**Zahida’s Khala In-depth interview**

**Zahida’s khala was present at Zahida’s childbirth**

**10911**

We entered Zahida’s Khala’s house. I was having a lot of difficulty meeting this woman. Zahida’s in-laws would just not introduce me to this woman or bring me over to her house. I had concluded during my many visits to Zahida’s in-laws house that the person who was present during Zahida’s childbirth was her Khala ………. But her in laws remained very reticent about the details surrounding Zahida’s childbirth and death and would come up with one excuse or the other not to introduce me or rbing me over to Khala house. Today I just came over and said tell me when is she available. One day Gulshan, Khala’s daughter and Zahida’s jethani (who works as a domestic) phoned us that her mother is available and we rushed over. We entered the house and Khala was making food. The house is pucca, with two rooms, with a small kitchen on one side. (ZM\_ I Have seen the house). We introduced ourselves, made small talk, and the interview started.

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| A | We have been trying to contact you for a long time, but these people would not bring us over |  |
| ZKhala | That’s because I am very busy. I work and have been very busy building this house…as you see its still under construction |  |
| A | A roof over one’s head is a very big thing |  |
| ShW | Yes…I am a poor woman…I am a mother of six daughters …I managed to build this juggi |  |
| Gulshan | What we are trying to say…she’s married us off..and also build this house…its not an easy thing…when you don’t even have a son…its not an easy thing to do |  |
| A | You don’t have a son |  |
| Zkhala | I don’t have a son. I only have six daughters. Of these, I have married five off. |  |
| A | Acha…so only this youngest one is left |  |
| Zkhala | Its been very difficult marrying them off…The last one I married off...I still owe a debt of Rs 70,000. So how can a *roti ka nawala* go down my throat. I now suffer from *lakwa* (fascial palsy). So I am a sick woman, barely able to work. But my daughters are beautiful..they are fine. The don’t look like me. |  |
| A | Have you always had this lakwa (fascial palsy+ the hand is twisted)? |  |
| ZKhala | Yes…since birth…but I can work normally. But if Baji Afia tell me to cut the stitches, I can cut with my left hand. |  |
| A | I see |  |
| Gulshan | Nighat has not come with you |  |
| A | Nighat was not feeling well. She is fasting |  |
| ZKhala | Fasting is difficult. If you had asked, I would have come to you myself |  |
| A | I kept on asking them, but these people would not give me your phone number. Today I took it from them practically by force. |  |
| ZkHala | Had I known, I would have come to you myself |  |
| A | I told them if you don’t give me your number, I will not leave today. |  |
| ZKhala | I would have come myself…my dadiyal lives in Nara Mughla. All these people in NM …I know them. |  |
| A | I told them if the wont give me your number…I will get It from Dr Afia. (Afshan got the impression that Zahida’s in-laws were scared what questions I might ask of the Khala)…I know Dr. Afia. | Legal fear of maternal deaths |
| ZKhala | Baji Afia often goes to Nara Mughla |  |
| A | I told them….I will get the address from Dr. Afia |  |
| ZKhala | That old man who died….Baji Afia went there twice. His name was Maalak. He was the maser of the Petrol pumpwala. |  |
| A | Acha |  |
| ZKhala | I told them…I would have come to you. A person needs a hundred things. You are from Pindi? |  |
| A | Yes |  |
| ZKhala | Give me your address. My two daughters live in village Kholian. They are pregnant. We might need you and will call on you. We will take them to Holy Family |  |
| Gulshan | They are sick…somewhat |  |
| A | I don’t have many links with Holy Family… Actually our work is a bit different… |  |
| Gulshan | I see…you are those people… |  |
| A | Yes….The reason I wanted to meet you was that you have worked in this field for a long time (ZKhala has worked with Dr Afia for a number of years as a Ayah in her clinic)…women have a number of problems…a lay woman does not know of these issues |  |
| ZKhala | Yes |  |
| A | But a person who has worked in the field can tell us more. If it was a matter of medical science, I know the details. But I want to know a lay person’s thinking. |  |
| ZK | Yes ofcourse |  |
| A | Lets say a woman says she has parchawan…now I don’t know what a parchawan is |  |
| ZK | There is nothing like parchawan. She actually has parchawan. She might have picked up a weight |  |
| A | But they say they have parchawan |  |
| Zk | Yes..they do say that. They also say somebody has done Jadu and the baby was aborted. But there is no jadoo. Its all Allah’s wish. Baji says its not to be in their luck. Baji says she had twins…they were born at 7-months…had to be kept in an incubator..they hardly had a mouth or eyes..now they study in class8…those twins….then she had a son…he had jaundice…Afia got married late..she kept on studying…medicine…when she got married…that’s when we came to know her….then she hired some people…she needed us…so we also joined her. I understand everything….if somebody wants me to do her case….but I don’t…a person’s life has a lot of value…I don’t deliver a baby alone..what if a person dies |  |
| A | Have you ever delivered a woman alone |  |
