## First meeting with Irshad 060510

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| Name | Discussion/Points | Coding |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do you know anything else too regarding child birth? Can you deliver a baby? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Have you ever delivered someone’s baby? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you just do the body massage? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And anything else, like, sometimes people say that the baby is lowering down or its position has changed in belly or something like that. |  |
| Irshad | Yes if a baby (fetus) has lowered down in belly, I can get it back to the right position by doing massage (proudly). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you can do it. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, it then gets back to the right position. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Can you do this work? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Have you learnt (gotten training of) this skill from somewhere? |  |
| Irshad | Actually, sometimes due to some cramps in stomach the fetus is pushed down. So because of this cramp baby leaves its exact place and goes lower. And then I do a massage on belly like this (she is explaining with hand movements) and then baby gets back to its original position upward. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Right, and it does not cause any pain? |  |
| Irshad | No, it does not cause pain, but if the fetus has lowered down from its original position then it is painful all the time. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, right. So what else do you do? |  |
| Irshad | I work at brick kiln. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, I mean anything else related to child birth? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Don’t you deliver babies? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Do you know how to deliver babies? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | Yes I know, there is a lady who lives near my house. One day early in the morning we learned that we don’t have cooking oil (ghee) in our home. My kids don’t eat simple bread (roti) they take it fried. Our cooking oil was finished early in the morning. So they (people at home) asked me to go and bring some oil. When I went there she was lying down. She has three/four kids *MashaAllah*. Then her husband told me that his wife is calling me in the room. I was wondering what happened. I went inside and then she told me that she is feeling severe pain. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Was she going into labor? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, I massaged a bit and felt that the baby is going lower. She told me that she was feeling severe pain. I told her not to worry, and that everything will be alright. I said to her that if she wants to go to hospital, she can go to Sohawa. When I just went outside of their gate, I met the lady from whom we buy milk. She asked me why I was there so early in morning. I told her that Abida (the lady who was pregnant) was sick and I massaged her. She (the milk lady) said may Allah show mercy on Abida. I was still standing there when Abida’s husband came out and said that his wife is calling me inside again. She had severe delivery pains at that time. (I thought) Now it is God who can relieve her. I asked that milk lady, to accompany me inside and help Abida. If Allah shows mercy maybe we can deliver her baby at home. And you know if we can do it at home, then why to pay so much money like four five thousand in hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad | Then I put some bricks there, and asked the milk lady to put hands on Abida’s belly. Then she put her hands on Abida’s belly and I put some pressure on her hips and (then Irshad claps) the baby was delivered! (Excited.) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So the baby was delivered! |  |
| Irshad | Yes, baby was delivered. The Woman 1 (milk lady) then cut the cord. Actually she is Dai (traditional birth attendant) but now she is very old so she is not practicing. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad | Then I gave her a piece of cleaning cloth, helped her wear trouser and helped her shift in bed. After that I massaged her a bit and she felt better. After that I took *ghee* to home and two thousand rupees. Then her husband asked me to come back after taking *ghee* to my home. So I went back to her home and massaged her. I massaged her for five days, and they gave me one thousand rupees, one pack of sweet (mithai), one soap bar and some clothes too. After that they distributed some sugar to everyone’s home in the village. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Who was the baby that you delivered? Was it Abida’s child? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, Abida’s child. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Which one was that? And when was it; last year? |  |
| Irshad | Yes it was last year. He is very thin but he has grown nicely. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is it that home where we went yesterday? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it that one on backside, which has buffaloes in their home? |  |
| Irshad | The next home to that one. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, it was that lady Abida, who had come here that day and talked with us. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, the same. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Alright, so she too has a two years old child. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Which Abida? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The one who came yesterday and was chatting with us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Assalamoalaikum, you know tea is never tasty without sugar. |  |
| Ayesha | Madam, where is sugar. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is there up in a sugar pot, yes this one.  From where are you coming kids? |  |
| Irshad | They came to see you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Right (smiling) they are coming to see me. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, whose child was that; who is Abida? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The one who was talking with me yesterday when we were doing social mapping. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Oh, her child? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It was delivered at home? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Her child? (surprised) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And it is she (Irshad) who delivered. |  |
| Irshad | I delivered her baby here at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is Abida of this age (to have baby delivered now)? |  |
| Irshad | She is of same age as you. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She is of my age (wondering)! And giving birth to baby at this age? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She is of my age (still surprised). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing.) (mocking). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She is having child at this age (surprised)? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing.)) And they delivered the baby at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How many kids does she have other than this one? That’s late to have such young children. |  |
| Irshad | One daughter and three sons. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Are they grown up kids. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, her daughter is this much (telling with help of hands the size of kid). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | That is quite late age to have such young children. |  |
| Irshad | She has three sons and one daughter. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm . |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She must be younger but looks of my age. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, but even she is telling you that Abida is almost of same age like you. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, but... |  |
| Irshad | I am telling you she is of your age. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Right. She is still giving births to babies at this age? |  |
| Irshad | (Laughing) It is Allah who gives her. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Smiling) |  |
| Irshad | And if you will see my (emphasis on My) kid, then you will say *MashaAllah*. He is this much tall (telling size with hands). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. so have you delivered anyone’s else baby |  |
| Irshad | No |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And this happened by chance? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Even this was just by chance |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Too quick (smiling). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Even then nobody told us that baby was born at home. Real stories always come later. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then why they did not take her to Sohawa, why Abida did not go there |  |
| Irshad | It is just because her baby was already delivered at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, then it must have been a real quick one. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, she is telling you that when she went there Abida was alright. And then, when she came outside of her home and the Woman 1 asked her why she came there so early in the morning, she (Irshad) told her that she went there to take *ghee*. Then Abida’s husband asked her to see his wife, she is not feeling well. Right then the husband called her back. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I know. I have heard her story. |  |
