, 2012; Herrod 1999; Rose 1997).

During the height of the European colonial period, the authors of what was then considered "legitimate" research were those who held identities of power and privilege: male, European, from a Christian background. Europeans with colonial holdings in the 'Third World' believed themselves to be *the* "people with history" (Wolf, 1982), equipped with credible ethnographic methods and research outcomes, and therefore they disregarded local theories and ideas in their colonies (French, 2012). Discourse about the colonies was controlled and, indeed, shaped by researchers who were outsiders. The colonial foundations of social science research thus served to minimize the importance of oral narratives and testimonies that came from those who fit into the "savage slot" (Trouillot, 1991), leading to a lack of records, if any at all, of rich oral narratives from the colonized. This problematic structure of "history from above" (Virdee, 2013) continued even after decolonization, as scholarship was often written about, and by, the educated, politically powerful, upper echelons of society. For an example, we turn to the context with which we are most familiar: during and for quite some time after the British Raj in South Asia, subaltern voices and stories of local populations, such as our families, were left by the wayside by even anthropological and scientific scholarship. It can be argued that this represented an issue more of access and representation than of methodology, but it can just as well be counter-argued that issues of access and representation constitute key methodological issues in themselves. Setting aside important specificities of history, this pattern of privilege and power in the global production of

knowledge[5] not only applies to national or communal identity and the relationship between the metropole and its colonies, but also to the history of the relationship of scholarship to race, ethnicity, gender identity, sexuality, religious identity, and ability/disability. Intellectual history has taken shape in a matrix of power differentials that have created usually powerful insiders and marginalized outsiders.

Partition: The Scholarship and Personal Connections

The 1947 British exit from governance in British India and the resulting Partition of those territories is an epochal event in Asian and imperial history. The resulting commonwealth nation-states - the Republic of India and what would eventually be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Figure 1) - would be further fragmented as Pakistan, bifurcated into geographically disconnected West Pakistan and East Pakistan, witnessed a secession of the latter region in 1971, resulting in the formation of Bangladesh. The 1947 Partition led to the largest forced mass migration in human history, with just under 3 million people missing and presumed dead, and in excess of 15 million refugees displaced (Bharadwaj et al, 2008; Hill et al, 2008)[6]. Although precipitated in 1947, Partition was not a singular event, but a continuous process (Zamindar, 2007) that has had cascading repercussions over several decades and continues to shape the geopolitical landscape inhabited by over 1.7 billion people (including members of the widespread South Asian diaspora), and looming over their commercial, cultural, religious, and social relationships. This

---

[5] See, among others, Appleby et al. (1994); Cannadine (ed.) (2002); Des Jardins (2003), Ferro (1981;2003); Guha (1998).

[6] The demographics stated here are much higher than previous demographics on the Partition migration; the two cited research papers came to the same numbers independently.

milestone moment, in redrawing lines on the world map[7], reified particular conceptions of community identity, forming new social boundaries and cementing other pre-existing ones, and - as a result - shaping configurations of community insiders and outsiders for years to come across the region.

Figure 1. The Radcliffe Line that originally divided British India upon publication of the Radcliffe Award on August 17, 1947. (*Source: India Today).*
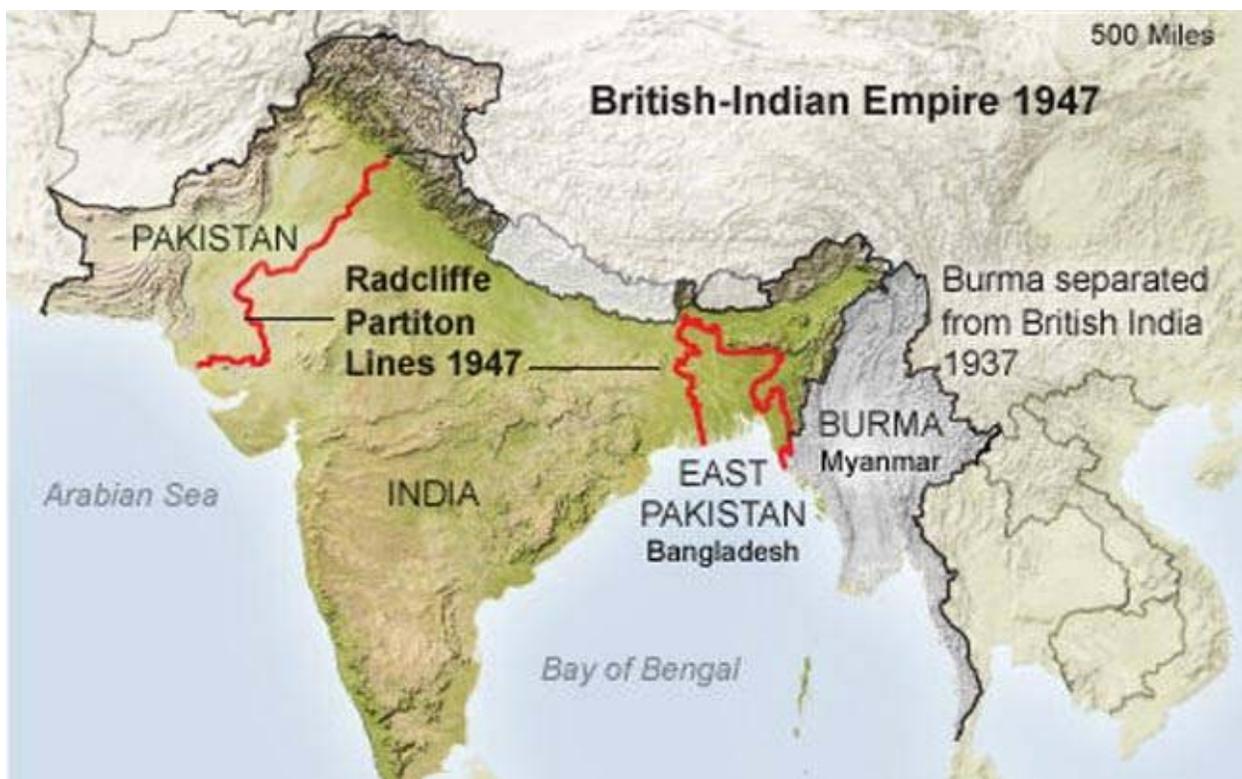
The Authors' Positionality vis a vis the Partition and its Scholarship

We (Khanna and Lakhani) grew up in the generation *after* the one that lived through the Partition. Despite how significantly Partition altered their trajectories and lived experience, neither of our

---

[7] For the detailed story of this fascinating move to divide the lands of the British Raj, see Chester (2009).

families ever really discussed their experiences with us until we decided to do this research, though it was an ever-present part of our family history that we were aware of without ever fully understanding it. This muteness and resultant lack of a shared family narrative around this history meant that there was a gap in our familial intimacy, a lacuna in our own sense of identity. Consequently, we were always intensely curious about what lay beneath the lack of conversation around Partition and how it interacted with our familial as well as community's history.