| ZK | Yes…twice..One was my own pharei (sister’s daughter)…the baby was about to be born …I was there and handled it. The other was a neighbour…she was in labour and they were Jamat-e-Islami people…they don’t go to doctors…the baby can be born itself…we will not go to a doctor. They asked me to stay there and I stayed. A baby was born normally. Even today they sin songs about how I handled the delivery and placenta. We call it the ‘oal’…you must call it something else |  |
| A | No..its fine |  |
| ZK | So…I have handled two cases fine. Yesterday I went to see….My nand’s daughter…there also I told them if they don’t mind I will stand next to my *bhanji* (niece). He nurses said fine..why not…the nurse had gone to open their fast….the *roza* was finished ….but nobody was there….only the ayah…the baby sarting coming out…my niece said…the bay’s coming out…so I just took the baby…the others gave me cloth and I wrapped the baby. Then I delivered the oal. This happened in the Chakwal district hospital. Then the nurses came and put in some stitches and we all came home….I know everything. The doctor used to ask me…how log will it be before the baby is born….this is how much I know…I have never been to school...no point in lying….otherwise I know everything. |  |
| A | And now you have stopped working? |  |
| ZK | Yes…all my daughters are married…only this one is left. With whom can I leave her. The world nowadays is very dada (dangerous) and our house is rather isolated. And if a case comes at night, I can’t from here. What if somebody kills me (indirectly also implying rape as well) ….that will be such a bad thing…I am a mother of daughters. (it will be assumed she was involved in immoral activities even if she is a pure victim of crime). My husband earns in Pindi…not a lot, but its enough |  |
| A | As long as it enough |  |
| ZK | Not a lot…In one year I married one daughter…the one in Dhoke Mohsin…the next year…I married another one…I say I may not eat….but I want to pay off my debt. My daughters say…this is not possible…by the gace of God…the debt will be paid off. There is no such person in the village who can help us pay off the debt. In fact people say..how do we eat roti…(this money is asking for money from Afshan)…I say if there was a big doctor and I work with her delivering babies…I could show her how well trained I am …so she know how good I am. |  |
| A | How long did you work with Afia |  |
| Zk | Quite a lot…enough. And that time..I only had two daughters….when I started working… |  |
| A | Acha….that means all your other children were born while you were working? |  |
| ZK | Two children were born while I was living with my –in-laws. When I was living there..they did not let me learn this work…then the household expenses were bearable….then when we separated…after about a year or two I started learning this work. |  |
| A | Hmmm |  |
| ZK | Doctory…..Baji Afia is good…she is a good person. I learned a lot. Now…my daughters….Its a matter of shame…otherwise I would do the cases at home. Assisting a delivery is not a big deal…if there is not a problem from God…otherwise there is no problem. |  |
| Ayesha | Were you present during Zahida’s delivery? |  |
| ZK | Zahida….Yes….Zahida….I was with her……(she seems to need to recall what should be very obvious or more importantly, whether she should talk about it). |  |
| Ayesha | Acha |  |
| ZK | Yes…Ofcourse…I was with her. Zahida’s death was Allah’s wish. We had two ultrasounds done for her….Baji did them…At that time there was not indication that the *oal* was in front (placenta previa). We had an ultrasound done and Baji said take her to Pindi |  |
| A | Why did Baji ask her to be taken to Pindi? |  |
| ZK | The *oal* had come in front and she had started bleeding and she as 8 months pregnant. |  |
| A | So she was not full term? |  |
| ZK | No…she was not full term |  |
| Gulshan | No…she was not full term. She still had some days to go. Some women have babies before their time. |  |
| ZK | So we took her. (pointing to Gulshan) We rang them and they came with a car, and we took her. There you know….everybody is checked according to their numbers…it took a long time…by the time she was checked, and admitted, it took a long time. Then they kept lying for a long time…she kept on nucherti (bleeding) | Tried to blame the prolonged period of time during which Zahida bled only on the hospital and none on themselves, when in fact there was a big delay in procuring the vehicle to take her to the hospital. |
| A | You mean she was bleeding |  |
| ZK | She had lots of pain. She would tell me…please stand next to me. I stood next to her. When the baby was born, I shouted…where is everybody….nobody was present. |  |
| A | Where did you take her? |  |