| Irshad | I did not know before; I just came here in this village. Before I used to come and then go. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How many years has it been since you moved to this village? |  |
| Irshad | It is my fourth or fifth year |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Fifth year. |  |
| Irshad | Yes |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So will you go back to your own village? |  |
| Irshad | Yes we will go back. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | When? |  |
| Irshad | We will go back in month of *harr* (*July).* |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So your debt will be finished by then? |  |
| Irshad | No, it seems difficult. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How much money you have borrowed? |  |
| Irshad | Then we will come back after living about a month at home there? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Do you also work at brick kiln? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | At what time you work there? Almost whole day you are working here in homes. |  |
| Irshad | I am coming here only for you to work. Actually we are very poor, whole day I keep on working. Preparing food and serving, mudding the floor, and we have two goats so managing them. My kid goes to study, so I have to make food for him and tea. I have to bring water too. Household work never ends. And here some days I have to come and clean. And even if you don’t come I just come here to clean whenever I get time...the ones who used to live here, they wedded their daughter. Their daughter is like you. it is the second year since her marriage, and she got married in Chakwal. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who? |  |
| Irshad | It is her (baby’s) sister. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | Their whole family comes here from England, and I work here whole day and we (me and my husband) used to go back home after eating dinner here and taking food for kids too. Whole day we used to work for them, doing their laundry. They gave me seven thousand (so much emphasis and telling happily) rupees and three dresses too. And their mother, who is step mother, even she gave me dresses. Their sister gave me (money) too and their other sister who came, she also gave me clothes. So they gave me seven thousand rupees and three dresses. That is why I always come to work for them. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad | They are very good in paying. This house and that slim lady’s Baber’s house, they are relatives. I work in these three homes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So their payments are good? |  |
| Irshad | Yes these are good. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So you don’t work at others home. |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Do other people also use you as a maid for household work? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who are those maids? |  |
| Irshad | They appoint me only when it is some wedding or something like that. They appoint me for doing dishes or making and serving tea to guests. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad | They pay us all the money from *Mehndi* ceremony. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, that money that is put in big plate during the ceremony. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you don’t work there on daily basis? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So then who works at their homes? |  |
| Irshad | Which home? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | All these people, neighbors who live here around. |  |
| Irshad | They have one *Mussali* from Narra. His wife is sick, her liver is swollen. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | That Mussali is from Narra. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, he works for them. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | See. They are there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, so what does he do here, which work? |  |
| Irshad | On weddings, to distribute cards, to inform people and to keep record of all payments. But unfortunately his wife is sick now. So his wife cannot come, sometimes she comes when there is no other option. So they appoint me to work there. Her husband can do all out door things like inviting people, distributing cards. I never do outdoor work. I work inside home like doing dishes, cleaning, and things like that. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. You used to work like this in your own village? |  |
| Irshad | No, we have never done it in our own village. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So what did you do in your own village? |  |
| Irshad | We don’t do anything (any work) in our own village. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What do you mean? |  |
| Irshad | We just sit at homes and eat; mean we never do work at others houses. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you just stay at home and eat. So from where do you get money? |  |
| Irshad | We take money from here, and then when it finishes we come back here again. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So what did you use to do five years ago, before coming to this village? |  |
| Irshad | We never used to work in our village. We just do it here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, for how long have you been living here in this village |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | For five years. |  |
| Irshad | We are here for four/five years. And I am working since two years |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So, before all this when you were living in your own village, what did you do there? |  |
| Irshad | I was not doing anything there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So from where did you get money to eat? |  |
| Irshad | We used to earn money from this brick kiln. And after working few months here, we then just use that money. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No. I mean are you working on brick kilns since beginning? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. Oh no, my father used to grow crops. We used to harvest crops like wheat, pearl millet. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you had your own land? |  |
| Irshad | No, not our own land, it was owned by others. We were servants there; we used to work in fields. We had two buffaloes and two bulls. We sold them and bought some land. Then build our house. We built four/five houses after taking money from this kiln. And then we came here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So why did you come here on this brick kiln, even though you had everything |  |
| Irshad | It is our helplessness. My mother, maternal grandmother, paternal grandmother and even my daughter died. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So when did your paternal grandmother die? |  |
| Irshad | It is almost a year now. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | One year ago? So when she died, how much money was spent? |  |
| Irshad | The expenses were six/seven thousand rupees, food was being cooked and served. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Okay. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is a vicious circle, actually. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Okay, fine...you mean when she died, you had to spend so much money. And for that borrowed money and now you are in debt. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And now you are working at this kiln so that you can return the loan. |  |
| Irshad | My young daughter who came here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. |  |
| Irshad | Her mother-in-law also died. She was my aunt, my husband’s sister and I gave my daughter to her as her son’s wife. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
|  | When they had to take my daughter for operation, they paid eighteen thousand rupees. And we too gave five thousand, my daughter stayed there for eight days in hospital. I stayed with her there, in Gujar Khan hospital. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | Her child was born; they distributed many sweets and celebrated this. But after four days the child died. We took her child back to our village and we booked one car on rent. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you took the child to your village to bury him? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, my elder daughter and son went there. They cooked food and arranged coffin. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What is coffin? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The coffin (cloths for dead body). |  |
| Irshad | My daughter stayed with me in our home for the whole month. For forty days we took care of her and she was so nice, beautiful. She was fine and enjoying with her sisters. One day she said that she had pain in knee. So we took her again to Gujar Khan hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad | They told us that she was fine. There was nothing wrong with her. So we brought her back home and she died. We took her dead body back, we hired two cars. There were many people, fifteen sixteen homes; we lived there for eight/nine days. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hm. |  |
| Irshad | After ten days we came back here, and there was no work there. We have to eat food. So tell me from where we could manage all this, of course the loan is the only option. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad | So in this case we had to borrow money. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So did you take her to private hospital? |  |