Both of our families undertook migrations across to the "other side". Khanna's maternal grandfather was a Lahore industrialist before Partition, and over time recreated a similar social and professional life in Delhi after 1947; his paternal grandfather was an official in the British Indian railways, serving all across what is now northern India and Pakistan, and his family migrated from Lahore to Delhi as well in 1947. Both of these families had relatively trauma-free journeys and were active in supporting fellow refugees even as they themselves were coming to terms with their new home. Khanna's father recalls how, at one point, his parents' Delhi house held up to 40 families who had migrated from what is now Pakistan. While Khanna's grandparents integrated mostly smoothly into the fabric of Delhi life, they maintained a palpable sense of loss. The ethnically Punjabi, Hindu Khanna family had enjoyed a shared culture with Muslims in West (Pakistani) Punjab - Punjabis across the boundaries continue to share a culture, today evident in cinema, music, cuisine and spoken expressions and turns of phrase that resonate across borders.

Lakhani's family weathered great changes due to the Partition as well. His father's side of the family were Gujarati Muslim merchants in India's Maharashtra state; the extended family slowly migrated to Pakistan over the decade after Partition. His mother's family were also Gujaratis, already residents of Karachi in 1947. The Lakhani family itself became partitioned, with relatives now residing across both India and Pakistan with relatively little contact between them,

a common consequence of Partition predominantly among Muslim families who were partially displaced. For Lakhani, a trip to India to visit his father's sister and her family was the first contact with his own, specific Partition history (Partition was taught in a general way in the school history, or "Pakistan Studies", curriculum). The difficulty of obtaining a visa, the surprise that Indians were actually nice (and did not foam at the mouth upon contact with Pakistanis), the "foreign-ness" of the ubiquitous Devanagari script even though as an Urdu-speaker Lakhani could clearly understand and converse with a Hindi-speaker, and the realization that ongoing contact with his Indian relatives was going to be tough to accomplish - were moving, and sometimes disturbing, experiences for the young Lakhani.

It took going abroad to unsettle our identities and uncover a wave of questions about our then-entrenched perspectives on reality. Higher education in the United States provided the first opportunity for both lead authors to interact with peers from other South Asian nations. As a graduate student at MIT, Lakhani came across what he perceived to be a "wrong" map of South Asia in a study room, which showed Jammu and Kashmir as part of India, a region which Pakistani maps label as "occupied." Moreover, Pakistan still formally lay claim to a sliver of the Saurashtra region of the Indian state of Gujarat in its maps. Khanna had an exact replica of this map experience as a freshman at Princeton, where some of his close friends from Lahore and Karachi were surprised to see maps of South Asia in his dorm room that looked unfamiliar to them, and vice versa. These maps, with their divergent representations of borders on the same territory, illustrated how youth in South Asia are often taught a nationalist, incomplete history of the Partition through state-sanctioned content in school textbooks (Chughtai, 2015). The dissonance caused by all these maps also shows how Partition divides minds even today. Maps are symbolic representations of

worldviews and illuminate how even positivist attempts to represent the world involve political choices and a process of translation (Götz & Holmén, 2018).

The desire to connect with and contextualize our families' experiences, fueled by our personal experiences and interactions with "the other", piqued our interest in broader South Asian societies' collective memory of the Partition. However, as quantitative-minded social scientists, there was something dissatisfying to us[8] about having to peruse volumes by historians to get at even a small part of this collective memory. A lot of this scholarship has also centered on accounts from one nation or another, and so rarely has it been able to encompass a truly "collective" perspective of those who experienced the events across national borders and differences of region, religion, caste, gender and socioeconomic status. And so in 2016, spurred by some archival research by one of our university colleagues at the school of public health, we, an Indian and a Pakistani (the latter completing high school and undergraduate studies in Canada), found a convergence of interests and decided to apply our research toolkit of technologies for statistical analysis to a novel examination of the Partition that would apply deductive reasoning methods on a sizeable sample of oral histories reflecting diverse social identities across South Asia. We wanted to explore if and how quantitative techniques could enrich Partition research, inspired by works, such as those of Riffe et al. (2014), which use quantitative content analysis to "illuminate patterns in communication content reliably and validly". Both of us have had "revelatory" experiences around the Partition, both before and during the course of this research - the kind of surprises that are the hallmark of any research that builds new knowledge - and we wondered if methodology

---

[8] We are both professors of Harvard Business School in different departments (Lakhani specializes in technology management and innovation, while Khanna has studied the dynamics of entrepreneurship in emerging markets for over two decades).

itself could be a conduit for innovation in providing new ways of looking at the topic and the history. Since the 1980s, Partition literature has seen a windfall of interpretations from a new generation of scholars in history, anthropology, religious studies, media studies, sociology, political science etc. Oral narrative research on the Partition in particular has been accumulating, illuminating the human dimension of the Partition and highlighting ordinary voices and everyday experiences (Menon & Bhasin, 1998; Butalia, 2003; Malhotra, 2017; the Partition Museum in Amritsar).