| ZK | Holy Family…There was nobody there…so I made a lot noise…then those who are learning…like..Uzma…a girls of about 18-19. Then another came…and another. By then Zahida was drained and the baby was born. During all this I was standing in a corner. They told me to get out of the room. I told them..she is my Bhanji…why should I go out. When ever I got a chance, I would go in….whenever they got a chance, I would go in. They then told me she will need blood. Then the baby was born….she will need this much blood. We said fine…we bought the blood…white blood….they gave my sisters the white bottles to warm up by placing them under our armpits. They then admitted her. She stayed a few days. During those days….one of their bhudda (pointing at Gulshan) died….I had come home..my girls were at home. A few days later she came home. She was fine. Just fine. In fact they even did a D&C once. They did a D&C there and then…..when the baby was born…she stood up and put on her clothes..I told my sister to circulate Rs 100 over her head and give to the poor, which she did. The doctors said we will do a D&C because a *oal ka tukra* has been left behind…that is why she is bleeding so much. She was then treated well… medicines….everything. She was fine…she came home. 18 days passed. But her mother said…the girls is weak…take her to Chakwal. These people had sold a cow…they are poor people..never have money…now they had sold a cow and had some money..so they took her to Chakwal. There is a doctor…Sobia..Had her examined from her. She said she has very little blood.. she needs to be transfused blood…do this do that. My mamu ‘s daughter and Zahida’s mother and Shafique took her to Gujar Khan. They got one bottle of blood transfused. The women went off shopping. |  |
| A | Who gave the blood? |  |
| ZK | The blood was bought. The people who transfused the blood also sold them the blood. The doctors name is Hanif, from Gujar Khan. Two bottles of blood should not be given at the same time…what do you think. They said we have transfused her two units of blood…she will be fine soon. In three hours they transfused two bottles. The first bottle was transfused in the time that they came back from shopping. They said the second bottle will be transfused tomorrow or day after tomorrow. My sister…I don’t if she did not understand or what…she said…if you are going to transfuse tomorrow, then why not today. So they transfused the second bottle in the next one and a half hours and gave her some medicines…to be taken over the next short while. My sister, separated from her husband, did not give her the medicines, brought some fruits and came home. Zahida gave her some that buy some oranges for my father. |  |
| Gulshan | She gave money to the mother to buy oranges for the father….the mother happily went home. |  |
| ZK | She came home. During this time, Zahida picked up her mobile and played a game. She talked to her brothers, all was fine. The doctor had told them that you have gotten two bottles of blood transfused, be careful. He gave a medicine to be taken. They gave the medicine and something to eat…porridge, an apple. Around 10 pm…blood reacts to a foreign thing…..she said she is feeling restless..so they gave her some sugar. She also ate an apple. She then lay down and every body she was feeling better. It so happened, her this stopped (placing a hand on over her heart). Baji Afia is also surprised…in one day, in three hours, two bottles of blood, its should not be done. Its her mothers fault. Two bottles of blood stop the heart. I have seen in Chakwal. One bottle of blood is transfused in one day. And they transfused one more one hour later. Yesterday I talked to nurses in Chakwal…they say how can you say that one injection of Hyocine and the body opens…I told them whatever…I am a jatki person and I call it Hysocine. Those injections we brought, did you inject them into our patient. They were syrprised…how come I knew their names. Then I told them…I have done lots of course…I do D&C…everything…I arrange everything. That Baji will come and do everything. The only thing is I have not given an injection. In a vein. A life is very important. I can do everything else.  They then got a car from the dhoke…but she never got a second breathe. The rang us…that something has happened to Zahida..that she has had a fit or something |  |
| Gulshan | Actually we did not tell them…they might get a shock |  |
| ZK | My Brother-in-law arranged a car…. |  |
| Gulshan | In the meantime Khala Banni and Kauser came (she is the Raja neighbour) ..they said…look we are older women…we know she is not unconsciounes…she is dead. Why are you taking her…You will just get her electric shocks. Just ring her family and call them over. So we did not tell them the truth, but they came to know. |  |
| ZK | When we took the bed….my sister said…put her in the bed…we took a big car…she said we’ll take her. I put a hand on her and said she is cold…Allah has taken her…where will you take her…you should not push a dead body. “Athe kai jawan jawan mar jandian ne” **Here many young women die.** My own niece..jawan died . At childbirth. In Holy Family. The baby also died. She also died. It was a girl. Half dead, they brought her to Baji Afia…she did not keep her. So they took her to Holy Family, where she died. Her blood pressure was high….is that possible? | **Here many of young women die.** |
| A | Your nieces? |  |
| ZK | Yes…her BP was high…she had fits and then she died. This is is Allah’s hands. |  |
| A | Did they not know about this earlier? |  |
| ZK | She took medicine from Kalas….Maybe the Kalas people told her that her BP was high ans she thought it was low..so she came home and ate two boiled eggs. |  |
| A | They told her her BP was high and she still did that? |  |