| Irshad | No, that was a very big hospital. They first take eighteen/nineteen thousand rupees and then admit patient. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | In Gujar khan? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was it private hospital? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was it a government hospital? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Government hospital charged so much money (surprised). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Government hospital? (wondering) |  |
| Irshad | No. it is across the road there (she does not know). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | In Gujar Khan |  |
| Irshad | Yes in Gujar Khan, a very big hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So we have to look which hospital is this? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. There must be DHQ in Gujar Khan. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes there must be DHQ too, but she is talking about some other hospital. |  |
| Irshad | No. When you just go from here towards Chakwal, you walk a little and then when road ends, its towards the lowerside. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it the other side of Gulyana morr? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then it is government hospital? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, it is not sure. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | True. |  |
| Irshad | There is a doctor. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What is the name of doctor? |  |
| Irshad | I did not ask. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then why so much money was spent? |  |
| Irshad | The contractor (thekedar) took the money; he took my daughter to hospital. Because we are so much poor, who would listen to us in hospital? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The contractor took her to hospital? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, and we went with them too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The money was spent by contractor? And he just told you that this much money was spent? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, he told us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So you are now trying to return the loan? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So how many years it will take to fully pay back the loan? |  |
| Irshad | It will take some time but all my kids are working. We just take some money for living expenses only two three thousand every Friday. How can we live in only two three thousand; it is very hard to survive in this money. If there are two/three daughter and two/three sons. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So it is just two three thousand. |  |
|  | And two granddaughters too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Every week? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | My God. (Sigh) now it is over six months, right. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And no one knows how much interest, no idea? |  |
| Irshad | And there is this lady who gives us five hundred rupees whenever she comes. She helps us, we never take her things. Even if I take anything I tell her. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, your daughter’s other kids? Where were they born? |  |
| Irshad | They were born at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | In home, so you did not feel the need to take her to hospital. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then why did you take her to hospital this time. |  |
| Irshad | She was pregnant. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, we mean that why you took her to hospital for delivering baby? |  |
| Irshad | God knows better, Dai told us that the baby is invert, so it cannot be delivered normally. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So did she get the labor pains? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | For how long did she feel labor pain? |  |
| Irshad | Pains? She felt for two or three days… |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | For two three days she kept on bearing pain? |  |
| Irshad | There was a Dai, she is from Parri. She told that baby cannot be delivered normally. This can be delivered by operation only. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, so from where did you bring the Dai? |  |
| Irshad | From Parri. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Which Parri? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it Takhat Parri? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, Takhat Parri. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where is it? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | This is a quite big village near here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So there is Dai in Takhat Parri. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. We even took her (my daughter) to Afia. She told that she could not see anything because baby was invert. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Afia who? |  |
| Irshad | Afia who is in Malyal. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ohh Aafia who is in Malyal. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. She said that baby is inverted, it cannot be delivered at home, and it needs the operation. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then did you get her operated? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, C-section. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So eighteen thousand was spent on C-section. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It was prolonged labor, a problematic issue. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm, so previous babies were delivered at home, all three daughters. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, in home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | All three daughters? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, all three daughters and only this son was born in hospital. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So how many kids do you have? |  |
| Irshad | I have three sons and four daughters. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So was this daughter the eldest? |  |
| Irshad | Which one? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | The one who died? |  |
| Irshad | No, she was second eldest. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So the eldest one, is she married? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, she has three kids, three daughters. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, so where does she live? |  |
| Irshad | With us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | With you? So where were her kids born? |  |
| Irshad | Two were born at home and one in hospital. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why did you take her to hospital? |  |
| Irshad | We took her to hospital because the Dais told us that they could not deliver this baby. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So her kids were born here? |  |
| Irshad | No, they were born at our former place. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Mandi Bahauddin. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, so you have Dais there? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, there are Dais in our village. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | We have hospitals too and Dai also. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So, how much money do Dais take for delivering a baby? |  |
| Irshad | They take two three thousand. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So they charge two three thousand? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, they give infusion and injections too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The ones who give injections are who? (Any significance?) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Means nothing, they are just smart women. Ok which one is your third eldest daughter? |  |
| Irshad | Third daughter… (thinking) one of her daughters was born at home with a Dai. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Here? |  |
| Irshad | No, the former home. And the son was born here with Aafia. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, with Aafia. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, she charged four thousand five hundred for herself and one hundred for her maid. So we gave five thousand and put our child in car and brought her home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So why did you carry her to Aafia at that time? |  |
| Irshad | At that time, we could not find any Dai. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They could not find any Dai. |  |
| Irshad | Dai. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So what does her husband do? |  |
| Irshad | He works with Choudaris there, and earns five thousand. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What does he do there? |  |
| Irshad | He cooks food there. He lives in Gujrat. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | He lives in Gujrat? (surprised) |  |
| Irshad | Yes, in Gujrat. He is Choudari’s servant. They keep him like their own children. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And your daughter lives there in your former house? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, she lives in Gujrat. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, she lives in Gujrat. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, she lives in Gujrat. So how many sons do you have? |  |
| Irshad | I have three sons. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How old are they? |  |