Certain knowledge is only transferred orally, and not documented in any accessible medium, and we wanted our data source to be as close to people's minds and hearts as possible; hence the commitment to obtaining oral histories. While we were aware that our background cultural familiarity could lead to preconceived notions, in an oral history project, such intimate knowledge is an advantage as it can provide a context to what we consider as 'data' from the interviews. For our research on oral narratives, we incorporated a blend of various research methodologies – interviews, statistical models, textual and sentiment analysis - and, in doing so, we sought to forge new understanding of this historic event and refine methodological norms for studying such events. Although many studies have considered oral narratives as an appendage to archival research, few have attempted to get a broad understanding of the Partition from both the citizens and international diaspora of all three countries involved (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan). Still fewer studies have tried to gather stories from those who often do not have a voice in the writing of history: women and the economically disenfranchised, religious and caste minorities, and rural and tribal populations. Our initial idea behind the Partition Stories project was to fill some of these gaps in Partition scholarship while using innovative techniques as "outsiders" to this field of research yet "insiders" to the event. In the current paper, we examine our proximity to the

project's subject matter and how that influences the research methodology and conclusions. We implemented strategies to counter biases related to familiarity with the subject matter and incorporate opportunities for corrections in the research process.

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN (OF THE PARTITION STORIES PROJECT)

Conceptualization of the project

Spurred by our mutual interest in how people (and minorities in particular) talk about the Partition [9] we conceived of the Partition Stories project to collect oral narratives from and about survivors of the Partition from across the three affected countries. Our joint discussions of the divergences among our families' experiences led to an intentional focus on obtaining stories from populations that are vulnerable and/or underrepresented [10] in popular and academic discourse on the Partition [11].

---

[9] The Partition Stories project is part of a larger interdisciplinary research endeavor, entitled "*Looking Back, Informing the Future: The 1947 Partition of British India*", that has various different but interconnected research strands led by academics in public health, economics, architecture and urban design, and public policy, and involves researchers from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan.

[10] We realize that the category of a "minority" is a dynamic construction and is constantly changing in its purview of what counts as a vulnerable group. We used our knowledge of the region to recognize the communities that were absent in Partition literature and include their voices, such as communities torn apart in the Northeast of India, Ahmadis and Hindus in Pakistan, those in the North West Frontier Provinces bordering Afghanistan, lower class, caste and Dalit voices, Biharis in Bangladesh, and so on.

[11] Instances of official records leaving out important human dimensions of the Partition are seen especially in the case of minority voices. For example, historian Pippa Virdee (2013) found that the documents of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons of India about abducted women in 1947 did not include anything

Our analytic tools are unique within the field of Partition research to date due to our application of quantitative statistical methods to the qualitative data of oral histories. Our goal is to learn what such an exploratory methodology could offer both in terms of novel insights and in corroborating existing patterns in historical and literary scholarship on the topic.

Methodology

We ran the project under the aegis of the Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute[12] (the Mittal Institute) at Harvard University, where a team of researchers managed background research, data processing, and communication with stakeholders of the project. The main components of the research process included: (1) interview design; (2) establishment of an interview/story collection ecosystem; (3) data collection; and (4) data analysis. With regards to (1), the interview questionnaire content and structure were guided by our contextual intelligence (Khanna, 2014) around the subject and the region, ensuring the questions were culturally sensitive, relevant and generative. This familiarity also guided our creation of training protocols for ambassadors.

The project had various levels of organization and modes of story collection (Figure 2), including: us as overseers of the project working directly with a group of researcher assistants in Cambridge; in-region project coordinators; more than 300 volunteer story collectors

---

about what the women themselves may have felt or thought. It was acknowledged only much later that many of the women who had been abducted and converted to the other religion did not want to go back to their "original" country, for they had made new cultural and familial ties. A more nuanced methodology, one that *included* the people being studied, could have prevented the oversight.

[12] The Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute (The Mittal Institute) is a research center at Harvard University that engages in interdisciplinary research to advance and deepen the understanding of critical issues in South Asia and its relationship with the world.

(ambassadors); and an advisory board of eminent and experienced scholars of Partition and the region who we checked in with at regular intervals.

Figure 2. Structure of the Partition Stories project management team.
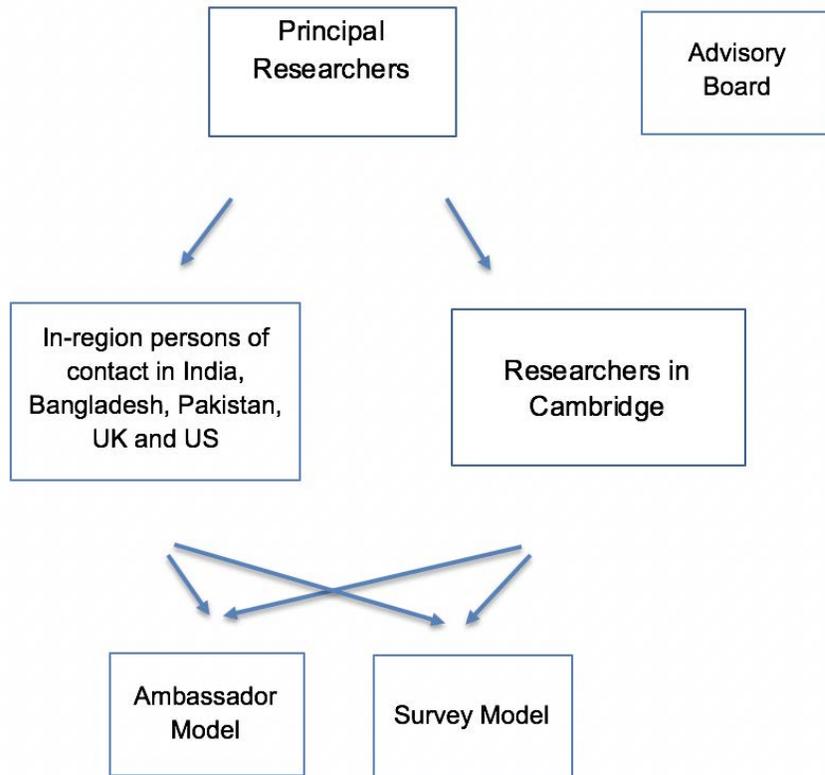
We carved out two paths for story collection: the online survey model and the ambassador model (see Appendix I for more details). In the online survey model, anyone could upload their own or their families' stories in a survey format, into an online custom-designed system for the collection of narratives. This model was relatively unsuccessful, reflecting the significance of contextual intelligence in the research design. We realized early on that the online survey would not work as a platform for collection of voices of survivors of an event that took place more than seventy years ago, in a region where multiple languages are spoken and there is often very little,

if any, access to the internet by large swaths of the population. These issues are further amplified for the voices of the minorities or disenfranchised. The ambassador model, as created by us to suit the particular context and to focus on marginalized voices, in contrast, worked very well and became our primary model. It relied on trained volunteers ("ambassadors") across the region and the US to personally interview Partition survivors (often in the native language) and translate and transcribe these interviews in English. The ability of these interviewers to interview survivors personally in the form of conversations with the guide of a semi-structured interview questionnaire, often in the homes or community spaces where the interviewee was comfortable, and in the language of the interviewee, ensured the success of this model.