| ZK | She lived alone…thats why. She did not understand. At night she boiled eggs, made a nice cup of tea. Ate them and the pains started. She started moaning. In the middle of the night they brought her to Baji….they even did a dammm for the head so she might get some relief for the headache. They are jahil people …..the parents bought her to Baji Afia. Baji said she is not going to survive, but take her to Holy Family. If by some chance the baby is born, she might survive. When they reached the hospital, the baby was born dead. My nephew went to bury the baby…he has seen a place….he works there and had seen the place….lets bury her here….because she is born dead….he had just come back from buring her…when the noise started…Shakila is dead …Shakila is dead….she was my niece and my nephews wife. Baji Afia told me to go to Kolia….your niece’s condition is very bad. She wont be alive for long. I went and she came back dead that night. What can we do? If life comes to an end from Rabs side, what can we do…but there is still a lot of regret. But what can a person do about that? Silence for a few seconds…..then six months passed…then after six months they said lets ask for his rishta (referring to Zahida’s husband). They first asked for Zahida’s younger sister. But they did not give it. I did not let them do it from outside, and gave them my own daughter. |  |
| A | Why did they not give the rishta? |  |
| ZK | They said they will educate their daughter and make her a nurse-doctor. After all Zahida was a nurse. |  |
| A | Yes…Zahida was a nurse. |  |
| Zk | Yes…she was a nurse… |  |
| A | Zahida herself worked in the health sector nad yet they made a mistake like that |  |
| ZK | Yes…she should have told her mother not to do that..should have told her mother one bottle is enough…its had just been 18-19 days since the birth of the baby…she was fine…she was talking, playing….In fact she complained that I had not had her checked by Baji…but her life was shortened by Rab…if her life was shortened what can one do….She herself was so learned |  |
| A | Yes..that’s what I was thinking |  |
| ZK | That when she had received one bottle…she should have told her mother…Amma don’t transfuse me with another bottle…so what we can come gain another day…if she had received on bottle that day ..she would have been fine |  |
| A | But I am surprised at that doctor |  |
| ZK | Yes…it’s the doctor |  |
| A | The doctor should not have transfused the second bottle |  |
| ZK | The doctor should not have transfused the second bottle…(abrupt change of topic) when we took her (referring to the niece she talked about earlier in the interview that she delivered) to Chakwal…the person here said she needs an operation, but the doctor in Chakwal said we will first see if she can deliver normally. She delivered normally. I took hold of the baby and delivered the ‘oal’. (She is trying to say that she took so much care that she first tried to deliver the baby normally and managed to do so. There are such people. Had she wanted to, she could have always gone ahead and done a C-section). But if it is written from Rab;s side..what can one do…there is nothing one can do…Are you fasting….what can I serve you |  |
| A | Your giving me this time is enough for me. |  |
|  | During this time, another woman joined us. |  |
| Zk | This is my daughter, Fozia’s sas (MIL). Fozia is also pregnant. She is very kamzor and always lying in bed. She is very kmazor. The doctor has said the baby is also kamzor. The second one is also there. She is also pregnant. Nowdays poor people…where can they eat from….and these people live in dhokes. We at least live here…we can buy something from the shops…they live in dhokes….give me your address in Pindi…I will visit you. You have come visit me in Ramazan I will visit you at other times. |  |
| A | No…I am here for a few months… |  |
| ZK | I though you had come for the month of Ramzan only. |  |
| A | No..no Gulshan knows I have been here for a few months already. |  |
|  | Conversation unclear… |  |
| A | Nowadays we live in Nara Mughla |  |
| ZK | Are you from NM? |  |
| A | No..we are not from NM |  |
|  | The woman leaves |  |
| ZK | We used to live in her sisters neighbourhood. I don’t lie…I work to eat. | Shame in work.  Status in dependency for women |
| A | There is no shame in this. |  |
| ZK | There is no point in me saying that I am a land owners who owns marrabas of land |  |
| A | Stealing is bad. You don’t rob people. |  |
| ZK | I have worked hard and brought up my children and married them off. |  |
| A | Begging is bad …and stealing is bad. A person who works hard does no wrong |  |
| ZK | I bought this place…to hide my head. When I die, my daughters can come here and think about me. The rest is up to God. If they do justice, they can share it fairly. One can take money…but in my life…I will give this home to nobody. | First eg. Of woman in village who build her own house |
| A | And you should not |  |
| ZK | I worked very hard to make it. I will not give it even to this young one |  |
| A | And you should not. You made it for yourself. In your old age, why should you become dependent on somebody? |  |
| ZK | Why should I become dependent on somebody? |  |
| A | I completely agree with you |  |
| ZK | You really like my this attitude. |  |
| A | Those people who say give your children everything …are wrong…the children should make their own. This is your own. Parents bring their children…educate them….. But there is no need to give them everything. |  |
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