| Irshad | One is eighteen years old, one I think is fifteen years, and the other one is of eight/nine years old. The last one is studying. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And those who are fifteen and eighteen years, they are working? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do they make bricks? They work at the kiln doing all the related work? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. They have also studied till seventh class. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | For how many hours do they work? |  |
| Irshad | There are no specific hours. They keep working for the whole day. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | For five days or seven? |  |
| Irshad | For all seven days. Making bricks, drying bricks, mixing mud and water and making shapes and then taking them out. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Whole day? (sadly) |  |
| Irshad | We are in such a bad condition; it is very difficult work. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | True, it is very difficult especially in summers. |  |
| Irshad | I take ice from every home here; one or two glasses from every home. So I collect almost eight/nine glasses. I take all ice there in morning. And put one glass for them in the water cooler (made of mud) so that they can drink water for the whole day. We keep on working till evening and when we come back home I collect five glasses of ice again. And for dinner I try to get a cold water bottle. So we drink cold water with food. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What is she saying? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She is saying that she collects ice from all homes here and puts it in cooler (made of mud) and whole day she keep on giving them cold water to drink. Because they work in such hot temperature. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Seriously, it is very difficult work. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, it’s very hard. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And you are indebted, and you don’t know how much the loan is? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, I don’t know. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What is the name of your husband? |  |
| Irshad | Jan Khan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So does Jan Khan know how much the loan is? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, he knows. They have one notebook where they write how much it is and how much is paid. Only the men know; we don’t. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So is your husband your relative as well? |  |
| Irshad | No, he is a *nomi.* |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Nomi means? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Who is he? |  |
| Irshad | He is not my relative. He is an outsider. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. Outsider… |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So how come you got married with an outsider. Because in earlier times no one used to marry out of the family. |  |
| Irshad | It just happened. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing.) |  |
| Irshad | No we generally marry in family. My daughter who hs dies was married into her paternal aunt’s home and the other was married in her maternal aunt’s home. One to maternal aunt and the other to paternal aunt. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | And now these people keep on giving clothes, so we can make dowry for our daughter, so there will be no need to buy. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So now all three of your daughters are married. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No. One is still unwed. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | One is left; so she has four daughters. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. She is telling that she keeps the clothes that she gets from here for her daughter’s dowry. So that there is no need to buy anything later. She is engaged already. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So she will get married at her aunt’s place. So when will you marry her? |  |
| Irshad | I don’t know. Whenever it is time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How old is your daughter now? |  |
| Irshad | Now, she is about twelve or thirteen years old. |  |
| A knock at the door | |  |
| Irshad | Who is there? Oh it is Abida. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Abida. Come in; welcome! |  |
| Irshad | So it is Abida. |  |
| Abida | Yes, what do you think? I have visited your place twice since morning. I was thinking whether you were still here or if you had gone. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Assalamoalaikum. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | We went to Narra in morning. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Please come and sit. |  |
| Abida | Yes I sent my son to look in and he told me that you were not at home and had gone somewhere. After that at 12.00 I sent my daughter, and she told me that you were not back yet. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| Abida | I have brought *sardai* since morning and was waiting for you. But you did not come. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Oh. We were not at home and then you told us that you will call us. |  |
| Abida | But how could I have called; you were not here since morning. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, true we went today even before 9.00 am. |  |
| Abida | Yes, I sent my son at 9.30 am but you had already left. So now I thought to come here and see if you are back. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | We came back at 12.30. |  |
| Abida | Hmm. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Oh. Sorry, please excuse us. |  |
| Abida/Irshad | (Laughing.) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Laughing.) So Irshad was telling us about you. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. I was talking about this Abida ( saying very jovially). |  |
| Abida | What about me? They went to my home yesterday and we have met twice. |  |
| Irshad | Hmm. And now you will never forget them. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes we will not forget her. |  |
| Abida | That is what I am saying too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She is saying the same too, that you will not forget Abida. |  |
| Abida | Yes. You will remember that when you went to that village you met one Abida. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing.) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So is she your relative? |  |
| Irshad | We are cousins; she is my uncle’s daughter. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And you? |  |
| Abida | They are my maternal uncle’s daughter both, and I am their paternal aunt’s daughter. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. Right, it means, if we go back in time then around two, three or, let’s say hundred years ago you had the same grandfather. (smiling) |  |
| Abida | (Laughing.) |  |
| Irshad | (Smiling) Yes. |  |
| Abida | Yes generations increasing are like this. First there are two and four then dozen children for everyone (smiling). |  |
|  | (All laughing.) |  |
| Abida | And now there is some control, some have three, some have four children and some have two. Earlier everyone used to have eight to ten children in village. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | That is true. |  |
| Abida | You are from city, you don’t know. There must be some control there, but we used to have ten kids each since beginning. |  |
| Irshad | This is God’s will. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, it was the same case with us. When it was our parents’ time there used to be ten kids. How many siblings do you have? |  |
| Irshad | Eight. |  |
| Abida | We too are eight, and I think they are six. |  |
| Third lady | We are six. |  |
| Abida | And they, I think are six or seven. |  |
| Fourth lady | Seven. |  |
| Abida | And now she herself has six kids. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, so how many kids do you have? |  |
| Third lady | I have four. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And yours? Two? |  |
| Fifth lady | Three. |  |
| Abida | These days two, three or four kids are fine; before that it used to be six, eight or ten. No one had less than that, even if it was from God’s will. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, it was just God’s will. No we are five siblings but then now we have fewer kids. |  |
| Abida | True, now the families are getting smaller and all have one or two children. Before all parents used to have ten kids each. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | That is why Pakistan’s population has grown a lot. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Even if everyone has two or three kids, they create so much noise at home. Like my siblings they have just two or three kids each. But when all are together, there is always so much noise. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | True. |  |
| Abida | Even when it is just two kids, they make so much noise and when two and other two combine these four just create a mess. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And if it is their maternal grandmother’s home. |  |
| Abida | Then it is their celebration time since no one says anything to them because they are just guests there. |  |
| Ayesha | So should I make tea for you? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | We will not let you go today without taking tea. |  |
| Irshad | No, no. |  |
| Abida | No need. We have already taken tea. And you are yourself guests so we will not ask you to serve us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, today we will not let you go without tea. |  |
| Abida and other ladies | No, we used to ask *Baby,* (for tea but) not you. You are yourself guests. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you used to insult baby (with a smile). |  |