One dimension of the uniqueness of this project is that we had teams across countries in South Asia, and as researchers based in the US, we could access resources and people across borders in a way that researchers within Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan would find hard to access, due to lack of resources or visa restrictions on intra-regional travel. The diverse leadership helps further - we originate from India and Pakistan, grew up in Hindu and Muslim families respectively, and deliberately created collection teams in all three impacted countries. This lends the project some balance and an even-handed foundation. We could check each other if a particular narrative or interpretation was unintentionally favored in the analysis. In addition to being transparent about our personal stake in the research, we are mainly based in the US, which provided us with physical, sentimental, and intellectual distance from influencing or being influenced by a particular national narrative in oral history collection in the region or leading the analyses in a prejudiced course. This project is one of the few truly cross-national and collaborative projects on this topic, hence mitigating the impact of national-level bias.

For researchers who have little familiarity with South Asian culture, certain contextual understanding that helped us design our research would be difficult to acquire. For example, in the pilot round of story collection, we noticed that in interviews with women survivors, their husbands or other male members of the household would often talk over them. Immediately, we understood that we had overlooked a common phenomenon - South Asian males tend to interrupt women or speak for them, and women in the household frequently defer to the men. After identifying this issue of gender and kinship dynamics present in much of South Asian culture, we were careful to train ambassadors to be conscious of this issue in the second round of story collection and either repeat the question to the women specifically or, if possible, interview the women separately.

LEARNINGS AND REFLECTIONS

A Note on Project Management and Insider/Outsiderness

The project management model that we used allowed us various degrees of both involvement and detachment as lead researchers. An interesting way of looking at our involvement in the research methodology and our positionality as researchers, is through Adler and Adler's model (1987) of "membership roles". The three membership roles of the researchers are identified as first, *peripheral member researchers*, who do not participate or interact with the group being studied; second, *active member researchers*, who are somewhat involved with the main activities of the sample set but remain at a distance from the group's values; and third, *complete member researchers*, who are already members of the group being studied (Buckle & Dwyer, 2009, p. 55). We ended up moving between Adler's membership roles at various phases of research, thus creating a research structure that incorporated elements from both outsider and insider models (Bartunek and Louis, 1996).

Figure 3. The lead authors' positions vis-à-vis the Partition Stories project (adapted from Bartunek and Louis, 1996)

Stage of Research	Authors' Positions	Description of Involvement
Conceptualization	Insiders	Fully immersed in project idea and research design.
	Outsiders	No expertise in qualitative historical research.
Data Collection	Outsiders	Peripherally involved in implementation of research design.
	Quasi-insiders	Advisors to research team and in-region coordinators.
Analysis	Insiders	Cultural intelligence adds context to analysis.
	Outsiders	Distance from lived experience of Partition and data processing. Applying quantitative methods to qualitative data.

Although categorical detachment from the subject matter is traditionally encouraged for mitigating biases in the traditional framework of "insiders" and "outsiders", we realized that this caricature was unrealistic for our project. Our approach was to use our collective knowledge and familiarity with Partition research to strengthen our methods, and it was assumed that the involvement of ambassadors with some basic familiarity with the topic as well as cultural competency would encourage candor on the part of interviewees. As researchers from the region,

some research questions may be more difficult to pursue and there is a risk of taking certain knowledge for granted, but our process of checks and balances, and rigorous reflection on the established scholarship as well as our mutual back-and-forth, ensured we minimized the impact of preconceived notions. We worked with an international advisory board of Partition experts from different countries and disciplines, including historians of oral history, who acted as guides and oversaw the research at different intervals[13]. These experts were an intentional tether to traditional modes of inquiry in Partition research, to ensure we were not reinventing the wheel on a Partition-related subject that had been explored previously using traditional methods. The research was presented at various stages at varied academic forums, public events, and small workshops, and has received productive critique from multiple academic lenses. This has ensured that at least some of the biases that might surface were corrected throughout the research process.

More specifically, our setup allowed for quantitative analysis of comparative data across countries, allowing for trends and patterns to emerge. Some of what we discovered was intuitive and decidedly not surprising but fit with common sense understandings and consistent with prior qualitative scholarship on the Partition. For example, those interviewees who reported having received either community support or assistance from government sources had more positive sentiments in general in their life stories and specifically with regards to the Partition. The unexpected results were fewer but more insightful. It was surprising that the Pakistani interviewees, on the whole, exhibited more positive evaluations of the Partition and its aftermath, given both the scale of the carnage of Partition as well as the disillusionment and disappointments

---

[13] It is interesting to note that when we told scholars who have studied the Partition about the quantitative angle to our research, some of them were dismissive while others believed the project opened up unique and unexplored territory.

many Pakistanis, we thought, have experienced with regards to the Pakistani nation-state's upheavals post-Partition. We could imagine that Pakistanis might have had more positive feelings early on, but we have found that even the instability of later events appears not to have undermined the attachment to the Pakistani cause for a lot of them. This insight sheds light on how nationalism persists in spite, or perhaps even because of, dispiriting circumstances.