| Abida and other ladies | Yes (Laughing). Baby is from our village, no one comes to her. You can consider this yourself. Baby is living here since long. And our relatives too. We only visit her home if it is some ceremony like wedding or if someone dies. It is not like we come here often to take tea. No, you can ask. But of course if there is some need like death or some ceremony then we do come. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How are you related to him? |  |
| Abida | Baby’s father and my mother are like cousins. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, meaning second cousins. |  |
| Abida | We are all relatives in one way or the other. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes I think if we back track, there must be one common grandfather. |  |
| Abida | True, grandfather is always one but then grandchildren are always so many and then their children and so on; the whole family tree. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And see many of your relatives have gone abroad. Imagine if they had not gone, what could have happened here. |  |
| Abida and other ladies | (Laughing) Then it was just God who could have rescued us (saying with laughter, like joking) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So how many have actually gone abroad? This family, the owner of this house. I think their whole family is abroad. Two brothers have gone? |  |
| Abida | Baby’s brothers? Yes two. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | If they had also been here then your family could have been even larger. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | There is so much place, they could have fitted in. And when family members are increasing then naturally they decrease too. Like one person dies then next and then next. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, this is life. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | First they were five brothers; I am talking about Baby’s father. And now two are remaining; three had already died. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who is she? |  |
| AnWoman 1 | Our niece. |  |
| Abida | Amana is Baby’s brother’s wife and she is her niece too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So she is your niece? |  |
| Abida | Yes, sister’s daughter and Baby’s sister-in-law. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I think she recently got married? |  |
| AnWoman 1 | Yes, she has a small baby girl too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I saw her. The grandmother had come in morning to take her. |  |
| Abida | Yes, she lives with her grandmother whole day from 8.30 am in morning. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So she lives with grandmother whole day? |  |
| Abida | Yes, just when she needs milk feed then they bring her back here. Otherwise most of the time she lives there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| Abida | Even when grandmother is sleeping in morning, they take the child there to her and then she looks after her. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | That’s why kids like grandmothers. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And her grandmother is quite young, so she can easily look after her. |  |
| Abida | Yes, her grandmother is very young. She wedded her daughter in early age and she (Amna) is also very young. I think just twenty or twenty two years of age. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who? Amna? |  |
| Abida | Yes, Amna. But she looks old and of same age like me. But she is very young. Amna’s younger sister is there too. They are two brothers and three sisters. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. Right Amna’s younger sister. |  |
| Abida | One is Amna and two other. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How old is she? |  |
| Abida | She is almost seven eight years old; actually eight years old. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | My daughter is six years old. |  |
| Abida | Hmm. But she is eight years old. Now she will turn nine years old in next July. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. Whose daughter is she? (pointing with hands) |  |
| Abida | They are Baby’s cousin. Baby’s parents and her mother they are cousins. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| Abida | Here every one is cousin; no one is out of family here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I have seen. |  |
| Abida | But now we are arranging marriages out of family so now there are more people. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. So you are marrying your sons to out-of- family girls? |  |
| Abida | Yes, now everyone is fed up of within family girls and marriages and tries to look out-of-family. |  |
|  | (Every one laughing.) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Really? |  |
| Abida | Yes, they get married either from Gujar Khan side, or from Rawalpindi side or from Lahore and other villages, so how will the family expand. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | Even two/three *Pathanis* are also part of family now. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Really, Pathani? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How (surprised) are they marrying in Pathanis? |  |
| Abida | It is because they sell Pathani (females), and people from here they go pay money and then just bring them here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it there second marriage to Pathani? |  |
| Abida | No, the first marriage. How can they think about second wife, when it is so hard to get the first one? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So people here, they don’t give them their own daughters? |  |
| Abida | No, it is just their fate, they have no match here within family. Even though all are cousins, but you know within family there are always some issues and fights. Like this one is bad, this one is not nice and we will not give our daughter to them. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Hmm. |  |
| Abida | So when they don’t get girls from within family, they go outside and marry girls who are out-of-family. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So don’t they marry to Punjabi girls? |  |
| Abida | No, they marry with them too and with some Pathanis too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Right. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | From where ever they find, they bring it here after marriage. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Laughing) It is not so easy like this to bring daughter-in-law. Is it? |  |
| Abida | When she will come then they can see how she is smiling and right now we are ourselves young just married. We will know better when we will bring daughters-in-law. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So your kids are very young? |  |
| Abida | No, not too much young. They are grown up. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What is their age? |  |
| AnWoman 1 | The eldest son is ten years old. |  |
| Abida | One girl is eleven years old and the other daughter is thirteen years old, she is eldest of all my children. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Right… So you have young kids? |  |
| Abida | Yes. If they are ten to twelve years old then of course they are young. And one is eight years old, just same like that girl and one is five years old. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So he is five years old. |  |
| Abida | Yes, five years old. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | Oh sorry … because of us you are making tea… |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, you should take tea before going. |  |
| Abida | Oh. (Laughing) It is just we complained yesterday. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So why did you complain then? (saying with smile) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So we have to carry your complain now (smiling). |  |
| Abida | I swear, we were saying to Baby. You are yourself guests, how can we say to you. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | But we remember what you said. |  |
| Abida | (Laughing) True you considered it. But I have just come here to invite you to our place so that we can offer you *Sardai*. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We need fresh milk, can you arrange it for us. |  |
| Abida | You should come and take *Sardi,* before it gets spoil. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What kind of village is this that we are unable to get fresh milk. This tea is just tasteless with packed milk. |  |
| Abida | I told them yesterday, when I was milking buffaloes they were just sitting there. Our buffalo has less milk, we sell almost 3 kg in morning and the same in evening. The one that remains behind is used for our home. She too was asking us to give her milk, but we cannot manage. They themselves bring it from a hotel. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | But that milk is not nice. |  |
| Abida | That is diluted and thin milk. But still we can drink that. We are used to that. But for you (interviewers) it is not good. Because you pay and then you get diluted and thin milk, it is not fair. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How strange, we are living in village and unable to get fresh milk. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | I still don’t believe that I am in a village, see I still could not get pure fresh milk, pure ghee and not even the Desi eggs. We are using commercial flour too. |  |
| Woman 1 | About desi ghee I told you that I can arrange till tomorrow or day after tomorrow. |  |
| AnWoman 1 | You will be able to get eggs too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So will those be desi eggs? |  |
| Abida | Yes, they are at the shop. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, these can’t be desi eggs. These are the ordinary commercially produced eggs. I can recognize desi eggs very well. |  |
| Abida | If you want, you can get desi eggs from some home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | See these are not desi eggs, these are from the Farm (commercially produced eggs) |  |
| Abida | No, these are desi. |  |
| Woman 1 | These are desi eggs. |  |
| Abida | These eggs are desi, because they are small in size. The eggs from Farm are usually very big in size. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then why the egg yolk is very white (lighter) in color? Why it is not yellow? |  |
| Abida | Yes, desi eggs have yellow yolk. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | See I can recognize eggs. These eggs are not desi. |  |
| Abida | But it looks like desi egg. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It just looks like desi egg but actually it is not. Because when I broke it to fry, I saw a very tiny egg yolk in it. How can it be desi? |  |
| Woman 1 | How can we know? Whenever we bring desi we can easily tell it is desi and if it is not, even then we can easily tell. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That is why I am telling you that this egg is not desi it is from Farm. |  |
| Woman 1 | Did you bring it from shop? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, from shop. |  |
| Abida | They usually keep both types of eggs. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How much is the price for desi egg? |  |
| Abida | Is it five rupees? |  |
| Woman 1 | Yes it is five rupees. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Can we get desi eggs from the shop? |  |
| Abida | Ohhh. Don’t worry about that. I will arrange desi eggs for you with price of five rupees per egg. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, then. Arrange some for us. |  |
| Abida | Five rupees per egg, and if you will buy a dozen or two then we can bargain for less price even. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Of course. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who sells desi eggs? |  |
| Irshad | There are people here who don’t have any family at home to eat eggs and they sell their hens. |  |
| Abida | We have four hens, and four eggs daily are hardly sufficient for even us at home. Of course we have kids and they like eggs. So you used pack milk? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, we bring packs. And it is not good in taste. Let me tell you the true thing that even when I live in Pindi, we never use packed milk. |  |
| Abida | Hmm. That’s our complaint. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But I have to take tea at least two times in a day. I don’t drink a lot. But two times is a must to me, otherwise I feel drowsy. But we never use packed milk even while living in big city like Pindi. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | See, she is very angry with you. (Laughing.) |  |
| Abida | No, she is right. But what can we do, we don’t have many buffaloes. Those who have many, they have already contracted about milk. So they don’t have extra. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Let’s take tea. |  |
| Ladies | Let’s do. |  |
| Abida | Yes take tea. They have acted on our complaint. We went to Dhok Baba Sheri, because someone died there. After that we thought to check if you are back or not. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We had come back around 12.00 noon. But it was so hot at that time. |  |
| Woman 1 | Actually I went to pick my niece from Pir Palahi. She came from Gujar Khan. So I picked her and then I came back around 11.00 am. And she was complaining that I went and did not invite you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Actually we went even before 9.00 am. |  |
| Abida | Then she was saying that after I should invite you after finishing household chores and then after coming back from Pir Palahi. So I sent my nephew to a hotel to bring fresh Sardai, but I told him don’t bring until I call you to. But his father could not wait, so he bought sardai and came back thinking that teachers would soon be coming. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Laughing). |  |
| Abida | He then came and asked who would drink this. I told that some teachers have come to their house, in Baby’s home. So when teachers will come then they will drink. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So they have sardai for you, in their home? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What exactly is Sardai? |  |
| Abida | When you will come, you will see. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, fine. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | When you drink, then you will know what it is. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ohh. Ask her to call Farzana. |  |
| Abida | Have you ever eaten *Amla chit* (a traditional dish of Indian gooseberry). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She even does not know what this *Amla chit* is*?* |  |
| Abida | When you will drink that, then you will say we have already drunk it many times. And you were telling so much about it, but it is nothing special. (Laughing) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What actually is the Amla chit? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That is something… (smiling) |  |
| Abida | It is like *curry.* |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The way we cook *curry,* it is cooked in same way with amla (Indian gooseberry). Do you know amla? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I have heard about it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So if we cook that with some stew and soup then it is Amla chit. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Abida | (Laughing) It is not that much tasty. The taste is just same when a little tea is left in mouth after swallowing. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I have never eaten it. |  |
| Abida, and other ladies | We too have not eaten but have heard many times. Before old ladies used to cook this. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, we have just heard. It is the same way we cook Fennel chit. Even I know how to cook it. But I don’t know about amla chit. |  |
| Abida | Hmm. Has Baby gone? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, she will come back today in evening. Is it today or tomorrow? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes in evening, today. Actually Samina had come. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Actually Samina came for condolence, and she went with her. |  |
| Abida | Hmm. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So will she come back today? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes today evening. |  |
| Ayesha | Please take biscuits too. |  |
| Abida | Yes, we are eating. |  |
| Ayesha | Please take tea, if you want. |  |
| Ladies | No she does not take. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why are there four cups? |  |
| Ayesha | I thought there are four people only. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So your counting is wrong. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Now your mother-in-law will fix your counting (smiling). |  |
| Abida | Did you come from abroad, or from within Pakistan? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | We are from Pakistan, why? |  |
| Abida | Just because I was thinking you don’t know about many things here. May be you live abroad that is why you don’t know. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, actually, if someone belongs to a village then they know these things. |  |
| Abida | True. If they have little link or attachment to village then they know. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Meet her; she is actually more like a foreigner. |  |
| Ayesha | (Smiling) |  |
| Abida | She too must belong to city. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I was born and grew up in a city, but still our way of living are traditional meaning, we cannot eat things from market, we are not used to that. Our mother still grounds turmeric at home. |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She brings whole turmeric solid, then moistens it and grounds it after that she dries and then we use it. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Really? (surprised) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes even in this modern age, it is like this in our home. Even chilies, we chop at home. Before we used to send to grounding mill, but they use to mix impurities in it, so now we grind it in grinder at home. (proudly) |  |
| Abida | Yes now we have grinders at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you buy whole chilies from market? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes the whole chilies, which are small ones. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you dry them and… |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, they are already dried. So we just clean them, because they have some impurities or extra parts. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So how you find time to do all this; we never have time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But we do it. |  |
| Abida | You cannot do it, but old people are used to do these things. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes but you too (Afshan Bhatti) cannot do it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. May be. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Actually we are living in a different age/generation. Whole day we work then household chores. How can we get time to grind chilies? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, our mother does it. |  |