We realized during the course of this project that despite many parallels in our backgrounds, there were differences in our perspectives that lent some asymmetry to our partnership as well. While the dominant Indian perspective on Partition is one of loss - loss of territory and connection to heritage, loss of community resources for Indian Muslims (Kabir, 2002), for Pakistanis in our sample the Partition represented the achievement of a means of strong self-identity. The losses of Partition were not irrelevant, but rather served as post-hoc justifications for the event, and also appear to have functioned as a sacrifice for a greater cause. This result highlighted how we were outsiders to each other's respective societies, even as we shared many similarities and presumed that those similarities made any differences irrelevant.

Reflections on the Tensions

We realized early on that there were a number of tensions within which our research endeavor was situated. First, there was a tension between positivist and interpretivist methods of inquiry, and between objective and subjective modes of understanding. We collected oral histories, which, as personal narratives that are formed in the interactive space between an interviewer and the subject of the interview, have traditionally been interpreted by ethnographers and social scientists with a focus on meaning, historical accuracy, memory etc. What we did with those stories was non-traditional: we reduced much of the dimensionality of the narrative by extracting key data points we were looking for. We then searched for patterns in the aggregation of all the stories using

technologies and techniques that are the bread and butter of quantitative social science researchers. That is, we transformed subjective data into static objects, looked at one slice of time, that could be manipulated or explored statistically, and sought to provide an empirical, quantitative basis for any interpretations of that data. This process led to negative gut reactions among both positivists and interpretivists that we knew. To the former, the unease was because memories of long-ago events are known to be highly prone to factual fallacies (Sacks, 2017), and so we were building an analysis on a seeming house of cards, since it was hard to quantify the estimated error across the thousands of stories. To our interpretivist-leaning peers, our approach threatened to flatten the richness of each individual narrative. Of course, the reality is we are not unique in this approach - qualitative research of course also can and often does rely on some quantification (e.g. the social survey movement's combination of fieldwork with statistical analysis. See Locke, 2011).

Secondly, there was a difficulty in identifying ourselves on the "insider-outsider" spectrum, for we were cultural insiders with regards to the topic, but also epistemological outsiders. Even this level of complexity could be further fragmented: while we were cultural insiders in the sense of being South Asians whose families included Partition survivors, we remained outside of that lived experience, being a generation removed from the context of Partition. Most aspects of our identity were also aligned with the majority or the dominant identities in our respective countries, and we had sought to include those whose identities were markedly different from ours in a number of ways, along gender, religious, ethnic, linguistic etc. lines. The research highlighted for us our personal biases and preconceptions around the topic that we were not even aware of due to the socially embedded nature of our personal involvement before undertaking the project, while also leading us to grapple with questions of how to use qualitative data in a manner that would yield meaningful results in a quantitative paradigm. There were pragmatic and philosophical aspects to

consider when running a research project that essentially sought the collection of oral history data (qualitative data) for analysis through quantification.

Throughout our process, our engagement with South Asian specialists in the humanities and social sciences made us hyper-aware of the scrutiny such a project would face as a maverick venture in a pre-existing field; being aware of its innovative/experimental nature, we had to be continuously reflective on the nature of our intervention in order to stand our ground. We had to be clear from an early stage about what we both gained and lost in our approach. An obvious gain was the opportunity to enrich the "archives" of Partition by recording and aggregating the narratives of more than 2000 survivors, 70 years after the event, and shaping those archives deliberately to be inclusive of minority voices. To our knowledge, our project is the first to provide a large-scale quantitative basis for generalizations of trends, and as a benchmark for the (in)validation of widely-circulating stereotypes and clichés about the Partition.

Thirdly, and related to the first point, is that we were able to capture historical data relevant to the understanding of infrastructure and systems in use at the time, such as the locations and details of amenities at refugee camps. One loss in our approach was that the archive of these preserved narratives was intentionally centered around the Partition by the terms of our project, framing each individual interviewee's life before and after in relation to this singular event and theme, and this likely was a source of bias in these individuals' oral histories. Moreover, though we sought out people who self-identified as having experienced the Partition in any direct way, the majority of our interviewees were ones who actually migrated during or around the Partition[14], and not members of the majority that did not cross new borders.

---

[14] 83 percent of our interviewees migrated during or around the Partition.

Application to Other Contexts: An Insider-Outsider's Contribution to the Emergence of Management Studies of Developing Countries

In this section, we consider a past experience of our insider-outsiderness in another research projects which one of us (Khanna) has separately undertaken, with a view to showing that the issues to which we draw attention above are, indeed, not limited to the setting of a single (if tragic and historically impactful) event from a management point of view.

When Khanna began his career twenty-five years ago as an academic, studying emerging markets in business schools was an oddity. I[15] frequently received conceptual and practical objections to studying emerging markets. The conceptual anchor for the objections had to do with the now-discredited and so-called "Washington consensus"[16], the idea that there was one proven model for economic development, that the West had discovered it, that this model presumed a particular way for companies to be managed, and that any system that departed from this consensus view was doomed to underperform or worse. The empirical objections arose from widespread skepticism about the quality of data from emerging markets, usually predicated on a belief that data from these locales were compromised by corruption or incompetence or both.

It was a personal connection to the topic that caused me to lose relative interest in my prior line of research – I was trained as a mathematical economist developing game-theoretic models of competition in markets for technology – and embrace the idea of studying the best way to start,

---

[15] The remainder of this section will reflect Khanna's first-person point of view.

[16] The term *Washington Consensus* was put together by the English economist John Williamson to describe a set of what came to be called neoliberal policies, usually seen as demanded by multilateral organizations for countries wracked by instability. These policies embraced aspects of macroeconomic stability and fiscal prudence, but also embodied tenets related to openness and free markets.

build, and then run an organization in a developing country. Personal experience watching the management of both large multinationals in India, and a family business, led me to feel intense skepticism about the wisdom of the idea of a universal business model, so to speak. Sitting in the MBA classroom at Harvard, I often wondered whether the prescriptions on offer were suspect in other socio-economic settings. The reasoning through which a conclusion was reached for a US or Anglo-Saxon setting was sound, but I intuited that the application of the same logical reasoning might lead one to a different 'action plan' in a different contextual environment. I felt, however, that the appreciation of this point was utterly lost in a setting where the discussions and instruction were based on material that was almost purely western-centric.