| Abida | Of course how can she do it? When her time will come, she will use the market ones. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes in our times, this practice will end. Actually my grandfather was from village but now our two generations are from cities. And in cities these practices have ended. |  |
| Abida | Yes, true. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, still. We know some little things now but our next generations like my niece and nephews they will not know. |  |
| Abida | Yes they don’t know. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, they are like this. They don’t know any such thing and they don’t work like this. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And even they don’t give attention to this, they don’t care. Even there is something going on at home, but they never pay attention. |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But this also depends, some children pick things and some don’t. even in my home, there is so much difference between me and my younger sister, and my elder sister. I pay more attention to what my mother does, even compared to my elder sisters. They don’t pick that, but I have done that. Only few kids are like that who pick the habits of elders, not all. |  |
| Abida | Yes. Thank you so much. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Smiling, so we are excused now. |  |
| Abida | Smiling. Yes you have solved our complaints. |  |
|  | (All laughing.) |  |
| Abida | See, we came to invite you and you served us tea. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So now we are excused. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing.) |  |
| Abida | No, what could we say to you, we are happy with you already. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Laughing.) |  |
| Abida | That day we just said, that how can we sit at others home for so long and that without taking tea. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, true. One should take tea at least and then things keep on working smoothly. |  |
| Abida | Yes, see even if it is a car. We have to put gas or petrol in it only then it works. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Laughing.) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes it cannot work without fuel/food . (Smiling) |  |
| Abida | Yes, whenever fuel ends, car stops. So it is the same case with us. Whenever we talk energy is lost and then we feel hungry, so we will just go back home. But now after taking tea we can talk for more time. So if you had not served us tea, we must have gone back to our homes. Do you agree Irshad? See she is laughing. |  |
| Irshad | (Laughing.) |  |
| Woman 1 | Oh. (I just remembered) What was Irshad talking about Abida? |  |
| Irshad | They were asking about the child birth. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We were talking about your kid, that he was delivered at home. |  |
| Abida | Yes. (Smiling) Irshad was there with me. Because I was alone at that time. |  |
| Woman 1 | (Smiling.) So you were alone? |  |
| Abida | At that time, when I gave birth to my youngest kid who is five years old now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | He is five years old now. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | We heard. That everything happened so fast at that time. |  |
| Abida | Yes, very fast. Even she (Irshad) was there, she just finished massaging me and went to gate but then I gave birth. No one was there. My husband was cooking food in other room at that time. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Really (surprised)? |  |
| Abida | He was in other room; I mean I was inside room and he was outside cooking food. And that time light rain also started. |  |
| Woman 1 | So Masi Farsand did not come? |  |
| Abida | Yes, she came but I had given birth already. |  |
| Irshad | Baji Rasheedan and I were there, at that time I was standing with her then Bhai (Abida’s husband) called us. |  |
| Abida | They knew that I was pregnant and near delivery. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you already had labor pain at that time? |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So when did you started feeling pain? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Baby, please go outside. |  |
| Abida | Labor pain started that day in morning about 9.00 or 10.00 am. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. So pain started at 9.00/10.00 am. So whole day you were in pain? |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Whole night too you were in pain? |  |
| Abida | No, just at day time. Not at night time. Before night, I delivered the baby in evening. |  |
| Irshad | I went in morning. She was in pain. I felt with my hands and the baby was delivered. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you did not go to the hospital? |  |
| Abida | No, I did not go to hospital. We had never gone before so (I thought) why bother that time too. All my kids were delivered at home, so why should I go to hospital for fourth kid. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, so your all kids were born at home? |  |
| Abida | Yes, all kids were delivered at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, fine. |  |
| Abida | So he was cooking food, then my sister came. I asked her to go and call some woman, like my aunt or her mother-in-law |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you don’t call Dai at home? And do it alone in home? |  |
| Abida | You know my aunt. She is Dai. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She was not there at home yesterday. She had gone somewhere to visit. |  |
| Abida | Yes, she was not at home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is she back now? |  |
| Abida | No, not yet. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So she practices like Dai. |  |
| Abida | Yes, she knows a little bit. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, fine. |  |
| Abida | Then I asked my sister to go and bring her (my aunt) so that she can assist in delivery. But while she went to bring her, I delivered in that time (smiling). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Smiling) Within two minutes. |  |
| Abida | Smiling. even in less than two minutes |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So, then Irshad helped you? |  |
| Abida | Yes, Irshad helped. When my husband heard the newborn crying, he said..ohh no one is here, you are alone. Your sister came, but she too has gone. So he went in the street to see if there was some woman, then he could bring her. Then he found Irshad. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Abida | She (Irshad) had come there to buy something at shop. I asked her to help, since I was in pain and baby was already delivered (narrating with smile, like enjoying the situation.) |  |
| Irshad | I asked Rasheeda to hold her belly from front, and I put pressure from back, and baby was born and expelled out in front (telling with gestures). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughs) |  |
| Abida | See, in villages babies are born this way. (Smiling.) |  |
| Irshad | In villages it is like this. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So had you gone for check up before? |  |
| Abida | No, *(Toba).* (Laughing) We never went for that. Is it? |  |
| Woman 1 | Yes, but we have to get vaccinated. |  |
| Abida | Yes, now injections are there so we have to go in fifth month and then in seventh month, all that. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you had got vaccinated. |  |
| Abida | Yes. Hospitals are near here, in Malyal and also in Mudukalas so we used to go there and get vaccinated. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, fine, and they were also telling that girls come for check ups |  |
| Abida | It is just in these days now, since two years it is becoming more common that people are going for checkups. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Abida | They are getting ultrasound done; before it was not like this. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Woman 1 | When we were pregnant, there was no such thing like ultrasound. |  |
| Abida | Only vaccine injections were there. |  |
| Woman 1 | Now, let’s go. |  |
| Abida | Ok, we should go now. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So let us go. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Let me go to washroom first. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, did you talk with Farzana? What did she say? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She is not picking phone, I sent her text. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Actually, we have told Farzana that we will go to her place at 4.00 pm. |  |
| Woman 1 | Who is Farzana? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | The one who is here in front, she is from PODA |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She is PODA’s employee. She is from Mughlan. |  |
| Woman 1 | Ok, fine she is from Mughlan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes from Mughlan. And do PODA works here? In this village? |  |
| Woman 1 | No, they work there only in Narra Mughlan |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So they don’t come here |  |
| Abida | No, but sometimes they come here too. If they have something to do, like if they have to have a meeting, they ask things like buy grains, vegetables and something like that. But then they don’t come back for follow ups. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughs) |  |
| Abida | You know Noshaba, who is usually with Baby. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No I have not met her. |  |
| Abida | But you must have heard about her. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes I have heard her name. |  |
| Abida | Like you says sometimes, that five six women should come and talk. So they are from PODA and they asked us to come to a meeting. So they say that they will tell us things, and will give us vegetable seeds and flowers seeds, and we will grow that. Women from our village don’t go there. They don’t have free time, and everyone has some animals at home, and they have to look after children. So how can we go to PODA to do job there? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Abida | And if they pay good salary, even then we can go, but with this less salary who will go. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So don’t they say that it’s for your benefit. |  |
| Abida | Our benefit! To hell (sohaga), there is no benefit for us in all this. We are not getting any benefit of that PODA organization. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Really? |  |
| Woman 1 | Yes, neither we go there, nor they come here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Abida | They just come here in Yasmeen or Baby’s home. They sit here and talk about what they will do in future. And then they just go back after sitting here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Abida | They come here only for a short time. At one moment they are here and the next moment they have gone back. And at that time when they come, most of women are busy in preparing food. Ant we say you are free, so just roam around, we don’t have time for all this. |  |
| Woman 1 | Smiling. It is only me and Abida who are free and always come. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | We are also sitting free here |  |
| Abida | You are sitting here only because you are getting salaries and if we have salaries like this, then we can also sit like you. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, we are not free. This is our work actually. |  |
| Abida | So you live at different places. |  |
| Ayesha | Yes, I live in Islamabad. |  |
| Abida | So you work in the same office? |  |
| Ayesha | Yes. |  |
| Abida | So you have made teams, one will go here, other will go there to do surveys. That’s why you live together here, otherwise you live in your own homes separately. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I have my own family, husband and children. And she is engaged and now soon will get married. So when are you getting married? |  |
| Ayesha | Next year, Insha’Allah. |  |
| Abida | The other one, is she married? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No she is not married. |  |
| Abida | She must be of opinion that she will not marry. What is the need for it; do you have kids? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. |  |
| Abida | Who takes care of them? Grandmother? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No their father. My kids are grown up, one daughter is quite young but sons are grown up adults. |  |
| Woman 1 | So you have two sons and one daughter? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. |  |
| Woman 1 | So she lives with her father. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. There are servants to cook food and look after home. But for daughter someone must pick her from school. My eldest kid is twenty years old, and he can drive. |  |
| Abida | Yes, if he can drive then he can manage things. So they allow you to work and they stay at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | I admit and say that he is very nice and cooperates with me, my husband. |  |
| Woman 1 | Your kids are also nice, that they can live easily without you. |  |
| Abida | And husband is also good that he lets you do job. And our husbands are not like this. Even now they must be sitting in home angry that where we have been for one hour. (They say that) we should stay at home. (Laughing) Here husbands too are illiterate, isn’t it? The ones who are educated, their husbands are educated too. So they understand this. They know it is job requirement and what is going on.  Every husband knows well about his wife. And see your husband is educated and he must be aware that your job requirement is that you have to live here. Our husbands are uneducated. When we will go back they will say. Here, there is no need to go anywhere, and we should sit back at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. |  |
| Abida | Do you agree? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. True. |  |
| Abida | So there is difference between those who are educated and those who are not. But, there are some husbands who don’t understand even if they are educated. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes true. |  |
| Ayesha | Welcome. |  |
| Woman 1 | Welcome. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Assalamoalaikum |  |
| The new lady | Waalaikum. Why are women here now? |  |
| Abida | They called us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is she sleeping? |  |
| The new lady | Tayabba. |  |
| Abida | She is sleeping. |  |
| Woman 1 | Yes she is sleeping, she slept in the car. So you both went there and Amna too. |  |
| The new lady | No, I took her with me. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where did you go? |  |
| The new lady | We went to *Darbar.* |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Which darbar? |  |
| Abida | Here near Diwalan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why do people go there? |  |
| Abida | If someone has eyes problem, then they go there and problem gets cured, when eye lids are sticking with each other. (Laughing.) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes there is some problem with her eyes. |  |
| The new lady | Her eyes are even better, but the other child, his eyes are not fine for many days. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You took her to doctor? |  |
| Woman 1 | No we did not take her to doctor. We took her to Darbar. It is like a tomb. We never take anyone to doctor. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So you took her to Darbar? |  |
| The new lady | Yes, we are fed up of doctors now. |  |
| Woman 1 | Doctor is in your home; you can take prescription from her. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, I am not an eye specialist. |  |
| Woman 1 | You are women’s doctor? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes I am a doctor but my focus is on women’ and children’s health, but I don’t deliver babies, I am a researcher who is writing about their problems. |  |
| Abida | So let’s go. So will you find our home? Do you know the address? |  |
| Woman 1 | It is just near mosque here. |  |
| The new lady | So are you going to their home? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, Abida has invited us. |  |
| Abida | Ok lets go I have to manage my husband too. |  |
| Woman 1 | You cannot understand what she is saying. Her husband is at home, so she wants to send him out before we go there. |  |
| Abida | He will go to some hotel. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So we are coming just following you. |  |
| Abida | You can come; we will send some kid at the gate to assist you when you come in street. |  |
| Ayesha | So how do you do *salam* at Darbar |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What? |  |
| Ayesha | I am just asking how they do *salam* at Darbar. |  |
| The new lady | There are stones there, we pick them. We put money there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Assalamoalaikum. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | This pink shirt is very beautiful (talking to baby). |  |
| The new lady | Yes, my sister came from Khariyan and she brought this for me. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did my phone ring? |  |
| Ayesha | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I am asking because of Farzana, she too must be waiting for us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | They went to Data Darbar. Oh which one? |  |
| The new lady | Here near Diwal there is one darbar. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Darbar about what? |  |
| The new lady | Her eyes have some problem, when she wakes up in morning, the eye lids just stick with each other due to some secretions. So we have to clean them with warm water. And that’s why we took her for *salam* to darbar. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Let’s go. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. Car’s key? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Let me go to washroom first. |  |
| The new lady | Where are you going? |  |
| Ayesha | Abida’s home. |  |
| The new lady | Ok, so what you have been doing whole day today? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Day time we went there, down. After that we returned at noon and then now we were getting ready to go but all the women came. |  |
| The new lady | So they came by themselves? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, they invited us to drink sardai yesterday. They have already brought and kept in their home. |  |
| The new lady | Yes, we can get it from the hotel on road there, I will show you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, but they have already brought it. And sent kids many times so see us. But we were not there. They too went to funeral somewhere and on way back came to see if we are still here. |  |
| The new lady | Yes, I was also on a funeral but at a different place so I came back at 1.00 pm after that I rested, then offered prayers and took tea. And in afternoon went for *salam* to darbar |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And after that you are just coming back? |  |
| The new lady | Yes. It took just 10 minutes there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you went there on car? |  |
| The new lady | Yes on car. |  |