So, as with my involvement in the Partition project described in this paper, I was an outsider in two senses. First, with my formative experiences in India, I was an outsider to the US-centric class discussions. Second, with my disciplinary training as a mathematical economist, I was very much an epistemological outsider to those who studied organizations in developing countries; the latter tended to be anthropologists and sociologists, as economists and mathematicians tended to labor under a mental model under which management systems in developing countries were anachronisms that would be weeded out in time by allegedly increasingly powerful forces of competition. (However, note that this is less 'outsider' that in the Partition work where we are meandering into history; that's much further!)

My initial work probed the generalizability of the conventional wisdom from US data, that extensively diversified firms were inefficient and often the result of power grabs by powerful managers, often to the detriment of shareholders (and other stakeholders). I found that, in many developing country settings, diversified entities often outperformed others in a way that passed muster with statisticians interested in causal inference. The puzzle led to the creation of a

conceptual framework that explained that this (over-) performance must result from some additional role that diversification allows these entities to play in infrastructure-starved contexts that is less needed in more developed settings. Indeed, that appears to be robustly the case, as study after study has thereafter showed in myriad ways. This theory of "institutional voids," a term used to capture the idea of functions that we take for granted in developed economic settings that are less available in developing settings, has been applied to numerous management, economics and finance problems by many scholars in the couple of decades since, all leading to the idea of the need for 'Contextual Intelligence,' the title of a piece I wrote in 2014 and that has already been referenced in this paper in thinking through appropriate managerial action.

But in reviewing the ultimate acceptance of this approach, in the context of our revisiting the study of the Partition of British India with which this paper is concerned – much as I revisited the study of diversified entities – we should not lose sight of the initial skepticism with which my early work in emerging markets was received. At my first major presentation in a prestigious conference, the discussant, a very prominent economist whom I still respect greatly, publicly decried the use of Indian data as intrinsically suspect; that paper was ultimately published in the *Journal of Finance* (Khanna and Palepu, 2000), a respected and mainstream journal, but not until it had run the gauntlet of skepticism and some scorn. A managerial piece in the *Harvard Business Review* (Khanna and Palepu, 1997) was met with widespread acclaim by people in the developing world since I presume they saw their realities recognized in a magazine seen as a bastion of western thought, but was also initially dismissed as odd and eccentric by managers in the West. Ultimately, it has become a mainstay of academic and practitioner reading lists. In similar fashion, perhaps, we see our quantitative approach to qualitative historical issues, long the province of domains of

social science alien to us, both received with interest by some, and dismissed by others. Time will tell whether our outsider-insider approach to the current topic proves fruitful or not.

Conclusion

This paper articulates how the Partition Stories project manages the concerns of having personal involvement in research, and straddles the dichotomies of insider/outsider, and qualitative/quantitative, in its mixed methods approach to research and analysis. As social scientists with highly quantitative backgrounds and experience in working with "objective" data, some of our concerns with having psychological proximity to the 1947 Partition of British India included (1) the hypotheses and conclusions would be impacted by preconceived assumptions; (2) that bias would influence research methodologies; and (3) the ultimate research output would be devalued because of traditional notions of objectivity in research. We tried to recognize and acknowledge our biases upfront and build organizational structures and checks and balances into the methodology to manage these risks. We have applied contextual knowledge in the project design and execution; assembled a diverse leadership and teams in all three countries to ensure a balanced and holistic viewpoint; an advisory board of eminent scholars on the subject to ensure checks and balances; and nationally and religiously diverse research team based in the US, which provides us with distance and transparency to minimize being impacted or influenced by existing prejudices or preconceptions. Because of our various levels of involvement at various stages of the project, our roles are dynamic, and mix elements from both "insider" and "outsider" research methodologies at different stages to find a holistic way of conducting our research. We moved between these frameworks, using contextual knowledge and familiarity to formulate the project as insiders, while being outsiders in the process of implementation and analytical techniques so as to not be prejudiced in our results.

In the last year of conducting research on oral narratives of the Partition, we have found that several aspects of the research process have, in fact, been either strengthened or made more convenient because of our personal connection to the subject. First, accessing such a large number of interviewees and South Asian organizations would have been much more difficult without our understanding of the cultural contexts of these countries and personal relationships in the region. Second, our cultural intelligence with regards to the region and the historic event provides context to the raw data and analyses. Third, with the two lead authors originating from each of India and Pakistan, we likely reduce the possibility that our scholarship is inadvertently skewed to represent one perspective of the Partition more than another.

The broader aim of the project is to inspire new research understandings of the Partition, and more generally, mass migrations and displacement. We hope our data and analyses will inform understanding of and responses to contemporary and future population displacements, such as those occurring as a result of events today in Myanmar, Syria, Yemen, etc.

Ultimately, our vision for this reflective piece is transferability and introspection by researchers on their underlying assumptions. We conclude with some reflections of lessons we learnt from conducting this research on a topic we are personally invested in that we consider are transferable to other projects in the field of management more broadly.

First, traditional concepts of the division of academic disciplines, such as positivist/interpretivist, objectivist/subjectivist, and etic/emic (i.e. insider/outsider), affect the cognitive maps of researchers in a way that can be detrimental to the evolution of these disciplines and enterprises and their potential for creating new and innovative knowledge. The idea of absolutely objective, impersonal research is misleading, and tempting today even after the unveiling of the 'myth of informed objectivity' which has strongly shaped scholarship (both

qualitative and quantitative) and modes of knowledge production. Qualitative and quantitative modes of research can and often should be employed together to advance understanding of complex social phenomena. Discussion and sharing of research with disciplinary and institutional "outsiders" (along with subject matter experts) throughout the research process is not a current norm in many institutions, but it can be remarkably generative and add more depth and dimension to the research. Different heuristic approaches to the same data (Locke, 2011) can lead to unexpected insights and accordingly, we are calling for a "shift in regime of knowledge" (Locke, 2011), where instead of different research paradigms, we form eclectic communities of research practice (Denscombe,2008), taking the oft-lauded pragmatist path of mixed-methods advocates (Denscombe, 2008; Sale et al, 2002).

While it may not always be appropriate to combine qualitative and quantitative methods (Sale et al., 2002), triangulation through different perspectives is an epistemic virtue for all research. As Gaskell and Bauer (2011) have expressed:

Understanding of other people and also of textual materials feeds on the experience of diversity. The social researcher is always in a position of trying to make sense of another person from another social milieu, inevitably from a base of self-knowledge. Understanding ourselves and the other may be an unending quest, but it takes its starting point from the awareness of divergent perspectives which lead to reflexivity, the decentering of one's own position. Reflexivity implies that before and after the event the researcher is no longer the same person. To call for triangulation of theoretical perspectives and methods (Flick, 1992) is a way of institutionalizing the process of reflection in a research project. In other words, the design forces the researcher to address inconsistencies as an ongoing part of the research process. Approaching a problem from two perspectives

or with two methods will inevitably lead to inconsistencies and contradictions … In qualitative research one wants to see evidence of this labour with inconsistencies, as by struggling with inconsistencies, both within oneself and among colleagues, novel understanding is generated through the fusion of horizons.

Further, research conducted by quantitative-minded scholars, especially in the social sciences (many of which have become more focused on quantification) can benefit from the recognition of all researchers' inherent biases, which is a more standard consideration in the humanities. Researchers' myopia can stem from their training, which can shape what they see and don't see in data, but also from their other identities - all researchers operate within a framework of myriad social identities, which shape their interests, their values, and even how they design research and their hypotheses. Gaskell and Bauer (2011) have noted that "quantitative research has a well-developed discourse and tradition concerning the assessment of research quality, in particular through the criteria of reliability, validity and representativeness", and we feel that because of this, quantitative research is taken more seriously - at least by quantitative researchers. Quantitative researchers who take comfort in the hardiness of their epistemologies and procedures must face the ultimate futility of achieving finality of understanding when it comes to social phenomena and to history; research on traumas such as that of the Partition most easily shows this permanent impossibility of closure (Stone, 2017). Acknowledging and working with the inevitability of bias, designing research methodologies that account for and try to minimize these biases, and ensuring "outsider" input are some of the ways to manage and ensure that the bias is dealt with, to the extent that it can be, in such projects.

Appendix I – Models for Collection of Data

Online Survey Model

In the online survey model, anyone could upload their own or their families' stories in a survey format, into an online custom-designed system for the collection of narratives. Many of the people who shared through the survey model have noted that they have either never heard their families' Partition stories or have never captured their stories in an organized way before. This project gives families an opportunity to talk about experiences that have rarely been shared, particularly with the current generation.

Ambassador Model

The ambassador model, which was our primary model, relied on trained volunteers ("ambassadors") across the region and the US to personally interview Partition survivors (often in the native language), and translate and transcribe these interviews in English. The ambassador model was developed by one of the co-authors (Lakhani), who as the Principal Investigator of the Crowd Innovation Lab within the Laboratory for Innovation Science (Harvard University), has designed and executed several field experiments utilizing crowdsourcing to solve tough innovation problems and to simultaneously conduct rigorous social science research (Boudreau & Lakhani, 2016; Lakhani, 2016). This research has shown (Boudreau & Lakhani, 2013; King & Lakhani, 2013) that members of the public can be organized into communities to help both generate new knowledge and select between alternative options in the innovation process. Based on the knowledge that crowdsourcing can increase the variety and number of potential solutions to a given problem, the ambassador model, as an application of crowdsourcing principles, allowed our project to enhance the scale, and speed of the data collection process.

The ambassadors' training and ongoing support was conducted by coordinators in 4 countries – Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and the United States – called points of contact (POC). The POCs liaised between the in-region story collection and the research team at Harvard, making sure that the interviews were conducted ethically, providing quality control on the ground, motivating and troubleshooting with the young ambassadors, and transferring interview and transcript files securely. The POCs also offered a solution to a methodological problem often associated with oral history data. Since our interviewees were recalling memories from 70 years prior, it was important to keep in mind that some memories may not be wholly accurate. In-region contacts could assist in cross-referencing our data. For example, if an interviewee mentioned a refugee camp but did not go into the details, someone who knows the regional context may be able to distinguish that the camp was in a socio-economically disenfranchised area or has become a wealthier resettlement colony in the decades since then.

The ambassadors involved reflected a variety of geographic contexts and economic backgrounds, from Delhi middle class to refugee settlements in Dhaka. They majority were university-aged young men and women, and their interaction with Partition survivors was often a poignant coming together of two generations. Listening to stories about displacement, migration, and resettlement provided an experiential view of the Partition, in contrast to the one-dimensional picture they had been exposed to in school textbooks, and enriched the interviewers' knowledge of their national, societal and personal histories.

Works Cited

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (2000). *Membership roles in field research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Appleby, J., Hunt, L. & Jacob, M. (1994). *Telling the Truth About History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Bartunek, J. M., & Louis, M. R. (1996). *Insider/outsider team research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Beard, M. R. (2017). Re-thinking oral history – a study of narrative performance, *Rethinking History*, *21*(4), 529-548.

Bharadwaj, P., Khwaja, A. I., & Mian, A. R. (2008). The Big March: Migratory Flows after the Partition of India. *SSRN Electronic Journal,* 1-20.

Bhasin, K., & Menon, R. (1998). *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*. Kali for Women.

Boudreau, K. J., & Lakhani, K. R. (2013). Using the Crowd as an Innovation Partner. *Harvard Business Review, 91*(4), 60-69.

Boudreau, K. J., & Lakhani, K. R. (2016). Innovation Experiments: Researching Technical Advance, Knowledge Production, and the Design of Supporting Institutions. *Innovation Policy and the Economy, 16*(1), 135-167.

Brannick, T., & Coghlan, D. (2007). In Defense of Being "Native": The Case for Insider Academic Research. *Organizational Research Methods, 10*(1), 59-74. doi:10.1177/1094428106289253

Butalia, U. (2003). *The other side of silence: Voices from the partition of India*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.

Cannadine, D. (editor). (2002). *What is History Now*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Chester, L. (2009). *Borders and Conflict in South Asia: The Radcliffe Boundary Commission and the Partition of Punjab*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Chughtai, M. (2015). *What Produces a History Textbook?* Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Denscombe, M. (2008). Communities of Practice: A Research Paradigm for the Mixed Methods Approach. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 2*(3), 270-283.

Des Jardins, J. (2003). *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *8*(1), 54-63.

Evered, R., & Louis, M. R. (1981). Alternative Perspectives in the Organizational Sciences: 'Inquiry from the inside' and 'Inquiry from the Outside'. *The Academy of Management Review*, *6*(3), 385-393.

Ferro, M. (1981). (2003). *The Use and Abuse of History, or, How the Past is Taught After the Great Fire*. London: Routledge.

French, B. M. (2012). The Semiotics of Collective Memories. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *41*(1), 337-353.

Gaskell, G. & Bauer, M. W. (2011). Towards Public Accountability: beyond Sampling, Reliability and Validity In: Gaskell, G. & Bauer, M. W. (Eds). *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound*. London: Sage.

Guha, R. (1998). *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Götz, N. & Holmén, J. (2018). Introduction to the theme issue: "Mental maps: geographical and historical perspectives", *Journal of Cultural Geography*, *35*(2), 157-161.

Hill, K., Seltzer, W., Leaning, J., Malik, S. J., & Russell, S. S. (2008). The demographic impact of Partition in the Punjab in 1947. *Population Studies*, *62*(2), 155-170.

Kabir, A. J. (2002). Subjectivities, memories, loss of pigskin bags, silver spittoons and the partition of India, *Interventions*, *4*(2), 245-264.

Khanna, T. (September 2014). Contextual Intelligence. *Harvard Business Review*, 92(9), 58-68.

Khanna, T. and Palepu, K. G. (July-August 1997). Why Focused Strategies May be Wrong for Emerging Markets. *Harvard Business Review*, *75*(4), 41-51.

Khanna, T. and Palepu, K. G. (April 2000). Is Group Affiliation Profitable in Emerging Markets? An Analysis of Diversified Indian Business Groups. *Journal of Finance*, *55*(2), 867–891.

Lakhani, K. R., & King, A. (2013). Using Open Innovation to Innovate the Best Ideas. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, *55*(1), 41-48.

Lakhani, K. R., & Boudreau, K. J. (2013). Using the Crowd as an Innovation Partner. *Harvard Business Review*, *91*(4), 61-69.

Lakhani, K. R. (2016). Managing Communities and Contests to Innovate with Crowds (D. Harhoff & K. R. Lakhani, Eds.). In *Revolutionizing Innovation: Users, Communities, and Open Innovation* (109-134). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Locke, K. (2011). Field Research Practice in Management and Organization Studies: Reclaiming its Tradition of Discovery, *The Academy of Management Annals*, *5*(1), 613-652.

Malhotra, A. (2017). *Remnants of a Separation: A History of the Partition through Material Memory*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.

Maxwell, J. A. (2016). Expanding the History and Range of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *10*(1), 12-27.

Moore, J. (2012). A Personal Insight into Researcher Positionality. *Nurse Researcher*, *19*(4), 11-14.

Morey, N. C., & Luthans, F. (1984). An Emic Perspective and Ethnoscience Methods for Organizational Research. *The Academy of Management Review*, *9*(1), 27-36.

Nowicka, M., & Ryan, L. (2015). Beyond Insiders and Outsiders in Migration Research: Rejecting A Priori Commonalities. Introduction to the FQS Thematic Section on 'Researcher, Migrant, Woman: Methodological Implications of Multiple Positionalities in Migration Studies. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *16*(2).

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., and Fico, F. (2014). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. New York: Routledge.

Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography*, *21*(3), 305–320.

Sacks, O. (2017). *The River of Consciousness*. New York: Knopf.

Stone. D. (2017) Excommunicating the past? Narrativism and rational constructivism in the historiography of the Holocaust, *Rethinking History, 21*(4), 549-566.

The Radcliffe Line [Map]. (2016, August 17). In *India Today*. Retrieved from https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/radcliffe-line-335614-2016-08-17

Trouillot, M. (2003). Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness. *Global Transformations*,7-28.

Virdee, P. (2013). Remembering Partition: Women, Oral Histories and the Partition of 1947. *Oral History, 41*(2), 49-62.

Wolf, E. R., & Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Europe and the people without history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Xinping, Z. (2002). Interpretivist Research, Positivist Research, and Field Research. *Chinese Education & Society, 35*(2), 39-46.

Zamindar, V. F-Y. (2007). *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*. New York: Columbia University Press

Author Biographies

Tarun Khanna (tkhanna@hbs.edu) is the Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor, Harvard Business School and the Director, Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute, Harvard University. His research examines entrepreneurship as a means of social and economic development in emerging markets. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University and BSE from Princeton University.

Karim R. Lakhani (klakhani@hbs.edu) is the Charles E. Wilson Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School, and founder and co-director of the Laboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard. His research focuses on crowd-based innovation models and digital transformation of industries. He received his Ph.D. and MS from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Shubhangi Bhadada (sbhadada@fas.harvard.edu) is the Mittal Institute Fellow, Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute, Harvard University. Her research interests are in international human rights and international armed conflict. She has an LL.M. from Harvard University, BCL from Oxford University, and B.A. LLB (Hons.) from National Law School of India University.

Nabil Ahmad Khan (nkhan@broadinstitute.org) works at the Broad Institute of MIT and Harvard. He previously researched the humanitarian impact of Partition as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. He holds an MTS from Harvard Divinity School and a BA from Swarthmore College.

Saba Kohli Davé (sabakohlidave@gmail.com) is currently a Rise Fellow at Barefoot College in Rajasthan, working on grassroots education equity. She hopes to continue to engage in grassroots education implementation and policymaking in developing countries. She completed her B.A. from Tufts University in anthropology.

Rasim Alam (mrasim@hks.harvard.edu) is an MPP graduate student at the Harvard Kennedy School at Harvard University. His research interests are in migration and economic development in South Asia. He completed his B.A. from Tufts University in economics and international relations.

Meena Hewett (meena_hewett@harvard.edu) is the Executive Director, Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute, Harvard University. She works with faculty across Harvard University to generate new knowledge on critical issues facing South Asia. She has an MA from Brandeis University, M.Arch from Rice University and a B.A. from St. Xavier's College.